

BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA?  
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF A PLACE-IMAGE

by

Karen Ann Dunham  
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We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard

Dr. J. Douglas Porteous, Supervisor (Department of Geography)

Dr. Colin J.B. Wood, Departmental Member (Department of Geography)

Dr. Robert D. Gifford, Outside Member (Department of Psychology)

Dr. T. Rennie Warburton, External Examiner (Department of Sociology)

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University of Victoria

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Supervisor: Dr. J. Douglas Porteous

### ABSTRACT

The research focuses on images of the landscape of British Columbia. Images of the province are constantly being produced by the provincial government and portrayed to the public to increase awareness of specific localities among potential tourists, business and investment interests, and the residents themselves. In promoting and emphasizing specific images of the province over time, a certain representation, and therefore identity for, British Columbia is being created.

The intention of this study is: (1) to specify in detail the image of the province put forward by the provincial government, including capsule images, regional images, image frequencies, and variations over time and space; (2) to critically assess this image, especially in light of what is *not* included; and (3) to attempt to understand the social, economic and political content of these images. The images analyzed comprise the verbal and visual text of three media published by the provincial government: the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, which was published by the B.C. Ministry of Tourism from Summer 1959 to Autumn 1983; the provincial motor vehicle licence plate; and the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign.

This study entails both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Analysis begins with a detailed content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine for the years 1959 to 1983. The goal of the content analysis is to construct a detailed data set comprised of the magazine's textual subject content, pictorial support and associated geographic location. Trends emerging from the content analysis indicate specific spatial distributions over time of promoted images as well as temporal variations in subject content of the images. Hermeneutics was utilized in an attempt to refine the interplay of meanings in the text and context. Four themes are defined in the empirical data: a city-countryside-wilderness theme; insider and outsider; the old and the new; and up, down, and on the landscape.

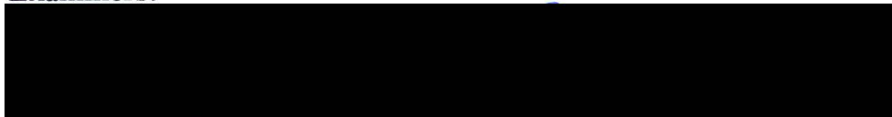
An image of "Beautiful British Columbia" is conveyed in the phrase endorsed on the provincial licence plate. Awareness of the geographical attributes of forested mountains and ocean waves is expressed by the green and blue symbols on the personalized plate. The 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign, initiated in the mid-1970s, highlights the outdoor environments of British Columbia. The 'Super,Natural' advertisements primarily promote a panoramic view of B.C.'s extraordinary landscape attributes. Generally, the advertisements are accepted positively by the viewing public and maintain high levels of readership. Recently, however, public controversy has stemmed from questions regarding the authenticity of some of the campaign photographs.

A distinctive identifying image of a scenic landscape is defined as the contemporary image of British Columbia. The beautiful and natural attributes of this

image are inherent in the slogans "Beautiful British Columbia" and "Super, Natural British Columbia". These two words are examined in relation to their meaning and image in contemporary society. Analysis of the visual text suggests that three "families" of images are exemplified in the capsule image: (a) the *NATURAL* image emphasizes characteristics of healthy forest, mountain vistas and panoramic skies; (b) the *BUILT* image depicts a modern urban scene with coastal and scenic attributes; and (c) the *ECONOMIC* image, which is characterized by two associated images of accessibility and prosperity.

Through these images, a collection of descriptions and stereotypes define British Columbia as a place and a tourist destination. However, the credibility of the advertised images is questioned as to truthful representation of the B.C. landscape and the extent of aesthetic consumerism manufactured in the image. The significance of the "politics of production of the tourist sight" (van den Abbeele, 1980) is discussed in terms of the dichotomy between the persuasive image of picturesque scenery and the external reality of visually degraded landscapes. Implications as to the promotion of the extraordinary, or hyperbolic, attributes of the landscape are addressed.

Examiners:



Dr. J. Douglas Porteous, Supervisor (Department of Geography)



Dr. Colin J.B. Wood, Departmental Member (Department of Geography)



Dr. Robert D. Gifford, Outside Member (Department of Psychology)



Dr. T. Rennie Warburton, External Examiner (Department of Sociology)

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Adrian Raeside in *Victoria Times-Colonist*: July 3, 1989.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*It is increasingly evident that how man [sic]<sup>1</sup> perceives his surroundings is as important to understanding the environment as is the environment itself.* (Harrison and Howard, 1972:389).

Increasing promotion of the province in the last thirty to forty years has transformed British Columbian landscapes into products offering emotional and economic benefits to their consumers. Often, in representations of landscapes, the richness and diversity of specific localities - even positively perceived idiosyncrasies of the physical and behavioural landscape - have been reduced to a commodity to be packaged and sold.

Advertisements are an important cultural factor moulding and reflecting Western society today. They are an inevitable part of modern life: even if an individual does not read a newspaper or watch television, the images posted over our surroundings on billboards, storefronts, signs in airports and along highways are inescapable. These advertisements have an obvious function, which is to sell things or, as in this study, sell places. But advertising and the promotion of specific images are as well an indication of a cultural structure. Material things we think we need are made, in advertising, to represent non-material things we need. An ideological context is thus created in which things, places and people are used to create new symbolic systems.

This thesis focuses on the images of the landscape of British Columbia as created by the provincial government to promote the province to specific target groups. The primary purpose of this research is to identify, categorize and analyze an array of these

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<sup>1</sup>Throughout this paper, gender-neutral language is used. The masculine form, prevalent in the literature, is recognized as such by this author, but not noted by "sic" in citations of direct quotations for the sake of clarity.

images from various media in an attempt to determine the type of images depicted and the significance of the government's partaking in a complex cultural process through which environmental meanings are produced and consumed. The images of place presented by the B.C. government to the public through various types of media are not simply "bits of information", but "complex ideological discourses composed of verbal and visual signs with meanings encoded into them" (Burgess, 1990:143). These images are being produced by the government to increase awareness of the province. The B.C. government, in promoting and emphasising specific images of the province over time, is creating a certain image of, and therefore an identity for, British Columbia.

The intention of this study is: (1) to specify in detail the image of the province put forward by the government, including capsule images, regional images, image frequencies and variations over time and space; (2) to critically assess this image, especially in light of what is not included; and (3) to attempt to understand the social, economic and political content of these images. The distinction between (1) and (2) is important, because images of place often have more than one meaning. The B.C. government, through the promotion of certain place images, attributes certain meanings and significance to the province's landscapes. These meanings of place shape the perceptions and sense of place of B.C. residents and potential visitors and investors towards the B.C. environment.

### 1.1 The Geography of Landscape

'Land' can be defined as earth, the solid portion of the surface of the globe; 'landscape' is the appearance of that portion of land which the eye can view; the aspect of a scene, or a picture representing it (Relph, 1981). Traditionally, geography is distinctly anthropocentric, in the sense of being concerned chiefly with the value or use of the earth to humans. As such, land becomes landscape "when seen by man, revealing the record of his activities on the surface of the earth and his relationship with his environment" (Hunter, 1985:1). Norton (1989:2) indicates landscape is both "material" and "symbolic". It is material in the sense it comprises such things as buildings, settlements and physical topographic variations. It is symbolic in that it has a meaning to humans, as illustrated over time through language, art and religion. Such factors, physical and cultural, can be responsible for the emergence of landscape in both its material and symbolic aspects.

Sauer (1929:25) once stated that the task of geography may be conceived as "a critical system which embraces the phenomenology of landscape, in order to grasp it in all of its meaning". Landscape and human-environment relationships are traditional themes in geography. Characteristically, the environment has been looked at primarily through the eyes of science rather than the humanities. Such work is characterized by quantification and systems analysis. Procedures and methodologies entail analysis by disintegration; there are large numbers of highly trained environmental specialists, including geologists, soil scientists, zoologists, meteorologists, and botanists. Various kinds of ecologists study the interrelations between living things and their environment, utilizing

inherently a more integrative approach. Most ecologists are still regarded as "natural" scientists, meaning that they have typically specialized in nature and not human culture, and there has been a strong tendency (entirely desirable for certain purposes) to try to separate the two, to regard humans and their works as "unnatural" intruders. In recent years, the ideas of the earth as home or habitat, as resource, as inspiration, as playground, laboratory and profit centre, have flourished in the place where humans and the environment meet.

Recently, the extent and consequences of the human role in changing the face of the earth has been widely recognized. While the environmental specialists know much within their own fields, their studies need to be connected and to make such understandings more readily accessible to a much wider and more general audience. Much work is becoming increasingly theoretical and antithetical to any kind of local application:

There is certainly a varied literature on Western man... but that which deals with cultural behavior tends to be philosophical and polemical and is rarely applied to the scale of the locality.

(Meinig, 1971:98).

Landscapes have conventionally been recognized in varied capacities. For example, Eyles (1990:10), drawing on Meinig (1979), suggests that a landscape may be seen as "habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place, or aesthetic". Such a view is advocated by Berger (1972) and Cosgrove (1985), who argue that landscape is really a "way of seeing", and that there are potentially as many ways of seeing as there are eyes to behold a scene. Seeing is an individualistic and personal action. The physical world, or landscape, can only affect individuals in so far as it is perceived or experienced. An individual's belief in what constitutes "reality" may or may not

exemplify an objective reality; rather, as Norton (1989:71) emphasises, "[reality] is objective reality as perceived by or assigned meaning by the individual".

Geographical studies of the concept of sense of place are concerned with (a) the relations between place and person, and (b) an awareness of the distinctive character of specific localities. The concept incorporates aspects of imageability (Lynch, 1960), topophilia (Tuan, 1974), attachment, and the symbolic meaning of places. Two dimensions are recognizable: the physical and the mental. The strength of the physical image derives from the distinctive combination of local topography and human-made form. The ease of recognition and recollection of a picture or symbolic image is a measure of such distinctiveness. The absence of quick recall may well indicate a certain *placelessness* (Relph, 1976). The influence of an environmental image will affect an individual's perceptions of and experiences in a place.

The physical setting and the objects and activities therein may create a reason for an individual to remember and feel positively or negatively about a place, but the meaning of a place that is held by an individual is the property of human intentions and experiences (Tuan, 1974:47). Places will be beautiful or ugly, enjoyable or alienating, useful or a hinderance; in short, they are meaningful. As places possess their own qualities of complexity, obscurity and clarity, meanings of place attributes can change and be transferred from one set of objects to another. The identity of a place may thus be "concentrated" into one or two features. The physical setting and attributes and activities and meanings are always interrelated; these dialectics constitute the identity of a place for an individual.

## 1.2 Landscape Imagery

Landscapes generally have meaning, or value, for individuals who come in contact with them. Similarly, many landscapes reflect general meanings or values. According to Meinig (1979), every nation has its symbolic landscapes. "They are part of the iconology of nationhood, part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings which binds people together" (Meinig, 1979:164). Such a view incorporates the concept of "sacred space" (Tuan, 1974:146), and the notion that certain landscapes are indeed particular places.

Interpretation and cognition of the environment are very personal events. Cognition is based on the extraction of information from the environment (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:49). Ittelson et al. (1974:98) maintain that "cognition is probably the single most important psychological process in man-environment interaction". Different people will, of course, extract different information from the same environment. Golledge (1981) has proposed that learning about an environment involves formulating a cognitive representation of the environment that is built up over time. An individual first comes to know locations, then links between locations, and then areas around groups of locations. From this point of view, learning about the environment is in essence the process of compiling information which includes all the spatial relations among environmental elements, as well as their socio-economic, cultural, or other meanings and significance.

People searching for information about an area far away, or near-by, have very similar but distinct resources and methods for acquiring information. Each set of individuals acquires information from both personal and impersonal sources. Personal

communication has thrived despite the emergence in Western society of "community without propinquity" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:52), where close ties are maintained with friends who live outside the immediate environment. People living close together tend to have similar information fields (Gold, 1980:98). Media-based information flows provide the best example of the use of impersonal sources. Private information is exchanged in personal contacts directly between people, usually at a small scale, whereas public information involves communication from skilled professionals to a mass society often at a reasonably large scale.

Consider, for instance, the following example which provides an individual with a basis for interpreting a landscape. Every community has a history and often the town library has a set of books on the local area. In most cases, the most common sort of work is the ponderous stereotypical country and city histories of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, volumes full of a vast miscellany of facts about explorers, pioneers, early industries, churches, lodges and lists of officials and prominent local citizens and politicians. Such books are mines of information, but in most cases, a sampling is enough to demonstrate that the data are rarely complete and explanations as to the social and physical character of the area are rarely simple. The reader will almost certainly be forced into a whole set of assumptions and interpolations and must use his or her imagination to "fill in" the complete picture.

Meinig (1971:99) suggests that "imagination" is "an uncomfortable term for the social scientist". But a fair sampling of the creative literature on communities and localities would certainly suggest that a skilful novelist or poet, or a landscape artist,

comes closest to capturing the full flavour of the environment. The writer's sensitivities to a scene, to the seasons, the interactions of personalities, to the unique qualities of life in and of a particular environment result in descriptions which are often vividly evocative.

New symbolic landscapes are being created on a continuous basis. Geographical studies of spatial and environmental imagery have drawn considerable inspiration from the pioneering work of Lynch (1960). Lynch (1960) argued that an individual's knowledge of a city is a function of that city's *imageability*, that is, the extent to which it makes a strong impression on the individual concerned. Images of a specific environment are formed from an amalgam of a variety of perceptions. An image is built upon "an individual's beliefs, impressions, ideas and evaluations" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:64). Images are composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of phenomena in the everyday environment. Signs may be iconic; visual representations which bear resemblance to the referent as, for example, sketches of landmarks. Signs may, as well, be symbolic; language is itself an example. Words have an arbitrary and conventional relationship with their referent; the same word can mean different things and the meaning of words can change over time (Burgess and Wood, 1988:108). For example, the image of "wilderness" has evolved in North America from wild (unruly and fearsome), through natural and beautiful, to perfect (sacred) and ecologically sound (Graber, 1976:113). In another example, the term "natural landscape" seems to be perceived differently by individuals than does "nature" (Uzzell, 1991:3). In

short, individuals receive messages from external sources (television, magazines, billboards, word-of-mouth, and the like), decode them, and use a selection from them in the construction of images.

Landscapes and environments are often promoted, or advertised, to the public. Tourist advertising, for example, undertakes the construction of place imagery. Destination marketing plays an increasingly important role in the advertising of spatial information. The British Columbian environment - the province's physical surroundings - has been and is still advertised to tourists and residents alike in a specific manner. We should pay close attention to this, for

our experience of the natural world...is always mediated. It is always shaped by rhetorical constructs like photography, industry, advertising, and aesthetics, as well by institutions like religion, tourism, and education.

(Wilson, 1992:12).

Over time, via advertising and the media, the images generated of different "tourist gazes" (Urry, 1990b:1) come to constitute a self-perpetuating system of illusions which provide the tourist with the basis for selecting and evaluating potential places to visit.

### **1.3 Touristic Imagery**

To paraphrase William Shakespeare, if indeed all the world is a stage, and men and women have their exits and their entrances, then perhaps in the late twentieth century the tourist is the audience (Ryan, 1991:5). In the past fifty years, tourism has become a global phenomenon involving millions of people. British Columbia's natural and cultural resources combine to create a tremendous potential for the tourist industry. Tourism has

been one of the strongest growth industries since the 1950s in British Columbia. In this province, tourism has shown "unexpected resilience during the recent recession" (Murphy, 1987:404), and thus has become "the prime source of new investment and employment in the present economy" (1987:406).

British Columbia's tourism has grown in conjunction with tourism's world-wide expansion since World War II. The majority of attractions in this province are its scenic landscapes, open spaces and outdoor recreation opportunities (BC Research, 1990:43-44), all of which, Murphy (1987:403) states, have a strong appeal in an urbanized world. British Columbia's terrain and coastlines create a wide variety of vegetation types that support diverse wildlife species and offer a wide range of land and water-based recreation activities, including skiing, hiking, mountaineering, fishing, hunting and scuba-diving. Towns and cities also have great appeal, offering a wide range of facilities, entertainment and cultural events.

Most recorded tourist traffic focuses on four of the province's nine tourist regions. This imbalance comes about because of the varying degrees of accessibility within the province; most tourists still travel by car and good highway connections tend to channel visitors into certain regions. Most visitors seem content with general sightseeing through car windows (Murphy, 1987:403). The most important motivation for out-of-province visitors to come to British Columbia, as cited in the most recently available visitor survey, was visiting friends or relatives (BC Research, 1990:29). Other primary reasons for visiting are the attractions of scenery and water-scapes. The coastal locations of the province offer seascapes, boating, salmon fishing, whale-watching, and beachcombing,

while the Interior offers lake activities and river rafting.

A 1989 visitor survey revealed that "in order to identify B.C.'s images in the minds of its visitors", respondents were asked to tell "what words came to mind when they thought of B.C. as a vacation destination" (BC Research, 1990:43). While responses covered over 22 items and adjectives, the "most frequent" words and categories mentioned were:

scenic	28%	beautiful	24%
mountains	19%	friendly	16%
generally great	14%		

(BC Research, 1990:43).

Interestingly, BC Research (1990:43) claims that the majority of those surveyed indicated they could not name a "worst aspect" about the province. The only worst aspects mentioned, and those by "less than 5 per cent" of the sample, were weather, poor roads, and poor road conditions.

Tourism and travel are therefore significant economic phenomena in contemporary British Columbia. MacCannell (1976:76) notes that, unlike the religious pilgrim who pays homage to a single sacred centre, the tourist pays homage to an enormous array of centres or attractions. He also notes how each centre of attraction involves complex processes of production in order that regular, meaningful and profitable tourist experiences can be generated and sustained. Such "tourist gazes" (Urry, 1990:1) are not left to chance; people are *taught* how, when, and where to look. Clear markers are often provided and in some cases the object of a view is merely the marker that indicates some event or experience which previously happened at that spot. People often search out that specific perfect location which they viewed in the travel advertisement, which claimed to be

"typical" scenery of the destination area.

It is necessary to consider just what it is that produces a distinctive touristic experience. Minimally, there must be certain aspects of a place to be visited which distinguish it from what is encountered in everyday life. Urry (1990:11) notes that "tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary." Tourist experiences involve some aspect or element which induces pleasurable or exciting experiences which are, by comparison with the everyday, out of the ordinary (Robinson, 1976:157).

The minimal characteristics of the social practices which are considered as tourism in this study are as follows:

i. Tourism is a leisure activity arising from a movement of people to, and their stay in, various destinations in British Columbia. "Tourists" are not only those travelling to British Columbia from out-of-province, but also residents travelling within the province. Smith (1977:139) proposes that "A tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change". Dumont (1984:139), tongue-in-cheek, characterizes the typical tourist as "the middle-class, jet-lagging, camera-laden, amoeba-ridden, sunburned, American-Expressed returnee." A more astute definition has been offered by MacCannell (1976:1): "Actual tourists [are] sightseers...who are at this moment deployed throughout the entire world in search of experience."

ii. Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through fantasy and day-dreaming, of enjoyment, either on a different scale or

involving different senses from those customarily encountered or used.

iii. Anticipation as to touristic experience is constructed and sustained through a variety of media, such as literature (magazines, brochures, travel guides), television, film and videos, personal communications, and personal and collective imaginations. Tourists will always arrive on site with prejudices or preunderstandings.

iv. The tourist view is directed to features of landscape and cityscape which separate the visitor from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary:

The viewing of such tourist sights often involves...a much greater sensitivity to visual elements to landscape or townscape than is normally found in everyday life. People linger over such a gaze which is then normally visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured.

(Urry, 1990:3).

v. The "gaze" is constructed through signs as promoted to the viewer by the advertiser. When tourists see the gingerbread houses and stuccoed pubs in Victoria, they are meant to think of "Olde England". Tourists typically fan out over the world in search of typical American superhighways, exemplary Oriental scenes, traditionally-romantic European gardens.

Murphy (1987:418) clearly states that "tourism is built upon imagery". If a destination develops a poor reputation, for example, it takes a long time to recover from such negative publicity. The consequences can be far-reaching: "Once a resource, whether it be physical or human, is damaged the marketing, development and economic sub-strategies will all be compromised" (Murphy, 1987:418). Tourism has been described as

a renewable resource industry (Heath and Wall, 1992:38), with visitors expected to view rather than consume the product. The personal nature of the tourism experience means that under outwardly satisfactory conditions individual perceptions of degradation or commercialization can mar a visitor's experience.

#### **1.4 Advertising British Columbia**

All people in British Columbia, whether residents or tourists, look at the landscape. Even in this semi-wilderness province, we are increasingly looking at the visible results of the organization and re-organization of human-made spaces. Ecological and social judgements are consciously or unconsciously passed on what is seen. The essential characteristic of the B.C. landscape, as with any landscape, is the belief in the sanctity of *place*. It is place, the permanent position both in the social and topographical sense, that gives the British Columbian landscape its identity.

The function of place, according to this belief, is to make the province visible. The "Beautiful British Columbia" licence plate slogan, the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine and the "Super,Natural" advertising campaign have been utilized by the B.C. government to foster a landscape image that it wishes to advertise to potential tourists and residents. Promotional literatures are utilized wherein the landscape of the province is made visible to residents and visitors; the B.C. government reveals specific characteristics of the province in terms of its societal, cultural, and natural identity.

As Barnes and Duncan (1992:14) state so bluntly, "in contemporary society the landscape is now read in terms of phrases from glossy brochures and the flickering

images of television sets". Nowhere is this as true as in the field of tourism. The "official" aim of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, as stated in 1959 by W.A.C. Bennett, Premier of British Columbia, is to bring the "wonders" and "events, both natural and man-made", to the public "concisely and colorfully" (*BBC*, 1959:2:2). The images within the text (photographs, pictures, diagrams, and written words) of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, edited in the province from 1959 to 1983 by the provincial government, will be investigated in this study. A content analysis will specify in detail the images of the province advertised by the provincial government during this time period. Capsule and regional images, image frequencies and variations over time, spatial area and season will be uncovered.

For MacCannell (1976), the most important and interesting component of the tourist attraction is the "marker", without which the tourist would not only be unable to recognize the sight, but the sight itself could not exist as such. Advertisements can act as markers. Much of sight-seeing involves a process whereby a tourist moves from one advertised place to another, and not until the tourist arrives at the actual scene, or site, does recognition actually trigger a response. When promoting a particular place or landscape, many advertisers will utilize a known landmark as such a marker that the traveller *must* see when he or she is visiting the particular area. Such special sites are commonly promoted through real-looking photographic images which advertise the "reality" of the sight, more often than not under brilliantly blue skies, optimum lighting conditions, and the like. In such a manner, landscapes may be advertised to appear as "natural" to or typical of the surrounding area; in actuality, these images are often cases

of "hyperreality" (Barnes and Duncan, 1992:16). The widely successful "Super,Natural" advertising campaign will be discussed in terms of the images its photographs portray to the viewing public, and as a fine example of hyperreality.

### 1.5 Review of Contents

The contents of this thesis are organized as follows. Chapter Two considers the issues of imagery, boosterism and advertising as propaganda, conceptualizing some of the relationships and complexities of advertising the environment. Chapter Three outlines the methodology and methods central to this thesis. A quantitative methodology utilizes content analysis and frequency counts; a qualitative methodology is derived from humanistic geographic literature and includes hermeneutics, acknowledging the importance of *meaning* in the interpretation of actual landscapes, and of landscape images derived from verbal, written and pictorial texts. Chapter Four outlines the progression of general landscape images which have been promoted or maintained through the last century in British Columbia. Discussion begins in Chapter Five of the findings of the content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine. Chapter Six examines the provincial motor vehicle licence plate slogan "Beautiful British Columbia" and the "Super,Natural" advertising campaign in relation to the findings in the previous chapter. The final chapter presents a variety of concluding statements and other considerations relating to this research.

## CHAPTER 2: THE PERSUASION INDUSTRY

*People do not respond directly to the environment but to their mental image of the environment, and, as a result, the location of human activities is very much influenced by geographical images.*

(Haynes in Norton, 1989:74-75).

### 2.1 Images

Geographical studies of spatial and environmental imagery have drawn considerable inspiration from the pioneering work of Lynch (1960), itself based on Boulding's *The Image* (1956). Lynch argued that an individual's knowledge of a spatial area is a function of that area's *imageability*, that is, the extent to which it makes a strong impression on the individual concerned. Images are composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, codes, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of phenomena in the everyday environment. An image is built upon "an individual's beliefs, impressions, ideas, and evaluations" (Burgess, 1982:2), or the "learned and stable mental conceptions that summarize an individual's [or society's] environmental knowledge, evaluations and preferences" (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:64).

In the geographical literature, two basic themes are present amongst the many uses of the word "*image*". Firstly, the word refers to something which is not "real". It reflects some phenomenon, but it is not the phenomenon itself (although, like a reflection in a mirror, it may be mistaken for it). Boorstin (1963), in his book entitled *The Image*, uses the word to describe "an unreal gloss created in order to sell a product, for example, a

pop star's image" (Canter, 1977:21). Such an image is usually something which is visualized by our mind's eye. Secondly, this likeness may be conceptual. For example, our image of the United States may be in terms of that country's power or industrial prowess, rather than being visual (the Statue of Liberty), acoustic (traffic in large urban centres), or based on some other sensation. Boulding's "image" (1956) is concerned with what a person believes to be true, or their "subjective knowledge", or "image of the world". In essence, Boulding postulated that the schemata which individuals draw upon are all somehow combined into a coherent whole, into The Image. Boulding moved the emphasis away from the image as a reflection or a representation of some "real world", towards an abstract conceptual system, "what a person believes to be true". It is important to clarify that both types of images, the sensual and the conceptual, are similar in that they only imitate some assumed reality.

An individual interacts with the environment to create a mental image of that environment. Numerous studies (Boorstin, 1963; Downs and Stea, 1973; Canter, 1977; Porteous, 1990) have shown that most individuals carry in their heads a "mental image" of their physical surroundings. Images of a specific environment are formed from an amalgam of a variety of perceptions. Each person's mental image is likely to be quite distinct, based on the unique personal background and experience of the individual, including such individual variables as cultural and ethnic background, personality, attitude, motivation, life style and value orientations. It is increasingly evident that how various individuals, singularly and collectively, perceive their surroundings is as important to understanding the environment as is the environment itself (Harrison and

Howard, 1972:389). Much attention has been directed toward those components of the physical landscape which have been shown to produce high degrees of imageability or to promote a satisfying environment for the viewer. Uniqueness of design has often been cited as an important factor in producing high degrees of imageability (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989). Other environmental components which have been found to lead to high stimulation include intensity, complexity, surprisingness, and incongruity (Wohlwill, 1966).

Confusion may occur when mental images are being related to the actual physical environment. An obvious example of this confusion is when a particular view of a building, part of a city, or rural scene is promoted as the "image" of a place. The Eiffel Tower, for instance, is a globally recognized image of Paris. Confusion may be experienced by an individual because of the disparity between memories of what may typically be seen in Paris and notions of what Paris is like to inhabit. The image of the Eiffel Tower, being often the solitary point of reference many people have of Paris, may hide more than it reveals (Canter, 1977:21). The Eiffel Tower, existing as such a strong visual component of Paris in many people's minds, may not allow any other images of Paris to co-exist in people's minds. People do not think of the other *real* aspects of the Paris scene such as crowded dirty streets or unsympathetic shopkeepers.

Images are particularly important in the development of stereotypes. As the case of the Eiffel Tower illustrates, the identity of a place may be "concentrated" into one or two features. To be effective, the image in such a situation must have some grounding in fact. A strong trait is made to stand for the entire personality. The selection of such a trait

depends not only on the real differences among and within the landscapes, but also upon the specialized concerns of the groups that wish to draw the public's attention to a particular attribute. For example, photographs in travel brochures and hotel advertisements in Victoria, British Columbia, leave a vivid impression of green treed streets, flower gardens, and clean and quaint residential districts. In some instances, Britton notes, such "hyped" images hold the danger of "constrain[ing] the learning potential of travel, one of its most durable and valued rationales" (Britton, 1979:323). If places are perceived as composed of nothing more than their "capsule images" (Porteous, 1977:116), the experience is reduced to a validation of cliches and stereotypes.

Analogous to the unique stereotyped image, places may have mass images or identities. Capsule images, defined as images of a place "as an unit, without internal differentiation" (Porteous, 1977:116), are common in slogans relating to a place. Rather than developing out of individual experiences, mass identities are usually "assigned" by decision-makers who are attempting to capture the specific character of a place by a specific scene or picture, usually for promotional purposes. Usually these places are beyond the realm of the immediate experience of the viewing audience, so that personal impressions of the place cannot readily be formed. At times, the mass media themselves may provide simplified and selective identities for places. The media traditionally have been immensely successful in the formulation and perpetuation of specific perceptions, attitudes and images towards certain environments. Licence plates on vehicles tell us that Manitoba is "sunny" and "friendly" and that British Columbia is "beautiful". One can buy from Florida a "can of sunshine" (Gordon, 1986:139). In this manner, places have often

become commodities to be packaged, marketed and sold to potential residents, tourists and business investors.

*ij/ rise of image studies*

Academic interest in the concept of image first reached prominence with the work of Boulding (1956) who proposed that all behaviour is dependent upon the image of an individual's milieu. The pioneering work of Lynch, in particular his book on the image of the city (Lynch, 1960), has considerably inspired geographical studies of spatial and environmental imagery. Lynch's work (1960) insisted on the inevitable links between the mind and the physical world. In his study, respondents in Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles were asked to draw a sketch map of their respective city. The resultant drawings simplified the spatial structure of the environment by omitting numerous minor details and simplifying complex geometric shapes. Lynch concluded that the image of the city was organized into five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. He argued that an individual's knowledge of the city is a function of that city's imageability, that is, the extent to which it makes a strong impression on the individual concerned. Imageability, in turn, is closely related to legibility, or the extent to which parts of the city can be recognized and organized into a coherent whole (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:65).

Studies associated with behavioural geography, an area of research that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, embraced many different approaches to the study of human perception and behaviour. Most of these studies proceeded on the premise that

individual views of the world and environmental behaviour were dependent on the *cognition* of reality. Individuals assimilate information from their physical and social environments and construct their own unique psychological representations of reality (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984:64). John Kirkland Wright (1966), in his 1946 presidential address to the Association of American Geographers, challenged geographers to venture out from their traditional core areas of research into the *terrae incognitae* of the imagination. He noted in this address that this "peripheral zone" is the domain of "subjective geographical conceptions of the world about them which exist in the minds of countless ordinary folk" (Wright, 1966:81). This emphasis on an individual's view of his/her environment and the resultant image drew attention to geographic space perception as part of the behavioural revolution in geography.

Image studies are applicable to a variety of areas of study within human geography. Such an approach cuts across conventional disciplinary boundaries. Some of the topic areas within human geography to which image approaches have been applied are environmental hazard evaluation (Saarinen, 1966), neighbourhood images (Gold and Gold, 1990), city images (Lynch, 1960; Burgess, 1978), regional and national images (Tippet and Cole, 1977; Lowenthal, 1978; Jackson, 1984), mental maps (Gould and White, 1974), migration (Rees, 1988; Francis, 1989), images of landscape (Berger, 1972; Cosgrove, 1984; Porteous, 1990), images of nature (Graber, 1976; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989), retailing location (Burgess, 1982), consumer behaviour (Sack, 1988; Burgess and Wood, 1988), and place images in media (Zonn, 1990). Image studies have increasingly been considered in terms of their practical and policy implications, especially in relation

to environmental planning (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). A common link in these diverse approaches is that the majority of these image studies are concerned with human behaviour in an environment, and the environmental image "forms a crucial link mediating between the environment and behaviour in that environment" (Pocock and Hudson, 1978:9). Image approaches to human geography are today recognized as a useful tool to understanding spatial behaviour.

The disparity between image and reality has been of interest to geographers particularly in the last twenty years. "Places are centers of behavioral expectation", Jakle (1990:83) indicates, and "the key to linking landscape and behavior lies not in place, viewed as objective reality, but in place considered as "image sets". Numerous schemata have been proposed linking up environmental images, learning, sources of knowledge, and behaviour (for example, Downs and Stea (1973)). But empirical studies of the links between image and behaviour are rare. As yet, most studies of environmental images have concentrated on the designative and appraisive functions of the image. For example, place imagery, or place portrayal, has been studied by many geographers, including Zonn (1990), using a simple heuristic structure comprised of four distinct elements: (1) the individual or collection of individuals who created the image; (2) the medium portraying the image; (3) the image being portrayed; and (4) the perceiver, or audience, of the image. Downs (1970) suggests that such research should focus on how individuals store spatial information and on the way in which individuals develop preferences for different locations within the environment. Similarly, image generation and portrayal of landscapes in Britton (1979) and Craik (1986) focus on the nature and character of place images in

terms of settings that are socially, culturally, and historically defined. Britton (1979) is interested in the ways in which perception of third-world environments affects visitors and residents of these milieux; migration decisions are more influenced by how distant places are perceived than how they actually are.

Art and imaginative literature provide invaluable routes into realms of environmental imagery. Landscape painting has increasingly been used in discussions of landscape imagery (Appleton, 1975; Cosgrove, 1984). Appleton (1975) refers to landscape paintings as "recording" landscapes, but in fact almost all landscape paintings epitomize preferences and symbolism towards specific landscapes. Lowenthal and Prince (1976:124) articulate that it is in this way that "artistic creations may yield more subtle insights about attitudes and behavior than inquiries into the lives of actual people". The resulting images portrayed in the media may or may not correspond with actual physical or social conditions, yet they have significant impacts on a place when they influence overt behaviour in that landscape.

The production and consumption of imagery in the mass media has so far attracted only minimal attention among geographers (Sack, 1988; Burgess, 1990). Sontag (1963) believes the camera has changed the way in which we see images. "The powers of photography have de-Platonized our understanding of reality, making it less and less plausible to reflect upon our experience according to the distinction between images and things, between copies and originals" (Sontag, 1963:367). When the camera reproduces a landscape, it destroys the uniqueness of the image. The image therefore changes, or "more exactly, its meaning multiplies and fragments into many meanings" (Berger,

1972:19). This also occurs when a landscape is shown on the television or movie screen. The image enters a million households at once and in each of them it is seen in a different context.

A serious criticism of geographical work on imagery is that it has been characterized by "borrowed methodology, a pot-pourri of concepts, and liberal doses of borrowed theory" (Downs and Stea, 1979:3). Lowenthal (1978) has suggested that work on environmental imagery and perception generally is weakened through a lack of commonly accepted definitions, objectives and mechanisms for applying research results. At the conceptual level, image studies need to be viewed in the context of their wider social structural setting. The following section discusses advertising as a form of discourse and provides a basis for this study in the context of images in advertising.

## 2.2 Advertising as Discourse

The function of Canada's democratic economic system is to supply goods and services for the use and enjoyment of people. In Canada, in general, we are not dealing with a subsistence economy; a substantial part of our economic system is thus devoted to the fulfilment of wants and desires which go beyond the basic necessities of life. Private, corporate and government agencies produce goods and services in order to sell them at profit in competition with other agencies. The basic function of this competition is to induce production of goods and services to meet public demand, while providing the consumer with a choice. Competition between producers may be in terms of the price of the product, or in the much wider terms of *product design*, the whole complex of

attributes of the product, including packaging, method of retail distribution, and target market, of which price is only one element (Middleton, 1988:80-1).

Production is not an end in itself; the true end of production is consumption. If the goods produced are to be consumed, they must be distributed and sold to consumers. In a primitive economic system, products may be sold directly to the consumers, for example, from a market stall. The products in such a situation are physically available for purchase, and the seller may directly advocate the merits of the product to an interested purchaser. In today's complex marketing system, such direct selling is largely not possible. The communication between producer and consumer is more complicated. Producers in this system must make consumers aware of the existence of goods, and to persuade consumers to buy them, by means of advertising.

Gold (1987) distinguishes between four broad classifications of advertisements. The first, and by far the largest, encompasses product and scenic advertising, everything from the newspaper classifieds to transient retail notices to the sophisticated, long-range, expensive, multi-media campaigns for nationally marketed goods. Promotions of tourist destinations are included in this classification. Secondly, institutional or image advertising are messages designed, not to sell anything in particular, but to foster a more favourable attitude towards a particular institution. Image advertising may be aimed at the masses, although more often it targets a special public, such as a certain age group or an active segment of the population. Thirdly, akin to image advertising, is advocacy advertising: the use of messages to advance a point of view on a specific issue. This may range from matters which directly affect the economic health or over-all longterm outlook of an

organization. Specific cases advanced in such a manner, such as activist or non-profit groups such as Pro-Choice, Pro-Whales, or public service announcements (Smokey the Bear's crusade against forest fires), are commonly referred to as "consciousness advertising" (Gold, 1987:xviii). The final category comprises electoral advertising. Those with political aspirations, or ideas within the political elected mandates, may vend ideas to the electorate by employing a format previously reserved for the merchandising of goods.

Advertising to promote knowledge of the existence and the attributes of an idea or good to be sold has two implications. First, advertising inevitably uses the mass media to communicate. Secondly, because of the essentially competitive nature of the economic system, advertising is persuasive in nature. Advertising should never be taken as purely an informative service to consumers: it is a form of persuasive advocacy of the product advertised. These two ideas are detailed in the following three sections.

*i] advertised images presented in the mass media*

The function of every advertisement is to produce some effect, whether to motivate the consumer to purchase a product or a person to feel better disposed toward some idea, institution, event, or cause. Subject to certain minimal legal, aesthetic, and ethical constraints, the advertiser maintains editorial control over what fills a specific space or time. This differentiates advertising from other forms of publicity, such as press releases or media events in which the staging or releasing agency loses control over what ultimately appears. Each advertisement is a public speech, aiming to promote and not to

explain, while aiming at the largest audience possible and accessible to all who come into contact with it.

Advertisements are so numerous in the modern world that they are "very negligently perused, and it has therefore become necessary to gain attention by magnificence of promise, and by eloquence... [W]hatever is common is despised" (Johnson in Gold, 1987:3). Partial pictures are presented in the advertisement involving selection of specific attributes. Objects are typically depicted via a particularly heightened reality. The desire to appear to be different, or to be considered a superior product, or to be the fastest car or provide the most reliable service, encourages the use of hyperbole and exaggeration. Advertising is thus largely selective and often distortive in what it tells the consumer. Mass advertising communications, whether commercial, political or religious, inevitably deal in simplifications, never providing a comprehensive picture.

Simplification of the product message (for example, in the form of slogans) also almost inevitably involves exaggeration. Perhaps some advertisers genuinely believe their product to be better than it actually is. Most often, however, the advertiser is deliberately overstating his or her case, just as a politician may do in a political party broadcast or a real-estate agent trying to sell a small rundown house as a "cosy cottage, handyman's special". The use of imagery and illusion rather than purely logical, direct, and factual statements are required for effective communication (Corlett, 1975:63). Mass communication of this sort cannot in its very nature adopt itself to the personal needs and weaknesses of particular individuals.

The three main elements in the tactical use of advertising, as formulated by Hobson

(1975:204), are "to penetrate, to remind, and to create favourable associations". The relative importance of each of the above elements in the plan of the particular campaign will usually determine which type of media or campaign approach will be used. For example, television and large spaces in newspapers and magazines are ideal media for gaining attention, or penetration, and short television flashes are good for repetition.

*ii] advertising as persuasion*

The power of advertising has long been disputed. A substantial body of consumer behaviour research believes the consumer is "hardly a helpless pawn manipulated at will" (Greyser, 1975:85) by the advertiser. Similarly, marketing firms argue that people can generally be relied upon to use their logical skills to evaluate the reality of a product's advertisement. Consumers may be very selective in what advertising they pay attention to, perceive, evaluate, or remember, let alone act upon. This process on the part of the consumer varies considerably with the characteristics of the individual, of the product and brand involved, and varies as well for the same individual under different buying circumstances, for example, for inexpensive versus expensive products. However, some risk of misunderstanding is inevitable.

Corlett (1975:63) describes advertising as "a form of persuasive advocacy directed at large numbers of people by means of 'mass media'." A persuasive message has a point of view or a desired behaviour for the recipient to voluntarily adopt. The recipient of the advertisement relates or contrasts the message to his or her existing repertoire of information. Persuasion has the effect, when it is successful, of resulting in a reaction

such as "I never saw it that way before" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:24). Persuasion attempts to evoke a specific change in the attitude or behaviour of an audience. The change sought is a specific response from the audience, such as to purchase the product or identify with the idea or viewpoint that is portrayed in the advertisement.

An advertiser often attempts to mislead an audience regarding his or her intent. Sometimes the audience is aware of this, which allows the audience to decide to voluntarily consent to change while knowing quite well the persuader has a hidden agenda. Although advertising may be considered an intrusion into our magazine and newspaper reading, television viewing, or enjoyment of the radio, the public accepts its existence because of an understanding of its role in providing the financial base of the commercial media system.

Messages are constantly bombarding society attempting to influence the audience to a certain point of view. The public has generally learned to cope with the daily exposure to enormous amounts of advertising. Individuals may view, but not really pay attention to the television commercial, or listen, but not really hear the radio jingle, or leaf by print advertisements, without consciously absorbing the intended message. However, Jowett and O'Donnell (1986:149) note that individuals do receive and acknowledge some of these messages, possibly up to 1600 per day.

### *iii] advertising as propaganda*

Propaganda, in the most neutral sense, means to disseminate or promote particular ideas. Propaganda is "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions,

manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:16). Propaganda differs from persuasion, which is interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both persuader and persuadee.

Propaganda is an attempt at directive communication with an objective that has been established a priori. In conveying a specific image, propaganda promotes "a predetermined plan of prefabricated symbol manipulation to communicate to an audience in order to fulfil an objective" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:15). The objective that is sought requires the audience to modify, or reinforce, attitudes or behaviour. In the modern world, as never before, "we are bombarded with news and information from others while, at the same time, we have unprecedented abilities to create and transmit our own information to others" (West, 1981:1). The propagandist will attempt to control information flows and manage a public's opinion by shaping perceptions through strategies of informative communication.

The modern study of propaganda and persuasion dates to World War I, when mass media were used in innovative ways to propagandize entire populations to new heights of patriotism, commitment to the war effort, and hatred of the enemy. Carefully designed messages were communicated through news stories, films, speeches, books, pamphlets, phonograph records, billboard advertisements, rumours, and radio transmissions. World War II caused immense concern about the persuasive powers of the mass media and their potential for directly altering attitudes and behaviour. Wartime research was conducted by the American government which was greatly concerned with the nature of

German propaganda. The benchmark for the initiation of sociobehavioural experiments in the area of attitude change, communication, and the acquisition of factual knowledge from media came from United States Army studies. The best known of these studies tested the effects of the army orientation films, a series called *Why We Fight* (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:104). These experiments were among the first to determine how specific content in the media affected particular audiences.

In the 1940s, the study of propaganda became an inquiry into behaviouralism. This era saw the development of survey techniques for studying the relationships between the media and persuasion in normal settings (as opposed to wartime) over time. Researchers, in an attempt to determine the influence of the mass media on political attitudes, instead discovered that people were actually receiving influences from other people. A "Multi-Step Flow" model was developed: people obtain ideas and information from the media, but also seek out opinion leaders for confirmation of their ideas and forming their attitudes (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:106). In the late 1960s, experimental research on attitudes began to wane, and more emphasis was placed on behaviour and media influence. In 1968, a content analysis of television entertainment programming was undertaken, and concluded that "the extent and intensity of media violence, especially on television, was capable of creating a view of the world as 'totally violent'" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:113). Prevalent in recent research on propaganda is marketing and advertising research. The deliberateness of the intention and the carefully constructed nature of the specific appeal has distinguished advertising from other forms of persuasive communication. "In modern society, advertising is now considered the most persuasive

form of propaganda" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:18).

Advertising is not always in the best interest of the receiver of the message. As one media critic succinctly states, "It is easier and less costly to change the way people think about reality than it is to change reality" (in Nelson, 1989:17). What advertising does is establish lines of control regarding information. It dangles tidbits of tantalizing factual information, while setting ideal boundaries around what is to be known by emphasizing some information, and leaving out other information. Government public-relations people do this all the time: the rise of psychographic polling during the past twenty years has generated a standard sequence of events for governmental public-relations activity (Nelson, 1989:17). Firstly, an in-depth attitudinal survey is conducted that identifies image problems; secondly, an advocacy advertisement campaign is created along with other "news management" strategies based on the polling; and finally, reflected back to the public are the images and symbols and buzzwords that the public *wants*. This whole process creates a powerful system of mass media which set an information agenda in transmitting certain images to the public. In image-politics, a world characterized by rhetoric, photo-ops, and "pseudo-events" (Boorstin, 1963), informative communication is usually attempting in some way to manage public opinion.

### 2.3 Environmental Advertising

An advertiser, as discussed, usually claims something is *unique* to the promoted product, or that it is better than a competitor's product. To do so, many strategies are open to the advertiser, including the use of complex associations and surrealistic

reproductions of the product's effect, or the use of a direct and simple representation of the product itself. Advertising is increasingly appropriating nature and the natural world to manufacture meanings for goods and services (Williamson, 1978; Jarvis, 1987). Landmarks and other symbols of places are often attached to products almost indiscriminately; for example, the "great outdoors" is commonly depicted in cigarette advertisements. Think of the coverage in the press and television of issues relating to environmental pollution, nature conservation, development pressure on land use, the design of cities, and green politics. People are being "asked" by advertisers to purchase "environmentally friendly" goods. Media texts of many different kinds are being saturated with geographical messages and meanings.

The viewer of the environmental advertisement is called upon to associate personal meanings with popular environmental stereotypes, but can do so only because of the strength of these stereotypes. Sometimes functional relationships between places and products are used, but more often the norm seems to be a transformation or a juxtaposition of some kind, that makes the ordinary extraordinary. There are two distinctive types of environmental advertising: the use of the environment in advertisements; and advertising the environment itself. In the first, the environment is not the product. The role of environmental images is to provide an emotional sphere, an appealing backdrop which "sets the mood" for presentation of the product. Through association of the product with the environmental image, positive attributes exemplified by the environmental image are transferred and attributed to the product. Any negative attributes would be carefully avoided. Figures 1 and 2 are examples of this kind of use,

Environmental images are often employed in advertising to highlight  
a particular characteristic of a product.

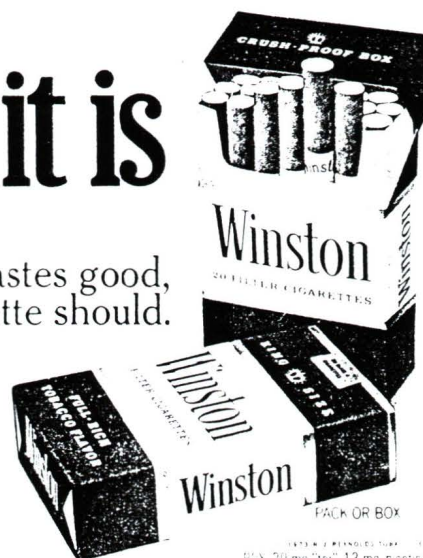
Figure 1:  
Beautiful and Active People are Commonly Depicted Recreating  
While Smoking Cigarettes

“White Water”



How good it is

Winston tastes good,  
when a cigarette should.

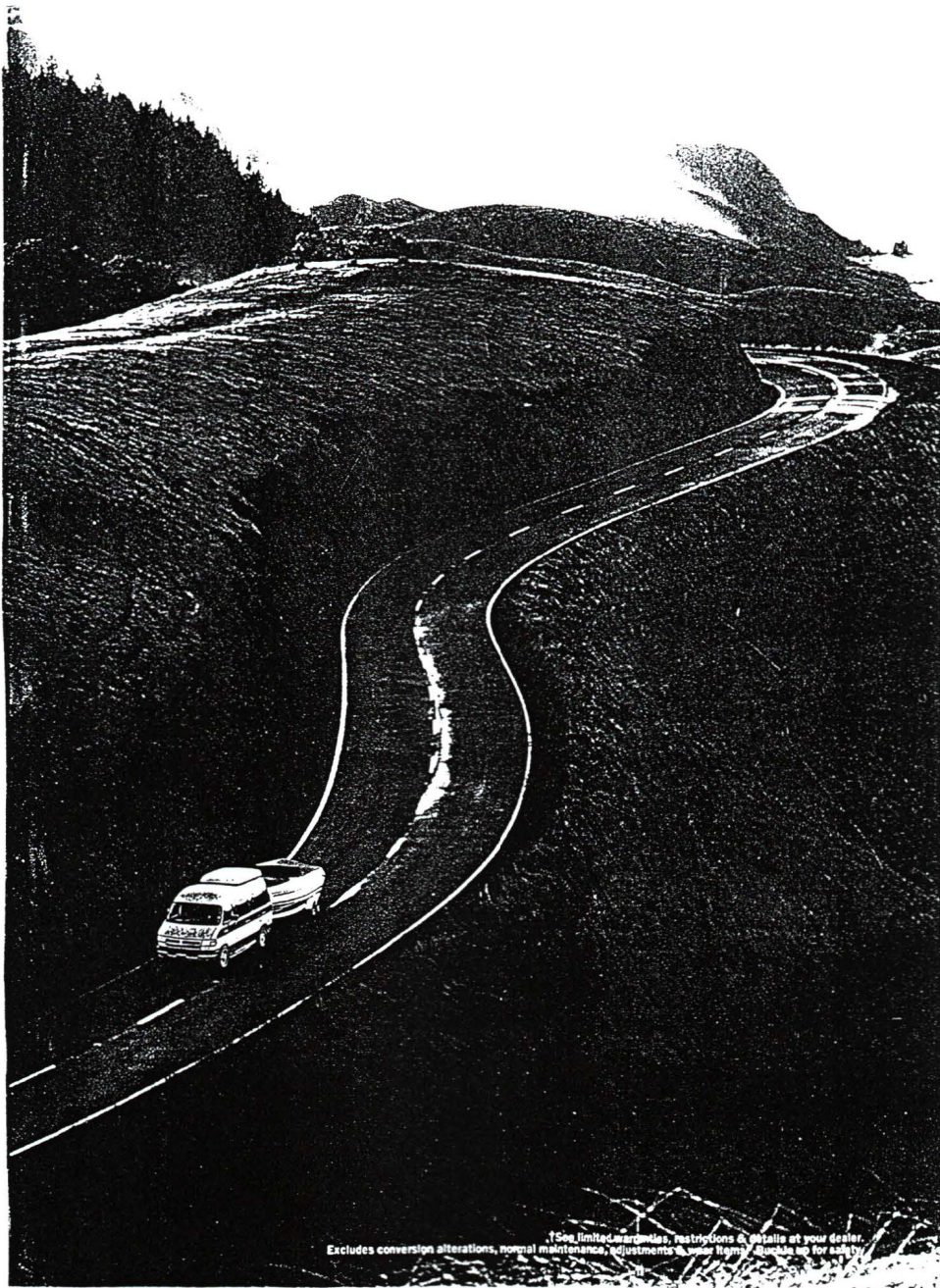


Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

PACK: 21 mg "tar", 1.4 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report AUG '72.  
BOX: 20 mg "tar", 1.3 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report AUG '72.

source: Psychology Today, May 1973:19.

Figure 2:  
Automobile Advertisement Depicting Vehicle's Capabilities  
of Speed and Agility By Speeding Up a Winding Mountain Road



source: Travel Holiday, Oct. 1993:1.

using environmental images to create similar impressions in the audience's mind for completely different products.

The second type of environmental advertising, that of advertising the environment *itself*, involves the promoting of a particular environment, or the selling of a specific place. Travel and tourism advertisements are the most common. As noted by Jarvis (1987:18), "the cumulative effect of [tourist advertisements] is to build up curious images of place and time". In this imaginary universe, the scene is desirable. Advertisers of specific places, perhaps authorities or promoters who have a vested interest in settlement, or tourism in an area, will usually gloss over aesthetically-displeasing surrounding or adjacent areas, or simply eliminate them in a promotional photograph in order to favourably illustrate the final product. One needs only to open a holiday brochure. The environmental images used draw heavily upon already established and instantly recognized symbols. Well-known landmarks and stereo-typical landscapes predominate.

Images in an advertisement of a certain environment will contain elements which are descriptive, designative, appraisive and perceptive, and will lead to an individual's valuations and judgements about the environment. Such images may be only "a partial, simplified, idiosyncratic and [perhaps] distorted representation that is not necessarily isomorphic to the objective environment" (Pocock and Hudson, 1978:33). The congruence of this image with reality can change along a spectrum, as recognized by Ashworth and Voogd (1990), from the over-simplification of stereotypes, to the over-simplification of myths. "This information is not simply harmless propaganda, but adversely affects the tourist-receiving society and the quality of the travel experience"

(Britton, 1979:319). The following section, advertising the environment as tourist spaces, looks at this spectrum in terms of destination images, from the general puffery of imagery, called boosterism, to the advertising of tourist destination images.

#### **2.4 Advertising the Environment as Tourist Spaces**

A decision to spend time in an area far removed from one's permanent residence depends on a variety of factors. A tourist is faced with a myriad of destination options which will satisfy his or her personal needs. Some options will be eliminated owing to constraints such as money or time. Those that remain form the traveler's evoked set, and consist of only a fraction of destinations of which the traveler has knowledge (Gartner, 1989:16).

##### *ij boosterism of places*

The advertising of places or regions is termed "boosterism" (Tuan, 1974:201). Boosterism of place aims to create a favourable image of an area, and is an integral part of the advertising process, creating initial interest and fighting unhelpful stereotypes. Based on "exclusive image selection and absolutist viewpoints" (Pocock and Hudson, 1978:127), boosterism at times has little respect for the complex truth, but to be effective the image used in the advertisement must have some grounding in fact.

Usually a strong, positive quality or trait is chosen to stand for the whole personality of a region, thus drawing the public's attention to a particular attribute. City nicknames, for instance, reflect and exaggerate basic values and myths of the area. Tuan

(1974:201) asserts that civic pride and economic competitiveness have often combined to give cities literary labels (nicknames or epithets) that claim to capture their unique distinction. The nickname may be complemented by a visual symbol: thus New York, New York is famous for its skyline but is also the Empire City, the Big Apple, and several dozen competing epithets. Edmonton, Alberta is recognized as "The City of Champions", the result primarily of the recurring success of the "Oilers" city hockey team. The title "Oilers" itself projects Alberta's fame as an oil-producing region. Once a unique distinction is attained, nicknames may be perpetuated by the residents of an area themselves even if unflattering connotations may arise. Calgary, Alberta has been recognized globally as "Cowtown", and recently, Vancouver, B.C. as "Hongcouver" (Fennell, 1992;32). Places at times poke fun at themselves: "Winterpeg", Manitoba relishes in complaining about its  $-35^{\circ}$  temperatures; the small town of Biggar, Saskatchewan takes pride in proclaiming "New York is big, but we're Biggar". Nicknames may change as the character of the region changes. Chicago was once the Garden City and Gem of the Prairies, but due to subsequent growth and loss of elegance, it became Hogopolis, Cornopolis, the Country's Greatest Rail Center, the Hub of American Merchandising (Porteous, 1977:116), and finally, the Crime Capital (Tuan, 1974:202). Numerous places in the United States seek identification with their industries and products, not surprisingly in a nation that takes pride in its industrial prowess. Boston is known as "Beantown" in reference to its production of baked beans. Botanical and pastoral epithets, on the other hand, abound in Canada.

Cities like to boost both their "centrality", a standing that is supposedly derived

from their achievement and geographical advantages, and their "position as gateway, which promises the future" (Tuan, 1974:204; Francis, 1989:232). Historically, Winnipeg, Manitoba has been proudly declared as "The Gateway to the West". The city however has also desired to promote itself as Canada's centre and "Hub", especially when advertising itself as the "convention center of North America" (geographically, Winnipeg does approximate North America's centre). There exist in Canada many variants of nicknames in which the word "capital" appears; this number rises several fold if we also include the "Hub", the "Home", the "Centre", the "Heart", the "Crossroads" (a place to travel through), and the "Birthplace".

Often associated with literary nicknames are pictorial images. The general power of the pictorial image in the boosterism of places is evident in the function of the photograph and the postcard as a tourist souvenir. As Sontag states, "Today everything exists to end in a photograph" (Sontag, 1978:24). Lowenthal (in Marsh, 1989:120) argues that individuals "feel attracted to landscapes because photos... have impressed us" and more specially that "countless pictures of canyons and waterfalls influence our ideas of how the Grand Canyon and Niagara Falls ought to look". The photographic object has an unique position; it appears to reproduce reality exactly, save for scale. Photographs are personal reminders of a trip, but seemingly one *must* always photograph the national or local attractions like the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa or the Empress Hotel in Victoria, or the friends-back-home will be disappointed. Often set up near famous sites are formally designated "picture spots" where personal photographs (a carbon copy of the photograph taken by the previous group but for the smiling faces posed in the foreground)

may be taken. Markers along a roadway, urban and rural, often make note of a historic event, or future occurrence of magnitude, occurring at that specific location, announcing HERE is an important spot to take a picture.

Even travelers who shudder at the epithet 'tourist' are likely to send picture postcards while they are away. Postcards are tangible "frozen-in-time reminders that carry an air of authority and finality that help people 'get their hands on' ephemeral events" (Gordon, 1986:141). The most common type of postcard, according to Gordon (1986:140) is "the glorified image": a beautiful landscape or building with rich and romantic colour and lighting. Size and monumentality may be enhanced by the camera angle. The grass is always especially green and no trash is visible. Postcards almost always depict aspects of a place that are believed to do it credit. Occasionally, a typical scene is shown, but more often postcards stress the parts of a place that capture attention, that have high imageability.

### *ii] tourist destination images*

In their book *Selling the City*, Ashworth and Voogd (1990:77) place central importance on place-images in the promotion of tourist destinations. A tourist is usually faced with a myriad of destination options, often involving extremely limited information. The choice of a final destination will be based on the "benefit package" (Middleton, 1988:79) unique to that destination and expected to provide the greatest intrinsic value (a combination of money, time, and satisfactions sought) to the traveler. The benefit package is derived from expectations of experience, which in turn result from image

formation. The producer of the tourism destination product is thus especially vulnerable to changes in the image held of the destination, but is also presented with a particular opportunity to manipulate the relationship of reality and fantasy (Uzzell, 1984:85) that is so central to the tourism experience.

Destination images are critical to the whole marketing process. Forming a desirable place image is a highly complex process due to the complexities and multidimensionality of the attributes that form the product. As previously mentioned in this chapter, specific characteristics of a place are often used by advertisers to characterize the nature of the place-product. For example, locational terms such as "the South" in the United States or "the Midlands" in England evoke particular images in one's mind. Individuals rely on these images for understanding and explaining the location. In the same way, we respond to an advertisement's exhortation to "come to sunny Florida". From these simple locational terms we construct images of beaches, sun-bathing, amusement parks, and golf courses; our cognitive maps fill in the necessary details.

Two diametrically opposed management philosophies are discernable in travel and tourism in the 1990s concerning the nature of destination products. The first is the philosophy which aims to deliver a controlled environment to the tourist. An example of such environmental control is the large-scale theme and heritage parks now found in many parts of the world. In these, the visitor experience is fully planned and managed from the point of entry to an enclosed site to the moment of departure. As Walt Disney put it, "I don't want the public to see the world in which they live while they are in the Park. I want them to feel they are in another world" (Disney in Middleton, 1988:292).

The theme-park idea is not a modern one; one may speculate that the sea-side resorts of Northern Europe performed essentially the same 'other world' function for late nineteenth century industrial populations. Such places take people out of their normal surroundings and associated concerns, and expose them to very different, attractive, high-quality environments. The principle of environmental planning and control operates in most parts of the modern world. Examples include resort hotels, resort villages, vacation islands, cruise ships, holiday parks, sports and activity centres, and adventure camps for various ages. This same principle of managed, purpose-built environments operates at a different level in first class lounges for air travelers, in executive suites in hotels, in themed shopping precincts or malls. The emphasis in such cases is typically on quality of service as much as on the infrastructure and surroundings, and this is also a vital part of the 'difference' which is created.

The second philosophy favours uncontrolled, or authentic, destinations and experiences. It is based on the view that travellers do not need, and increasingly reject, such obvious packaging of the environment. The opportunity is sought instead to experience the natural quality of destinations for themselves, at first hand and on their own terms. Visits involving adventure travel, small groups seeking to experience the life style of the residents, living in the same type of accommodation and eating the same type of food, are examples of this trend. Anglers, yachtsmen, hikers and hunters are obvious examples, as are heli-skiers who use helicopters to reach otherwise inaccessible slopes. In many countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, two-option vacations are common, which involve a mixture of genuine exposure to wilderness for a short period

of time followed by the luxury of haute cuisine and highly sophisticated accommodation as a contrast. The uncontrolled destination is typically resource-based and product-orientated, and has dominated, in British Columbia, much of the public sector planning for tourist destinations since the 1960s.

Burgess (1982) has found that public authorities are placing increasing emphasis on maintaining favourable images of their place. The image of places held by potential tourists and commercial investors is extremely important in attracting exogenous private investment. The potential purchaser of a place to visit, live, work, or invest in depends on an appreciation of what is expected from the purchase, hence real estate propaganda campaigns strive to create a sense of place and community and planners attempt to alter cognitive maps, therefore increasing the perceived value of places. Proponents argue that advertisements are necessarily reductional, that it is impossible to include everything, and that few take the promotional imagery seriously, or, "it's just advertising". If places are perceived as composed of nothing more than "pictures of paradise" then "inauthentic placemaking" occurs (Britton, 1979:323). The contrast between the image viewed in a travel magazine and the reality of the actual view often produces disappointment or anger on arrival and experience.

## **2.5 Summary**

This chapter has presented the concept of the image as concerned with: (a) the relations between place and person, and, (b) an awareness of the distinctive character of specific localities. The concept incorporates aspects of imageability, topophilia (Tuan,

1974), attachment and the symbolic meanings of places. Places in reality are intrinsically complex, as the tourist advertiser is well aware. Since real places are aggregations of many varied features and facilities, it is almost impossible for either the buyer or seller to be aware of, let alone give active consideration to, more than a fraction of the place attributes and their possible uses. Two dimensions are recognizable: the physical and the mental. The strength of the physical image derives from the distinctive combination of local topography and human-made or built form, such as a distinctive city skyscraper, for example. The ease of recognition and recollection of the picture or symbolic image is a measure of such distinctiveness.

A pattern of touristic production exists which is pregnant with meaning. The images of place presented by the British Columbian government to the public through various types of media are not simply "bits of information", but "complex ideological discourses composed of verbal and visual signs with meanings encoded into them" (Burgess, 1990:143). The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, the focus of this study, is itself an advertisement, produced by the provincial government to increase awareness of the province. The magazine contains no traditional advertisements, as required to financially sustain most published media. The written stories and illustrating photographs *are* the advertisements. The advertising system apparent in *Beautiful British Columbia* touches on aspects of all of Gold's (1987) classifications and is a communication with a panoply of economic, political, cultural, social and ethical uses. The B.C. government, in promoting and emphasising specific images of the province over time, is creating a certain image of, and therefore identity for, British Columbia.

### CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

*[T]here are a multitude of paths to knowledge, a multitude of beliefs as to what constitutes the truth... this recognition reflects the growth of image studies and the explicit recognition that different people see the 'same' environmental situation in different ways.*

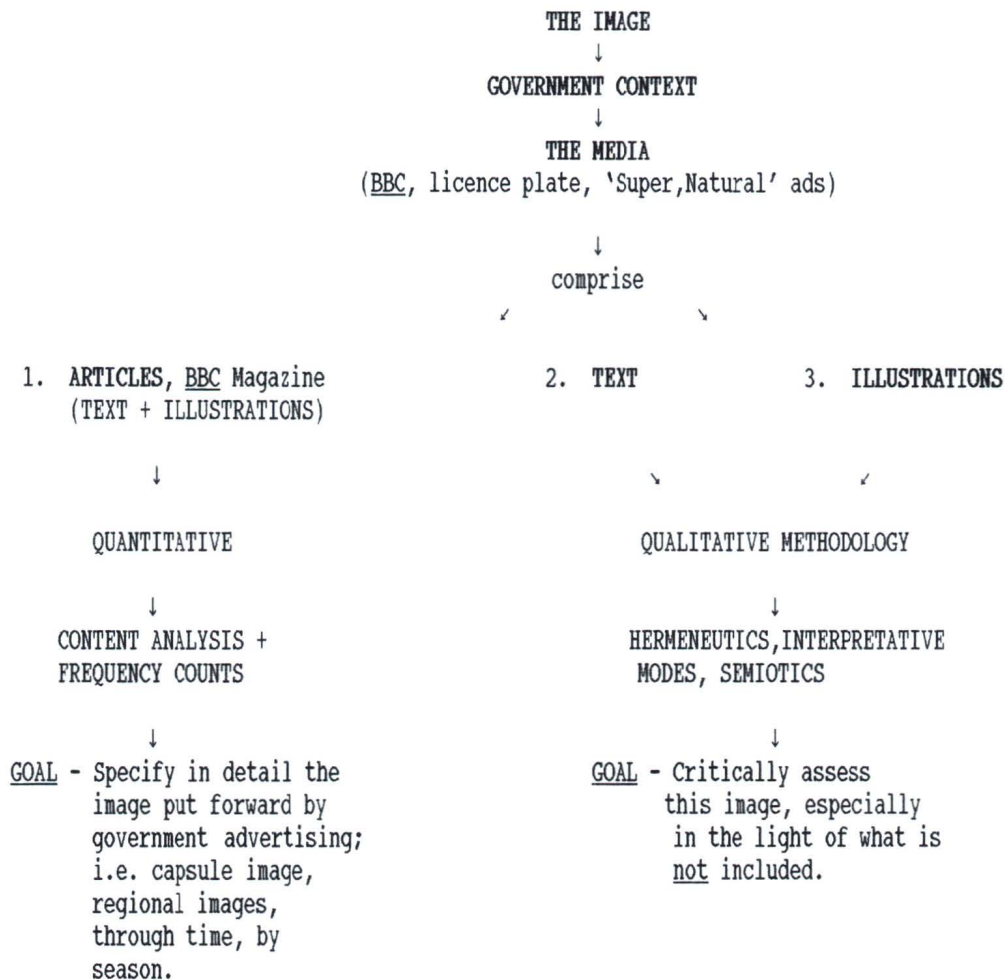
(Pocock and Hudson, 1978:15).

This study proposes an approach to the interpretation of government-approved images of the British Columbian landscape. Landscapes have conventionally been recognized in varied capacities. As noted in chapter one, Eyles (1990:10), drawing on Meinig (1979), suggests that a landscape may be seen as "habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place, or aesthetic". Such a view is advocated by Berger (1972) and Cosgrove (1985), who argue that landscape is really a "way of seeing"; there are potentially as many ways of seeing as there are eyes to behold a scene. This makes landscape images, especially common or ordinary ones, difficult to study. Interpretations of landscape imagery must take into account both cultural and physical aspects. Since images presented in promotional media are deliberately chosen with an end in view, the images chosen to be representative of the B.C. landscape are assumed to have a meaning. The images were chosen because of their recognizable form, which is itself indicative of a cultural history and meaning for those who chose the image.

In order to provide a thorough analysis and interpretation, this study entails both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Research will begin with an intensive content analysis of a magazine published by the British Columbia government, and proceed through the outline as presented in figure 3. The data for the content analysis are drawn

Figure 3:

## SUMMARY OF THE METHODOLOGY



primarily from the written articles and illustrations from the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine (hereafter referred to as *BBC*), published by the provincial government from Summer, 1959 to Autumn, 1983. Also discussed regarding content, but not to such depth as the *BBC* magazine, will be the image of the British Columbia motor vehicle license plate and the widely recognized 'Super,Natural British Columbia' advertising campaign.

The relevance of these three media is discussed in the following section. This chapter is organized into three sections: the quantitative methodology utilized in this study; the qualitative methodology; and an overview of the major research methods.

### 3.1 Quantitative Approach

#### (i) *Content Analysis*

Content analysis is employed in this study as a means of reducing the data material in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine to a set of quantitative image scores. A method of studying communications, content analysis is a systematic way of drawing inferences from documentary sources (Herrell, 1975:4). Quantitative content analysis is a technique for obtaining descriptive data on content variables. Its value is that it allows the researcher to obtain "precise, objective and reliable observations about the frequency with which given content characteristics occur either singly or in conjunction with one another" (George, 1959:8). In other words, the information content of the *BBC* magazine will be transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared.

The goal of the content analysis in this study is to discover shifts and trends in the content of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine over the years of its publication by the provincial government (1959-1983) and then relate these shifts and trends to periods of social, economic and political activity or change in the province. The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine illustrates the landscape of British Columbia. The aim of magazine is to "concisely and colourfully" describe provincial "wonders" and "events, both natural

and man-made" to the public (*BBC*, 1959:1:2). The magazine depicts scenes from throughout British Columbia by the use of large and frequent coloured illustrations - at times promoting a certain event (for example, springtime in the Interior - Spring issue, 1975), promoting an activity (fishing at Hammer Lake - Summer, 1959 or travel out of Vancouver International Airport - Summer, 1969), or describing an area (scenic viewing opportunities along Highway 5 and the Yellowhead Route - Spring, 1969). The magazine contains written articles of varying length and topic and many notices and announcements promoting awareness of local places, events, and people. The magazine was owned and published by the provincial government from its conception in 1959 to 1983, when it was sold into private ownership. Analysis of the *BBC* will include the years of government publication only; analysis will thus extend up to, and include, the Autumn issue of 1983. The goal of the content analysis is to specify in detail the image of British Columbia put forward by the provincial government during this period.

In order to construct a detailed and precise data set for interpretative analysis, all articles and photographs in the *BBC* in each issue, totalling 96 issues, or almost 850 articles, were chosen for content analysis and close reading in order to eliminate any bias or error involved in the random choosing of a data set. The image content of the front and back covers of each issue were examined similarly in a separate analysis. All text, comprised of written articles, photographs, maps, and diagrams, were individually examined in relation to:

- (a) subject content (of the promoted image in each article)
- (b) pictorial support (amount of grid area of photographs, maps, diagrams)
- (c) textual support (amount of grid area of written text)
- (d) location (geographic area specific to the article)

Data sheets in the form of two spreadsheets have been created containing the following:

Datasheet 1 (Appendix 2): year, magazine and issue identification, number of pages in each article, number of photographs, maps, and diagrams in each article, grid coverage of amount of written text and photograph captions, grid coverage of photographs, maps, and diagrams, grid coverage of empty space, and the location and content category of each article.

Datasheet 2 (Appendix 3): year, magazine, issue and season identification, location of photograph on front and back covers of each issue, content category and brief description each cover image, grid coverage of cover photograph, and presence or not of the "Super,Natural" slogan.

An explanation as to the derivation of the information presented in the datasheets is now required:

*(a) subject content:* The specific content of each entry is recorded in relation to a set of categories. The subject categories are complex, taking into account specific and detailed information for requirement in placement. Based on an initial reading of the material, four broad categories of landscape images were determined: (1) natural (involvement with nature and the elements, aesthetics, water-based recreation opportunities); (2) human-built (parks, urban centres, leisure resorts, engineering structures such as dams); (3) human / events (cultural attractions, popular events); and (4) historic (heritage areas, monuments). These categories were further subdivided in order to be more specific and precise. The final array of categories, seven primary

themes with a total of 23 subcategories, was determined after subsequent involved study of the texts. These categories are defined in table 1; the associations between the categories are described in figure 4.

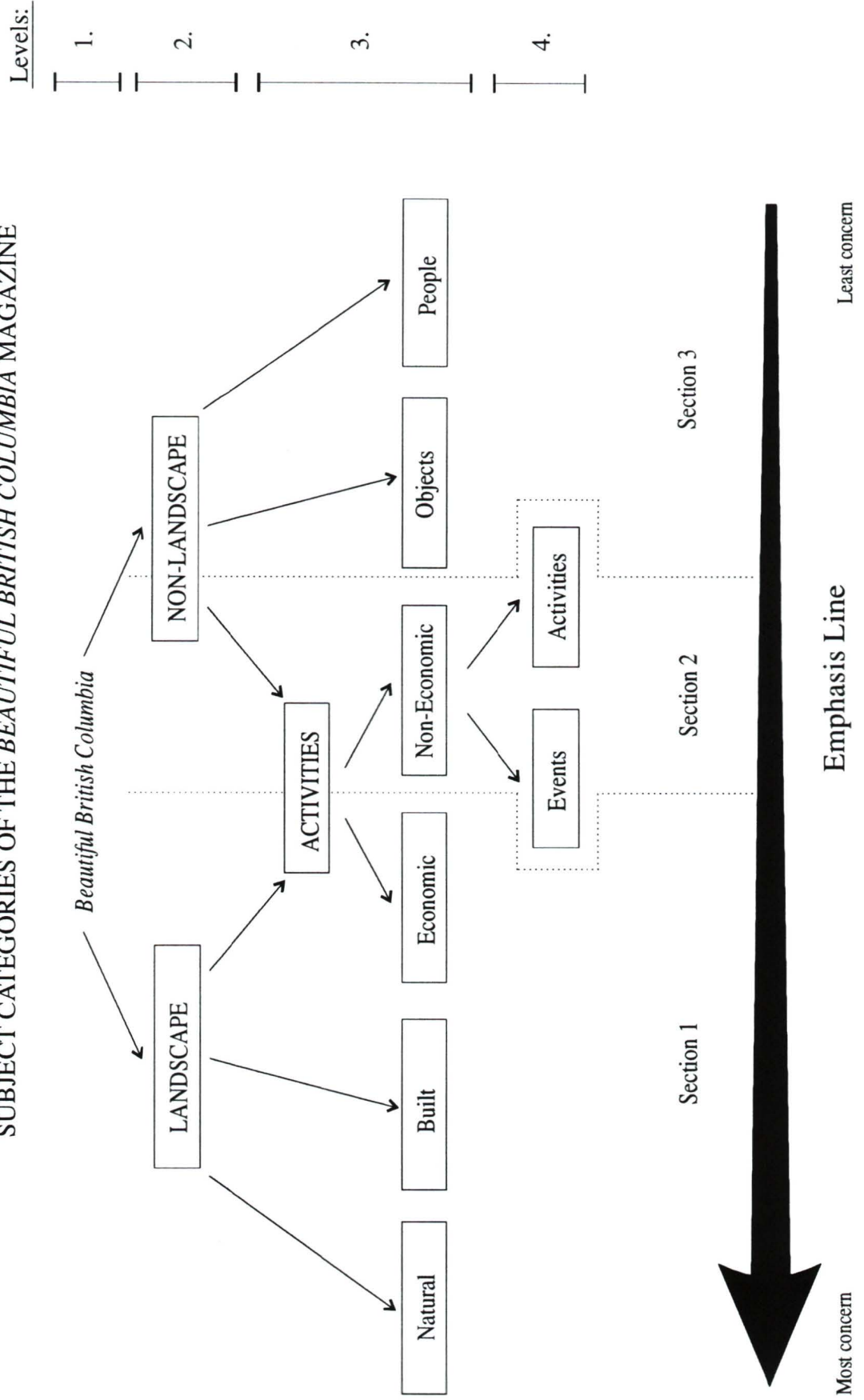
The subject categorizations in table 1 are recorded in terms of frequency counts. Counting frequencies was the main activity of content analysts in the 1930s and 1940s; almost all such studies had for their basic logic a comparison of the frequency of certain types of symbolic expression in different texts (deSola Pool, 1959:193).

*(b) pictorial and written textual support:* A straight frequency count of themes does not take into account, in the analysis of a magazine, any bias in journalistic treatments of particular issues, for example, which content category has more written or pictorial space, which has the bigger headlines, or which has the most pictures. In such cases, an impressionistic analysis is preferable to a formal count. A method of content analysis has been constructed in this study that accounts for frequency of mention: instead of simply measuring the frequency with which a specific topic is mentioned in the *BBC*, the grid number, or in other words the amount of space, devoted to the topic will also be considered, to determine the intensity of an expressed attitude, or "orientation" (Budd et al., 1967:51) of the author, photographer and editor, associated with the topic. A grid of one hundred units per eight by eleven inch page is utilized to determine frequency counts by *area* of written text or illustration on each page. Such a detailed grid accounts for the amount of space denoted to each topic category in a very specific and consistent manner and is much more numerically specific than a general estimation of an article equalling "half a page", or a photograph equalling "one third of a page". Numerical

Table 1: LANDSCAPE CATEGORIES, Numerical Description

- 1 - Natural** → emphasis of the article is on the natural surroundings
- 1.1 *all-natural* eg. views of mountain valley
  - 1.2 *natural + human presence* eg. person viewing a waterfall
  - 1.3 *natural + suggested human presence* eg. footsteps in snow
  - 1.4 *natural + built environment* - emphasis is on the natural landscape, but highlights significant human activity eg. mountainous 'backscape' with houses on hillside.
- 2 - Built** → emphasis of the article is on human modification of the landscape
- 2.1 *built + natural environment* - emphasis is on the built environment, but also the natural surrounding area; eg. aerial view of city.
  - 2.2 *built only* eg. downtown skyscrapers
  - 2.3 *built + people* eg. people walking downtown
- 3 - Events** → emphasis is on formally organized action; a structured activity most usually taking place seasonally, annually, etc.
- 3.1 *formal event* egs. a carnival, ceremonial opening of a new highway.
  - 3.2 *cultural derivation* egs. Native dance ceremony, Christmas dinner
- 4 - Activities** → emphasis is on an activity which is not formally organized. Emphasis is on the activity rather than the surroundings.
- 4.1 *outdoor activity* egs. skiing, hiking, scuba diving
  - 4.2 *indoor activity* egs. rock polishing, swimming in pool in an apartment complex
- 5 - Economic** → emphasis is on an activity of economic distinction
- 5.1 *primary economic activity* eg. logging, fishing
  - 5.2 *secondary* eg. manufacturing
  - 5.3 *tertiary* eg. recreational services, transportation
  - 5.4 *quaternary* eg. research, development
- 6 - Objects** → emphasis is on a specific object
- 6.1 *historical object* eg. museum display
  - 6.2 *cultural* eg. Chinatown
  - 6.3 *non-historical, non-cultural* eg. plate of food
  - 6.4 *specific animal* eg. close-up of a racoon
  - 6.5 *specific plant* eg. close-up of a flower
- 7 - People** → emphasis is on a specific person or group of people
- 7.1 *a particular individual* eg. Lieutenant-Governor
  - 7.2 *an organized group* eg. private yacht club

Figure 4:  
 SUBJECT CATEGORIES OF THE BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA MAGAZINE



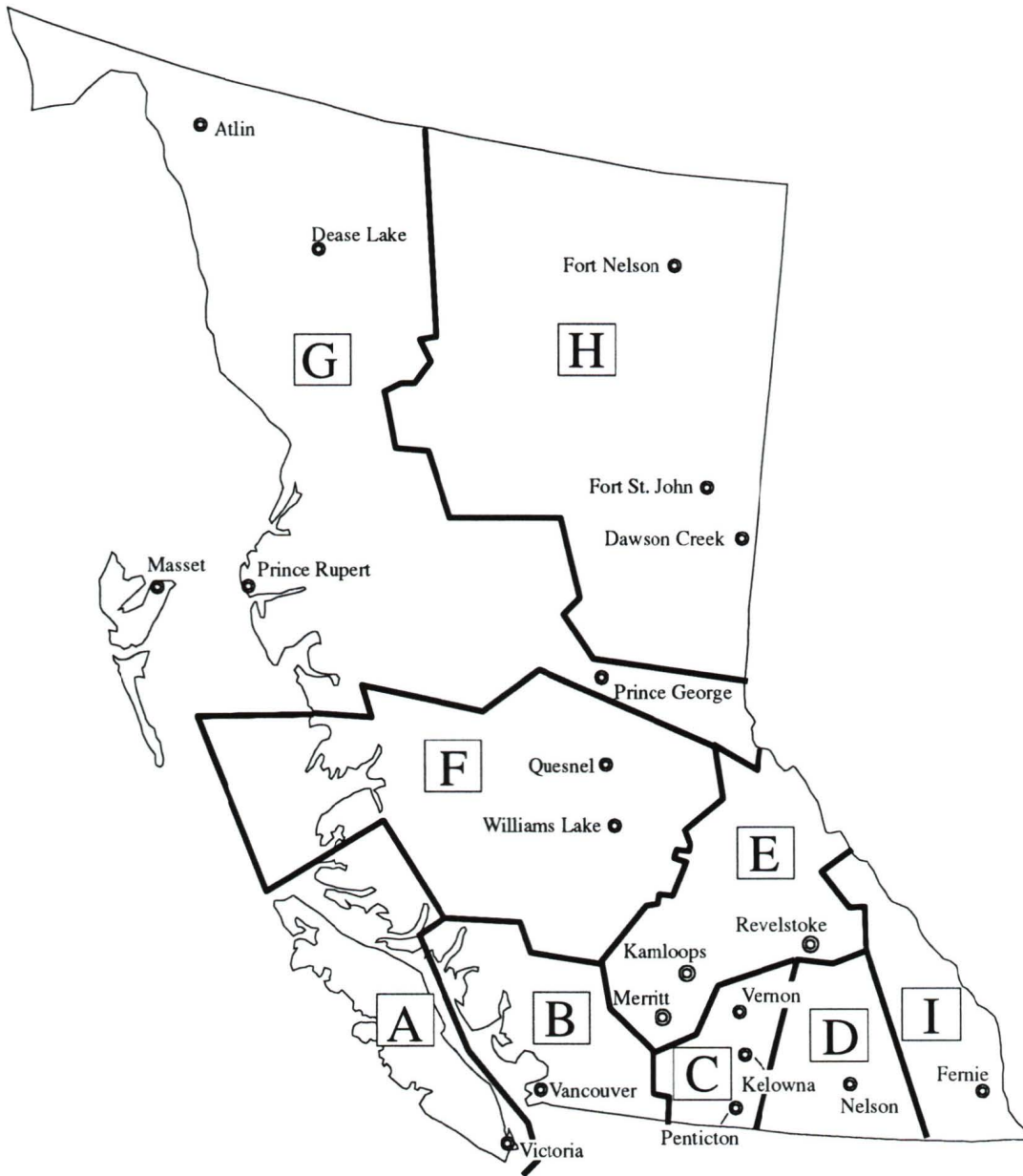
values have been attributed to the amount of page space taken up in each article for written text, pictorial text, and remaining empty space.

(c) *location*: The geographic place or location of each article is presented in chapter five. Locations are plotted by region on an "official" regional map published by B.C. Tourism (figure 5). The tourism areas are defined so as to regionally identify different areas of the province as separate entities. These regions are used extensively by researchers (Murphy, 1987; Campbell et al., 1991), planners, and public officials (on road maps and parks guides), and thus have relevance for tourism marketing, analysis, planning and development. Each region's boundary refers to the identification of some internal homogeneity, or integrity, in the region on the basis of selected features (Forward, 1987:2-20; Tourism BC, 1992).

In the above manner, the content of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine is numerically summarized and recorded. As discussion proceeds in chapter five, presentation of the results of the content analysis, variable and substantiated analyses such as the total number of each main content category, percentages per year of one category in relation to all, the content of images promoted in the years of a particular government administration, and so on, may be determined from the information as presented in datasheets one and two.

Images of British Columbia promoted by the provincial government also include the British Columbia motor vehicle licence plate and the widely recognized "Super,Natural" advertising campaign. These two media will be discussed in chapter six in conjunction with the findings of the content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, and

TOURIST REGIONS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



TOURIST REGIONS

<b>A</b> Vancouver Island	<b>D</b> Kootenay Country	<b>G</b> North by Northwest
<b>B</b> Southwestern BC	<b>E</b> High Country	<b>H</b> Peace River/ Alaska Highway
<b>C</b> Okanagan/ Similkameen	<b>F</b> Cariboo Chilcotin	<b>I</b> Rocky Mountain

will be subjected to close scrutiny, but not in as strict quantitative detail. The relevance of these two media to this study and a brief background of each is provided below.

The contemporary "Beautiful British Columbia" licence plate slogan was invented in 1964 during the Social Credit administration. The current plate itself has a white coloured background, with raised pale blue plate numbers. The "Beautiful" slogan was preceded by that of "British Columbia Centenary", which appeared on the provincial plate from 1958 to 1964. The directive to induct the "BBC" slogan came directly from the B.C. legislature, according to a long-term employee of the Provincial Motor Vehicle Branch. Since 1979, British Columbia has also issued personalized licence plates, composed of an original identifying number on a white background, with a green "mountain range" silkscreened onto the top of the plate, and a navy-blue "wave" in the lower half. The "BBC" slogan is promoted on the personalized plate as well. "More than two million cars are registered in B.C" (Bako, 1992:18), of which about 42,000 sport personalized plates. When asked if he liked the licence plate slogan "Beautiful British Columbia", the Motor Vehicle employee chuckled as he said to me, "Why not? It's the best form of advertising you can get!" Presently, there are no intentions or rumours regarding changes or termination of the "Beautiful British Columbia" slogan on the provincial licence plate.

The 'Super,Natural British Columbia' advertising campaign was conceived in the mid-1970s by an individual at the company of McKim Advertising, consultants for Tourism British Columbia, in Vancouver. The campaign was not an overnight success and was almost dropped in 1983. It was not until about 1987 that the campaign was

identified as the most successful and widely recognized advertising campaign ever used by the province. The actual "Super,Natural" advertisements fall into two categories: pictures (photographed illustrations, always in colour, with no other text than a small "Super,Natural" logo in a corner or across the bottom), and conventional advertisements (photographed illustrations, again always in colour, with the logo in quite large letters, a large-lettered statement of reference to the illustration, and mention, in small print at the top of the illustration, of availability of further information regarding the province as a tourist destination). The campaign uses literally hundreds of images in its illustrations; no one seems to know how many have actually been used. These images are displayed in a variety of media including widely-circulated posters, maps available from tourist information centres, brochures, magazine advertisements in North America, Europe and Asia, television and radio, newspaper inserts, promotional videos which are geared separately towards enticing business, industry and tourism to the province, through the use of business cards, and a 1-800 telephone number at the Victoria Parliament Buildings.

The campaign has two primary objects, according to Mr. Jim Lee, Director, Research and Information Management, Tourism Victoria: (1) to create high visibility and impact in the various target markets in the province, the rest of Canada, particularly Alberta and the west coast of the United States, and to promote British Columbia as an attractive, international destination to tourists, business and industry; and (2) to provide year-round exposure for the province to encourage travel in the shoulder periods of spring and fall.

### 3.2 Qualitative Approach

#### *ij) Humanistic approach*

A contemporary humanistic approach involves an understanding of the richness and variety of the human world, emphasising the central and active role of human "beliefs, attitudes and concepts; the strengths with which they are held; their inherent ambivalences and contradictions; and their effects direct as well as indirect, upon action" (Tuan, 1976:276). The world is viewed by this researcher not as a sum of objects but as relations between person and surroundings.

Two implications of this perspective must be noted:

\* The lifeworld (Buttimer, 1976:277) is a world of ambiguities and meanings that almost everyone takes very much for granted. It is a world in marked contrast to that of science with its observed ordered patterns and relationships. Though we live day-to-day in it, the significances of the world are by no means obvious. Its significances do not present themselves but have to be uncovered. The difficulty is how to do this without destroying the richness and complexity of the meanings.

\* For the humanist, unlike the scientific positivist or the structuralist, it is important to draw a distinction between the social and the natural sciences. In the study of social phenomena, reality does not exist independently of the observer or the observed. Meaning arises out of the behaviours people direct towards it. Consequently, explanations of society rest at least in part on the experiential strategies required to understand shared meanings and so comprehend the behaviours and attitudes they engender.

In response to the above points, scientific procedures which separate subjects and

objects, thought and action, people and environments, are inadequate to investigate the lifeworld. Even though positivists have argued that scientific notions of space are ultimately grounded in experience (Harvey, 1969:21), scientific procedures have failed to provide adequate descriptions of experience because of their explicit separation of body and mind within the human person (Buttimer, 1976:283). If one separates person (body, mind, emotion) and world, the wholeness of experience escapes.

Geertz, (in Eyles, 1988:3), has termed the grasping of the complexities of context and the significance of local knowledge as "thick description". The aim, in constructing such a system of analysis, is "to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts" (Eyles, 1988:4). This approach has much in common with analytic induction, in which the 'results' at the outset of data analysis are no more than hunches to be revised and refined by repeated checking and combing through the data. This progressive categorization and refinement ends when the findings are consistent with the data. A theory in such a case is conceived not in terms of logical deductions, but as relations between observed phenomena. This study begins by identifying an aspect of the life-world which individuals accept and live in, and proceeds directly to look at the phenomena chosen. The information gathered from the three sources will take its own shape. The researcher in this way will remain faithful to the data as it unfolds without moulding the data or reflecting any preconceived hypotheses or conclusions.

### *[ii] Hermeneutics*

The qualitative research in this study is grounded in a hermeneutical approach.

Hermeneutics is a technique of interpretation that refers to the interpretation of texts. Specifically, hermeneutics is a process whereby the researcher experiences a text by allowing his or her own thoughts, feelings and preconceived ideas to permeate the work. Unlike phenomenology, which originally required "bracketing" (Johnston, 1986:66) to disclose intentionality, hermeneutics encourages discourse between the researcher and the text. The assertion here is that meaning and meaningfulness are contextual; they are part of a situation rather than outside it (Jackson and Smith, 1984:37).

The term *verstehen*, or interpretative understanding, is generally associated with the goals of hermeneutics (Eyles and Smith, 1975:49). *Verstehen* is involved with understanding people's states of mind. This study assumes that individuals react habitually to certain stimuli, which is not to claim that all people react in the same way, for the same stimulus may be given different meanings in different lifeworlds. The following are a list of guidelines that underpin the proposed research methodology:

- \* Relph (1976:9) identifies a spatial and temporal relationship of the geographical world as "the world experienced as scenery". This study examines this relationship from a hermeneutical perspective; sceneries and specific landscapes are significant contexts to which we attach qualities and meanings. It follows that as our space and landscape change, so do the qualities and significance that we hold for them.

- \* The texts of human geography consist of any set of signs or symbols (MacCannell and MacCannell, 1982:57) which may take the form of words, numbers, geometric symbols, or others found in the common definition of texts as any piece of written communication, and also any form of expressive sign, verbal or non-verbal

language or gestures, photographs or art, or actions carried out in the events which the geographer is attempting to comprehend. Hermeneutics seeks to uncover the meanings of these signs in the lifeworld, to provide an appreciation and interpretation of the text, rather than to explicate it.

\* Photographs (as a distinct form of landscape representation) and language are the basic elements in creating the hermeneutic of an advertisement. Williamson (1978:84) has asserted that pictures and language function as signs to be deciphered, or if absent, to be filled in.

Communication allows us to know, experience, and imagine various landscapes. Hermeneutical investigation is dependent upon this communication and upon intersubjectivity, or the making of one's meanings and the interpretations of the lifeworld available to others. Not only does this imply specific problems regarding the communicative abilities of subject and analyst, but also it raises questions regarding the nature of the communication text, which is most commonly expressed in written language. Thus, "texts can be illuminatingly studied as situated productions...there are connections between the two ways in which 'meaning' is ordinarily employed...what someone means to say, write or do, and what that which is said, written or done means" (Johnston, 1986:66).

Another major form of communication, besides the printed word, is the photographic image. The photographic image has a unique position in that it appears to reproduce reality exactly, save for scale. It is a perfect analogue of what Barthes refers to as the literal reality (Barthes, 1977:17). It thus gives the impression of being a message

without a code. At one and the same time, the photograph offers a neutral, objective view of the world and a value-laden ideological view, or what Barthes terms the collusion of the natural and the cultural which lie at the heart of all mythical systems.

Advertising, as mentioned, is an example of textual representation. The capitalistic production of images and the plurality of goods consumed furnishes a ruling ideology, one which utilizes the camera to objectify reality (Sontag, 1963:366; Burgess, 1990). In the hermeneutical context, it is the job of this researcher to stand "outside" the sphere of signs in order to analyze the actors operating within and, further, to communicate the meanings of these signs and phenomena back to the actors involved. In this manner, hermeneutics as a mental dialogue is not a one-way flow of information. All forms of discourse, whether perception, speaking or reporting, have as much bearing on the reported phenomena under study as the phenomena themselves.

### **3.3 Research Methods**

This research utilizes a number of methods: literature reviews, including government and advertising company document reviews; content analysis; and qualitative methods of analysis, including interviews.

(i) The literature reviews encompass: (a) a review of similarly focused research in the areas of landscape and perception studies, decision-making processes, semiology, deconstruction, environmental psychology, and related topic areas; (b) reviews of government documents which focus on provincial government policy in the areas of tourism, specific promotions enticing tourism, business and industry to British Columbia

including the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, the "Super,Natural" advertising campaign, and related archival materials. Three government branches are of particular interest: Tourism Services, Research and Information Management, and Policy, Planning and Implementation (responsible for Provincial Tourism Strategy). The advertising company document review focuses on McKim Advertising in Vancouver, consultants for Tourism British Columbia and creators of the "Super,Natural" campaign.

(ii) The content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine is undertaken in four steps: (a) sampling of materials (see section 3.1); (b) category development, redevelopment and refinement, and subsequent sorting of data into categories; (c) assessing reliability of the coding procedure (relating findings in the content analysis back to the actors involved); and (d) establishing the validity of the results by linking results from the content analysis with information gleaned from literature reviews and interviews.

(iii) The qualitative methods encompass: (a) close reading of the texts involved, and (b) interviews, which has allowed the researcher to "probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts from informants based on personal experiences" (Burgess in Eyles and Smith, 1988:8). An important component of the study involves on-going informal interviews with key individuals within all groups involved (those on the editing staff of the *BBC*, individuals involved with the "Super,Natural" concept in McKim advertising, government officials in tourism and marketing for development and business investors, and individuals from the Motor Vehicle Branch who first conceptualized the license plate slogan "Beautiful British Columbia"). The informal interview approach is preferred to a more formal

approach in which questions and answers are recorded in a standardized form; it is assumed the researcher knows what the interview is designed to uncover, and that "without allowing people to speak freely, we will never know what their real intentions are" (Eyles and Smith, 1988:8). Whenever possible, interview questions were rooted in issues that have direct relevance to the interviewee. The emphasis of the interviews is on the decision-making processes of the individuals involved in creating, determining and presenting the images to be analyzed (Table 2).

Table 2: **OVERVIEW OF MAJOR RESEARCH METHODS**

	VICTORIA			VANCOUVER
	GOVERNMENT	S'NATURAL ADS	BBC MAGAZINE	McKIM ADVERTISING
WRITTEN TEXTS	X	X	X	X
PHOTOGRAPHS AND ARTWORK		X	X	
INTERVIEWS	X	X	X	X

The relationships between empirical observation (content analysis and frequency counts) and theoretical constructs (qualitative approaches) proposed are presented in chapter five and validated in chapter six. An effort has been made to cross-check individual statements and responses, views and ideas, with others to ensure reliability. Comparative analysis is utilized in order to avoid easy or thin explanations. For example, the decision to develop the "Super,Natural" concept was undertaken by an individual for

reasons more than a simple "it popped into my head one morning and I thought it a good idea". The emphasis of analysis, as illustrated in chapter six, is on the discussion of personal ideals, attitudes, politics, and ideologies in the context of decision-making.

This study describes images and attempts to understand what they mean. The provincial government is providing images of British Columbia to a receptive audience of potential visitors and business or investor interests. These media, or advertisements, are a form of knowledge, a social and historical discourse bound up with questions of ideology and politics. The complexity of place images, the interpenetration of personal, economic and cultural factors, requires an interpretative stance, one which recognizes that meanings in reproduced images are not self-evident. The combination of a content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, hermeneutical and interpretative analyses of the *BBC*, the provincial vehicle license plate and the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign, literature reviews and interviews, affords insights into government-produced images of the province.

## CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORY OF LANDSCAPE IMAGES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

*Place [is an] historically contingent process... Each place necessarily has its own contexts and features... [T]hese will include people as individuals and in groups, their location, labour and leisure;... designed landscapes seen in relation to the community's sense of its past and present.*

(Evenden, 1991:223-4).

Throughout its history, British Columbia has experienced a long succession of idealized images and visual stereotypes. Images and stereotypes are of fundamental importance in how a society 'sees' its physical environments. Although expressed in particular historical configurations, environmental images echo down through the centuries. Short (1991:55) indicates that "environmental ideologies reify space". Landscape ideologies in British Columbia have evolved from traditional images of the province's environments to the establishment of a contemporary provincial identity. Historic responses to the provincial scene will be examined along a roughly-devised chronological time line. British Columbia has usually struck new-comers and visitors over the years as empty and wild, then rich and prosperous, urban and cultural, and finally as natural and beautiful. Selected examples will illustrate each trait.

### 4.1 Traditional Images of British Columbia

#### i) *Empty and Wild: The Eighteenth Century Exploration.*

The "rugged frontier" (Tomblin, 1990:48) of British Columbia inevitably conjures up images of mountains, ocean waters and blue lakes, and old-growth cedar and Douglas

firs of enormous diameters. The immensity of the new land was beyond the initial comprehension of the first settlers landing on British Columbian shores in the late 1770s. The British Columbia landscape was perceived as wilderness by the early European settlers; a vast, featureless, inhospitable region. Captain George Vancouver wrote in June, 1792, "Our residence here [is] truly forlorn" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:16). John Meares found that the coast was "nothing but immense ranges of mountains or impenetrable forests"; his partner, George Dixon, simply condemned it as "dreary and inhospitable" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:16). The vastness of the towering trees, the craggy rocky shoreline and the tempestuous weather of the British Columbian coast led Captain Vancouver to christen 'Desolation Sound' with a name for the area that wore "as gloomy and dismal an aspect as nature could well be supposed to exhibit" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:17).

The eighteenth century was a period in which Europeans were voracious for information regarding explorations on Canada's west coast. Popular writings, such as those by Vancouver and Meares which primarily described the physical landscape, had a major impact on the Europeans' developing perceptions of the British Columbian wilderness. Such images depict pre-nineteenth century British Columbia as a landscape "where the earth...is untrampled by man, and man himself is a visitor who does not remain" (Brower in Graber, 1976:9). The first writers reacted directly, rather than imaginatively to the land, producing narratives of discovery and travel. Regarding the words of Simon Fraser describing Hell's Gate in the Fraser Canyon, "It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times", Woodcock (1990:170) states

It is this stunned hesitation of the voice or eye that explains the prime importance of the explorer in early British Columbia: the land, so strange, so overpowering, had to be described before it could be encompassed by the imagination.

Visual images relating to this time period were also paramount in developing perceptions of the region. Some of the first graphic representations were in the form of hand-drawn maps with, as Woodcock (1980:54) notes, "a thoroughness characteristic of nineteenth-century topographers, its references note wildlife and local vegetation." Sketches from the field were used as the basis for intricate and detailed wood carvings (figure 6). When photographic equipment achieved a certain degree of portability, it was possible to replace the 'on-location' drawings with photographs. Photographs supplied a great deal more visual information about the setting due to the photographer's ability to produce both a greater number and variety of images (Cobb and Duffy, 1981:142).

Verbal and visual images of British Columbia's vast unexplored lands in the late 1700s and 1800s depicted a perception of fascination and attraction as well as an aura of danger and "otherness" (Graber, 1976:12). Pictorial images relating to this time typically consist of two themes: the wilderness landscapes of mountains and forests towering over people; and the Native peoples, who had never before been seen by Europeans. In the 1800s, the painters who visually interpreted the British Columbian landscape came mainly from England and eastern Canada. The artist John Webber accompanied Captain Cook on the 1778 expedition, and painted one of the first recorded landscapes of the province, the sailing vessels *Discovery* and *Resolution* in Nootka Sound. Webber is noted for his extensively detailed works illustrating the first European view of the Native coastal peoples. Paul Kane, continuing in the 1840s in the vein of "recording through paintings

Figure 6:

## EARLY IMPRESSIONS OF THE COASTAL FORESTS



*Road Near New Westminster, British Columbia: Douglas Fir and Gigantic Cedar*  
(c. 1884).

Engraving by Frederick Whymper from a drawing by The Marquis of Lorne.  
(in Woodcock, 1980:108)

the interactions of life in the new land" (Woodcock, 1980:25), illustrated in two non-related paintings a bloody European raid on a Native village, and a Native war party returning to their village in triumph.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, European inhabitants in British Columbia were sparsely dispersed. The immensity of the new land and the overwhelming presence of the 1500 year-old forests were perceived by the European immigrants as an "impediment" (Paish, 1968:6) to the construction of permanent settlements. The social awareness of the European or Eastern Canadian settlers was based on what they had known before, the quiet English village surrounded by tidy well-tended fields. Settled communities were little more than oases in the midst of the northern wilderness. The edge of the surrounding forest was identified with the community frontier and seen as a landmark, a feature of sanctity which was not to be violated (Jackson, 1984:47).

ii) *A Picture of Prosperity: 1900 - 1970.*

By the mid-1890s, immigration to British Columbia was growing in momentum. The federal and provincial governments generated a large body of promotional material directed at both commercial and individual interests. Commercially, "British Columbia's potential was aggressively publicized by the federal and provincial governments, municipal boards of trade, agricultural associations and railway and steamship companies, as well as numerous land companies" (Cobb and Duffy, 1981:143). With completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, "handsome photographic view albums", illustrated brochures, travelogues, and postcards were published for immigrants and settlers (Cobb

and Duffy, 1981:143) emphasizing the scenery of the great Rocky, Selkirk and Monashee mountain passes visible from the main line. The railway made the panoramic landscape scenery of the province far more accessible than at any time in the past, encouraging individual artistic exploration of the province. William Van Horne, an enterprising railway official and amateur painter who "understood the kind of [international] publicity which paintings of the railway's terrain... could bring" (Woodcock, 1980:107), was very lavish with free passes, and artists gladly accepted them.

The variety and ubiquity of the mountains interested the late nineteenth century visitors to such an extent that Tippet and Cole (1977:49) termed the early 1900s in British Columbia "the Rocky Mountain period". To the central Canadian and immigrant European, the mountains were an intriguing landscape novelty. As settlers slowly penetrated, travelled, and cleared the wilderness, the awesome and terrifying feeling of grandeur that had become part of the eighteenth century European consciousness was tamed to poetic and exotic proportions. A more diversified view of the British Columbia landscape emerged. Notable local painters such as Emily Carr and Sophie Pemberton began at this time to record with elegiac power the Native peoples whose culture and way of life was reaching its last flowering. The ocean shorelines and forests were the elements of Carr's forceful landscapes, not the mountains. The coming of the C.P.R. deprived the province of the western isolation depicted by many earlier painters. J. Rutherford Blaikie, a member of Victoria's Vancouver Island Arts and Crafts Society, commented in 1913 that "the history of the cleared land and the railroad is... full of human endeavour and romance" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:61).

The railway gave impetus to the development of the province's natural resources, and land offered either freely or at a small charge to entrepreneurs of various kinds was the politicians' expected and willing contribution (Woodcock, 1990:162). Vancouver, as the terminal city of the railway, benefited most, drawing on the trade of the coast, and so, to a lesser extent, did Victoria, as the commercial centre of Vancouver Island and the political centre of the province's government. The forests began to be viewed as a potential source of considerable wealth as pockets of settlement were established and communication links by land and water were opened up. The forests at this time represented a resource so extensive that it appeared "inexhaustible" (Reid and Weaver, 1974:13). The emergence of fishing as a major industry was encouraged, since fish canners were allowed to pre-empt the sites on the most advantageous rivers and inlets (Woodcock, 1990:162). The fruit industry established itself, first around Saanich then Vernon and Kelowna, then southwards down the Okanagan Valley. It was also at this period that many of the great ranches, which still operate a century later, were established in the Cariboo and High Country regions (figure 7).

However restrictive its original meaning, the use of the word "forest" marks the first step in what may be called the discovery or the creation of the forest as a distinct ecological entity. It began to be seen as the primary part of the economic life of the British Columbian landscape. The "old" multi-purpose wooded regions which used to be open to everyone, hunters, botanists, woodcutters, stray cows, or poetic searchers after *Waldeinsamkeit* (the solitude of the forest), was replaced by a multitude of scientifically organized special purpose forests: commercial forests of a single kind of tree; forests for

Figure 7:

## PROSPERITY



Premier Richard McBride, 1903 - 1915, presided over a period of economic expansion based on the development of natural resources. In the March, 1912, issue of *The Week*, a pro-Tory magazine, he appears as "a kind of 'Roi Soleil', with his leading opponents... blind to his glittering achievements" (in Woodcock, 1980:152).

public recreation with informative signs on the trees; forests for watershed management; forests as model ecosystems; forests as sound barriers; or forests as works of art. The forest was no longer perceived as inaccessible wilderness, but due to increased technological mobility after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was there to be *used*.

Under the British North America Act of 1867, the Government of British Columbia owns the natural resources (land, minerals, water, fish and wildlife), and they are subject to provincial management and sale (Dorcey, 1987:15). During the first hundred years after British Columbia joined Canada, provincial policy was strongly oriented to the promotion of an economy based on the exploitation of these resources. Legislation and government departments were designed primarily to promote and facilitate development (Morley, 1983:136). The W.A.C. Bennett government, coming into power in 1952 in the midst of a fierce injection of foreign capital, full employment and material prosperity, set out to manifest its vision of British Columbia becoming an integrated economic and political entity. The Northern hinterlands of the province were imagined as the new "frontier" (Tomblin, 1990:46). Through government action at this time, longterm development plans began, opening up the frontier to the rest of the province through highway, ferry, railway, hydro, and oil and gas expansion and development policies.

The early nineteenth century image of the pristine wilderness was fading. "The pattern of adventuring, or perhaps the mere standards of comfort, had changed" (Woodcock, 1969:62). The Northern settlements of trappers, homesteaders and miners were "sucked south and centralized" (Woodcock, 1969:62). Aggressive Social-Credit

agendas turned the eyes of the mass public outward

towards the glittering Eldorado, the vast rolling Peace River region, barely populated, which contained the largest acreage of high quality agricultural land unsettled in Canada, as well as huge troves of oil and gas deposits; towards the entire central and northern Interior blessed with one of the world's greatest reservoirs of softwood timber and pulp.

(Robin, 1973:191)

Hydro-electric damming projects on the Peace and Columbia Rivers and the construction of a major coal port facility at Roberts Bank in 1968 are paramount examples of drastic and monumental modifications of the visual landscape of the province. Carefully choreographed celebrations accompanied each project's progress.

Jackson (1984:12) suggests that "no landscape can be exclusively devoted to the fostering of only one identity". However, in the years of the Bennett administration, the image of British Columbia promoted to the public was almost exclusively devoted to developing the natural resources of the province. As P.A. Gaglardi stated, "God put the coal there for our use, so let's dig it up" (in Robin, 1973:189), and, "We [the Social-Credit party] are not interested in the politics of power. We want to be able to turn on a switch and see the lights on" (Gaglardi in Robin, 1973:221). Bennett himself promised British Columbians "the good life" (Barman, 1991:280). Both public and government imagined that by creating easier access to resources and encouraging their utilization, "the good times could be made to go on forever" (Barman, 1991:342).

iii) *Urban and Cultural: 1970 - the present.*

The changes occurring in British Columbia in the 1970s went beyond economic growth and regional expansion. "If the Social Creditors resembled the Romans in their passion for roads and other monumental constructions, they began to resemble them also in losing a sense of the human scale of their operations" (Woodcock, 1990:246). In 1965 in the B.C. legislature, the New Democrats publicly criticized the existing economic system, proclaiming a lack of commitment on the part of the Socreds to the fundamental values of "freedom, equality and security" (Jackson, 1980:9). Based on this commitment, the NDP wooed the British Columbian public as a whole by listening to the popular grievances and appealing to a provincial electorate that treasured individualism. A fundamental and public shift in attitudes had developed, challenging many long-standing prejudices. Equality of acceptance, opportunity and treatment all acquired credibility.

Seventy per cent of British Columbians at the beginning of the 1970s were urban dwellers. Vancouver, with its theatres and clubs, had developed into "an alive and enticing city... [like] a jewel floating in a setting of water, mountains and sky" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:130). However, the sprawl of suburbs to the south and east of Vancouver and to the north and west of Victoria preserved little of the original scenery save for the view at the urban fringe. An entire new series of landmark structures appeared such as hospitals, places of public assembly, museums and libraries. Picturesque city parks and recreational areas, the "new vital urban amenity", were built, composed of open-air spaces, and artfully located groves of trees, lawns, and placid bodies of water. The steady urbanization of the province continues in the 1990s, and due in large part to established

agricultural land reserves, land prices in the major cities are among the highest in Canada.

The urban landscape is visually more grandiose in Southwestern B.C. than elsewhere in the province. Facades of the buildings suggest the eclecticism of Vancouver architecture. The Lion's Gate Bridge, built in 1938, spanned Burrard Inlet to open the North Shore to prosperous residential development. The renewal and expansive spirit of the 1920s, which influenced retail department chains to enlarge their premises, led to the embellishment of these stores into city landmarks still recognized today, such as the Hudson's Bay store in Victoria (Woodcock, 1980:175). Victoria retains its hybrid English and Pacific Coast flavour, expressing more traditional architecture than that of Vancouver. Many architectural examples of the Gothic revival of the 1920s and neo-Tudor styles of the 1930s are preserved and harmoniously incorporated into new construction in Victoria. Samuel Maclure established a heritage of notable private homes in Vancouver and Victoria that are primarily characterized by neo-gothic stylistic elements. Francis Mawson Rattenbury set the architectural shape of downtown Victoria by transforming the setting of Victoria's Inner Harbour with his parliament buildings in the 1890s and later with the Empress Hotel (Woodcock, 1990:173). The Inner Harbour remains the true heart of the city today.

The hinterland cities remain largely dominated by their particular economic interests, such as fishing in Prince Rupert, fruit growing in Kelowna, paper and pulp in Port Alberni, and ranching in Kamloops, and by special ethnic combinations, like those induced by the presence of a large Mennonite community of German descent in the towns

of the lower Fraser Valley, and Doukhobors of Russian descent in Grand Forks and Nelson. Rural British Columbia is a landscape of small and often still rustic towns.

Specific societal groups began to receive special and greater attention. The very old and the very young received attention in the provision of social services. The educational needs of British Columbia expanded because of a rapid growth in child population (the "baby boom" generation). Educational expectations soared in response to society's greater technological, professional and linguistic needs. Immigrants to British Columbia have contributed to vary and enrich the artistic and cultural life of the province. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, immigration into the province had been overwhelmingly English. "British Columbia is British" resolved the legislative assembly in February 1900 (Woodcock, 1990:167). Since then, changes in the national immigration laws have removed former barriers to Asian and East Indian populations and refugees from international natural disasters and political strife. Immigrants have brought into the province new secondary industries and leisure patterns, and introduced new culinary traditions and a vast array of exotic restaurants. By 1972, British Columbia was a multicultural complex of peoples from many origins, traditions and beliefs.

British Columbia's artists adopted the abstractionism that was introduced to the province from New York, moving back into city studios during the 1950s and 1960s. The land, wilderness or cultivated, was no longer exotic or alien. "The conifer retained its dark solemnity, but was no longer gloomy. The coastal waters retained their awesomeness, but were no longer fearsome or foreign" (Tippet and Cole, 1977:141). Writing in British Columbia was slow to move out of the descriptive into the imaginative,

but during the 1960s, "Vancouver drew poets to it like a magnet" (Woodcock, 1990:251). In the 1970s, established works of fiction included those by Emily Carr, Roderick Haig-Brown, Robert Harlow, and Sheila Watson. Changes in taste and appreciation by the public arts community affected the province's Native peoples. Totem carvers like Mungo Martin were commissioned by the Provincial Museum to carve poles in the ancient style. Bill Reid crafted jewellery using traditional Haida motifs which sold to international markets.

iv) *Natural and Beautiful: 1980 - the present.*

In the 1970s, political conflict over the environment emerged as a major issue in British Columbia as it did throughout the world. Concerns which had existed for many previous years about the conservation of natural resources and the control of pollution suddenly took on a new and far-reaching significance. In part this was the result of the increasing blatant evidence of the detrimental consequences of unrestrained economic growth. These impressions were reinforced by scientific studies of less obvious problems that suggested damage to ecosystems and human health could be much greater than previously anticipated. At the same time, an increasingly prosperous society became more interested in health and in recreational activities that were dependent on the preservation of environmental quality.

A need emerged at this time to legislate environmental management. Between 1970 and 1978, regulations concerning industrial pollutive emittants, pesticides and disposal of municipal wastes were established to reflect the increasing emphasis being given to

control of waste and recycling. In 1971, the Social Credit party formed an Environment and Land Use Committee of Ministers from all the major natural resource-using departments to resolve conflicts in the development of land and other resources (Dorcey, 1987:18). The newly elected New Democratic government in 1973 increasingly facilitated opportunities for branches in all levels of government to become involved in assessing impacts of major projects such as hydro power dams, new highways and mine developments. The momentum of government reorganization and innovation was sustained into the beginning of the eighties by a thriving resource economy and the expectation of numerous megaprojects.

Then, "the bubble burst, and in two years there was a major contraction in the environmental assessment, planning and management activities of the provincial government" (Dorcey, 1987:20). New natural resource and environmental management issues emerged to complicate and distract from the earlier initiatives. Environmental management in British Columbia became in the 1980s a highly complex bargaining process involving conflicts in decision-making between established users of the natural environment. Energy, forestry and fisheries crises rose successively, presenting major problems of resource development and conservation that defied any easy or ready solution. Perceptions and expectations towards the environment widened enormously as competing demands for natural resources escalated, causing "increasing debate by widening segments of society about how the province's resources should be managed" (Edgell and Nowell, 1989:285). For example, land development for hydroelectric power was perceived, especially by the public, as also including the consequences of the

development of flooded lands, damage to the forests, and construction of transmission lines.

The paramount consideration in land development decisions within the public changed from "progressive development" to "conservation of the environment". The movement of conservationism had two effects in British Columbia. Firstly, conservationism had become a matter of resource management, or the "wise use" of water, timber, and mineral resources, ensuring the greatest return on investments for the future. Secondly, more and more people were rekindling their interest in nature by travelling to "natural" areas. The areas themselves were thought of as "outdoor recreation resources" (Wilson, 1992:24). Outdoor tourist activity assumed its own schedule and its own locations on the landscape (figure 8).

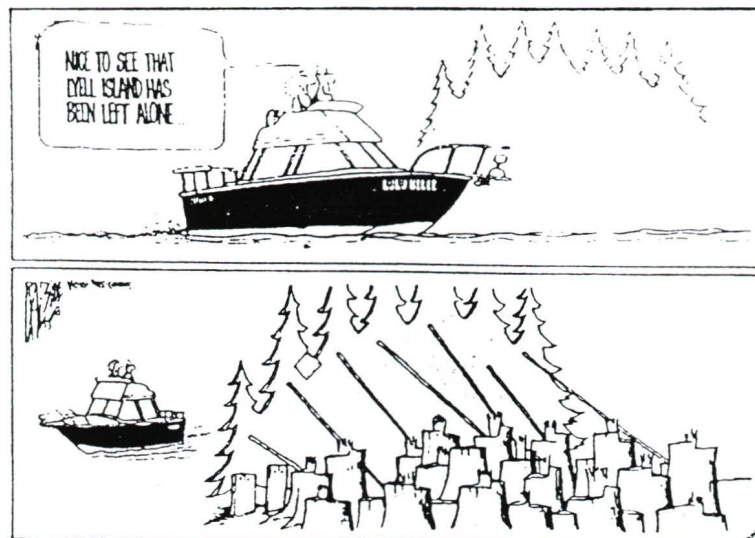


Figure 8:  
MULTIPLE LAND-USE POLICY OF THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

Tourism has developed along-side the natural resource industry. "Multiple use" policy has often resulted in poorly-resolved conflicts along the British Columbian coast, as depicted by *Victoria Times-Colonist*, Adrian Raeside.

The steady interest in conservation heightened the expansion of tourism as a component of British Columbia's economy. The province acquired new visibility as a holiday destination from Expo 86, held in Vancouver in 1986; by the late 1980s, tourism had become B.C.'s largest industry after forestry. Scenic value soon came to be a monetary concept as well as an aesthetic one. Based on the province's natural setting, the longtime slogan "Beautiful British Columbia" became increasingly successful in the context of the tourism industry (Barman, 1991:341).

#### **4.2 Summary**

Through a combination of physical diversity and a process of economic and social development over a period of nearly 200 years, a distinct set of geographical, economic and social imagery has evolved in British Columbia. The most widely recognized images are probably the traditional forested and mountainous physical landscapes. Expanding populations have placed pressure on the traditional rural landscape, producing distinct built landscapes such as cities, and clear-cut forested areas. Evolving contemporary landscapes include those composed of cultural flavours due to the emergence of distinct ethnic groups primarily in urban centres. New distinct regional entities and associated images are acquiring clearer identities in the 1990s primarily due to the stresses of an expanding economy based on the environment and an expanding tourism industry.

The government of British Columbia has advertised the province's landscape since the turn of the nineteenth century. This image creation has traditionally been directed towards attracting immigrants and industry to the province. Such images simplify the

B.C. landscape into easily represented structures that ignores much of the subtlety and significance of societal philosophies of specific time periods. Yet, these visual images culminate to affect the formation of beliefs, values, and emotions in the manner in which we will react towards the environment. In short, "our eyes and brains are not receptors of undifferentiated stimuli" (Graber, 1976:32). Perception may be changed deliberately through education or propaganda. Acceptance of any new mode of perception requires the acceptance of an evolving and ongoing perceptual mode, which may be said to be functioning as an ideology. For example, the Sierra Club attempts to unify group perception and purpose with an ongoing program to establish a "correct" version of an environmental ethic.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine is a government publication expressing specific contemporary social, economic and political images of British Columbia to the public. Images have been presented to the public over the last thirty-five years. The following chapter will look in detail at the images in this magazine.

## CHAPTER 5: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE *BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA* MAGAZINE

*British Columbia is a tourist's paradise. In this vast province we have delights to please every taste and it is our dedicated purpose to improve and augment these delights.*

(Hon. Earle Westwood, *BBC*, 1,2:2<sup>2</sup>).

Both the British Columbian public and visitors to the province have been subjected in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine to the promotion of certain attitudes towards and perceptions of the landscape. The *BBC* magazine promotes images ranging from logging to beachcombing, from mining to conservation, and from indoor football games to gathering apple blossoms. Over time, as British Columbia physically and culturally matured as a provincial entity (through expanding populations, building extensive transportation corridors, and promoting diversified ethnicity), the images put forward in the *BBC* magazine developed in tact, specifics, and direction. Variations in provincial Premierships and Tourism Minister postings from 1959 to 1983 are reflected in changes of ideological emphases in the magazine's pages. As a result, image formation and propagation in the *Beautiful British Columbia* have changed temporally and spatially in character throughout the province over time.

In this chapter, the textual content of *Beautiful British Columbia* is analyzed with regard to its promoted images. The content analysis of the *Beautiful British Columbia* is

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<sup>2</sup>Throughout this chapter, specific articles will be referenced as to the following format: the reference (*BBC*, 1959:2:2) indicates *Beautiful British Columbia*, 1959 (year of publication): issue 2: page 2.

undertaken for the period 1959 to 1983, the time during which the magazine was published by the government of British Columbia. Over this period, editors, photographers, writers, and department designations changed, but the editorship, funding and overall control of the magazine remained in the hands of the provincial government department concerned with tourism, travel and recreation. The textual content of the magazine is discussed in two sections. First, the results of the content analysis of the *BBC* magazine are presented in the form of spatial plots and frequency counts. Trends emerging from the empirical data are then discussed. Second, conceptual themes distinguishable in the described trends are discussed. Analysis at this stage will pertain directly to that of the images presented in the *BBC* magazine; a more complex analysis will follow in chapter six, taking into consideration additional images promoted on the British Columbia license plate and in the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign.

### 5.1 Textual content of the Beautiful British Columbia magazine

The task of tourism marketing in *Beautiful British Columbia* is to promote vacation travel by a targeted readership to a specific destination. The magazine is essentially a tourist guidebook stipulating an ideal core of interest in British Columbia. Like other forms of advertising, the text of the magazine presents attractive place attributes together with socially-desirable consumer lifestyles, and suggests, through various rhetorical devices, a substantive connection between the two. *Beautiful British Columbia* presents a selection of elements consisting of landscape sceneries, events, activities, people and objects from the "ordinary" world of British Columbia. As per the definition of

advertising, an enticing array of these images is directed at the reader, presenting various landscapes of British Columbia and components of these landscapes as an experience available to everyone.

The fundamental task of the magazine is to attract the attention of the targeted readers, and specifically address them as prospective visitors. This aspect is important, for potential travellers need to be encouraged to "try it out", as the Hon. Earle Westwood invites: "When you DO come you will wonder why you had waited so long" (*BBC*, 1959:2:2). Potential tourists are introduced to the special significance of the advertised site. The magazine attracts the attention of readers by often playing between the visual and verbal texts. The visual strategy, as Premier W.A.C. Bennett openly admits, attempts to pique the interest of the casual reader: "[Readers] like this colourful way of learning about the wonders of this great province" (*BBC*, 1959:2:2). The casual reader will initially be attentive to the oversized tourist brochure visual style and the sun-and-blue sky brilliant colour lay-outs. Curiosity induced by the expansive photographs, the reader is drawn in for a closer read, discovering the combined meaning of the visual and verbal text. This induced involvement of the reader with the text further locates the reader as a particular potential tourist. Often, the text is a more "personalized" version of the image offered in the photograph. The photographs *draw attention* to the magazine, or at least to the subject of the article; the text *explains* the history, lifestyle, and activities of the locale and resident people, which involves an increased personal consciousness on the part of the reader.

The "ideal" reader of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, according to the

pollster Angus Reid, is:

an active, well-educated, middle-income married woman who is 43 years of age or younger. She's a longtime B.C. resident who...enjoys walking, hiking, camping and taking scenic road trips...She also likes to play games at home with family and friends, loves to read...She is a concerned social activist who worries about the future...and tends to be inner-directed, spiritual, and intellectual, rather than outer-directed and materialistic in nature. (Gidney, 1993:D1).

The identity of the targeted reader is suggested directly in the magazine by the depiction of the lifestyles and vacation activities characteristic of their ideals. For example, in articles depicting skiers at resort facilities, a common topic in the *BBC*, groups of young, energetic women and men are typically portrayed as smiling warmly as they look in unison out at the sparkling ski slope. Three ideals subconsciously go hand-in-hand, those of natural beauty, energy and youth.

Since the first publication of *BBC* in 1959, the magazine has promoted itself as a gift piece to send to out-of-province friends. Every issue in the 25 years, from its conception in 1959 to being sold into private ownership in 1983, has been attuned to the "gift" theme. From three to six subscription forms are included in each issue of 46 pages, advising "Seasons are for Sharing; Send a Gift Subscription to your Friends and Relatives" (*BBC*, 1969:4:45). Paid circulation of *Beautiful British Columbia* was 385,000 subscriptions in 1975, distributed throughout British Columbia and to 85 countries worldwide (*BBC*, 1975:3:46). Circulation figures reached a high of close to 425,000 subscribers (Atkins, personal communication) in the late 1970s and early 1980s, "when the magazine was heavily subsidized by the government" (Gidney, 1993:D1).

In the following two sections, the textual content of the magazine is presented.

First, since each article has as its focus a specific site, spatial distributions of the coverage of the magazine are uncovered. Second, frequency counts are presented, indicating the number of times a particular subject was the focus of an article (see table 1, chapter 3). Substantial change in the subject focus of the magazine over the period 1959 to 1983 is readily apparent.

*ij) spatial plots*

Tourism is an industry with substantial geographical content. Its very nature involves travel and a sense of place. Tourists leave "here" and visit "there". Since all destinations in the province are, logically, competing for a share of the provincial tourism industry, ideally each place in the province would have an expected equal share of the tourism market, and as such, have equal advertising weight for promotion in the pages of *Beautiful British Columbia*. However, of course, "attractions and amenities are the very basis of tourism" (Robinson, 1976:40). It is therefore a realistic assumption that a tourist will usually go to the most desirable destination and will ignore all other destinations, as confrontation with novelty, the grandiose or the extraordinary is typically interesting and desirable to the tourist (Gunn, 1972:100). However, some tourist settings are infinitely more popular than others and undoubtedly fulfil the more common travel motivations of large numbers of people. The needs and tastes of tourists vary widely, and the attractions of one place to some people may be anathema to others.

Figure 9 depicts the sites in British Columbia which are the primary focus of each article in *Beautiful British Columbia*. One small black dot on the first map of the series

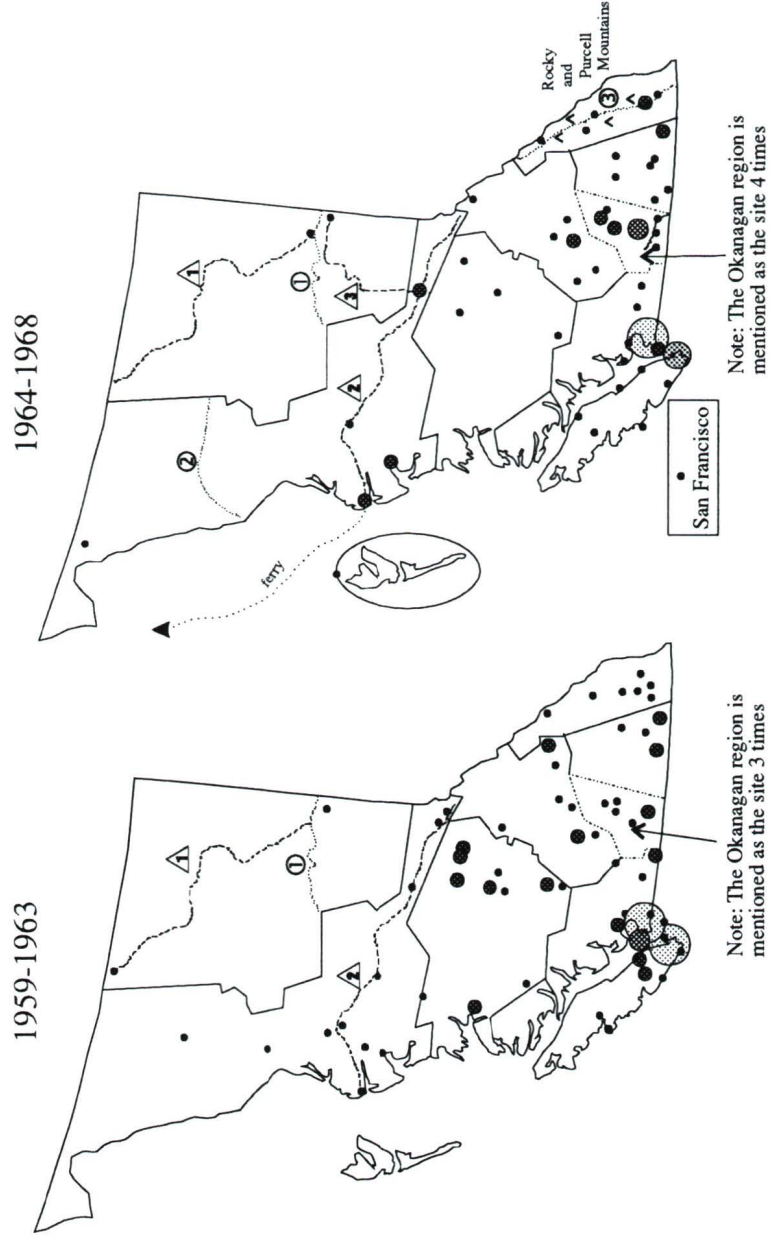
Figure 9:

SITES OF ALL ARTICLES OF THE BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA MAGAZINE

•	1 mention
●	2-4 mentions
●	5 - 9 mentions
●	10 - 15 mentions
●	greater than 15 mentions
▲	Alaska Highway
▲	Highway 16
▲	Highway 97
▲	Cassiar Highway
▲	Highway 33
①	Peace River
②	Stikine River
③	Columbia River
④	Chilcotin River
⑤	Skeena River
⑥	Tatshenshini River

1959-1963

1964-1968

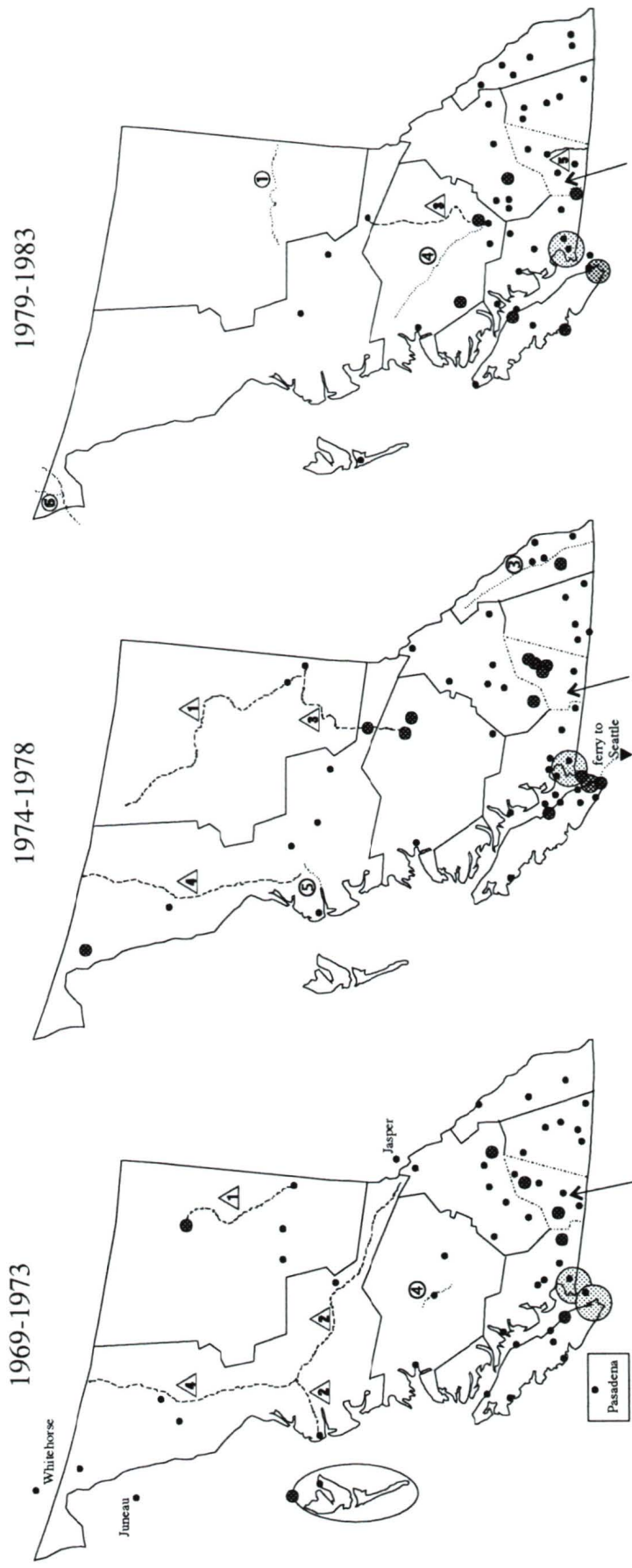


Note: The Okanagan region is mentioned as the site 3 times

Note: The Okanagan region is mentioned as the site 4 times

Figure 9 (continued)

SITES OF ALL ARTICLES OF THE BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA MAGAZINE



Note: The Okanagan region is mentioned as the site 2 times.

Note: The Okanagan region is mentioned as the site once.

Note: The Okanagan region is mentioned as the site once.

indicates that this site has been mentioned as the location of focus in one article in the *BBC* over the years 1959 to 1963. The Alaska Highway, for example, has been mentioned once, while the cities of Vancouver and Victoria have both been mentioned over fifteen times as the topic location in the *BBC* articles from 1959 to 1963.

Three major trends are evident in figure 9. Firstly, Vancouver is the most frequently mentioned site from 1959 to 1983, mentioned over 15 times in each five-year period. Victoria is the closest rival, equalling the fifteen mentions in two periods, that of 1959-1963 and 1969-1973. In a spatial hierarchy of tourist environments in *BBC*, southwestern British Columbia is the leader, as the emphasis of promoting information about this area is strongest.

Secondly, accessibility, or the ease with which a given place can be reached, is important. Tourist attractions of whatever kind would be of little value if their locations were inaccessible by standard means of transport. In *Beautiful British Columbia*, specific sites are invariably mentioned throughout the seven southern tourist areas, whereas in the North by Northwest and Alaska Highway regions, the linear landscape is invariably promoted. Out of all the *BBC* issues studied, rivers and, more prominently, highway routes, are described again and again. Specific sites are mentioned in the two northern regions, but the majority of specific sites are mentioned in relation to, for example, Highway 16 and the Cassiar Highway (1959-1963 and 1969-1973), or in relation to rivers (for instance, 1964-1978, 1974-1978). In these articles, the focus of the text traces the route of the highway or river, mentioning and describing selected locales along the way.

Two sites outside of British Columbia boundaries are mentioned as the focus of

articles over the 25 years of analysis, San Francisco, California in 1965:4:18, and Pasadena, California in 1971:2:2. The latter article consists of a two-page photograph portraying British Columbia's float entry in the Tournament of Roses Parade in Pasadena on New Year's Day, 1971. The illustration caption proclaims "A Royal welcome to anyone visiting the province during the year which marks the Centennial of British Columbia joining Canada" (*BBC*, 1971:2:2). The former article is more informative in nature, detailing the British Columbia House in San Francisco. Both of these entries situate the reader into recognizing British Columbia's location in the spatial context of North America, and the world, if one takes into account the cover of the Spring 1970 *BBC* issue, the British Columbia Pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka, celebrating the ceremonial, social and economic ties the province has with Japan. The ferry service to Alaska, promoted in "Highway On the Sea" (*BBC*, 1966:1:14), and the "starting point" (*BBC*, 1971:1) of British Columbia's Highway 16 at Jasper, Alberta, inform readers as to specifics of route entry and exit in and out of the province through a variety of "panoramic" scenery and "adventurous" modes of transportation.

Thirdly, the "Okanagan" is mentioned as a site in all five-year periods from 1959 to 1983. In the *BBC* text, the Okanagan region is identified incessantly as a spatial location unto itself. The term *region* in this situation involves the dual concepts of integration and differentiation. Integration refers to the identification of some internal integrity, or homogeneity, in the region on the basis of selected features. Homogeneous characteristics, or reoccurring images, of the Okanagan are apples, lakes, and small but modern cities offering a wide range of recreational amenities. A similar type of regional

identification, but not emphasized to such an extent, is apparent in two other instances in the magazine, that of the "Cariboo" and "The Queen Charlottes". The Cariboo region is the ranching section of British Columbia, and is repeatedly characterized by vast expanses of dry grasslands and dude ranching. The Queen Charlottes are not mentioned frequently in *Beautiful British Columbia* (in six of 667 featured articles), but when the Islands are mentioned, they are referred to as a single entity, and individual sites are only extracted for brief mention or illustration.

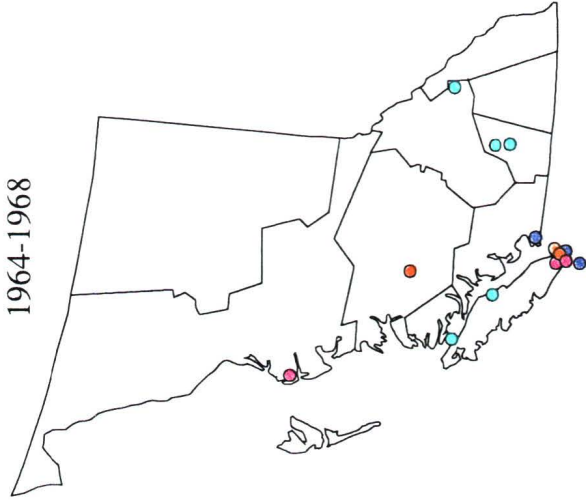
The central issue associated with the distribution of sites in the above figure is that of cost and access limitations. Although many destination characteristics affect utility, the common tourist is limited to those that are linked to the outside world by economical transportation routes. One measure of accessibility with relevance to tourism is based on the fact that travel in regions follows established transportation routes. These routes are composed of links connecting nodes (Robinson, 1976:210). Clearly located at the hub of the provincial transportation routes are the cities of Vancouver and Victoria, the importance of which is demonstrated by the concentrations of mentions on these two sites (figure 9). At these points exist some tourism phenomena that the *Beautiful British Columbia* wishes to extensively reveal to readers. Direct national and international access to Vancouver is perceived by the reader, and confirmed by maps highlighting Vancouver's location adjacent to the United States border, descriptions of the highway network to Vancouver from Alberta, and Vancouver's "established" international airport supporting and servicing a "steady flow of people... British Columbia [is] within hours of Tokyo, Amsterdam, Brisbane and New York" (*BBC*, 1969:2:31).

Accessibility to Victoria is presented in *Beautiful British Columbia* as hindered by time and cost to the traveller who must ferry or fly to Vancouver Island. However, many articles in the magazine deal positively with this journey. One article (*BBC*, 1960:2:26-7) promotes the new "Now Less Than Two Hours" travel-time from Vancouver to Victoria on the amenity-filled ferry service. Another article promotes the scenery one may see from the ferry as the essential part of the experience: "The trip through the Gulf Islands is one of the most beautiful in the world" (*BBC*, 1969:2:26).

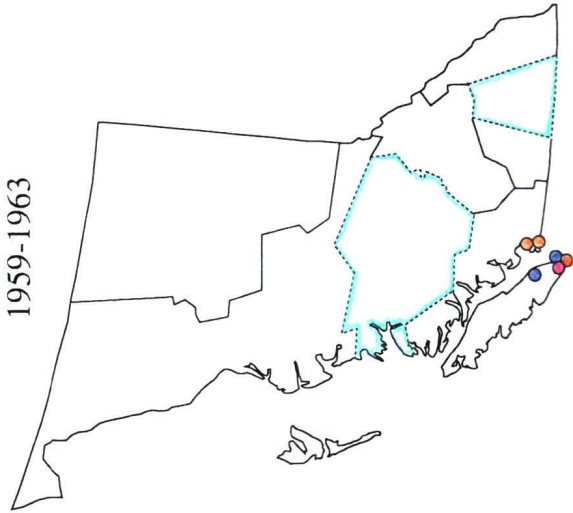
The front cover of the magazine is of paramount importance in drawing initial attention to the magazine, especially that of a new reader. Figure 10 illustrates the sites of the front cover photographs of *Beautiful British Columbia*. The site of each front cover is revealed to the reader in only 75 percent of the covers in the study period, hence, only the "known" sites are included in figure 10 (see APPENDIX 3). The spatial distributions are referenced as to the issue, or season, of appearance. Two observations may be made in conjunction with the image depicted on each front cover. First, location distributions change over time periods, much more so than the article sites. From 1959 to 1963, the magazine's front covers depict images from specific sites on only southern Vancouver Island and Vancouver. In following years, the spatial range of cover sites extend eastwards and northwards encompassing each tourist area. Minimal coverage from 1959 to 1983 is experienced by the Peace River / Alaska Highway region, which has been credited with only one cover image during this entire time period.

The second observation accounts for seasonal images. Seasonal covers are distributed randomly throughout the province; no one season is strongly concentrated in

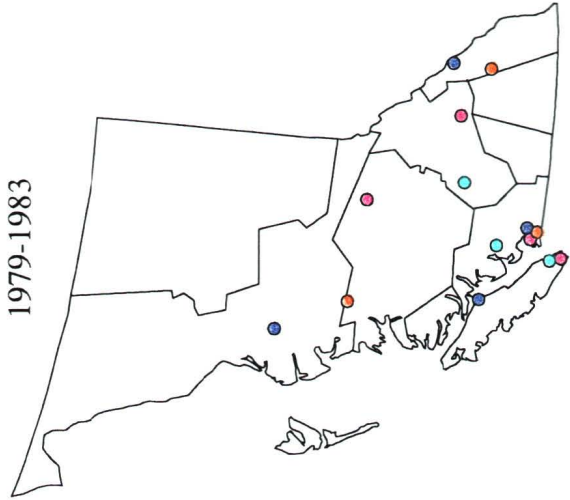
1964-1968



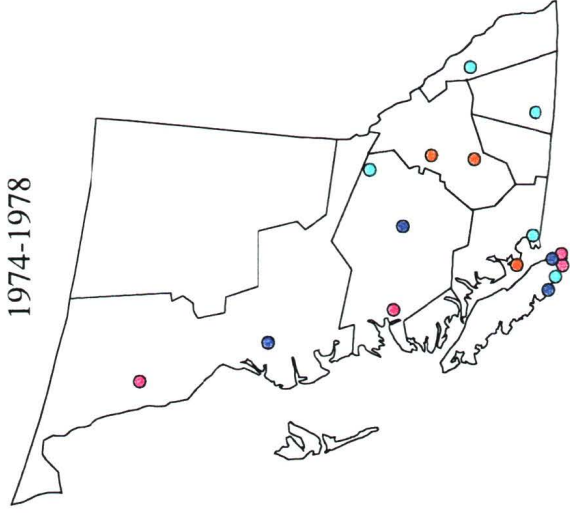
1959-1963



1979-1983



1974-1978



1969-1973

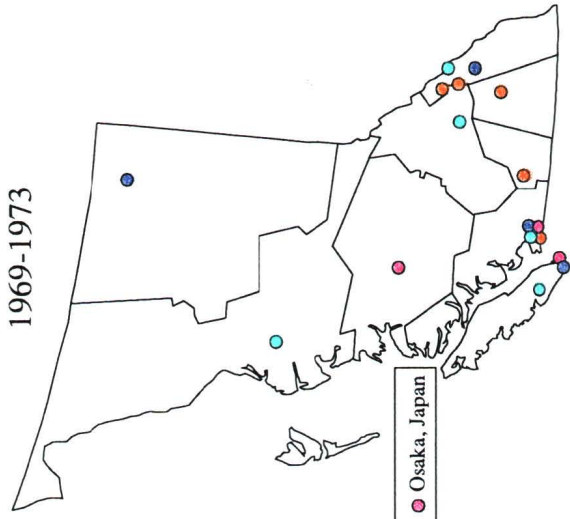


Figure 10:

**SITES OF FRONT COVERS OF  
*BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA*, by season**

- Spring issue
- Summer issue
- Autumn issue
- Winter issue

..... Entire area mentioned as site

a particular tourist region. The seasonality aspect of these images is more apparent in the subject content than the spatial arrangement. The images on the covers stress seasonality through portraying recreational activities which are very seasonal in nature. For example, alpine skiing is a frequent image depicted on the *BBC* front cover. Skiing is portrayed only in the winter issues of *Beautiful British Columbia*, even though at some of the higher elevations in the province, one may ski year-round. The majority of tourists would recognize snow skiing as a winter activity, and thus the *BBC* reserves promotion of this seasonal activity until the winter months, which is the *expected* time for potential skiers of the province to be ready to recreate.

Investigation of the images on the cover of *Beautiful British Columbia* tends to lead to piece-meal images being received by the reader, as to the location of the cover in the spatial context of the province and also as to the reason a particular image is on the cover. In general, only "pretty pictures" make the cover, as exemplified by the fact that 108 covers, out of a total of 192 front and back covers, are of scenic or panoramic views or close-ups of flower blossoms, and of that number, 50 per cent are of natural landscapes with little recognition of people or built environments in the landscape. The cover, however, is only infrequently related to an article within the issue. This aspect may be problematic for a reader if one was especially interested in a certain image, and wanted to find out more about that particular landscape. To the chagrin of those readers who desire authenticity, in at least one instance the cover photograph is "doctored"; a cutout of a foreground image is placed on top of a scenic background (*BBC*, 1981:2:front cover).

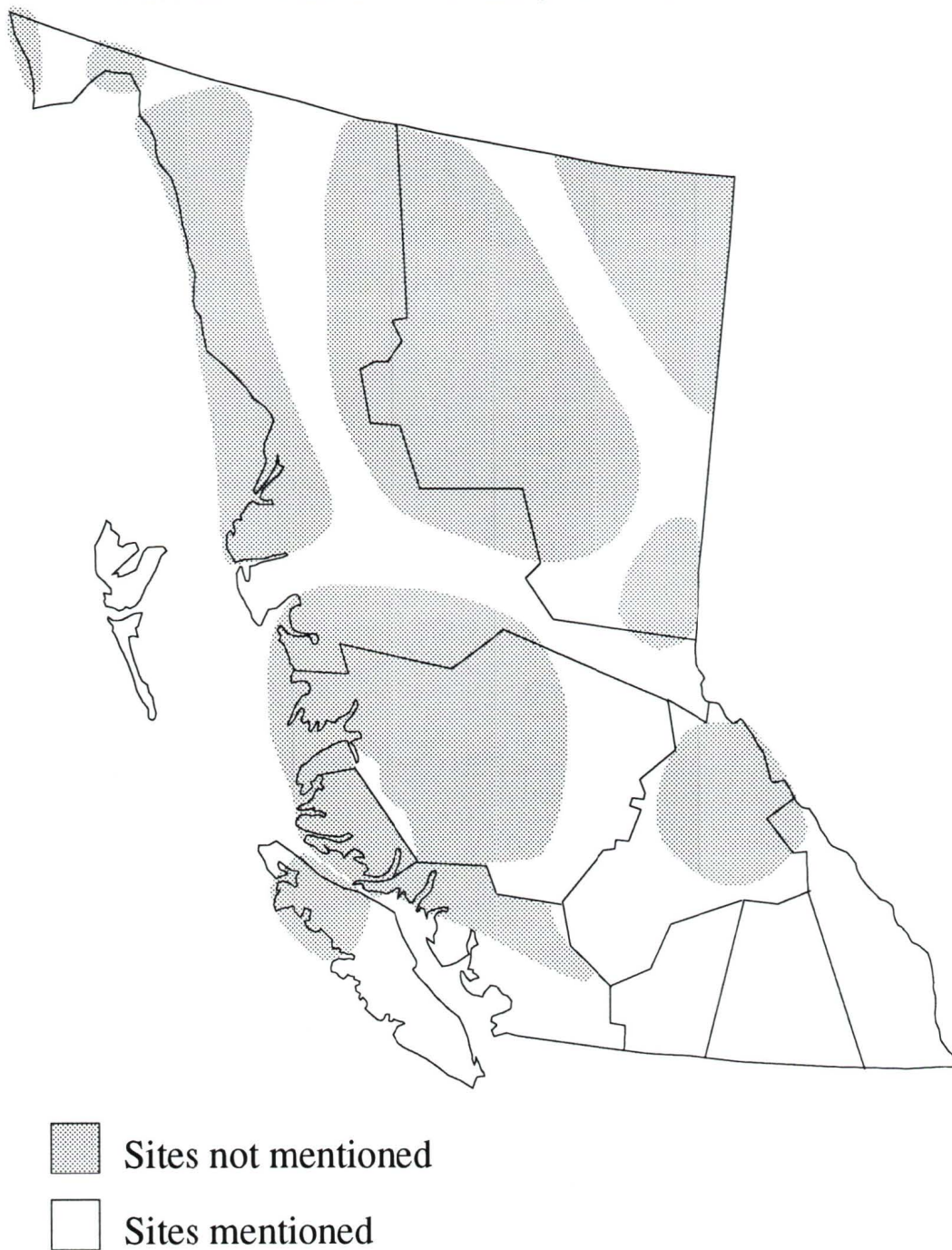
In discussing the sites which are highlighted in the articles and covers of *Beautiful British Columbia*, it is interesting to note the sites in the province *not* mentioned in the magazine (figure 11). One may wonder as to the reasons these sites are not mentioned or described; some tourist settings will undoubtedly be more popular than others due to a lack of accessibility or a general lack of interest in the place. Perhaps these areas lack stimulating local events or enticing scenic views to be promoted in the magazine to capture the readers' interest. Some of these ideas are addressed in greater detail in the following chapters.

*ii] frequency counts*

Specific environments figure prominently in tourists' perceptions of a "vacation". Urbain (1989:108) reduces all a tourist's acts to three manifesting functions: "rest, entertainment, and development". In other words, as a tourist one exists to rest, to enjoy oneself, and to improve one's mind. Advertising to potential tourists has its strategies to manoeuvre or entice the reader in accordance with these activities. The promotional message in *Beautiful British Columbia* invites readers to search for the ideal environment which will appeal to them and maximize their enjoyment, whether, for example, to visit friends and relatives, or to undertake a specific recreational activity. In discussion of the frequency analysis, two features are considered: a) the frequency of the seven subject categories, **natural landscapes, built landscapes, formal events, activities, economic activities, objects, and people** (see table 1, chapter three for definitions and examples of these categories), and b) the frequency distribution of subject categories by tourist

Figure 11:

SITES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA NOT MENTIONED IN  
*BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA*, 1959-1983



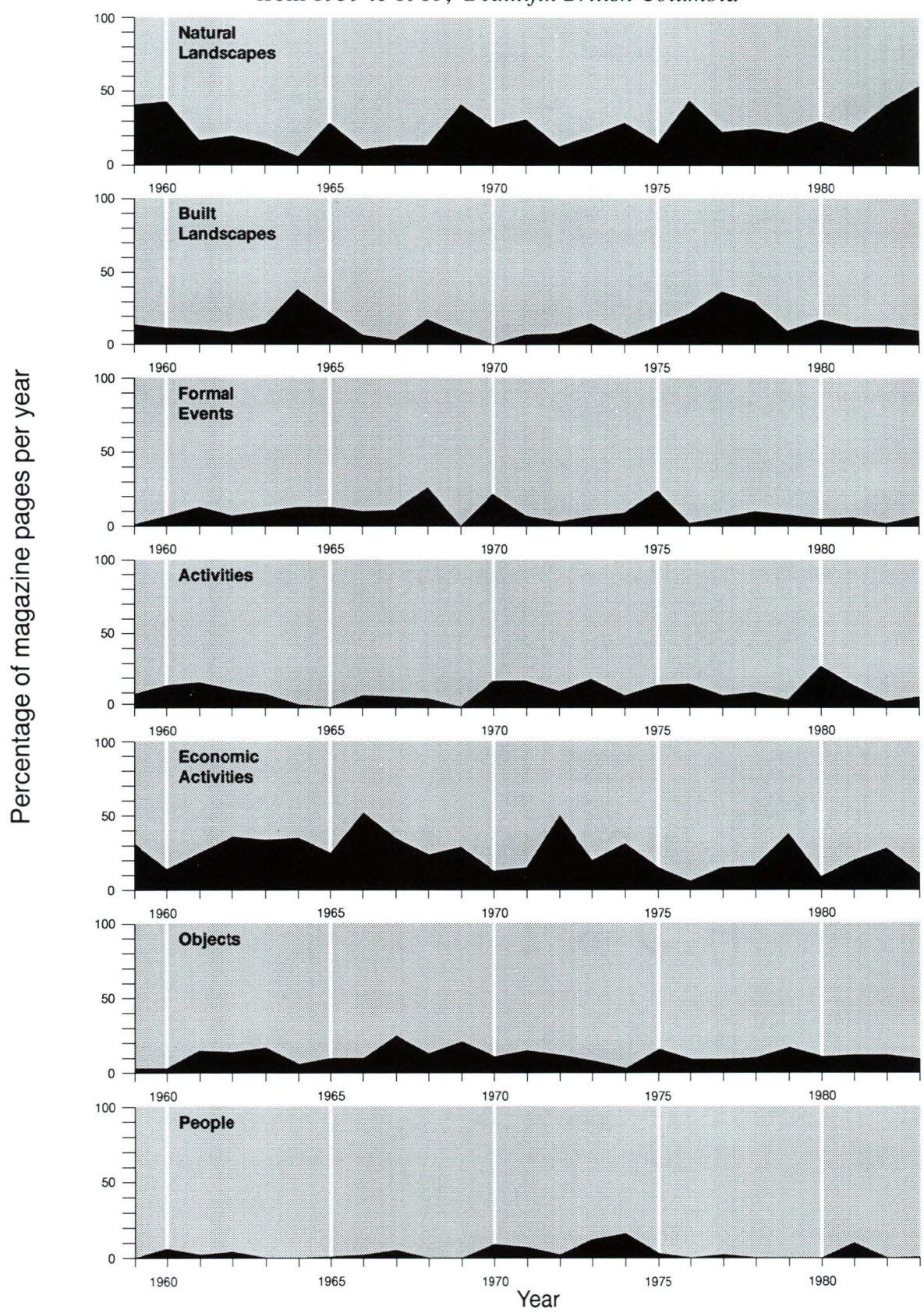
regions. Insight into possible reasons for the distributions follow. Content analysis of *Beautiful British Columbia* suggests that the timely presentation of subject topics is not random, but that some subject topics appear much more frequently than others. Significant trends and correlations are apparent in specific categories and locations over time.

a) *frequency of subject categories:*

Overall trends in the categorical subject content of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, 1959 to 1983, are presented in figure 12. Several observations can be made in relation to this figure and additional frequency counts. First, the magazine reveals very different proportions of subject categories over time. Second, the visual and verbal text in each article has changed in frequency and subject theme, which has a great impact on the final perception of the reader of the article. Similarly varied, the verbal text, consisting of written text and captions adjacent to illustrations, complements the adjoining visual text only to a certain degree. Third, the photograph on the front cover, important to capture attention, changed from 1959 to 1983, reflecting concurring lifestyle and social trends.

As indicated in figure 12, the seven subject categories utilized in this study reveal very different proportions of frequency of mention in *Beautiful British Columbia* during the period of analysis of 1959 to 1983. Of all the subject categories, **natural landscape** is alluded to most often, accounting for 28 percent of magazine page space of total text. Articles classified as **economic activities** are second, with 25 percent of magazine page

Figure 12:  
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECT CATEGORIES  
from 1959 to 1983, *Beautiful British Columbia*



space in the twenty-five year period. The general pattern of distribution in the **natural landscape** category is one of relatively consistent mention with intermittent peaks in 1959, 1960, 1969 and 1976, with a rapid rise from 1981 to the end of the study period in 1983. Conversely, **economic activities** reached peak frequency of mention in 1966 and 1972, with an overall but gradual decrease in distribution frequencies from 1972 to 1983.

Interesting trends in frequency over time are also apparent in the other subject categories. **Built landscapes** (16 percent of the total text) clearly peak in frequency of mention in 1964 and 1977, while showing a irregular pattern of sudden high and low distributions in all other years. **Activities, objects and formal events** (10, 10, and 8 percent respectively) illustrate low proportions consistently throughout the twenty-five years; **formal events** peak at approximately 24 percent in three distinct years, 1968, 1970 and 1975. **Activities** clearly peak in 1980 at 28 percent. The **people** subject category remains consistently low during the period of analysis, with its highest points at 12 percent and 16 percent in 1973 and 1974 respectively. In 11 out of the 25 years of the study period, *zero* pages were attributed to the **people** category, with 3 percent of total text, indicating the low priority for promotion of specific individuals or groups of people in *Beautiful British Columbia*.

Magazine content can potentially be influenced by numerous demand and market factors, and offers insight into the differences of relative frequencies and proportions of subject categories and pattern of occurrence over time. For example, the peak years in the **formal events** category are associated with major provincial festivals such as the

Vancouver Festival in 1968, and international events such as Expo 1971 in Japan. In general, the spring and summer months are occasions for city carnivals, rodeos, dances, regattas and sporting competitions. Winter is the primary season to promote the more individualistic **activities** such as downhill skiing, golfing and hiking. **Economic activities** typically peak during the years celebrating local industry or recreational enterprises (1962-4, 1966, 1972, 1979), and completions of highways (1974), hydro-electric dam projects and new ferries or ferry routes (1972). Peak years of **built landscapes** occur when the magazine highlights its "Gallery of B.C. Communities" or features a specific city (1964, 1977).

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine depends on the photograph to get the specifics of the article to the reader; the verbal text is not relied upon to generate the topic message, but to "talk around" the article title which the reader had assumed is an indicator of the primary topic of the article. Visual text dominates the area content of each issue of *Beautiful British Columbia*. Visual text, comprised of photographs, maps, pictures and diagrams, has remained significantly constant over the twenty-five year period, with an average of 71 percent of area in each issue, or 76 percent overall from 1959 to 1983.

The written text in each article complements the adjoining photographs only to a certain degree. The overall amount of verbal text, or article text and captions, comprise, on average, 14 percent of magazine area per issue. The amount of verbal text has decreased approximately 22 percent from the early 1960s to the early 1980s. Interestingly, the absolute frequency of verbal space is regularly maximized when relating

to illustrations in the **economic activities** category, both in the significant area of grid space devoted to article text in this category as well as establishing **economic activities** as the subject category with the most caption space per article when compared to caption area of the other categories. Even though articles devoted to the **built landscape** category do not often occur, they still afford the second-highest amount of both article text and caption space on average per article. In both verbal texts, **natural landscape** is afforded the least text on average per article. The remainder, or white space, in each issue comprises an average of 15 percent, a figure which has drastically increased approximately 32 percent from 1959 to 1983.

Two articles are significant on the basis of containing the most visual and verbal text. The article with the most pictorial content overall, or the amount of space in the magazine taken up by visual text, "A Many Splendoured Spring" (*BBC*, 1975:1:1-9), evaluated as a **formal events** category, sub-set 3.1, contains many visual examples of natural landscapes, but is verbally directed to promotion of seasonal "spring-time" events hosted at the local scale throughout the province. The article with the largest amount of verbal content overall is "Japan and British Columbia: 'New Neighbours' on the Pacific Rim" (*BBC*, 1970:1:1-30) and is also of the category sub-set 3.1. This article describes the upcoming celebration of British Columbia's exhibit at Expo 1970 in Osaka, Japan, as well as detailing the extensive cultural and economic ties the province has with Japan.

The photographs on the magazine's front cover have remained, in subject content, in the same topic category over the 25 years. Of important consideration is the overwhelming frequency of appearance of **natural landscape** on the front and back

covers, which appears in 58 of 192 covers, or 30 percent of all covers. Panoramic, wide-angle photographs accentuating bright blue skies commonly appear on the covers of *Beautiful British Columbia*, a technical fact of which the magazine is very proud: "The sun [is] forever shining in its pages and the province's natural wonders and manmade attractions [appear] always in bright color" (Gidney, 1993:D1). Following **natural landscapes** in order of decreasing frequency of subject category is **objects** with 23 percent, **activities** with 14 percent, **built environments** and **formal events** (each at 9 percent), and lastly, **economic activities**, at 8 percent. Thirteen of the 192 front and back cover photographs depict a person or **people**, and as such communicate to the reader images of social norms such as fashion and lifestyle trends of the British Columbia populace.

Advertising by each season - spring, summer, autumn, and winter - permits specialized promotions of seasonal activities, especially those such as resort skiing and annual carnivals and events. However, *Beautiful British Columbia* is also quick to dispel the idea of "seasonal" activities, demonstrating that one may also hike in the winter up in the northern glaciers, fish in the ocean or, of recent high interest, play golf all-year round. *Beautiful British Columbia* continually mentions the province's moderate climate, indicating only rarely "the mizzling rains of winter" (*BBC*, 1965:1:2). Robinson (1976) notes the importance of weather in a tourist's experience:

Fine weather with warmth and sunshine is one of the most important attractions of a tourist area. Good weather is a particularly important ingredient in holidaying - it can make or mar a holiday.

(Robinson, 1976:43).

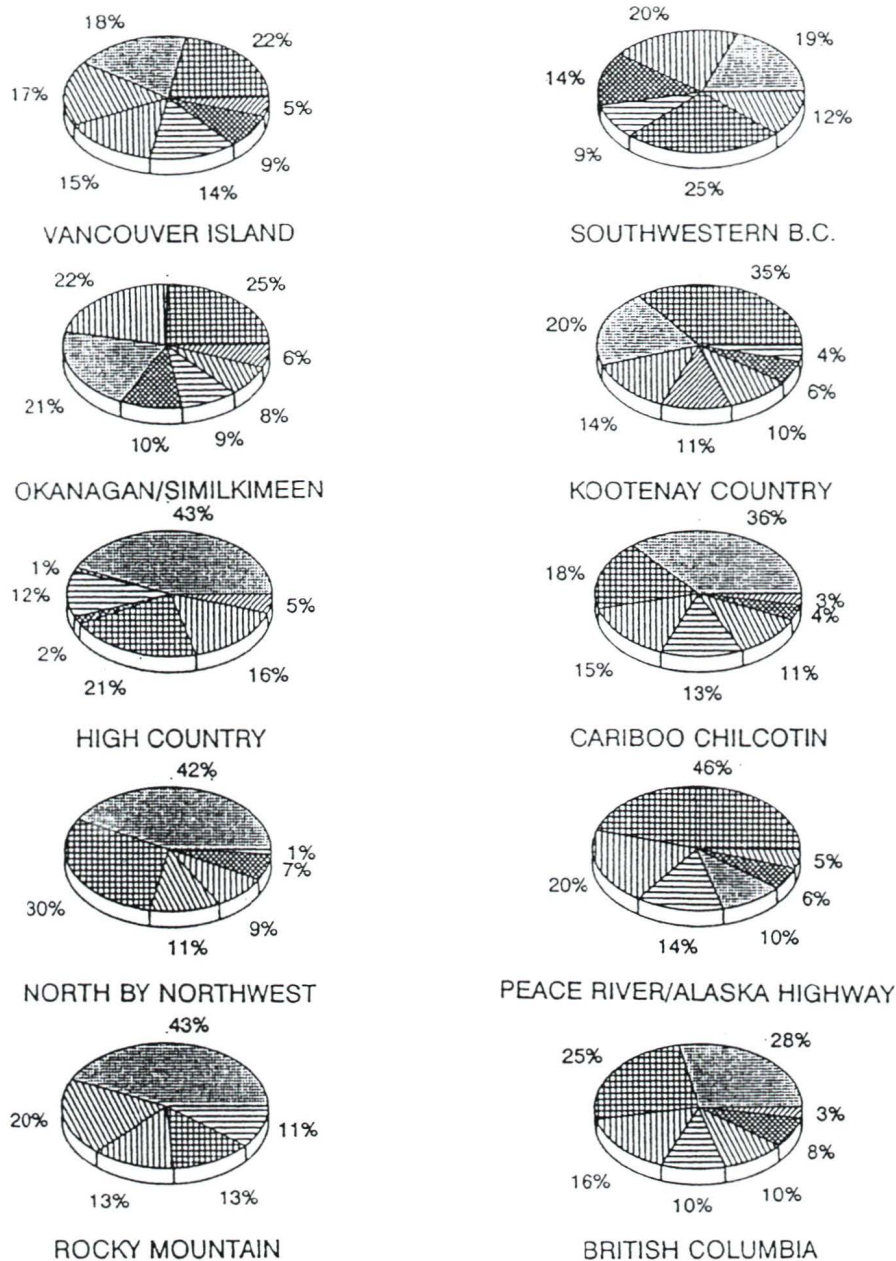
In spite of international awareness of frequent clouds and rain throughout British Columbia, especially in the winter months, the *Beautiful British Columbia* makes only two concrete references, in the 96 magazine issues under study, to poor weather; an article entitled "Think Clouds" (*BBC*, 1970:3:22) deals more with dreaming about pictures in clouds than with what the clouds often produce, and another article expresses Vancouverites' impressions of rain with "You certainly don't have to shovel it" (*BBC*, 1963:1:41-5). Even in an article dealing solely with the winter months ("Winter is...", *BBC*, 1970:4:20), the season is portrayed with images of both snowflakes and snow-orientated recreational activities, as well as green golf courses, but no rain.

*b) frequency distribution of subject categories by tourist region:*

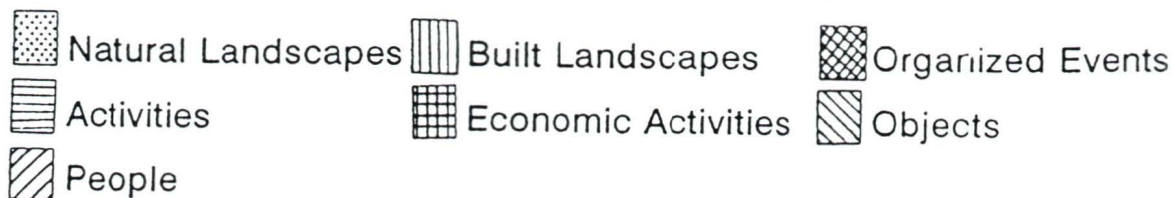
The "official" tourist areas outlined by B.C. Tourism are not mentioned in *Beautiful British Columbia*. The regions, however, do provide a legitimate and practical set of boundaries in classifying the sites described in the magazine. Each tourist area, as discussed in Ministry of Tourism studies, is characterized by distinctive regional qualities in its physical and cultural landscape. These composite images are identified by the more familiar or easily recognizable physical and social features of each area.

Figure 13 illustrates the percentage distribution of each subject category per tourist region in *Beautiful British Columbia*. "Some [places]", says Robinson (1976:40), "are extremely fortunate in that they have one asset so outstanding and unique that the tourist industry can largely depend on, and be promoted by, this feature." The **natural landscape** is noticeably the most frequent and intense image portrayed throughout the

Figure 13:  
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECT CATEGORIES  
 PER TOURIST REGION, *BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA*  
 MAGAZINE, 1959-1983



SUBJECT CATEGORIES OF VISUAL TEXT



province. **Natural landscape** is the most frequently-mentioned subject category in four of the nine tourist regions: The High Country, the Cariboo, North by Northwest, Rocky Mountain; and in British Columbia as a whole. Interestingly, **natural landscape** is found in the "top" three subject frequencies in eight of the nine tourist regions.

**Economic activity** is probably the second most frequent and important message sent out in the magazine. In the Peace River / Alaska Highway region noted above as minimizing mention of **natural landscape**, 46 percent of the magazine's text is classified as **economic**, and is attributed to the overwhelming emphasis of discussion on transportation routes (John Hart and Alaska Highways) and descriptions of hydro-electric dam projects on the Peace and Columbia Rivers. Transportation routes are emphasized throughout *Beautiful British Columbia* articles, illustrating an ease of access into and within the province. For example, the ferry services from Seattle to Vancouver, from Vancouver up the coast, to Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands, and up to Alaska are expressed as tourist tours in themselves. The Alaskan Highway, initially introduced to magazine readers in 1961 (*BBC*, 1961:1:27), promotes the possibility of adventure in the "final frontier" of the Northeastern corner of B.C., leads to industrial centres of the north, has an abundance of wildlife, and is exceptionally scenic.

The third most frequently-mentioned subject category is the **built landscapes** emphasized in Southwestern B.C., the Okanagan / Similkameen region, and Peace River / Alaska Highway, and to lesser extent in the Vancouver Island, High Country and Cariboo / Chilcotin regions. This distribution is expected, corresponding respectively to the urban convergence of Vancouver, the populated agglomerations of the southern

interior of the province, and the northern commercial centres of Dawson Creek and Fort St. John. The remaining subject categories of **activities**, **formal events**, **objects** and **people** are divided in small but varying proportions in distribution throughout the province.

## 5.2 Analysis of the Content

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine presents to the reader a series of images describing the British Columbia landscape. The previous section has outlined persistent trends in these images regarding spatial or site orientation and subject-category frequencies featured in the magazine. A host of common elements are established within the written text of the articles and accompanying illustrations, pictures, and maps, which record a simpler structural vision that the magazine is transmitting to its readers. Thus, this analysis needs to "move beyond" the textual content of the magazine, as detailed and described in the previous section, and examine the *themes* distinguishable in the detailed trends. Shields (1991) endorses such a method:

We need to move beyond a view of spatialisation which posits a set of cognitive algorithms one might resort to when, for example, choosing a vacation destination... In social spatialisation, cosmology is extended to the physical sites and spaces of the world which is populated by the mind with places and inhabitants which express the *nature* of each given area. As the Greeks looked at the stars and saw constellations which outlined mythical figures on the inside surface of a dome (as opposed to near and far galaxies and stars), so people today might look at a map of the world and see similar, non-empirical, gestalt constellations of good and bad places. *Real spaces are hypostatized into the symbolic realm of imaginary space relations.*  
(Shields, 1991:263-4).

Four recurring themes embody the data of images in *Beautiful British Columbia*: [i] describing places: city, countryside and wilderness; [ii] insider and outsider; [iii] the old and the new; and [iv] in, on, and above the landscape. The ensuing portion of this chapter will examine in detail these themes, utilizing examples from the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine.

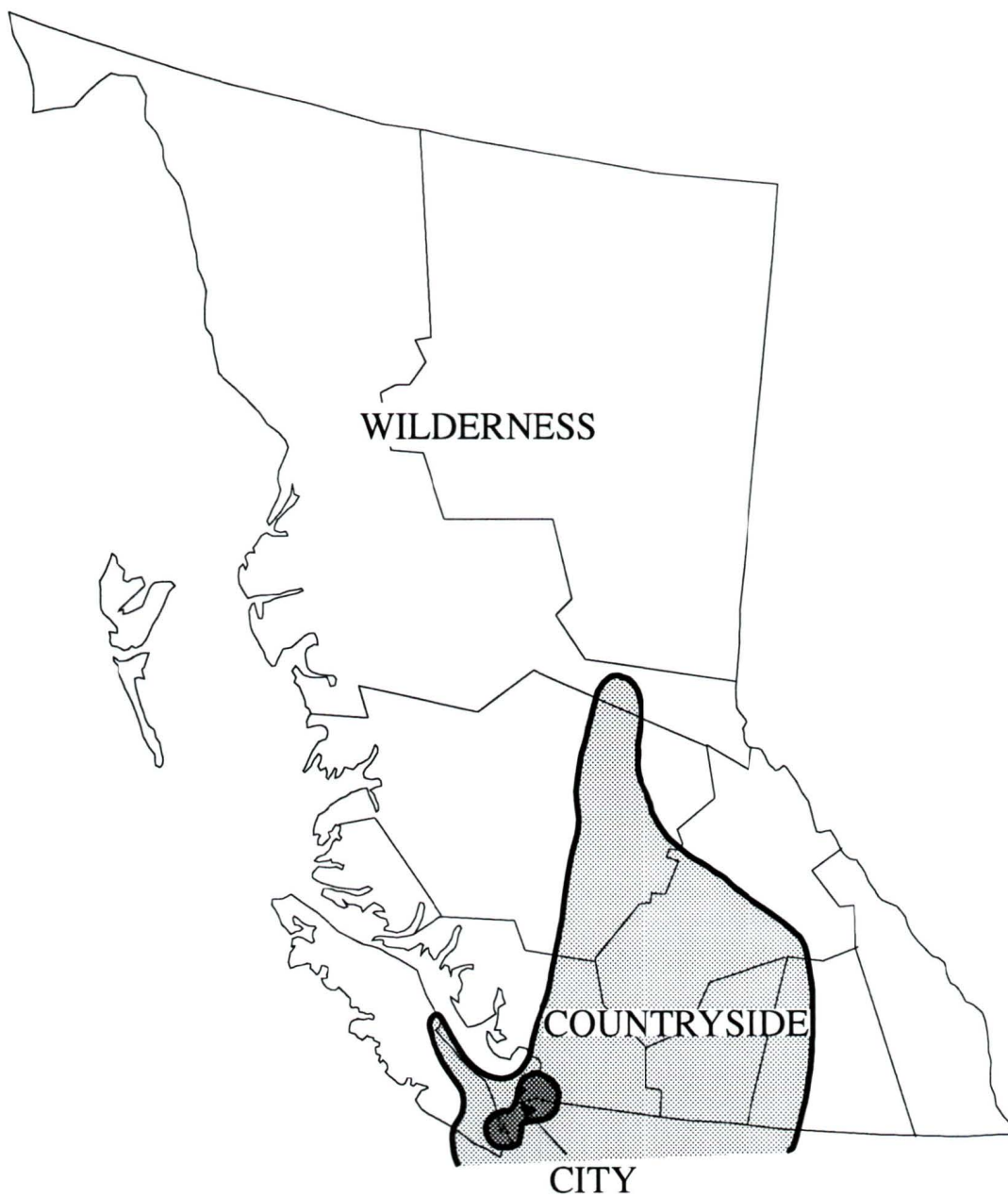
*ij) describing places: city, countryside and wilderness*

The site in British Columbia in which a story takes place is distinctly mentioned in 85 percent of all articles in *Beautiful British Columbia*, 1959 to 1983. Three disparate focuses, shifting with direction and distance, are inherent in these site descriptions: the British Columbian city, countryside, and wilderness (figure 14). The urban core is situated at Vancouver and Victoria, the countryside extends on the mainland from Vancouver eastward to the Okanagan Valley and northwards along the Fraser Valley and on Vancouver Island from Victoria northwards to Nanaimo and westwards to Sooke, and the wilderness extends northwards from the afore-mentioned areas, encompassing the remainder of the province.

**a) the city:** Twenty-one percent of all articles in *Beautiful British Columbia* are centred around the urban agglomerations of Vancouver and Victoria. This area is the most densely populated in the province. As seventy-seven percent of all non-resident tourists to British Columbia visit these two cities (Campbell et al., 1990:24), the high degree of promotion of the area in *BBC*'s pages is not surprising. Interestingly, the

Figure 14:

CITY, COUNTRYSIDE AND WILDERNESS THEMES  
DEPICTED IN *BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA*



majority of tourists to British Columbia visit *only* these two cities, often travelling between the two by ferry or airplane, but not venturing far from the urban centres (BC Research, 1990:24). British Columbia Tourism has recognized this fact, initiating in the 1980s an aggressive marketing strategy to entice people out of the cities into the Eastern interior of the province and northward on Vancouver Island.

Lynch (1960) considers five essential elements - the path, edge, district, node and landmark - around and within which a city's image may be defined. *Beautiful British Columbia* tends to skim over these interrelative components by quickly illustrating a variety of distinctive images of the cityscape, and then utilizing these images as building blocks for the "total" image. It is the total orchestration of the units which amalgamate together to form a dense and vivid image and sustain the image of urban British Columbia.

The images of the city expressed in the *Beautiful British Columbia* differ between the two cities. The rich and vivid images of Vancouver and Victoria portrayed in *Beautiful British Columbia* promote both centres as locales of opportunity and enthusiasm for social life and culture. Entertainment, cultural and scenic attractions are highlighted. Despite these initial similarities, individual and highly-visible components are emphasized in each city. Vancouver is distinguished as "the hub" and the bustling metropolis of the province. Six articles refer to the Vancouver airport as an international point of entry to the province. At least seven percent of all *BBC* articles describe the converging network of highways and railways providing transportation with the rest of the province. Motifs of Vancouver's modern urban utopia are expressed in *BBC* as a celebration of high-rise

buildings, marinas, beaches, parks and "big-city sophistication" (*BBC*, 1961:4:14). Victoria, on the other hand, is depicted as having a nostalgic, slow-paced lifestyle. Archetypal images in *BBC* refer time and time again to the city's British ancestry (*BBC*, 1963:2:17). With the Empress Hotel and the provincial Legislative Buildings (or "Parliament Buildings" (*BBC*, 1969:4:20)) located within a few feet of each other, Victoria is promoted as an experientially-important environment with highly specialized and prestigious sights.

Distinct social and cultural groups tend to perceive environments differently (Harrison and Howard, 1972:394). *Beautiful British Columbia* identifies a variety of distinct cultural and lifestyle groups in the city and emphasises the physical aspects and cultural amenities of the city which would appeal to each group. For example, enjoyment of the sophisticated arts is portrayed in *BBC* articles relating to urban life in Vancouver and Victoria (*BBC*, 1963:1:34; *BBC*, 1983:1:28). Of primary focus in these articles is textual descriptions and illustrations of theatre plays, concerts and museum or art gallery displays. Cultural and immigrant interests are portrayed through descriptions of annual carnivals and festivals of ethnic origins, such as the annual rodeo show in Cloverdale (*BBC*, 1962:3:36), descriptions of Chinatown (*BBC*, 1982:2:1), and the carving of Native Indian ceremonial masks (*BBC*, 1964:4:16). Urban amenities are featured to appeal to all ages, especially the elderly, to both individuals and families, and to the handicapped (*BBC*, 1981:2:back cover).

A common notion of tourists wanting to visit a large city involves the psychological capacity of tourists' perceptions of crowdedness. Uzzell (1991:8) demonstrates that

perceptions of crowdedness vary according to visitors' intentions and their educational and social background rather than according to the qualities of the site itself. In short, what some people regard as crowded, others perceive as under-used. The *BBC* warns the reader of typically crowded seasons, but always mentions the handling capacities of the region, or its "excellent management" in terms of the ability of an area to sustain a given number of tourists and not pose a threat to ecological or social systems.

*Beautiful British Columbia* notes the temporal nature of the urban image in a purely optimistic direction. Governments are noted as being intensely involved in future plans and upgrades to urban amenities for the tourist, especially in the retail, accommodation and transportation sectors. Only one article attempts to examine crime, violence, or the "bad" side of the city, and this is chiefly devoted to architectural style: "As is the case with most rapidly growing cities, Vancouver suffers in... her share of unimaginative streets, of unimaginative dwellings, but she also has some of the most daring architectural innovations in the country" (*BBC*, 1963:1:41). Residential areas or the city suburbs are very rarely, and not to any extent, discussed as the primary focus of an article in the magazine.

Images of the urban landscapes promoted in *Beautiful British Columbia* are not only desirable to the reader so as to capture attention, but are also adaptable (Lynch, 1960:139) to the changing needs of the tourist. The advertised components of the city in *BBC* stress the city's different "functional uses" (Uzzell, 1991:7) in relation to the various urban amenities available to the tourist. Visible tourist interests are acknowledged, typically stressing the physical setting in terms of architectural modernity, aesthetically-

pleasing and ecological landscape features, economic and industrial progression, social and ethnic diversity, and a myriad options as to intellectual or recreational activities. No one possible interpretation as to the use of a landscape are presented; the tourist may choose to visit one component of the city, which is meaningful in itself, *or* the energetic tourist may experience many available components, and will also be very satisfied with the experience.

**b) the countryside:** Just as Tuan (1974:247) has noted that "as artifact, the city reflects human purpose", he asserts that the rise of cities has produced "a longing for rusticity" (Tuan, 1974:106). Similar perceptions to those expressed by Tuan are identified in *Beautiful British Columbia* in the physical and affective contrast between the city and countryside theme. The countryside as a contemporary myth is pictured in *BBC* as a non-hurried lifestyle where people follow the seasons rather than the economic demands of big city life, and where people have more time for one another. The image of British Columbia's countryside draws upon a blend of town and country, maintaining links with the contemporary amenities of the city while enjoying the benefits of living in proximity with nature and culture. The natural countryside, or "evergreen playground" (*BBC*, 1960:3:8), composing this pastoral ideal include areas of Vancouver Island, the Okanagan Valley region and the Cariboo region (see figure 14).

*Beautiful British Columbia* promotes the countryside as a refuge from modernity. "The countryside figures as the place of our past" (Short, 1991:34). The magazine describes the countryside as a controlled aesthetic experience. It is often illustrated as a

hazy panorama or skyline (particularly the dramatic sunsets over rolling hills), or as an unyielding background, against which a "quality" product stands out, such as an historic stone church. These settings have become emblematic, the routine background, for conveying images of cultural progression with a hinterland affluence, and the reliability of hard work and relaxing moments. The magazine's sentiment towards the countryside is captured in a vision of the small cabin in the forest clearing. This image remains a powerful lure to the modern adventurous individual who dreams of withdrawal. A drive out to the country is promoted in the magazine as an escape from the stress and complexity of life in the city to a pleasant, induced, almost luxuriant isolation which can be easily penetrated when required, or in event of an emergency. Rural sentiment is constructed in similar manner throughout the stories in *Beautiful British Columbia*.

*Beautiful British Columbia* figures the countryside as the location of nostalgia, "the setting for simpler lives... [for] a people whose existence seems idyllic because they are unencumbered with the immense task of living in the present" (Short, 1991:34). The nostalgic scene is one of peace and stability. The strengths of this pastoral nostalgia are credited in *BBC* pages through descriptions of folk traditions celebrating the cultural bond between a people and their territory.

*Beautiful British Columbia* presents a rhetorical contrast between rural country life and life in country towns and cities. Local cities, such as Merritt and Kelowna, seemed to have developed as an aspect of the agricultural order itself: at a simple level, the town markets are highlighted; at a higher level, the towns have graduated to centres of commerce, administration and secondary production. The city in the countryside is

depicted as a milder, more conventional contrast to metropolitan life - every such city has developed a certain ideological autonomy, in that the effective bases of society are still landed property and the consequent rural production, as opposed to "the greed and calculation, so easily isolated and condemned in the city " (Williams, 1973:48). Even in the contemporary cities of the countryside, the *BBC* expresses images of tradition and continuity. Life in rural surroundings is constituted as a bastion for the enhancement of family life and spiritual rejuvenation. A simpler rural life is regarded as a reaction against urban sophistication through a longing for rusticity.

Pearce (1982:9) notes many kinds of tourism favour peripheral locations, places which are removed from the urban and industrial concentrations. The Okanagan and Cariboo regions are often referred to as entities within themselves. These two regions are always referred to as "within driving distance" from Vancouver, and quickly accessible when it is time to get "out of the fast lane" (*BBC*, 1982:1:33). *Beautiful British Columbia* claims that rest and relaxation is important to both tourist and resident. Descriptions of countryside regions focus on individuals of the working-class, which encourages magazine readers to develop perceptions of the region on an intimate scale. In such a manner, the *BBC* reader closely identifies and connects with a "knowable community" (Williams, 1973:165).

The countryside's image is not about a consumptive loss of the wilderness, or the exploitation of nature, as commonly expressed in regional literature (Short, 1991:39; Williams, 1973:36), but about the hard work and traditional values of agrarianism. In one strain of Short's "anti-pastoral tradition" (Short, 1991:37), the characteristics of the

country-dweller are "loutish and ill-mannered" and rural life is hemmed in by "a suffocating network of ritual obligations". Images of the countryside presented in *Beautiful British Columbia* consist solely of a progressive, unified natural order of society, culture and industry, and inherently characterized by conservation. The agricultural fields illustrated so much in the *BBC* pages are indisputably presented in celebration of British Columbia's agriculture industry; commercial agriculture and ranching in British Columbia are about product quality and profit (for example, *BBC*, 1962:2:23), but it is also about food production, landscape preservation, recreation, and long-term ecological balance.

The image of the countryside portrayed in *Beautiful British Columbia* perpetuates the romantic wholeness of the rural ideal; the simple plenty of the countryside is available to the *BBC* reader not solely as a metaphorical retreat in a magazine glossy, but is actively available as an actual retreat upon visiting the illustrated sites. The countryside is identified, in *Beautiful British Columbia*, as performing a dual role. On one hand, it is the ideal middle landscape between the smooth artificiality of the city and the rough wildness of nature. On the other hand, it is a complex, functional, and bountiful segment of the British Columbian economic landscape.

**c) the wilderness:** The wilderness of British Columbia extends beyond the borders of the countryside to the Eastern and Northern mountain ranges, spanning the provincial coastline and mid-interior (figure 14). The wilderness is widely accepted as the antithesis of the city (Tuan, 1974:109), and inherently involves a more robust

appreciation of nature than that available in the reaches of the countryside. The essence of wilderness is "wildness" (Porteous, 1991:99). Dimensions of a wilderness experience typically include enjoyment, fascination, solitude and contact with elemental nature (Graber, 1976; Beck, 1987:4). Two facets of wilderness, the "romantic" and the "classic" (Short, 1991:6), are apparent in *Beautiful British Columbia* and are discussed below.

The "romantic" wilderness is described by Short (1991:6) as "a place to be revered, a place of deep spiritual significance and a symbol of an earthly paradise." The spiritual characteristic of wilderness is likened to the geographical concepts of "sacred space" (Graber, 1976), a mythical or cosmological sense of place (Tuan:1974:141) where one may achieve a "peak experience" (Beck, 1987). Visits to remote, isolated, natural places may result in experiences "frequently expressed as 'oneness with nature'" (Porteous, 1991:100). Beck (1987:3) argues that "one of the several triggers which has the capacity to ignite optimal experiences is natural scenery." Depiction of the romantic wilderness in *Beautiful British Columbia* dwells on the monumentality of natural forms, expressing a 'Thoreauan' love for nature. Wilderness photographs in *BBC* emphasize the size and bulk of British Columbia's "natural" areas through images of panoramic landscapes and rugged scenery.

*Beautiful British Columbia* expresses the novelty of the wilderness environment as a critical dimension of the overall tourist experience. Just as Beck's river recreationalists (1987:12) sought something "novel, unusual or different", *BBC* indicates that the provincial wilderness provides an escape from the routine and obligation of day-to-day concerns:

The broad areas of British Columbia, many still wild and sparsely populated, are havens of solitude to many British Columbians and visitors... from the frantic tempo of urban American living.

(BBC, 1960:2:11).

*Beautiful British Columbia* does not depict a wilderness including inclement weather, insects, or large frightening animals. The theory of adventure tourism suggests that such tourists wish to make contact with nature to expand individual growth and development. This is the rationale behind packaged wilderness tours and holidays with mountain-climbing, forest trekking, dude ranching or river paddling opportunities. A common motive for travel to the B.C. wilderness is to gain new knowledge of an unique landscape and to experience wildlife at close range (BBC, 1965:4:26). *Beautiful British Columbia* promotes wilderness experiences as having a residual affect of "something added" to the typical travel experience. To the adventurous, British Columbia's spatial horizon is wide open, but one should be in good physical shape and well-prepared with supplies.

In *Beautiful British Columbia*, under pretence of historical distance, the magazine idolizes the "hardy" individuals who opened up the wilderness frontier. The magazine views the acts and motives of the pioneer as a backwoodsman, not amenable to the civilizing opportunities of city living, commerce or industry. Today's wilderness personality, who wishes to rough-it in the contemporary wilderness, is characterized as being in continuous touch with the simplicities of nature. Examples discussed in the magazine include Northern fishing villages and Native Indian communities, which exude an air of simplicity and purity in their way-of-life that makes them seem to harbour heroic expressions of an admirable quality.

The "classical" perception of wilderness involves a stance tending to be "avowedly

progressive... Human use confers meaning on [wilderness] space" (Short, 1991:6). This perception contradicts the romantic and traditional portrait of wilderness, as expressed by Porteous (1991:99): "The essence of wilderness is... lack of evidence of human activity." The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine has found a receptive audience for the classical form of wilderness as a source of natural resources. Images of this wilderness are concerned with issues of *utility*, and are primarily concerned with the condition of productiveness. The wilderness became the image of human achievement and economic endeavour, a "theology [which has been] used as a justification for the clearing of the wood, the draining of the fen and the claiming of the heath" (Short, 1991:13). The wilderness region is acknowledged as the site in 54 percent of articles in *Beautiful British Columbia* discussing **economic activities**. Images of logging and road-building are typically given a "scientific" basis; no discussion ensues of the balance between people and their environment. A highlight in *BBC* is the celebration of the provincial government's feats of building monumental hydro-electric dams, and in particular, the W.A.C. Bennett Dam (*BBC*, 1980:1:41), in the wilderness:

Here is a land of relatively untouched energy resources with rivers impatient for their harness... and an industrial complex to bring jobs to the many and to convert the natural resources into the products which ease the burden of living.

(*BBC*, 1960:3:8).

In the late 1970s, thoughts of wilderness conservation began to compete, in *Beautiful British Columbia*, with the politics of wilderness exploitation. "It's the little things that disturb you in the wilderness: cigarette filters and beer bottle caps carelessly tossed aside... At Symphony Lake... it was a great feeling to live in harmony with

nature" (*BBC*, 1979:2:7). Nevertheless, the *BBC* magazine consistently asserts that the wilderness is readily accessible to all, whether by road, ferry, rail or air. The magazine claims the harmonious balance between nature and the civil is not an assault on the purity of the wilderness, but a gateway towards the infinite wilderness space. In this sense, an unintentionally ironic relationship is promoted by *Beautiful British Columbia*, in a dialectic connection of the paved expressway into the supposed isolation of the romantic wilderness.

*ii) insider and outsider*

The irony of tourism is that "for many tourists, they achieve the highest levels of satisfaction when they feel that they have ceased to be a 'tourist'" (Ryan, 1991:35). The tourist is simultaneously in two ambiguous positions: [a] the tourist is not simply a stranger, but a *temporary* stranger (Cohen, 1987), and [b] the tourist is a guest, but an impersonal guest (Ryan, 1991:37). Tourists seek the status of a guest, because in being such they are welcomed into what MacCannell (1976) calls the "backroom", the area not normally seen by the outsider. But tourists do not necessarily want to be full members, or insiders, of the host society, for to do so means they lose the privileges accorded to a guest. The tourist is therefore caught up in a dual existence, existing as an insider of "the tourist environment" (Pearce, 1982:98), but remaining an outsider of the host environment.

The insider / outsider theme involves the perception of an individual in relation to a place. It is the result of a dynamic transactional process that can be influenced by the

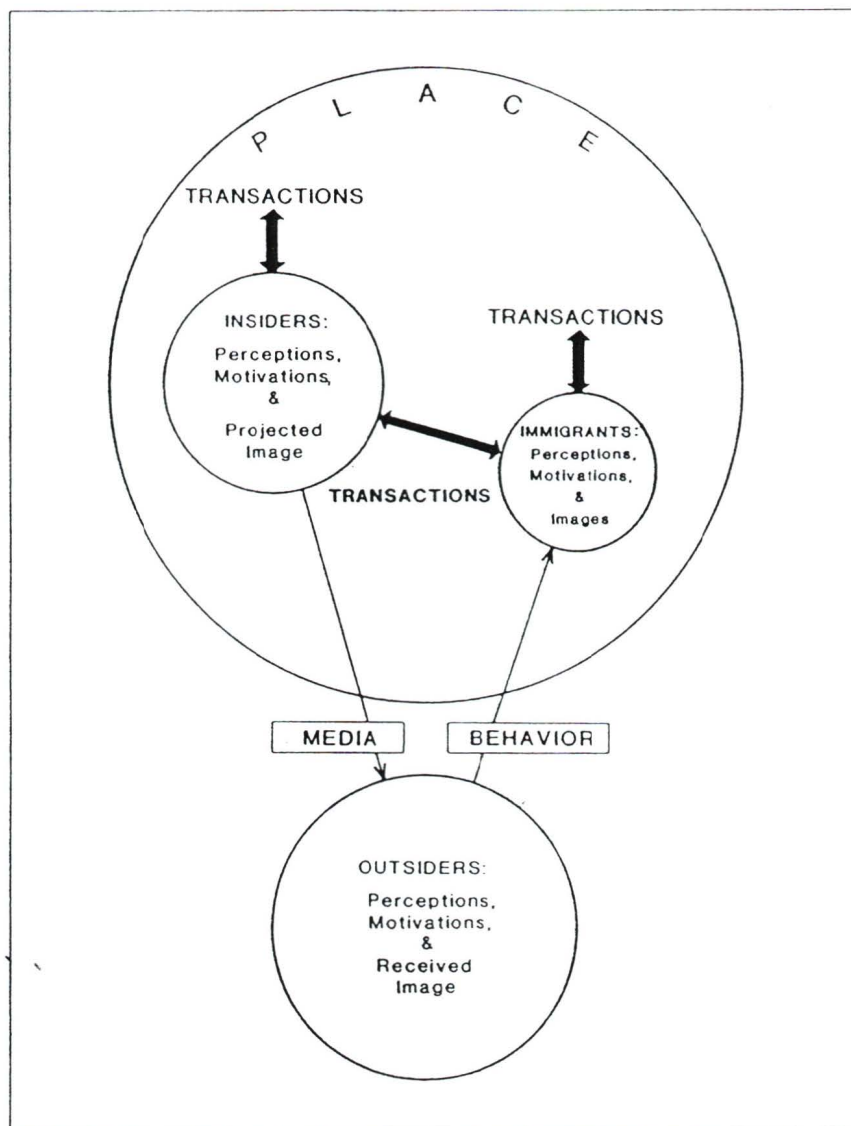
perception of places as they are portrayed in different media, as well as through actual experience of the places (figure 15). The process begins when information about a place is consciously or unconsciously acquired by an individual from the media, or through person-to-person communication or personal experience. This information is then processed by the individual, passing through multiple perceptual "filters":

The perceptions and purposes of those creating the image act as filters in the selection, focus and embellishment of the content... literature, painting and photography are each capable of emphasizing, with varying degrees of success, different characteristics of places.  
(Zube and Kennedy, 1990:182).

The resulting images portrayed in the media have two characteristics: i] they may or may not correspond with actual physical or social conditions; and ii] they may influence change in both the individual and the environment due to change in individual or group perception, social milieux, or overt behaviour.

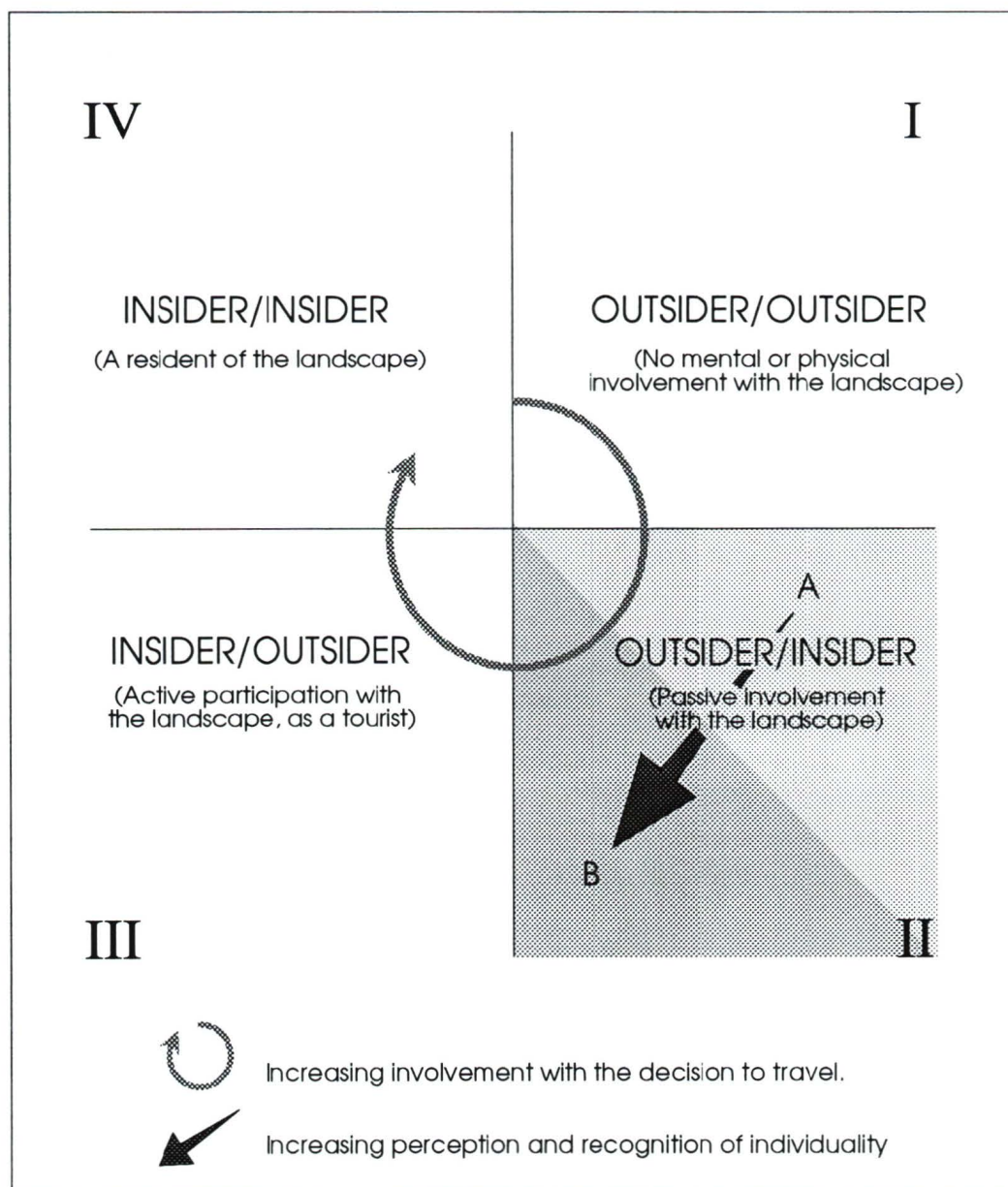
A dialectical distinction exists between the tourist as an outsider and an insider (figure 16). The geographical literature supports such a distinction: the key to identity of place, argues Relph (1976:49) is "insiderness" or the degree to which a person belongs to and associates oneself with a place. Two conceptualisms of "outsiderness" are noted by Relph (1976:51): where the person is alienated from place and people; and where the person intentionally adopts a dispassionate attitude toward place. People in these modes of experience are separate from place and feel no attachment (see quadrant I in figure 16). As a person begins to notice place, s/he begins seeing and deliberately looking for aspects of place that make it different from other places. As these feelings of "behavioural insiderness" (Relph, 1976:53) strengthen, the person may experience

Figure 15:  
 THE TRANSACTIONAL PROCESS INVOLVING  
 PLACE, INSIDERS, and OUTSIDERS



(in Zube and Kennedy, 1990:185)

Figure 16:  
THE DIALECTIC DISTINCTION BETWEEN OUTSIDER AND INSIDER.



"empathetic insideness", which requires a "willingness to be open to significances of place, to feel it, to know and respect its symbols" (Relph, 1976:54). The person may grow closer to the place, feeling the positive emotions of attachment that Tuan (1974) has termed "topophilia". Seamon (1979:86) calls such attachment and concern for a place "rootedness", which provides the tourist both "spatial and temporal orientation... [to support] order of movement and continuity in time."

In the context of discussion of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine and distinguishing between the tourist as an insider and an outsider, the two important themes in quadrant II of figure 16 are of principal concern. This quadrant is divided into two parts, which address (A) the social milieu exposed to the *BBC* magazine and receiving and interpreting the images therein, and (B) the social milieu perceiving an image of individualism directed personally to the reader. The following two sections examine these ideas in the context of *Beautiful British Columbia*.

(A) The "outsider" is an individual who has no mental or physical involvement with a particular destination; even though this individual does not reside in nor have any interest in visiting this landscape, he or she retains the potential to become a tourist at a future time. However, as soon as an outsider expresses any interest in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, the individual segments him/herself from the anonymous, amorphous mass of people who hold no knowledge or active interest in British Columbia. Through reading *Beautiful British Columbia*, the potential tourist is able to establish a preliminary identity with the province. Though limited, this introductory identification

with the destination product is of utmost importance, since for many tourists, a reason for travelling to or returning to a given destination is because they have "established a relationship" (Ryan, 1991:37) with the host environment.

Thus, the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine is an informative transmitter promoting to the mass tourist the province's attributes of infrastructure facilities, contact points, and affective pleasures. The *BBC* familiarizes the magazine reader to these attributes through the passive interaction of text and reader. The *BBC* reader is able to *experience* the local landscape as represented by the magazine text, as the magazine is a sight-seeing commodity in itself. The sights, sounds, and smells described in *BBC* are wrapped up and packaged in the magazine text as a sight-seeing tour in which the tourist may seek to observe the "strangeness of the [potential] host environment" (Boorstin, 1961:94) from the security of his or her resident surroundings.

*Beautiful British Columbia* provides readers with the perception that they have already intermingled with the locals and shared and indulged in the various activities offered by the host society. A traveller's guidebook will point out transportation routes and places of interest; *Beautiful British Columbia* introduces the reader to particular local shops, parks, restaurants, cinemas, community history, and the best local fishing hole for trout. Maps of various scales provide the reader with personalized directions, such as "around the corner", or, "if you continue on up the road... ". The *BBC* displays a fascination for the real life of B.C people, which promotes an inherent "reality" to the magazine reader. Readers are formally introduced to local residents, such as Ma Murray of Lillooet (*BBC*, 1976:1:19) and The Honourable Frank MacKenzie Ross (*BBC*,

1960:2:13), and celebrities such as Princess Anne, the "reigning princess looking over B.C." (*BBC*, 1971:4:back cover) as seen waving from the back cover of the magazine in a visit to the province; these people describe their own myths, stories, and livelihood in the local area. The reader receives the impression of individual face-to-face communication at a grassroots level, rather than the more impersonal and commercial view offered in the traditional tour- or guide-book format. The magazine's text portrays landscape characterizations in a personal and subjective context, in opposition to the more reserved and unimaginative style of tourist maps and travel guides. The magazine draws the focus of attention away from the expert, whether author, tourist guide, resource planner, or architect, to the perceptions, enquiries and reaction to the landscape of the common person. For example, "normal" citizen folk often write the stories and provide photographs for the magazine, thus demonstrating, in theory, that the phenomenal aspects of these experiences have been authentically presented by the *Beautiful British Columbia* writers. In this way, the magazine genuinely reflects the character of the B.C. landscape as seen through the eyes of the inhabitants.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine promotes the British Columbia environment in the above manner as a set of positive, authentic and personal experiences. MacCannell (1976:92) has argued that tourists cannot find "reality" in the "front" of their destinations, but discover it in the "back" regions. *Beautiful British Columbia*, whether in self-interest or owing to commercial interests, promotes not only MacCannell's front regions, or the contrived "tourist spaces" (decorated tourist attractions, carnivals, staged events, packaged city tours, etc.), but also encourages readers to look, if they wish,

through the window of the back door into the inner workings of the host society.

(B) The second important concept emerging in analysis of the insider-outsider theme is the extent to which the magazine recognizes the reader's individuality, as opposed to the reader perceiving him/herself as just one of many exposed to the magazine. *Beautiful British Columbia* expresses spatial and social attributes as story-myths, or in other words, landscape myths and historical images function as "insider stories" in the magazine. These stories are expressed to the *BBC* reader as intimate constructions of the local community at the level of local individual experience. The tourist as a stranger will probably not know the myths associated with a locality as would a resident. *Beautiful British Columbia* provides the opportunity to re-tell, to the reader, the old stories and myths about the province. The "Hangman's Tree" will capture the reader's attention, as will "Slumach's Curse" and the "Ghosts of the Tulameen" (respectively, *BBC*, 1961:1; 1974:1; 1982:3). There exists a clear appeal sent out by the magazine to the reader to share in a personalized knowledge about British Columbia that is not widely known. Such "group stories" or "yarns" (Shields, 1991:221) further develop a relationship, however preliminary and passive, between the magazine reader and an identity with British Columbia. The mechanism of shared story-myths "reinforces a process of spatialising people, placing them as citizens within communities and a... territory" (Shields, 1991:222). The knowledge of these group myths marks *insiders* who are partial to this information (i.e. members of the community); a symbolic community identity is constructed between the described destination and the reader of the *BBC*

magazine through the publication of community-shared story-myths.

Ample room is left in story-myths for the creativity of the author, whose inventive skill, like a poet's, imaginatively enlarges the world of British Columbia for the reader. In the contest between the creative imagination of the author and the disillusioned scepticism and sophistication of magazine readers, the successful *BBC* author keeps the reader in "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, which constitutes poetic faith" (Boorstin, 1961:229). Significantly, the conceptual foundation of the articles lies in not so much their believability as their sincerity. If the *BBC* lost its ambiguous style of communication to become more like a ritualized, candid endorsement such as an indexed guide-book, it would lose some of its charm and much of its function.

Interestingly, *Beautiful British Columbia* speaks often of "other tourists", especially in the urban centres. The magazine exhorts tourists not to be afraid to go there; many other people do. This introduces a unique social framework to the reader; the potential tourist experience (on the part of the reader) is described through descriptions of behaviours and attitudes of *other* tourists. The *BBC* magazine cites frequent incident of the "friendly" and "hospitable" behaviour of local residents towards tourists and of tourist operators who are "anxious to serve" (*BBC*, 1965:1:46). *Beautiful British Columbia* pays special attention to residents' awareness of, and consideration for, their physical environment. Tourists are subtly exhorted to respond to the landscape in a similar manner.

The provincial Premier and Minister of Tourism turn the sedate textual experience of reading the *BBC* into a "necessary journey" by *personally* inviting the reader into the

"insider's" realm of physically experiencing the landscape. The average tourist must consciously realize that he or she will have no personal association with these political members, yet, here is a persuading invitation directed at them to visit the province from two of B.C.'s most powerful individuals. The outsider cannot help but feel flattered. The Honourable Earle Westwood, the province's Minister of Recreation and Conservation from 1959 to 1963 solicits:

With this... issue of *Beautiful British Columbia*, goes once again a warm invitation to come to see us, ...if this publication is helping you decide to give us the opportunity to welcome you we are delighted, and once again may I urge you to come and select your own particular spot of scenic gold at the end of your own individual rainbow.  
(BBC, 1960:1:2).

The Honourable W.A.C. Bennett, at the time "Prime Minister" of B.C., invites readers thus: "I speak on behalf of the Government and the people of British Columbia in extending a warm welcome to this year-round vacationland" (BBC, 1970:4:45). Through the seasonal Premier and Minister messages, *Beautiful British Columbia* addresses each reader, formally recognizing *the individual*, which is drastically opposed to Cohen's (1979) "mass tourist", who is but one in a coach party, but one in a hotel. The significance of these messages, in terms of their political and social importance, will be discussed further in chapter six.

As a relatively hegemonic discourse, acknowledged even in the face of evidence or personal experience to the contrary, the story-myths presented in *Beautiful British Columbia* cross the perceptual divisions so often emphasized in the 'mental map' and 'sense of place' literature of geography. The BBC stories portray "objective realities" at a variety of discerning levels, and therefore the magazine succeeds in promoting a sense

of authenticity in its pages as opposed to the competing, poster-image spreads of tourist guide-book brochures. *Beautiful British Columbia* affirms to its readers an identification with a landscape and a typical social group with which people may seek to identify. A *nature* of British Columbia has been recorded which is indefinitely hued with connotative characteristics and emotive associations which will have great effect when the time comes for a potential tourist to choose a travel destination.

*iii] the old and the new*

Tuan (1974:99) notes that "awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place". The *Beautiful British Columbia* reader may lack the chronological sense of irreversible events characteristic of history books, but the magazine attempts to link descriptions of places with descriptions of local people and events by reaching into history and pointing to the bonds of the residents to the place. Understanding a place's historical background can create a sense of identity or familiarity with a place:

The cultural [and historical] context of images and myths adds a socially constructed level of meaning to the *genus loci*, the classics' 'unique sense of place', said to derive from the forms of the physical environment in a given site.

(Shields, 1991:6).

As a seeker after novelty, the tourist tends to focus on the unique qualities of place. Old places are promoted in *Beautiful British Columbia* as tourist attractions that most tourists readily recognize and accept as unique, and therefore, special.

In *Beautiful British Columbia*, the word 'old' is used synonymously with that of

'historical', even though the passage of time does not necessarily constitute history. History, by definition, is concerned with the historical meanings of changes in the character of places (Guelke, 1982:192-3). The concern of the magazine is not to provide causal explanations of a historical or cultural site, in the sense of analyzing the conditions of its occurrence, but rather to elucidate its historical meaning or significance.

The *BBC* magazine presents a legacy of the past to the reader, actively promoting feelings of nostalgia and sentiment towards aging, decaying or restored places. The magazine records the signs of abandoned spaces such as the ruins of old pasture fence-posts and barns (*BBC*, 1978:1:15) or the moss-covered totem poles on the Queen Charlotte Islands (*BBC*, 1971:3:12), revealing fragments of a rural, urban or cultural landscape which have become obsolete. The *Beautiful British Columbia's* pastoral rhetoric especially stresses the roots of individuals, groups and their cultures:

The story of... historic preservation in this issue reminds all of us of the pride we have in this province's history. Whether it be the story of the first Indian residents of British Columbia or that of later explorers and settlers, our past is always a fascinating reminder of the path that we have travelled to reach the present.

(*BBC*, 1980:2:46).

Some tourist places draw attention to themselves by communicating distinctive stereotypical statements of place. For example, Barkerville and Fort Steele are 'packaged' by the *BBC* magazine as heritage environments, formulating implicit place ideas in readers' minds of frontier and pioneer villages. Other heritage places promoted in *BBC* include Victoria's Craigdarroch Castle, Fable Cottage, Point Ellice House, and Vancouver's Old Hastings Mill Store. These tourist attractions, or, as MacCannell (1992:294) phrases it, "commercial reconstructions of 'tradition'", are immensely

significant to British Columbia's tourism industry, as 70 percent (B.C. Research, 1990:41) of sample respondents in a 1989 survey were interested in participating in "heritage tour" activity on their next trip to the province.

Disparate images from the past are also commonplace in *Beautiful British Columbia*. The magazine transforms myriad numbers of the province's historical and cultural features into tourist attractions, from century-old churches to Native Indian wood carvings to aged glass bottles to buildings in suburban Vancouver. Eleven percent of all textual space in *Beautiful British Columbia* is devoted to articles primarily concerned with traditional, cultural or heritage objects and places. It is interesting to note that more objects are described as "historical" from 1959 to 1969 than in later years, when descriptions are given an "ethnic" or "cultural" viewpoint. Few illustrations of cultural artifacts are shown in the magazine without their natural settings being included. For example, the old plow still stands in the field, and in Fort Steele the gold nugget is displayed in the tourist setting of the reconstructed frontier general store. The exception occurs in the museums, which are highlighted in seven articles in the *BBC* magazine. Museums, of course, preserve and publicly display artifacts of the past. MacCannell (1976), however, argues for a different view of the museum:

Modern museums are anti-historical and unnatural... as they preserve, they automatically separate modernity from its past and from nature and elevate it above them... The past [is] made a part of the present [in the form of] revealed objects, as tourist attractions.

Tuan (1974:114) notes that "People dream of ideal places." The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine shapes its stories around novel romantic sentiments of a place, its residents and their past activities. At the historic site, we can point to someone's home

and dream of the adventures that took place there. People are attracted, for example, to the strong, independent, free-roaming personality of the myth of the Cariboo cowboy and to legends pertaining to "a daring and resourceful breed of people whose exploits could hardly be paralleled in today's world" (*BBC*, 1983:1:46). *Beautiful British Columbia* grants celebrity status to residing "dauntless pioneers" (*BBC*, 1983:1:46) of the likes of Mr. Edwards, the first home-steader at Lonesome Lake (*BBC*, 1970:3) and Vancouver's Phyllis Munday, the first woman to climb Mt. Robson (*BBC*, 1983:1).

Since the tourist's evaluation of place is essentially visual, appreciation of historical or cultural artifacts is fleeting unless one's eyes are made to linger for some reason, such as the recall of historical events that hallowed the scene. To enhance local appreciation, history is made visible in British Columbia by the placement of monuments and signs on the landscape marking sites of past explorations, discoveries and great events. Such informational signs indubitably convey the site's importance. Ecological features such as mountains, streams, and rocks are not merely interesting or beautiful scenic features, but are also promoted as the handiwork of the passage of time: *Beautiful British Columbia* describes its "Landscape Legacy" (*BBC*, 1974:3) generally, and the Tseux River Lava Beds (*BBC*, 1977:2; 1978:1) specifically, in such a manner. The affiliation of provincial historical figures such as Edgar Dewdney, Earl Grey, Captain James Cook and George Vancouver (*BBC*, 1972:1; 1975:2; 1978:1; 1980:3 respectively) with the British Columbian landscape also introduces the reader to the origins and identity of the province, creating a sense of "historical association" (Tuan, 1974:94). Just as "we cling to old buildings and old urban forms" (Jackson, 1984:111), these landmarks have "a

permanent, visible character, that they [are] an integral part of the landscape... and that they have the immediate emotional appeal of a widely recognized archetype" (Jackson, 1984:107).

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine acknowledges the importance of traditional cultural attributes, elements that Greenwood (1977:130) has termed "local colour", give to the province. The magazine describes heritage artwork such as landscape paintings, weavings, pottery, Native Indian knitting and carving as a source of local identity, self-esteem, and psychological satisfaction. Graburn (1976) argues that tourists encourage a junk market of inexpensive souvenir art forms, and as such, local art is not always seen as thriving under the influence of tourist interest (Britton, 1979; Pearce, 1982:15). Even though some tourists will merely see local handicrafts, folk art and ceremonial rituals as "quaint" or "pretty" customs, *Beautiful British Columbia* takes the opportunity to educate its readers towards a greater cultural understanding. The magazine describes, for example, totem poles made by Mungo Martin that are of undoubted quality and embody the best traditional wood-carving skills (*BBC*, 1971:1), and paintings by the renowned Emily Carr (*BBC*, 1961:1; 1962:1). The *BBC* magazine, thus, attempts to establish a focus of interest in tourism from a human point of view that shifts from the hosts to the tourists themselves and their possible attitudes and expectations. Through such explanations, the *BBC* very successfully creates awareness of British Columbia's historical and cultural past.

There exists something like a culture of change in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine; the magazine exemplifies the linear progression of time by tracing British

Columbia's past through stories of the present. The *BBC* magazine mirrors the sentiment of Jackson (1980:89):

Much of our enthusiasm for historical preservation seems to be prompted by the same instinct: history means less the record of significant events and people than the preservation of reminders of a bygone domestic existence and its environment.

The *BBC* magazine provides to its reader a synthesis of traditional and modern elements of the B.C. landscape, providing "a new holistic understanding of the human community and its place in the modern world" (MacCannell, 1976:177). Concepts such as cultural evolution and ethnic stereotyping are explained to the reader. *BBC* distinctly describes the totality of differences between modern lifestyles, generations, ethnic groups and age grades (the youth and the aged) in British Columbia. As such, *Beautiful British Columbia* is creating an awareness, in its reader's perceptions, of British Columbia's characteristics as a "fixed place in a fixed society" (van den Abbeele, 1980:13).

Changes in the contemporary sociocultural environment are identified in *Beautiful British Columbia* as defining new opportunities for regional tourism. At a specific community level, the *BBC* magazine mirrors a tourist marketing goal defined by Heath and Wall (1992:71) that aims at establishing a promotional program that "is consistent with the cultural, social, and economic philosophy of the government and the people of the host area." Examples in *Beautiful British Columbia* include: restoration projects (the goal of which is "to restore as much as possible the *original* aspect of the landscape" (Jackson, 1980:101); rediscovery of the contribution of ethnic minorities to the history of the community; and a celebration of human diversity by promoting social neighbourhoods and cuisine festivals. *Beautiful British Columbia* suggests that cultural

specialities and distinctive ethnic traditions can in this way be appreciated by everyone.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine lays the groundwork for a kind of 'lived superstructure' in the modern world. The characteristic feature of this lived superstructure is called "positive involution" (MacCannell, 1992:305): the community turns in on itself, transforming its qualities and characteristics into symbolic resources for its own future development. MacCannell (1992) believes a community becomes postmodern when it learns to profit from its image:

The result of community self-consciousness is a whole new set of concerns...: community attractiveness, quality of community life, the impact of the community on the surrounding environment... 'Development' is now conceived as the production of a consistent, clean, and positive image.

(MacCannell, 1992:102).

Gunn (in Heath and Wall, 1992:71) calls for protection of environmental resource assets "such as historical sites". This goal is cognizant of the relationship between a successful tourism industry and the contemporary vision of a sustainable environment.

#### *iv] in, on, and above the landscape*

Landscape has traditionally been defined as a view of the surface of the earth. The traditional perception of landscape is the horizontal, which is composed of perceptions of places and regions in linear space. A vertical relationship may be identified in landscape features such as mountains and valleys, but in general, the linear consciousness prevails. In the contemporary landscape promoted in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, however, the experiences of landscape available in British Columbia are three-

fold. Three levels of B.C. area are available to the tourist: the landscape of the underground, the landscape on the ground's surface, and the landscape above the ground. The province as a tourist attraction, therefore, can be viewed as landscape upon landscape, hence, experience upon experience.

Recognizing that "individual tastes in natural setting can vary enormously" (Tuan, 1974:114), *Beautiful British Columbia* presents to the reader diverse perceptions of the B.C. environment through a bewildering wealth of viewpoints on both the horizontal and the vertical elements of landscape. The landscape is really whatever the magazine will allow you to envision. Shields (1991:7) speaks of a "discourse of space [which is] composed of perceptions of places and regions, of the world as a 'space' and of our relationships with these perceptions." In promoting the provincial landscape as three domains parallel in space, *Beautiful British Columbia* mirrors an opinion of Boorstin (1961:122), that "space has less meaning than ever before." This statement may be interpreted in two ways: (a) mass travel is now instant travel. It takes only a few hours to fly to almost any location on the surface of the earth in the world today, and (b) almost everywhere is now accessible, from the bottom of the ocean, up to the moon. Technology has permitted tourist travel to increase its spatial coverage to an extent that has never before been achieved.

*Beautiful British Columbia* clearly recognizes that some readers may be principally concerned with just one specific environmental setting while others are interested in touring many different environments. The British Columbian tourism industry is concerned with maximizing the opportunities in three components of its framework (after

Robinson, 1976:81,144):

1. site attractions (natural, cultural/historical, human-built)
2. accessibility
3. amenities (tourist infrastructure facilities).

Along these lines, Cohen (1972) has identified two "types" of tourist: the "mass tourist", whose trip is restricted to the environment produced by the tourist establishment and in whose role familiarity is most and exposure to strangeness least emphasized; and the "explorer", who travels outside the orbit of services provided by the tourist establishment. Shields (1991:6) has stated that "sites are never simply locations. Rather, they are sites for someone and of something." The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine promotes the three vertically-arranged physical environments through distinguishing between the *use* of each landscape in affording unique tourist experiences.

Figure 17 illustrates the types of activity available to the tourist in each landscape as described in *Beautiful British Columbia*. Opportunities which exist for different recreational experiences "in", or below, and "above" the landscape are typically directed at the explorer or adventure tourist. Scuba-diving is the most common topic under the landscape and is featured in four of the five **activity** articles in this environment; the other article describes spelunking in the underground caves in northern Vancouver Island (*BBC*, 1970:2). Recreational flying in small private airplanes and sailplanes is the featured activity above the landscape. The sky, clouds and affective sensation of "escape" associated with the sport are promoted as the natural and emotive attractions.

Human-built site attractions are promoted in *Beautiful British Columbia* as tourist amenities and scientific and educational human creations. Underground shopping is

Figure 17:

THE THREE LANDSCAPES AVAILABLE TO TOURISTS,  
AS PROMOTED in *BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA*

**ABOVE**

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Accessibility</li> <li>2. Natural-environment site attractions</li> <li>3. Human-built site attractions</li> </ol> |
|--|

e.g. recreational flying and sailplaning;  
chartering airplanes to remote sites;  
bridges and the Earth Station

**ON THE GROUND SURFACE**

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Site attractions (natural, cultural/historical, human-built)</li> <li>2. Accessibility</li> <li>3. Amenities (tourist facilities)</li> </ol> |
|--|

e.g. all examples in chapter five

**BELOW**

- |  |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Natural-environment site attractions</li> <li>2. Human-built site attractions</li> <li>3. Amenities</li> </ol> |
|--|

e.g. spelunking, scuba-diving; the Deas Island Tunnel;  
underground shopping

available to the tourist and resident as the result of co-operative and foresightful planning in downtown Vancouver, the magazine explains (*BBC*, 1978:4). The Deas Island Tunnel, as well as the huge suspension bridges above the landscape, place emphasis on B.C.'s convenient transportation infrastructure. Active above the earth, the province's "Earth Station" is a scientific endeavour that is testimony to the prestigious position of British Columbia's technological capabilities in satellite communications, at least in the minds of *BBC* authors.

An environment may be experienced exclusively or primarily as a setting within which specific action takes place. Ittelson et al. (1976:205) assert that this mode of perceiving an environment, as only a setting for a specific action or activity, is exemplified by the actions of "laymen and professionals [and others] who create and evaluate environments in terms of how these environments will enable participants to carry out certain actions or meet certain goals." By introducing novel environments and unique experiences to the reader, the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine effectively encourages the reader to be conscious of local characteristics at a new level which allows the reader to develop an awareness or curiosity towards the peculiarities of a place. The expectations of visitors to British Columbia regarding the recreational opportunities and tourist attractions and amenities available to them are an integral part of their experience in their new environment.

### 5.3 Summary

The fundamental task of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine is to attract the attention of magazine readers and specifically address them as prospective visitors to the province. The magazine attracts the attention of readers by utilizing expansive and colourful photographs in an oversized tourist-brochure visual style; the text presents attractive place attributes together with images of the "ordinary" scenery and people of the province.

A detailed data set was constructed comprising the magazine's textual subject content, pictorial support and associated geographical location. Southwestern B.C. is the most frequently mentioned site from 1959 to 1983. The linear landscape throughout the province is invariably highlighted, implying the significance of transportation and accessibility for the tourist. As such, Vancouver and Victoria are presented clearly as the hub of provincial activity and transportation routes. Few locations outside of British Columbia are depicted as the focus topic of an article with the exception of social and economic involvement with California and Osaka, Japan, especially during Expo'70. Regions within B.C. are at times identified as single entities, for example, selected features identify the Okanagan region, the Cariboo, and the Queen Charlottes.

The promotional message in *Beautiful British Columbia* considers the seven subject categories of natural landscapes, built landscapes, formal events, activities, economic activities, objects and people. Changes in frequency of these categories over time is apparent. The natural landscape category is alluded to most often, receiving relatively consistent mention from 1959 to 1989 and then rapidly increasing in frequency from 1981

to the end of the study period in 1983. Economic landscapes, attaining the next highest frequency of mention, reach peak frequency in 1966 and 1972 and then gradual decrease to 1983. Built landscapes and the other four categories illustrate lower frequencies than the natural and economic landscapes consistently throughout the 25 years. The people subject category is consistently the least mentioned category.

The content of the magazine is influenced by demand and market factors; discussion of such offers insight into the differences of relative frequencies and proportions of subject categories and pattern of occurrence over time. For example, peak years of the formal events category coincide with provincial festivals and international events. Likewise, economic activities typically peak during years of celebrating local industry or recreational enterprises.

The "official" B.C. tourism areas provide a practical set of boundaries for classifying spatially the sites described in the magazine. Four of the nine regions portray the natural landscape more frequently than the other categories. Economic activities are portrayed dominantly in the mid-interior and Northern regions of the province, and typically emphasize road and ferry transportation routes. Southwestern B.C. primarily emphasizes built landscapes.

Four recurring themes embody the data of images in *Beautiful British Columbia*. Places in the province are generally described as being in the city, countryside or wilderness. Almost 25 percent of all articles in the magazine are centred around the urban agglomerations of Vancouver and Victoria, yet the images of the city expressed in the magazine differ between the two cities. The countryside is promoted as an idyllic refuge

from the demands of big city life. The wilderness region, interestingly, is ironically depicted as an isolated, beautiful and scenic area and also as a productive source of natural resources. This dialectic connection impresses that the B.C. wilderness is readily accessible to all visitors. An insider / outsider theme involving the perception of an individual in relation to place is depicted in the magazine. Two ideas with respect to this theme are discussed: the process by which an individual acquires information about a place; and the process by which an individual personally perceives the images directed at him or her. An "old and the new" theme focuses on the unique qualities of tradition and history; images reflecting changes in B.C.'s sociocultural environment are identified primarily through textual depiction of concerns of local communities. Lastly, the *BBC* recognizes a vertical component to the province's landscape. Tourist recreational and educational experiences need not stop at experiences on the ground surface, but may also be sought under and above the earth's surface.

The images presented in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine are acutely related to images inherent in other government publications issued throughout British Columbia. The provincial licence plate, as first mentioned in chapter three of this study, displays the slogan "Beautiful British Columbia"; the personalized plate displays images of green mountain peaks and blue ocean waves. The provincial Ministry of Tourism distributes world-wide a large variety of images of British Columbia through the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign. The following chapter considers the content and influence of these images publicly communicated by the provincial government in conjunction with the images of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine.

## CHAPTER 6: IMAGE PROMOTION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

*If you go down to the woods today, you're in for a big surprise.*  
(caption in a 'Super, Natural' advertisement, c. 1989).

### 6.1 The selling of British Columbia

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, as examined in chapter five, promotes to the reader the variety of attractions and facilities which collectively make up the British Columbia destination product. *Beautiful British Columbia* recognizes B.C. as a distinctive destination entity, but acknowledges that, within the B.C. destination, consumers can enjoy choice from a wide variety of place products, each offering different opportunities for activities and attractions such as hotels, marinas, carnivals, souvenir shops, and hiking trails. The dominant themes identified in the magazine are the province's natural landscape and economic activities which together constitute 53 percent of all subject categories mentioned in the magazine's articles (see figure 13).

The objective of the marketing division of B.C. Tourism is "to create an awareness of B.C. as a destination of choice" (Castelo, 1992:28). British Columbia is undoubtedly treated by the Ministry of Tourism as a product: B.C. as a destination is the point of consumption of the complex of activities that comprises the tourism experience and is ultimately what is sold by place promotion media on the tourism market. The potential tourist to B.C. is buying the product "British Columbia" in preference to one labelled "Ontario" or "California". Of course, since many tourist destinations are in competition with B.C. as a destination, B.C. must display in its advertising a superior place product;

success in selling the destination place product is vital to the viability and economic future of B.C.'s tourism industry.

The manner in which the B.C. destination is packaged "is central to the nature of the tourism product and how it is marketed... [and] assumes a greater significance in shaping the product than the intrinsic characteristics of the place or the perceptions and behaviour of the customer" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990:8). In choosing a holiday destination, the tourist's perception of B.C. may be solely based on the composite place product promoted in tourist advertisements. Tourist advertisements for B.C., including those promoted in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine and the 'Super,Natural' campaign, select only *likeable* dominant images which will be positively accepted by the viewing public. Through promoting a specific image of B.C., a specific attitude, opinion, perception, awareness, knowledge, association, and expectation of B.C. is communicated to the viewer.

This chapter addresses the images of British Columbia inherent in the provincial licence plate slogan and the internationally recognized 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign. The distinctive 'Super,Natural' campaign is "[o]ne of the longest-running photographic print ads in Canadian history" (Castelo, 1992:26). Even though the campaign has developed into a contemporary icon for the province, some public controversy has emerged as to the "unnaturalness" of the advertised landscapes. The congruence of tourist expectation with satisfaction and the use of the photograph in promoting expectation of the destination are highly significant in the discussion of contemporary images in B.C. Finally, a counter-argument to the image of "Beautiful" and

"Super,Natural" British Columbia is examined.

*ij/ British Columbia licence plate*

As previously mentioned in chapter three, the contemporary "Beautiful British Columbia" licence plate slogan was inducted into use in 1964. The directive to implement the "Beautiful British Columbia" phrase came directly from the provincial legislature and the Social Credit administration. The "BBC" slogan is promoted as well on the personalized licence plate which has been available in the province since 1979. Each personalized plate is composed of an original identifying number on a white background, with a green "mountain range" silkscreened across the top of the plate and a blue "wave" in the lower half (figure 18).

This study is primarily interested in the "Beautiful British Columbia" slogan. Since more than two million cars are registered in the province, of which approximately 42,000 sport personalized licence plates (Bako, 1992:18), millions of B.C. residents and visitors to the province see the "BBC" slogan. Due to the high number of people in contact with the "Beautiful British Columbia" phrase each day, this government directive is significant to the viewing public of how they see their government advertising the province. And the public *is* consciously aware of the licence plate, as the following incident indicates.

In 1993, the public voiced reaction against an illustration in literature that the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (ICBC) sends to all car-owners in the province upon renewal of their vehicle registration. The controversy was over an illustration on an envelope which depicts a personalized vehicle licence plate with the identification of

Figure 18:

## THE PERSONALIZED VEHICLE LICENCE PLATE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



source: Westworld, 1993:13.

Figure 19:

## ILLUSTRATION OF THE "WE LOG" LICENCE PLATE AS DESIGNED ON ICBC ENVELOPE



source: Rees, 1993:A5.

"WE LOG" (figure 19). The corporation has called for a redesign of the envelopes, which have been in circulation since 1989, due to numerous complaints from irate citizens (Rees, 1993:A5). ICBC claims that when designing the envelope, the original logger-logo plate "happened to be lying in the office at (ICBC)" (Rees, 1993:A5) after being returned by a logging company, and the plate was simply picked up and utilized as the example on the envelope. An ICBC spokesperson stated to a reporter from *The Province* newspaper that "the [WE LOG licence] plate also reminded ICBC workers of logging on to computer systems" (Rees, 1993:A5). However, an employee of the British Columbia Motor Vehicle Branch told this researcher that he doubts the truth of that statement, believing that the "WE LOG" message was specifically and deliberately chosen as the political sentiment the B.C. government wished to express to the public.

The significance of the dual images of "WE LOG" and "Beautiful British Columbia" will be discussed later in this chapter.

*ii] 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign*

The 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign was initiated in the mid-1970s by Grace McCarthy, who at the time was Minister of Travel Industry for the provincial government (Atkins, personal communication). Under the initiative to develop a new advertising slogan for Tourism B.C., the 'Super,Natural' slogan was conceived by an individual at the consulting company of McKim Advertising. As noted in chapter three, the campaign presents the logo "Super,Natural British Columbia" in conjunction with literally hundreds of photographic images which are always in colour. These images are displayed in a

variety of media including magazine advertisements in North America, Europe and Asia, widely-circulated posters, maps available in tourist information centres, brochures, television and radio, newspaper inserts, promotional videos, through the use of business cards, and a 1-800 telephone number at the Victoria Legislative Buildings. The campaign has two primary objects, which are: a] to create high visibility and impact in the various target markets and to promote British Columbia as an attractive, international destination to tourists, business and industry; and b] to provide year-round exposure for the province to encourage travel in the shoulder periods of spring and fall (Lee, personal communication).

Each 'Super,Natural' advertisement is composed of verbal and visual text, the amounts of which are consistent from one advertisement to another. The look is simple: a single, visual illustration is dominant. All the photographic views are wide and "breathtaking", encompassing a double-page or double half-page magazine spread. The double half-page spread was a radical move in the advertising world of 1979; "media costs went up 10 to 15 percent but it gave [the Super,Natural advertisement] the dominance of a double-page ad on a low budget" (Castelo, 1992:28). Visual consistency has been maintained over the years by using the same photographers and methodological styles for most of the work.

Initially, the dominant verbal text on each advertisement was the large, bold "Super,Natural British Columbia, Canada" slogan which crowns the photographic illustration. The accompanying descriptive text was isolated from the illustration, appropriating approximately 20 percent of the advertisement's area. In 1985, the signature

"Super,Natural B.C." was made secondary, and a new, "punchy" (Castelo, 1992:28) headline was fashioned for each different advertisement as part of the bold visual. This text relates directly to each visual, often interacting with the photograph through explicit word puns. The unique and often cunning headlines "make you look at the picture. The text [gives] the picture a twist and [brings] another element into play" (Bill Cozens in Castelo, 1992:28). Examples of this new format include: a) a photograph of a pod of three killer whales in a calm sea accompanied by the bold text of "So many of our visitors return in Spring"; and b) a photograph depicting a lone kayaker serenely paddling through a backdrop of blue mist and mountains, accompanied by the text "Take away our great hotels, fine restaurants, markets, and sparkling nightlife and what's left?". This interplay of the clever headlines with a captivating photograph "established the ads' uniqueness and remains integral to the campaign" (Castelo, 1992:28).

Since the introduction of the 'Super,Natural' campaign in the late 1970s, Tourism B.C. has chosen to spotlight British Columbia's outdoors. At the time, other tourism advertisements were utilizing high aerial landscape photographs but no intimate close-up views. The result of the 'Super,Natural' view is a very personal, unique perspective of the British Columbian natural landscape. A recent change in the campaign philosophy, in the late 1980s, indicates a move from the scenic nature of B.C. to the cultural heritage of the province. Public opinion, as measured through Starch Readership Report scores (Finn, 1988:168), was favourable towards the majestic scopes of the 'Super,Natural' landscape photographs, but suggested change in that the public wanted to see "more people" in the advertisements:

Research carried out by the Ministry [of Tourism] over the past few years has told us that people know about the natural beauty of British Columbia but that they would like to know more about what there is to see and do here.

(Tourism B.C., 1986:1).

Tourism B.C. maintains they will "still sell Super, Natural B.C. but it will be presented in a different style. We're slowly trying to include the urban element and talk more about our Canadian heritage" (Castelo, 1992:32). Accordingly, an early 1990s 'Super,Natural' advertisement depicts totem poles carved by the B.C. artist Jim Hart in an intimate vision of Canadian heritage. The original intention of the photo shoot was to photograph the totem poles outdoors on a beach, but the weather of that particular day was not accommodating. Instead, the advertisement was shot inside the carver's studio with a narrow angle, which was a method not conforming to the traditional 'Super,Natural' mood. The final photograph was entitled "Why your next expedition should be to the poles". Tourism B.C., in 1986, launched the first of its post-Expo promotions "focusing attention on "The Other Side" of Super,Natural British Columbia - the cultural side" (Tourism B.C., 1986:1). Two such 'Super,Natural' examples include a) a photograph depicting an orchestra playing in front of the lighted Legislative Buildings in Victoria at dusk; the slogan reads "Our vacations are state of the arts"; and b) a silhouetted ballerina pirouetting on a rocky outcrop by the ocean; the slogan reads "Scenic grandeur, grand finales". Although Tourism B.C. insists the provincial NDP government has not influenced the 'Super,Natural' campaign, the visual changes in the campaign reflect a possible move from stressing the natural beauty of British Columbia's natural landscape to a humanistic slant more attuned to NDP philosophy.

Generally, the 'Super,Natural' advertisements have been positively accepted by the viewing public. In a recent Market Match Survey commissioned by BC Tourism, awareness of advertising for B.C. was tested in six American cities representing major sources of travellers to British Columbia. The survey reported that an average of 62 percent of respondents are aware of B.C. tourism advertising, with an average of 18 percent of these respondents aware of the 'Super,Natural' slogan (Campbell et al., 1991:8). However, in the same survey, the 'Super,Natural' slogan was immediately associated with British Columbia in only 8 percent of responses; significantly, in general, the slogan 'Super,Natural' is unfamiliar to 8 out of 10 of the people surveyed, taking into consideration all vacation options (Campbell et al., 1991:30). A report from Tourism B.C. notes that the 'Super,Natural' advertising "gets slightly higher readership than the average travel destination advertisements" (Research and Information Mgn., 1991:11). To measure the effectiveness of its advertisements, Tourism B.C. utilizes Starch Readership Report scores, which provide the department with a continuous check on the readership of their print advertising. The Starch scores reflect public readership through systematic recognition and recall procedures to quantitatively evaluate how individuals process print advertisements (Finn, 1988:168). Of primary importance is the Starch Associated Score, which shows the percent of surveyed magazine readers who not only *noted* the advertisement, but who *linked* the depicted visual image or the 'Super,Natural' slogan with British Columbia, the destination being advertised. Table 3 describes the individual 'Super,Natural' advertisements which were primarily considered in this study and their related Starch Associated Scores.

Table 3:

## B.C. 'SUPER,NATURAL' ADVERTISING STARCH SCORES

Ad Name	Slogan	Associated Score	Magazine
Bambi	If you go down to the woods today, you're in for a big surprise.	56	<i>Sunset</i> '89
Some Islands	Some islands are much more enchanting than others.	55	<i>Sunset</i> '88
Musical Interlude	We interrupt our normal tourism advertising to bring you a musical interlude.	54	<i>Sunset</i> '91
Empress	Every day it pours in British Columbia.	51	<i>Sunset</i> '90
Fabulous Float	Around here you don't need a parade to ride on a fabulous float.	47	<i>Sunset</i> '88
Family Viewing	Announcing another spectacular season of family viewing.	47	<i>Sunset</i> '89
Ferries	An increasing number of Americans are discovering their routes in British Columbia.	42	<i>Sunset</i> '91
Toni Onley	On your next vacation cross the border between art and reality.	38	<i>Sunset</i> '90
Virtually Unknown	One of the most coveted titles in North America just went to a virtual unknown.	34	<i>Golf Digest</i> '90
Ripple Effect	Have you noticed that certain vacations have a ripple effect on your entire life.	33	<i>Esquire</i> '88

source: Department of Research and Information Management, B.C. Ministry of Tourism.

The photographic image encompasses at least 70 percent of each 'Super,Natural' advertisement, a figure which increases to almost 85 percent in the newer 'Super,Natural' format fashioned in 1985. These high percentages clearly indicate the significance of the use of the photograph in the campaign. Photography has traditionally lent itself to descriptions of landscapes for purposes of tourism promotion:

Photographs have become the principal mode of communication associated with modern tourism and... [w]hether photographs are created for or by tourists, they constitute an important domain of visual imagery.

(Albers and James, 1983:125).

Berger (1980:63) notes that visual messages from photographs form a "language of images" both from the perspective of photographic composition and instrumentality. For example, in the 'Super,Natural' advertisements "ordinary" references are rarely used; the norm seems to be a transformation or a juxtaposition that makes the ordinary extraordinary. A "mist" is depicted in some advertisements, bringing mysterious or serene qualities to an ordinary outdoor scene (canoe in mist advertisement), and a ballerina silhouetted against a night sky adds immense dignity to the scene (ballerina advertisement). Burgess and Wood (1988:95) suggest that such a "transformation of an area's image through advertising can be significant" as to how the advertisement is perceived by the viewer. The instrumental and interpretative aspects of the 'Super,Natural' photographic image involve a didactic relationship which is communicated in the photographer's selection of a subject and in the observer's response to that choice. Since the goal of place advertising is to construct a successful destination image, the represented image of British Columbia must make "a convincing display of

honest honesty" (MacCannell, 1976:128). Many critiques of advertisements and their content make at least some playful reference to the unreality of some tourist advertisements, such as Jarvis' (1987:14) "dream landscapes" and "soft focus utopias", which commentators such as Williamson (1978) find doubly pernicious.

As mentioned, the public has shown they like the 'Super,Natural' advertisements, but some of the 'Super,Natural' images are more "effective" in their marketing than others. Significantly, public controversy has stemmed from questions raised regarding the authenticity of the advertised photographs. The following examples will illustrate such controversies:

**a) the fawn advertisement:** The advertisement portrays a doe and her fawn in an old-growth Douglas fir forest on a misty morning. However, the supposed wild deer and fawn "were actually animals from a petting zoo. The scene was lit by artificial lights and the mist came from smoke sprays" (Leyne, 1989:A3). The caption with this picture runs "If you go down to the woods today, you're in for a big surprise", and as Vicky Husband, spokeswoman for the Sierra Club, says

you certainly are [in for a surprise]... the advertisement is misleading ... Tourists won't find themselves in the middle of old-growth all through the province... [and] where the picture was shot, they won't find any deer.

(in "Fake B.C.", 1989:D8).

B.C. Tourism Minister Bill Reid dismissed suggestions that this advertisement was "more unnatural than supernatural. "What's unnatural?... There's a real fawn, there's a real tree, there's some real fern" ("Fake B.C.", 1989:D3).

To date, this "Bambi" advertisement is the most effective individual 'Super,Natural' promotion (Research and Information Mgn., 1991:5). However, the contradictory "unnaturalness" inherent in the photograph has been explicitly described in front-page stories in local and national newspaper and magazine media (Brown, 1989:A1; "Fake B.C.", 1989:D8; Leyne, 1989:A3; Gook, 1991:27).

**b) the killer whale advertisement:** The 'Super,Natural' advertisement portraying a pod of killer whales is entitled "So many of our visitors return in Spring". The photograph composing this advertisement was taken in Robson Bight, British Columbia, an area which is designated as a provincial ecological reserve and closed to the general public. Among the research and commercial whale-watching community in British Columbia waters, a code of conduct is in force which declares a whale's critical space, or the minimum distance one may approach a whale, is 100 metres. After studying the view of the hills in the background of the 'Super,Natural' illustration, and the wide angle at which the shot was taken, a noted whale researcher has expressed that "the photographer must have been right on top of the whales" (personal communication). The chances of seeing a killer whale at this close range are "virtually none for the average visitor" (personal communication) to British Columbia.

Opportunities to view wildlife are defined as products that can be packaged into destinations such as single-day loop tours, multiday road tours, and backcountry tours. The wildlife product in this context is defined as "a specific service, object, or opportunity available at a unit price to potential customers" (in Duffus and Wipond,

1992:335). As Duffus and Wipond (1992:337) note in a study critical of a B.C. wildlife viewing guide, "the photograph of a breaching humpback [or intimately-close killer whale] is exciting, but may serve to raise [tourists'] expectations and cause unsatisfactory results... A question also rises as to how many other [tourist promotions]... present such improbable sighting adventures."

**c) the sand castle advertisement:** One 'Super,Natural' advertisement consists of a close-up of a huge sand castle constructed on a wide-open, smooth, sandy beach. Remnants of ocean waves lick at the edge of the castle as clear bubbles (perhaps from the ocean spray) drift up and away from the scene. The sun is setting in pink and orange hues over the castle. The illustration slogan reads "Some islands are much more enchanting than others". Due to its complex design and immaculate construction, the sand castle was obviously built by an individual or group of people experienced in sand architecture. However, the bubbles were created for the benefit of the photograph by a machine producing bubbles, and more significantly, all the minutely-granulated sand for the entire beach depicted in the advertisement was imported from another location.

Through photography, perfect hyper-realistic illusions of imaginary scenes are made possible by constructed settings. The danger lies that in destination advertising, the viewer may hope to discover the setting being depicted. The sand castle 'Super,Natural' advertisement is obviously marketing orientated rather than providing any type of authenticity.

**d) the Empress advertisement:** The Empress advertisement was introduced in an attempt by the tourism department to modify B.C.'s image. In this case, the headline presents a cliched image of B.C. ("Every day it pours in British Columbia") while the photographic illustration depicts people inside a restaurant. The headline is a pun on the illustration, but without reading the fine print of the copy, which indicates the people are enjoying high tea at the Empress Hotel in Victoria, the reader might be left with the impression that the people are inside to escape the rain. In a worst-case scenario, that is, where the headline is read but the copy ignored, a reader's negative view of "rainy" B.C. might be reinforced by this advertisement. Interestingly, while 36 percent of the Starch readers had read the headline, only 8 percent had read some of the smaller copy (Research and Information Mgn., 1991:18).

In a 1989 Visitor Survey (BC Research, 1990:43), 23 percent of respondents mentioned the weather as a worst aspect of their trip to Vancouver (16 percent cited weather as the worst aspect in a visit to the interior of B.C., as did only 9 percent for Vancouver Island). Notably lacking in the multitude of individual 'Super,Natural' photographs are images of snow. To Bernard Atkins, long-time editor of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, snow is equatable to cold, and cold is "the last thing you want" portrayed in advertisements directed at Eastern Canada and the western United States (Atkins, personal communication). In the early 1980s, as outdoor downhill skiing grew in popularity, snow was finally presented in *BBC* illustrations, but the illustration was always accompanied by notice that the snow typically occurred *only* in the high altitudes or on mountain glaciers.

As illustrated in the above 'Super,Natural' examples, the congruence of tourist expectation with satisfaction and the use of the photograph in promoting expectations of the destination to the potential tourist are highly significant in discussion of contemporary images of British Columbia. The tourist's affective set, or emotional response, will affect the image of B.C. held after the trip; feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction as to the travel experience will be communicated to friends. The congruence of tourist expectation with the reality of British Columbia is discussed later in the chapter. The following section will address the stereotypical image of British Columbia as promoted in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, the licence plate slogan "Beautiful British Columbia" and the images expressed through the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign.

### *iii] the contemporary image of British Columbia*

In place marketing, it is the same place and not subdivisions of it that is the product. This statement raises the curious marketing situation of selecting a distinctive identifying image, or dominant image, of the product which is marketed through public advertisements. The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, the provincial licence plate and the 'Super,Natural' campaign promote to the public a dominant image of B.C. as a beautiful, natural and scenic landscape. Modern cities, accessible and well-maintained transportation networks, and a proud appreciation of native Canadian culture and heritage abound, but they are all *integrally* entwined with the productive and spiritual forces inherent in the natural landscape. The reasons by which this conclusion has been

determined are outlined in the following two sections. The first section looks at the images inherent in the slogans "Beautiful British Columbia" and "Super,Natural British Columbia". The second section considers the capsule images of the province inherent in illustrations depicted in the three media under study.

A) Advertisement of the natural landscape has been facilitated by the use of the slogans, or "brand names" (Goodall, 1990:264), of the unique destination labels of "Beautiful" and "Super,Natural" British Columbia. The place product of "British Columbia" is thus immediately distinguished as beautiful and natural, and conceptually identified as such. These two words are examined in relation to their meaning and image in contemporary society.

a) "*beautiful*": In its association with the British Columbian environment, the term "beautiful" may be examined broadly as a response to the environment that is primarily aesthetic, and defined as any special or compelling feature of the environment which gives pleasure and gratification to an individual's senses or mind. The assertion and establishment of B.C.'s landscape as "beautiful" is an immediate acceptance of the landscape as visually attractive and an acceptance that "the scene has been accorded a high aesthetic status" (Andrews, 1989:vii).

Beauty is typically an emotionally charged perception which culminates in a personal positive experience. Tuan (1974:93) notes that a response to an environment as beautiful may vary from "the fleeting pleasure one gets from a [scenic] view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed." In the

first instance, Andrews (1989:vii) values a picturesque scene as being beautiful when, by the same mode of appraisal as in the phrase "pretty as a picture", it has been accorded a high aesthetic status. Similarly, the journals of some explorers are rich in sudden revelations of scenic beauty. Beauty may be experienced also as a tactile response such as an effective delight in the feel or sight of air, water and earth: aesthetic appreciation, or beauty, can be discovered in

the warmth of the ground, its hard and soft contours;...the tickling of an ant...; the play of shifting leaf shadows...; the sound of water over the pebbles and boulders, the sound of cicadas... Such an environment might break all the formal rules of euphony and aesthetics ... and yet be wholly satisfying.

(Tuan, 1974:96).

The visual enjoyment of landscape varies in kind and intensity. It can be little more than the acceptance of a social convention; the modern architecture of skyscrapers and suburban houses lining the streets can exude beauty. On the other hand, homely and drab scenes can reveal aspects of themselves that may be experienced as beauty. Hence, the appreciation of landscape beauty is highly individual, yet as Tuan (1974:96) asserts, the appreciation is usually associated with a "gentle, unselfconscious involvement with the physical world."

*b) "natural"*: The very use and current meaning of the word "natural" in B.C.'s advertising is reflected in its value in contemporary ideology. When "nature" appears in an advertisement, it consistently connotes that the object of the advertisement is seen as "desirable":

Once nature is set up as a symbol of what is good, everything undesirable in society can be called 'unnatural'... ideology replaces a recognition of relationships between things with an exchange of

meanings between things... the perfect forms... are found not in some 'ideal' area but in 'nature' - which of course then *becomes* an ideal area.

(Williamson, 1978:124-5).

Therefore, what is natural is "the apex of all that is good and wholesome and beautiful... timeless, almost metaphysical... always the 'real thing'" (Williamson, 1978:136-7).

Through expressing "natural" in the superlative, a duality of meaning emerges. First, nature becomes *more* natural instead of simple and direct nature. Since most of North American society is already sold on the "nature ethic" or the "environmental ideal", the naturalness expressed in the 'Super,Natural' advertisements immediately identifies a context for the product which is different than contemporary society's typically urban and human-built experience. In this manner, British Columbia is sold to the general public as the ideal of natural beauty, as an aesthetically-pleasing picturesque scenic view combined with opportunity for an outdoor adventure retreat. Second, the misty, unlimited scenery of many 'Super,Natural' advertisements is made supernatural, or mythical, and the product seems to promise to transport the viewer away from the real and even natural world. This exotic quality of nature is apparent in most of the 'Super,Natural' advertisements. The image of nature that is perceived from viewing these advertisements is one of an ideal escape, leaving behind the ordinary, or common, landscape for a non-materialistic haven.

The double connotation of natural as "nature" and supernatural as "mythical" in the context of the 'Super,Natural' campaign is more than a duality of meaning. These meanings are very much bound together and are not alternatives as in some puns or word choices used in advertising. *Because* the depicted landscape appears *natural*, it functions

supernaturally, or mythically. The two meanings are thus inseparable.

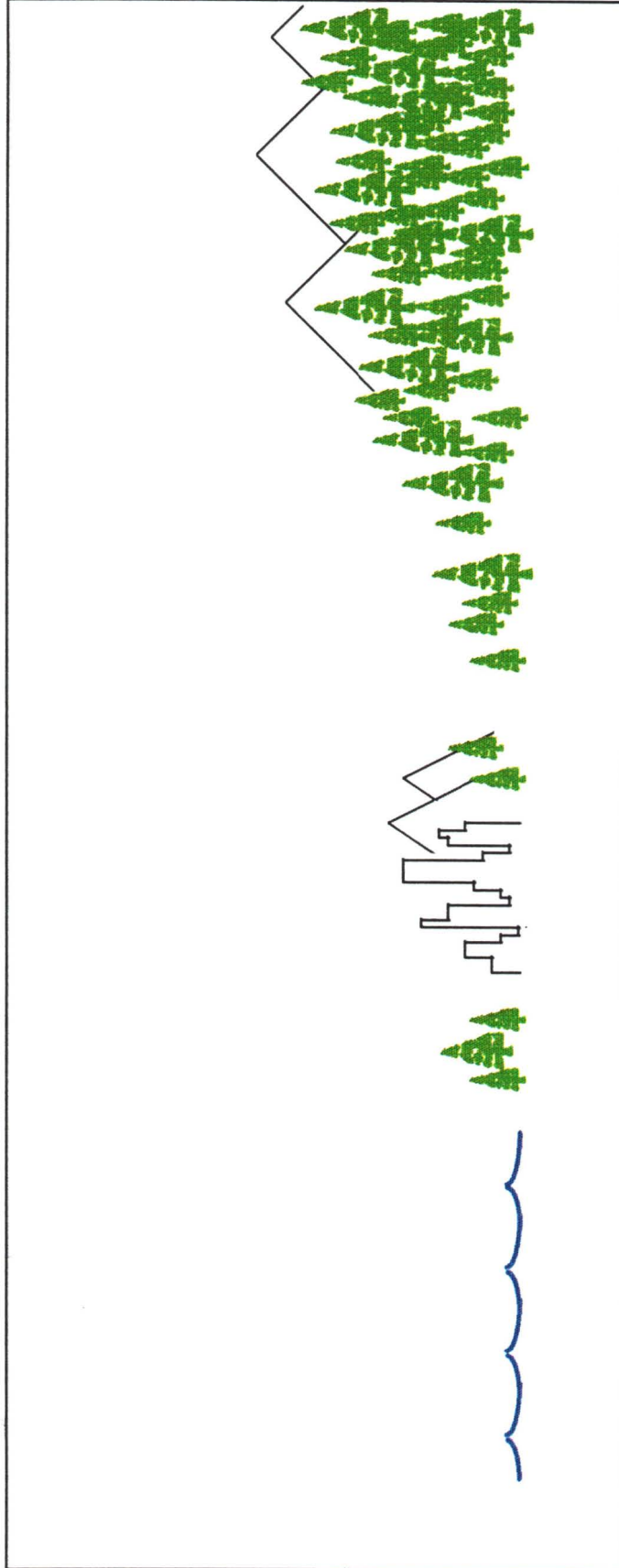
Granted, terms such as "beautiful" and "supernatural" are matters of opinion. Emotions and attitudes can be ascribed to a landscape but they cannot be validated as correct or proper by external determination. The adjectives "beautiful" and "natural" may have been properly attributed to the landscapes depicted in the three media under study, but at best such provocative, yet selected, descriptions must be validated by the individual viewer. For example, since the contemporary popular aesthetic is founded on the beauty of the natural environment, it is ironic that this "naturalness" should actually be seen as having unnatural qualities, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

B) Even though all British Columbia promotions communicate a concern for appearance and a commitment to place, the overall capsule image is the result of the promotion of a series of modulations around a limited theme. British Columbia is depicted in the three media under study as a valued *scenic* environment. The striking recurrence of selected attributes reduces the B.C. scenic landscape to that of the common shapes of mountain, forest and ocean (figure 20). Interestingly, these common shapes are the same attributes that Hunter (1985:50) terms the northern version of the idyllic paradise garden.

The use of colour is highly significant in the production of the British Columbia image. Through the attribution of colour, general symbolisms of selected landscape attributes may be communicated. The effect of colour in landscape imagery has not gone unnoticed: Porteous (1977:183) notes that there is a "strong indication that colors

Figure 20:

THE CAPSULE IMAGE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



influence moods"; Tuan (1974:24) impresses that the primary colours "designate strong emotions". Purposeful coloration in advertising is the result of acknowledgement that humans are attracted to bright colours; a careful selection of elements such as blue skies and radiant plant colours will usually express to the viewer an image of a positive and exciting place.

Certain objects may be recognized due to their colour content. For example, the personalized B.C. licence plate enhances awareness of specific geographical attributes through the dramatic contrast of bright green and navy blue colours. The horizontal green band depicted across the top of the licence plate symbolizes green mountains; the common interpretation of this green is probably that of a forested mountain. Just as many governments have institutionalized preservation of "greenness" through land use zoning for parkland greenbelts or agricultural areas, Tuan (1974:26) notes that "The evident object of comparison for green is given in plants... green is related to... plants and growth." Hence, the colour green on the licence plate may be interpreted as synonymous with "organic, living things, healthy living and aesthetically pleasing environments" (Wood, 1989:114). Interestingly, the B.C. Minister of Tourism and Recreation promotes the province as Canada's "Evergreen Playground" (*BBC*, 1963:1:46), a characterization celebrated by at least one member of the public (Musgrave, 1986:104). Due to its colour and depicted shape, the blue colour illustrated on the lower section of the B.C. personalized licence plate symbolizes an ocean wave. The licence plate reinforces through colour and simple illustration the watery attributes of "coastal B.C." and the "West Coast", frequent epithets for B.C.

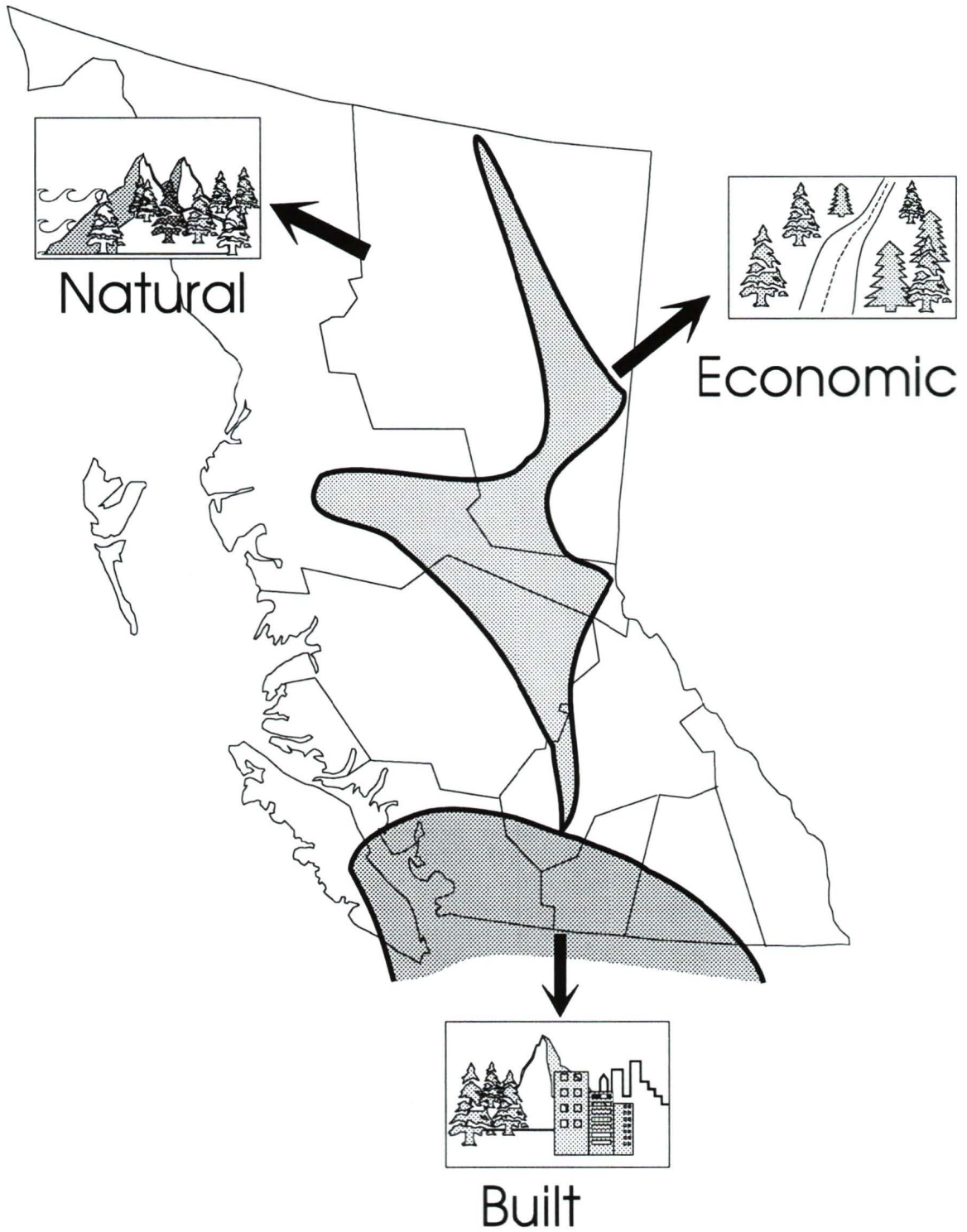
Wood (1989) examined the characteristics of colour as a facet of landscape with the purpose of elucidating its meaning and significance. Even though colour is subject to individual perception and tastes, it is an important element of the visual presentation of landscape beauty in the 'Super,Natural' advertisements. The photographer for the advertising campaign is a great proponent of colour filters and colour enhancement and separation techniques (Castelo, 1992:32). In such a manner, promotions of B.C.'s green and blue landscapes "demonstrate the perception [of] elite observers, the artist/author, and their technical skill at conveying the image to the observer or reader" (Wood, 1989:108). Whether depicted in the provincial licence plate, *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, or 'Super,Natural' advertisements, each impression of colour is a combination of the individual author's perception of actuality and its rendering according to the promoter's purpose and conventions of enhancement.

Three "families" of visual images are exemplified in this capsule image of scenic British Columbia (figure 21). The associated *NATURAL* image is similar to the capsule image, but further emphasizes the dense green lushness characteristic of a healthy forest. The vividness of this image is enhanced by the juxtaposition of chromatically conflicting green hills and cloudless or lightly-clouded blue sky. Much-photographed *NATURAL* proto-landscapes also include the descending sunlight over a distant mountain range, comfortably silhouetting the scene in a pink and orange sky. The scene's attributes of mountains, forest and sky are emphasized in harmonious proportions in a such a manner as described by John Ray (in Nicolson, 1959:261):

[Mountains] are very ornamental to the Earth, affording pleasant and delightful Prospects, both to them that look downwards from

Figure 21:

STEREOTYPICAL IMAGES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA:  
IMAGE VISUALIZATION AND LOCATION



them upon the adjacent Countries... and to those that look upwards, and behold them from the Plains and low Grounds... what a Refreshing and Pleasure it is to the Eye... the Mountains are pleasant Objects to behold.

Ray (in Nicolson, 1959:261) also comments on the green hue of hills, just like the forested B.C. hills, "cover'd over with a lovely Carpet of green Grass, and other herbs, of a Colour not onely [sic] most grateful and agreeable, but most useful and salutary to the Eye." Furthermore, a sense of intimacy is exemplified in British Columbia's *NATURAL* image in that the natural scene expressed is not necessarily deemed to be wilderness; the blue and green colours suggest a comfortable coolness as opposed to an image of wild isolation or unaccessible frontier.

The *BUILT* landscape image shows standard treatment of the urban scene. A coastal scene is depicted; the foreground is vertically abob with skyscrapers whose watery reflections mesh with the sailboat masts in the marina. Blue-green forested hills merge in the distant mist; mountain valleys obligingly frame sweeps of turquoise water merging into darker blue under an opaque sky. Signs of contemporary urban activity are generally avoided in that attributes such as people, cars, power cables and litter are excluded from view. Ferries, however, are commonly portrayed in *Beautiful British Columbia* and 'Super,Natural' advertisements, and are typically illustrated in the foreground against a wafting backdrop of a misty but sparkling urban entity. Woodall (1986:99) aptly captures the *BUILT* image in a description of Vancouver:

In Vancouver, we [saw] a mature metropolis with a honed, urban aesthetic and ringed by outlying picturebook Canadiana... I glanced to the west and saw a phenomenon so startling my heart leapt. On the horizon an entire mountain range had risen out of the Pacific Ocean... a looming white wall of mountain formed an

overwhelming diorama.

The *ECONOMIC* landscape image is composed of two associated images: (1) accessibility; and (2) prosperity. Accessibility is important in that it provides a directional route, or admittance corridor, to B.C.'s scenery. In other words, the scenic product is attainable *because* it is accessible to the average tourist. The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine emphasizes the roadway, as well as ferry, airplane and rail networks, as much for contemporary development and expansion purposes as for aesthetic purposes. As B.C.'s tourist recreational resource and travel industry became increasingly sophisticated, tourist promotions made road construction part of the landscape. Opportunities for "scenic views", "routes", "leisure drives" and "photo-opportunities" have become part of the image of the province. British Columbia, traditionally viewed as "empty" and "wild", is now considered in the media under study as "a view from the road", implying ubiquitous availability of the scenic view.

The incorporation of natural scenery as an aspect of modernity is also exemplified in the image of prosperity which individuals in the B.C. government promote to the public. The Premier of British Columbia and provincial Minister of Tourism contributed directly to the institutionalization of tourism through a "message" published in each quarterly issue of the *BBC* magazine (Table 4). In British Columbia, the Premier encourages, there is always a "variety of things to do and see". The "extraordinary" nature of the province is treated in the media under study as a common recreational source, providing opportunities for discrete experience in a warm, natural, authentic environment. Sightseeing is no longer an individual activity, but the organized mass

Table 4:

IMAGES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, in the  
*BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA* MAGAZINE

IMAGE	YEAR																								
	1959	'60	'61	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
SCENERY	XO	XO	XO	XO	X	XO	X	O	O	XO	XO		XO	X	XO		X	XO	XO	XO		XO	X	XO	O
"SUPER,NATURAL" MENTIONED																					X	O	O	O	O
"NATURE" - flowers, animals, colours	O	X		X	XO	X	XO		X	XO	X	XO	XO	XO	O	XO	XO	X				X	XO	O	X
CLIMATE / SEASONS		XO	X	XO	O	XO	XO	O				XO	X	XO		XO		XO		O	XO	XO		O	
"VARIETY OF THINGS TO DO AND SEE"					X	XO			X	XO	XO			O	X	X		X	O		X	O			
OUTDOOR SPORTS, e.g. fishing		XO			X	X	O			XO	X	X	O	XO	X	XO	XO	XO		XO	XO	O	XO	XO	
INDOOR ACTIVITIES, e.g. photography										O					X		O	XO	O					X	
RECREATION FACILITIES, e.g. parks, trails	O	O					O	O		X	X		O		XO	O	X		O		X	XO	O	X	
EVENTS, ATTRACTIONS, CELEBRATIONS			XO	XO			X	XO	X	X	XO	X	X		XO	O	O	XO	XO	XO	XO		XO	XO	XO
RELAXATION, HOSPITALITY, CHARM	XO	XO	X	O	O	O	O	O	XO	X	XO	XO	XO	O		XO	O	XO	O	O	XO	O		O	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF TOURIST INDUSTRY	O	O	O	X	X		O		XO		O	O	XO	O				O	XO		XO	XO	X	X	
CITIES, SOCIAL ASPECTS	X	O		X	XO	O				X		XO		O	O	X		O	XO		XO	XO	X	XO	XO
CITIES, CULTURAL ASPECTS, ethnicity																			O	O			O	O	O
ACCOMMODATION, CONVENTIONS	O	XO	XO	X	X		O	O			X	XO		O	O	XO	X	X		X	XO		O	O	
TRANSPORTATION, e.g. highways	O	XO	O		X	XO	XO	O						O	XO	XO		X		X	XO	X	O		
NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, e.g. dams	X				X	X	X			X					XO	X	X		X	X	X				
"PROSPERITY", ECONOMIC INVESTMENTS	XO	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	XO	X	XO		O	X						

KEY: X = Premier's message    O = message from Minister associated with Tourism

consumption of the "object" of scenic landscapes. In such a manner, "[n]atural beauty [has been] quantified as a result of applying bureaucratic and industrial models to the landscape... "scenic value" [has come] to be a monetary concept as well as an aesthetic one" (Wilson, 1992:42). Significantly, the aesthetic, ideological and commercial aspects of the scenic landscape inherent in the *NATURAL*, *BUILT* and *ECONOMIC* facets of B.C.'s image constitute the intrinsic value of B.C.'s contemporary scenic capsule image.

An overall objective in developing B.C.'s tourism industry is "to build upon British Columbia's present base of magnificent scenery" (in Murphy, 1987:413). Murphy (1987:407) has noted that "a prime concern... [of the B.C. tourist industry] is to conserve and protect the integrity of British Columbia's scenic resources and outdoor recreation opportunities, since these have proven to be its major tourist attractions." However, B.C. is experiencing a time when various industrial orientations are being used to stimulate and broaden the regional economy, and carrying capacities and ecological tolerance and threshold limits are locally already being strained. For the scenic resource to remain appealing in the future, visitors and residents must be satisfied with their experience in the province. The following section addresses this issue through examination of a counter-argument to the image of a "beautiful" and "supernatural" British Columbia.

## 6.2 The counter-argument, Ugly British Columbia?

The landscape described to the tourist in the travel advertisement, or the nature of the "positional good" (Urry, 1990:23), is of paramount importance to the traveller with regard to the travel decision. When people travel, they generally want to know what they will be experiencing. They want to be educated as to the attributes and location of popular tourist attractions and the sites at which to get a pretty photograph or souvenir postcard, but they also want to be pleased and satisfied with what they see. Significantly, they do not want to be *disappointed* with their experience.

The tourist, therefore, brings to the situation and to the site a set of expectations that interact with the site and the visitor's experience at the site. However, the ability of the tourist to adapt to mismatches which may exist between the original perception and the actual experience becomes a determinant of eventual satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The nature and seriousness of this perceptual discrepancy depends for the most part on the tourist's initial expectations, need for authentication, and perception of the extent of the problem. The *value* of the tourist experience is ultimately that which is felt by the tourist him or herself, and, as Short (1991:39) indicates, "[f]ailure to meet [the advertised] expectations provides the space for creative criticisms."

As exemplified in the "Super,Natural British Columbia" slogan, the contemporary stereotypical image of British Columbia is "nature". The provincial licence plate reaffirms the illusion of "Beautiful British Columbia" in blue and white colours; the personalized licence plate reiterates the ascribed "beauty" with the depiction of green mountains and blue ocean waves. British Columbia, the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine tells its

reader, is full of scenic delights:

Pick up any copy of the slick, full colour publication *Beautiful British Columbia* and you are likely to be taken by a breath-taking view of Slocan Lake, the Valhallas glistening in the clear, sun-filled air. Or perhaps the Sunshine Coast - in a carefully chosen vista.

(Yeomans, no date:1).

However, Yeomans (no date:1) also notes that

Beautiful B.C. is not beautiful in a lot of places and is becoming less so in others. It won't take long at this rate for the visitor to take a second look and maybe stay home or go where the landscape gets some official recognition and respect at the management level.

Advertising promoters claim that tourists *like* beautiful scenery, and since British Columbia has it, it should be advertised. Of course. But B.C. Tourism promoters must also recognize that "the site itself is... not a constant with reference to the physical attributes of the situation. Part of the site is the... other conditions within which the tourist sees it" (Ryan, 1991:45). For example, potential tourists may make comparative judgements of the anticipated worth of the British Columbia place product on the basis of indirect information. Information pertaining to future travel plans is often drawn from past travel experiences, tourism advertisements, and opinions and experiences of friends and relatives, but may also be drawn from non-holiday related information in which destinations have been highlighted, for example, as sites of terrorism, natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes, or political or public controversy. Through various media, the potential tourist may have therefore formulated an image of a place even before any desire to travel to the place is expressed.

Gidney (1993:A2) recognizes that "Tourism needs a very stable climate to stay healthy... [and any] international negative publicity for British Columbia" will affect the

image people, or potential tourists, have of the province. Recently, vicissitudinous environmental orientations are being reflected in changes in tourist and recreation patterns. Ideology and ethics, affecting the constitution of what is good and bad recreation and development behaviour, are often the reference points for tourist decisions. The following section will utilize two examples to illustrate this point: a) sewage; and b) clearcut logging.

**a) the sewage controversy:** A decision by convention attendees to refrain from travelling to Victoria for a number of scheduled conferences was publicized in Canadian and American news media in 1993. Many conference and hotel registrations in Victoria, British Columbia were cancelled due to the assertions of conference organizers in Seattle who claimed that "Victoria dumps 90 million litres of raw sewage a day into Juan de Fuca Strait" (Daniels, 1993:D1). Furthermore, threats of a public national boycott of Victoria were made by the State Representative. Even though scientific studies indicate the impact of the city's sewage on the environment is "negligible", B.C.'s tourism industry is affected in that

The level of resentment [in Seattle] is very high... Victoria used to be high on people's [travel] lists, particularly for a romantic getaway... I think the romance is a little tarnished... The longer [the sewage issue] goes, the greater the impact on Victoria's image as a beautiful, pristine, clean city.  
(Daniels, 1993:D2).

Of notable importance is that the state of Washington is British Columbia's largest tourism market next to Alberta (BC Research, 1990:21), and a boycott from this region would significantly affect tourism revenues in the province.

**b) logging:** Clearcut harvesting has been heralded by the province's forestry companies as generally the most economical method of harvesting timber resources. However, McCool et al. (1986:385) assert that "[t]imber harvesting is a resource management activity with considerable potential for significantly modifying a natural appearing landscape." As noted by Murphy (1987:407), the visual aftermath of stumps, debris and bare soil sharply contradicts British Columbia's 'Super,Natural' promotions. This contradiction has not been missed by tourists and B.C. residents, as the following individuals attest:

I toured your beautiful province last month and, even as the ads say, it was Super Natural. Except for one thing: everywhere we went, those magnificent mountain slopes had been devastated by clear-cutting. A nuclear blast couldn't have wrought greater or more unsightly destruction.

(Hooper, 1981:5)

After reading for months about the dispute over logging Meares Island [off Vancouver Island], I have come to the conclusion that no matter how important and valuable the land is to the Indians, tourists and residents of the area, for its natural beauty and historic value, money is the most important thing to B.C.

I... [am] astonished to find that while the provincial government flaunts B.C.'s "supernatural" beauty and environment for tourism, the same government is ready to log an island which means so much to the Indians and residents.

Serena Meares (a direct descendant of Capt. John Meares).

(Meares, 1985:A4).

The only large-scale authentic man-made landscape type in B.C. is to be found in wilderness areas, and that's the massive clear-cut. But on second thoughts, this is hardly authentic either, for it seems to be B.C.'s attempt to replicate the surface of the moon.

(Porteous, 1991:A4).

Beautiful British Columbia Our SuperNatural Land. Clayoquot Sound, the Hawaii of British Columbia... Grotesque clearcut logging

devastation... Is there not a better method than clear cutting...?  
(Skinner, 1993:A14).

McCool et al. (1986:386) are concerned with how a landscape appears 0.4 to 4.8 kilometres from a viewer. Such a study is important since at least 35 percent of tourists to B.C. tour the countryside and wilderness to see beautiful scenery as the *main* purpose of their trip (BC Research, 1990:31). McCool et al. (1986) conclude that in midground views, natural appearing landscapes are viewed more favourably than landscapes subject to modification; environmental groups tended to give the most negative ratings in modified areas, and groups which view timber harvesting more favourably tend to rate areas in the modified category more positively. Interestingly, Vale (1988) indicates that individuals critical of clearcut logging often evoke an image of "a primeval forest, unchanged for millennia except by contemporary logging... [For example] a tree that took a millennium to grow can be felled in less than an hour" (Vale, 1988:381). On the other hand, defenders of clearcut logging stress the recovery of the forest after timber harvesting.

Exposure alone, as indicated by Levine and Langenau (1979:325-6), does not appear to influence attitudes toward acceptance of clearcutting; however, individuals who utilize the forest in several diverse recreational pursuits were more in agreement with cutting than those who did not recreate in the forest. Therefore, it may be argued that "what one does in the forest" recreationally, commercially, and ideologically, may override the aesthetic dimension with respect to attitudes toward clearcut logging.

Ryan (1991:47) argues that "tourists are now experienced at being tourists." They have seen the imitations, the "peep show" (Ryan, 1991:47), and are now clearer in their

expectations and wants. In particular, they want the actual tourist experience to be comparable to the expectations raised by the destination advertisements as to physical attributes of the landscape. As discussed in the following section, British Columbia's visual landscape is itself a natural resource and needs to be acknowledged as such if it is to maintain the scenic qualities that attracted the tourists to the province in the first place.

*ij) the visual landscape as a resource*

A fundamental characteristic of our capitalist system is that anything can be treated as a commodity, that is, anything that can be priced can be bought and sold. Economists and planners dealing with tourism have papered over this difficulty either by considering the visual landscape a "natural resource" and part of the land factor, or simply by viewing the visual amenities as part of the "come-on" image, and instead focus their attention entirely on the number of hotel beds and the flow of gasoline and souvenir purchases. As Linton (1968:217) maintains, the visual landscape itself needs to be understood and treated as a commodity:

Scenery is a natural resource. Scenery that charms, thrills or inspires is a potential asset to the land in which it is found. But like other natural resources it is a potential asset that becomes actual only when valued and exploited by a society that has reached a particular cultural and economic level.

Though the major challenge in analyzing landscapes lies in the recognition of structural patterns in the physical land's complex and interwoven system, the normative method of analyzing landscapes is to look at a landscape "merely [as] an impersonal assemblage of visible features" (Penning-Rowsell, 1986). However, the tourist recognizes

that a landscape is physically and aesthetically a realm of interaction; what is most important about landscapes is their 'specialness' that tourists cannot experience in other places rather than their generalized qualities.

British Columbia's "natural beauty" has been identified as the province's "major factor of touristic attractiveness" (Var et al., 1977:27). As such, tourists may have higher normative standards of visual quality than local resident populations, and thus, be more sensitive to modifications in natural-appearing landscapes (see McCool et al., 1986). This statement is reinforced by two studies: Levine and Langenau (1979:325) indicate that "scenic drivers... who depend almost entirely upon good visual information may pay more attention to the [negative] aesthetics of clearcutting"; Langenau et al. (1984:175) found that "forest recreationalists who lived near the study area were less opposed to [resource] development than were visitors who drove long distances to reach the forests."

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine does not present to its readers extravagant expectations of the B.C. landscapes. Informative captions are frequently incorporated in the magazine text which identify the location and context of the photographs accompanying each article. In the 'Super,Natural' advertisement, on the other hand, explanations as to the photograph's location, available recreational opportunities, or informative communication as to historical or cultural intricacies of the scene are not available. The advertisements are in this manner detached from the observer in that they are not framed in space and time, and feasibly cannot be consistent with the actual scene. The 'Super,Natural' advertisement is a form of hyperreality, quite distinct from the natural milieu, which glosses over the reality of the scene to promote "a fantasy fostered

by [B.C. Tourism] to sell their product" (Richardson, 1986:129).

### 6.3 Summary

British Columbia has been promoted specifically as a tourist destination by the provincial government through the publication of the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine from 1959 to 1983, and from the mid-1970s to the present through the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign. These media, as tourist destination promotions, furnish expectations. Tourist expectation stems from the extent of acknowledgement and believability of advertised destination images. In this manner, an evolving mental process exists between the initial tourist expectation, which the potential tourist has from viewing images of destination advertisements and hearing about the destination from friends, and the satisfaction of the tourist responding to these images upon actual tourist experience. The level of satisfaction achieved in a holiday in turn becomes feedback in the system in that it shapes knowledge for the next holiday of that individual or the friends with whom the tourist has expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Through photography, perfect super-realistic illusions of imaginary scenes are made possible by studio settings, airbrush applications and computer image manipulation. In similar manner, line drawings may be utilized by an advertiser to deliberately create an imperfect representation of a product, leaving the viewer's mind to fill in the gaps which will usually involve what that individual wishes to see. "Drawings can be used to assimilate [environments]... into a certain fashionable style, and so market associations" (Jarvis, 1987:14). Significantly, as one Tourism B.C. report notes, "whether the photo

[advertisements are] retouched or not is irrelevant" (Research and Information Mgn., 1991:16). This may be true in the advertising world which, of course, applauds creativity and technological innovation in the process of manufacturing advertisements. But when the public acknowledges and begins to outwardly question the reality or authenticity of the advertisements, B.C. Tourism should take notice. When controversy starts, it *is* relevant for B.C.'s tourism industry.

A capsule image of B.C. has been determined which is comprised primarily of a beautiful, natural and scenic landscape. Green forest, distant mountains and ocean accessibility are inherent attributes of this image. Modern cities, accessible and well-maintained transportation networks, and an appreciation of Canadian culture and heritage abound, but they are integrally entwined with the aesthetic landscape and do not stand out as separate entities. The phrases "beautiful" and "supernatural" British Columbia define the province as an ideal tourist destination of natural, extraordinary and almost mythical proportions.

Humans observe few phenomena other than the shape and size of objects that are as ephemeral as colour (Wood, 1989:103). The British Columbia vehicle licence plate solely depicts the province's green mountains and blue ocean waves, and in illustration is very similar to the capsule image of B.C. On the other hand, the 'Super,Natural' advertisements overwhelmingly consider the natural, scenic attributes of B.C. primarily through the use of photography. Three "families" of visual images are exemplified in the capsule image of British Columbia: (1) the *NATURAL*; (2) the *BUILT*; and (3) the *ECONOMIC*, which is comprised of the two associated images of accessibility and

prosperity. The 'Super,Natural' advertisements are very creative in construction of verbal and visual text, but do not provide the room for the multifarious scope depicted in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine format.

British Columbia's scenic resources have been identified as the province's major tourist attractions. However, some individuals are beginning to note publicly that "Beautiful B.C. is not beautiful in a lot of places" (Yeomans, no date:1). If B.C.'s basic attractions are destroyed then tourists will not visit the province (Dearden, 1983:88). Several examples have been presented to argue that some tourist and residents decry the "supernaturalness" promoted in advertisements pertaining to the B.C. landscape. A promoted image perceived by the public to be unauthentic will ultimately prove as powerful a deterrent to tourist visitation as the original problems of land-use conflict, pollution and logging. The tourist industry must formally recognize its dependence upon maintenance of the visual scenic resource which attracts tourists. Furthermore, the tourist industry in B.C. must orientate itself towards consideration of tourist-related natural resource management strategies.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

*Landscape itself I take to be a human phenomenon, an emergent of the interplay between the observer, on one hand, and landform and land use on the other.*

(Craik, 1986:48).

### 7.1 Advertising Landscape

Tourism has a high profile in British Columbia. For the tourist, travel to the province is a lasting memory comprised both of economic considerations and intangible characteristics like enjoyment and relaxation. "British Columbia truly represents one of the finest recreational areas in North America, and besides attracting Canadians it continues to be a favourite destination for foreign visitors" (Var et al., 1977:23). For British Columbia, the tourist is of utmost economic importance; tourism is an increasingly large-scale and diverse industry and is rapidly becoming one of B.C.'s bigger paycheques. A former B.C. Minister of Tourism states that "Tourism is B.C.'s fourth-largest export... contribut[ing] \$2.7 billion to the provincial Gross Domestic Product... [or] approximately 3.7 per cent of the total economy, which is roughly equivalent to mining and related manufacturing and about half of what forestry contributes at 7.8 per cent" (Marzari, 1993:A11).

The focus of this study is the image of the landscape of British Columbia. The intention of the research is three-fold: to specify the image of the province promoted by the provincial government; to critically assess this image; and to attempt to understand the social, economic and political content of the image. The time frame under scrutiny encompasses the years 1959 to 1994. The significant criteria restricting the selection of

images chosen for study is that the selected images are promoted by the provincial government of B.C. The word "promotion" entails the utilization of specific images in the context of advertising the province to tourists, residents, business and investment interests. The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine was examined during the years of government publication, 1959 to 1983, utilizing content analysis. The "Beautiful British Columbia" slogan of the provincial motor vehicle licence plate was considered in conjunction with the images in the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign administered by the B.C. Ministry of Tourism from the mid-1970s to the present.

The major goal of this study was met by providing an identification and interpretation of the images in the *BBC* magazine, the provincial vehicle licence plate slogan, and the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign. The intentions of this research were met by providing (1) specifications as to the descriptive, spatial and temporal attributes of images portrayed in *BBC* and the 'Super,Natural' advertisements; (2) a critical assessment of these images; and (3) a comparison of the described images and attitude of the public towards the images.

Images of British Columbia were presented in dissimilar context and methodological style in each of the three media utilized in this study. A conceptually simple but methodologically intricate content analysis has provided a concrete base for determination of the image content and spatial distributions and frequency counts of the images in *Beautiful British Columbia*. In the content analysis, the characteristic elements of the magazine were demonstrated in descriptions of four themes: (a) city, countryside and wilderness; (b) insider and outsider; (c) the old and the new; and (d) in, on and above

the landscape. Hermeneutical investigations have sought understanding and interpretation of phenomena and have provided an effective method for evaluating the meaning of advertising text in the magazine, the provincial licence plate and the 'Super,Natural' advertisements. The hermeneutical circle has been utilized by this researcher to obtain meaning from verbal and visual texts, cultural and historical phenomena, and refine their meaning through the interplay of past and whole, text and context. This study, therefore, has proceeded from the summation of details that have been carefully investigated in their own right; understanding of the particular characteristics of *Beautiful British Columbia*, the provincial licence plate and the 'Super,Natural' advertisements must not be confused with their inclusion under generalizations of a dominant capsule image. To question the "correctness" of the presented capsule image, one must be obliged to examine the demonstrated assumptions of the actors involved in creation of the media under study. Hermeneutics has presented a method of interpretation; a method in which facts are indications more than they are items of evidence. The inclusion of mountains, trees and ocean in the promotion are viewed as accessible to understanding only by means of subjective mediation. In this way, facts are finally perceived in their true context.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, consisting of 188 pages of verbal and visual text per year, is a tremendous vehicle through which information is provided to the reader. As it is published quarterly, the public can be educated as to B.C.'s seasonality and relating climatic variations and recreational opportunities. The magazine promotes places in British Columbia as containing a *multitude* of tourism facilities and attractions. Due to its design format as a magazine, the *BBC* has the size and temporal capacities to

provide a variety of in-depth and detailed assessments of the B.C. landscape, including its natural and built landscapes, organized events, recreational and economic activities, objects and people. British Columbia as a destination, in *Beautiful British Columbia*, is both the product and the container of an assemblage of products. This view corresponds with a statement of Ashworth and Voogd (1990:9) who indicate that places can be "multi-sold... where precisely the same physical space, and in practice much the same facilities and attributes of that space, are sold simultaneously to different groups of customers for different purposes."

Images of British Columbia in the *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine reflect contemporary socio-economic and cultural differentiations of British Columbian landscapes. Landscapes presented in *Beautiful British Columbia* are valuable in the aesthetic, economic, recreational, ecological and spiritual senses. The holistic axiom of "the whole is more than the sum of the parts" is a basic philosophical presumption of the magazine's conceptualization of the landscape. Accordingly, the landscape of British Columbia is a complex and multileveled system comprising natural and built landscapes, organized events, recreational and economic activities, objects, and people; each with different spatial and temporal characteristics. Each of these components is a subwhole in its own right, but their combination is perceived by a tourist as the British Columbia landscape, an entity in itself.

In understanding the B.C. licence plate and 'Super,Natural' advertisements, the "beautiful" and the "supernatural" is the improbable, for it is the extraordinary, and therefore, suspect. This researcher was concerned primarily with the "extraordinary"

images which are promoted with regularity. An image of "Beautiful British Columbia" is conveyed in the phrase endorsed on the provincial vehicle licence plate; this image is further identified in the green and blue graphics on the personalized licence plate. The nature of the scene in the 'Super,Natural' advertisements is primarily the panoramic view of 'extraordinary' landscape attributes which are made possible through the use of wide-angle photography and related technological capabilities such as camera filters, computer imaging and fabricated backdrops. The 'Super,Natural' advertisements are a form of hyperreality feasible with the utilization of media technologies (Ó Tuathail, 1992:157). Photographic enhancing technologies manipulate fact and fiction: images are blended, the shapes of clouds are changed, trees are added, shots are widened. In such a manner, the real and the imaginary are blurred. The provincial 'Super,Natural' tourist advertisements are completely based on how a landscape looks in an appreciative relation; no understanding is presented on how the photograph functions within the larger physical, aesthetic, social, or economic context.

Analysis of the three media utilized in this study depicts a dominant image of the British Columbia destination product as a beautiful, scenic and natural landscape. Capsule images inherent in this general image are those of mountains, forests, and to a lesser extent, ocean. Secondary images consist of a developed transportation infrastructure implying accessibility, modern and prosperous cities, and an appreciation of native Canadian culture and heritage, but these latter images are usually only referred to in relation to the dominant image of the natural landscape.

Scripts, as the collection of descriptions defining B.C. as a tourist destination,

structure the very reality of British Columbia for potential tourists. The advertising script promoting the "beauty" and "naturalness" of B.C.'s landscape is a form of "rhetorical association" (MacCannell, 1992:165). The image of "beautiful" expressed in the licence plate is able to associate itself with the values and complexity of the "supernatural" image expressed in the 'Super,Natural' campaign. Both images can easily be interrelated and substituted for each other; the potential tourist can easily assume an association with the "natural" and "beautiful" landscape.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine and the 'Super,Natural' advertising campaign extensively rely on attractive photographs to attract attention to the B.C. destination. Photographic images are valued in this research because they provide information as to what a tourist can expect to see and experience in British Columbia. This study asserts that manufacture of the advertisement's image rests on the public's confusion of photography with reality; the audience equates the photographic image with what the image purports to represent. In advertising for tourism through the use of photographs, a conflict of interest arises between subject and object, between demonstration and supposition. On one hand, *what* is seen in the advertisement, or the subject of the photograph, is emphasized; the *subject* of the photograph is of objective interpretation. In this sense, photographs do capture reality, and not simply interpret it, since the camera is a mechanical device. In this manner, as Davidson (1981:18) asserts, "the photograph then becomes a potent spring of information." On the other hand, the subjectivity of the one who is seeing the photograph is emphasized; the photographer can artistically manipulate the camera or its subject in any capacity to prod its viewers to look

subjectively at the resulting image. As exemplified in the acknowledgement of a 'Super,Natural' photographer's use of computer digitizing to "blend images, change the shape of clouds, add trees and widen shots" (Castelo, 1992:32), one image can rarely stand on its own as a pristine document.

The *Beautiful British Columbia* and 'Super,Natural' photographs indicate what a tourist can expect to see and experience in British Columbia. When viewing these media, tourists presume that "something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture" (Sontag, 1977:5). Seen this way, photographs of B.C. as a tourist destination are often taken as proof of the stereotypical image of beautiful British Columbia. However, the credibility of the photograph may be questioned in two ways. Firstly, photographs can be untruthful in that they can be taken out of context, manipulated by camera tricks or misrepresented verbally. Smith (1992:75) characterizes the modern societal attitude towards the vernacular landscape as one of "benign naturalism". Similarly, MacCannell (1992:188) identifies a "fetishism of the ordinary": the *extraordinary* attributes of a place must be displayed in order to create interest and excitement in the view. As such, the reality of the everyday, or common landscape, must be overstated, or split into "what is and what is *ideal*, which is allegedly only a technicolor version of what is" (MacCannell, 1992:188). The 'Super,Natural' photographer, an advocate of computer control for image and colour creation, uses computers to blend and change the shape and number of images and widen shots. Eco (1983:44) asserts that through such methods "technology can give us more reality than nature can." Also, the very use of the term "supernatural" blatantly inflates the ordinary natural attributes of the B.C. landscape into the realm of the

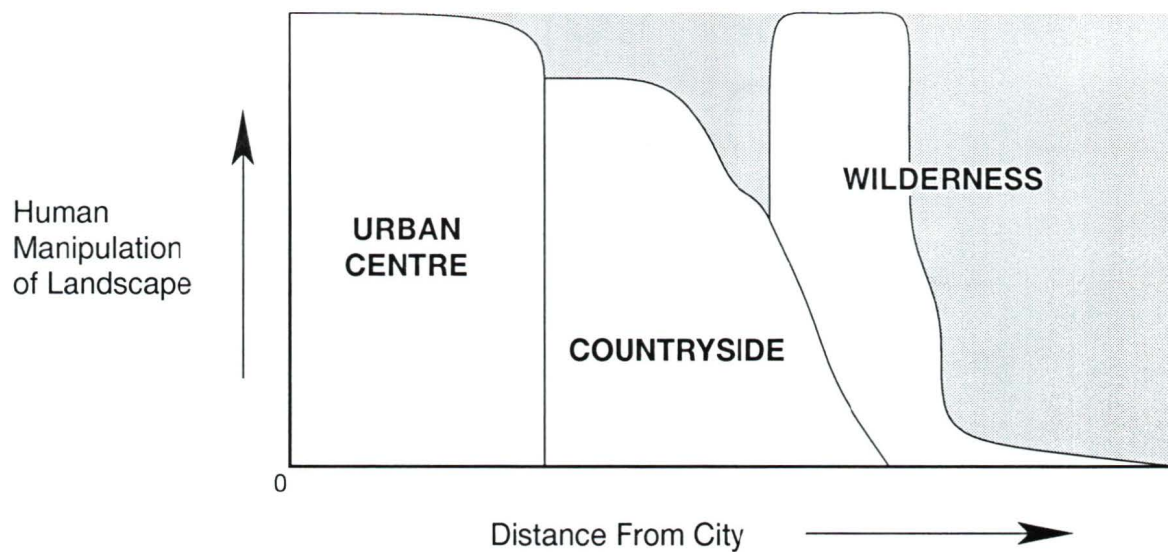
"extraordinary". Logically, however, if only the extraordinary attributes of landscape are promoted, the representations of the "common" landscape will inevitably be utterly unrealistic. The presentation of ideal landscapes is typically seen by the advertiser as not misleading the viewer but enhancing the product to entice the viewer.

Secondly, photographs fill in perceptual blanks in the viewer's mental pictures. Photographs, as a semblance of appropriation, visually constitute an attraction and provocativeness of what is generally available in a landscape. The B.C. government is utilizing the scenic British Columbia landscape as a form of aesthetic consumerism. Van den Abbeele (1980) notes the significance of the "politics of production of the tourist sight", a conviction seconded by Jarvis (1987:19): "Realistic admission of environmental problems and their... consequences rarely appear in advertising aimed at the general public." Traditionally depicted as occurring only in urban centres, extensive human manipulation of the landscape is now observed in wilderness areas; environmental construction such as clearcut logging is only beginning to be acknowledged as degradation of the scenic landscape (figure 22). Practical critiques of government rhetoric and content suggest that B.C. Tourism should be questioned as to the dichotomy in advertising British Columbia's "Super,Natural" and wilderness landscapes in the same spaces where environmental degradation is rampant.

The dialectic nature of the hyperreal becomes especially evident in confrontations between the individual self on one hand and the collective taken-for-granted on the other; there are many people who are shocked when they experience how the government issues orders which to them seem unfair or how it makes claims which to them are false. This

Figure 22:

INFLUENCE OF HUMAN MANIPULATION OF LANDSCAPE IN THE  
"CITY, COUNTRYSIDE AND WILDERNESS" THEME.



phenomenon is even stronger because the advertising world knows how to use the feedback generated by the reactions of various social groups in its search for a cultural and ideological model. In positioning British Columbia as having a "supernatural" landscape, B.C. Tourism utilizes picturesque natural scenery in advertisements as a strong drawing card while capitalizing on strong societal concerns regarding environmental preservation and outdoor recreation exploitation.

*ij) implications*

Propaganda is most often associated with the management of public opinion. "The propagandist will attempt to control information flow and manage a certain public's opinion by shaping perceptions through strategies of informative communication" (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1986:3-4). The beautiful and natural landscapes of B.C. and the representative advertisements promoting the "beautiful" and "supernatural" landscapes of B.C. both appear credible; thus, "on entering his [or her] cathedrals of iconic reassurance, the visitor will remain uncertain [as to] his [or her] final destiny... and so will consume new promises" (Eco, 1983:58). Since perception is the result of motor, affective and sensory functions, the interpretation of a "beautiful" or "super natural" landscape is objectively impossible; the phrases are merely psychological interpolation. Such assertions, of beautiful and supernatural, thus present to the viewer of the advertisements a pre-interpreted landscape; a represented landscape which supposedly, in its original setting, constituted a "beautiful" and "supernatural" response to the view. MacCannell (1992:82) presents such a dialectical argument: by representing an interpreted

landscape, the representation is "false" and "deceitful". Since, in this context, the technical operations required to re-present the landscape in the first place (i.e. through photography and silkscreen graphics) are invisible, this obstruction exhibits the transformation or simulation of the *real* image, or "way of being in the world", into a mere representation of contrived, unacknowledged, and unverified images.

Interestingly, travel research on consumer preferences has demonstrated that today's travellers are hungry for information about the sites they are viewing and experiencing:

Interpretation, education and entertainment can all be made part and parcel of [the B.C. tourist experience] with a little imagination. The market research indicates that visitors are starving for information... The entire landscape can be interpreted and highlighted - vastly increasing the interest and satisfaction of the visitor.

(in Ethos, 1991:79).

The development of "fulfilment material" (Ethos, 1991:76) is paramount to the future of B.C. Tourism in the face of public controversies such as sewage outflow and clearcut logging (chapter six, section 6.2). The objective of such materials would be to create and reinforce the image of British Columbia as offering diverse and high quality opportunities for the tourists through *educating* potential visitors as to the province's different ecological settings, historical and cultural artifacts, and developmental concerns. Strong visual images and "hard information" congruous with tourist interests in British Columbia could be concurrently promoted. The *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine, for example, does not throw out to its readers extravagant expectations of the B.C. landscape. The authors even acknowledge a distinction between factual text, or education, and poetic licence. The *BBC* successfully promotes a synergy, through its text, of interaction between promotion, motivation and expectation of the British Columbian landscape. And,

as Goodall (1990:262) states, tourist satisfaction is heightened under conditions of education and perceived authenticity:

Satisfied customers are good for business. If a place product provides a tourist with a highly satisfying experience repeat visits (purchases) are likely, when the tourist may well sample further components of the place product: at the very least the satisfied tourist is likely to recommend that destination to friends and relatives. But if the place product is not what the tourists want, no amount of advertising... will persuade them to buy (at least, not more than once).

Tuan (1974: 247) states that "the furnishing of an ideal world is a matter of removing the defects of the real one." The current official promotion of B.C.'s beauty and naturalness creates a pervasive aesthetic and value of the British Columbia landscape for the tourist. As a consequence, the landscape image constructed by the script does not necessarily represent an external reality; instead, the image primarily reflects the visual hyperbole utilized in advertising to promote the product into the distinctively visible, but engineered, realm of the extraordinary.

## **7.2 Further Research**

The purpose of this study was to explore a neglected field of geographical research by focusing on the significance of images of the British Columbia landscape. In studying people's perceptions of a place, a general understanding may be cultivated as to the perceptions of tourists and residents of their own environments. This study should not be considered an end in itself; after demonstrating their own cogency, the interpretations and assertions presented in this work should be utilized as a part of available knowledge.

Three significant problems arose during the course of this study. First, a major cause of confusion lies in the terminology of perception and image studies, particularly in the word "image". Similarly, "sense of place" and "meaning of place" must be defined as to how they are used in individual studies. The various uses of terms such as "promotion", "advertising" and "media" also create confusion, and each author's definition of meanings needs to be clearly interpreted.

Second, a lack of standardization of regional boundaries of the British Columbia population census tracts over time prevented this researcher from incorporating some desired statistical comparisons. Analysis such as comparing frequencies of image promotion with the expected spatial frequencies would be especially beneficial in determining positive or negative variances in representation of tourist promotions in urban and rural areas.

The third, and perhaps most significant problem, pertains to the lack of open communication in the political realm. No real opportunity exists for a graduate student to engage in candid discussions with officials of different government departments when the subject content involves sensitive inter-departmental policy judgements. The "government", regarded in this study as a congruous entity, is in reality a collective set of disparate individuals. Frank conveyance and exchange of ideas was lacking between individuals in the departments of tourism, forestry, planning, and environment, even though they belong to the same government administration.

Ample opportunities exist for further research on the perceptual images of tourists and residents of a place. The context in which the traveller encounters the place on-site

is important. A tourist moving independently around the province by automobile will perceive a sequential landscape transforming continually as one peripheral landscape blends into the next; a professional landscape evaluator, a Greenpeace backpacker, or a logger will observe specific static landscapes in different contexts. Image research is based on subjective perceptions; verifying its results can thus be based only on talking to the specific actors involved.

Since everyday perception is an active process, landscape images will vary both spatially and temporally in individuals and in the medium by which individuals derive information contributing to construction of the image. Reports in the news media and magazines reflecting changes in natural elements like seasonality or earthquakes, or politics, for example, may cause variation in established images. Such changes in images could be assessed by undertaking content analysis of commercially manufactured travel postcards, contemporary music lyrics, local drama productions, literary cartoons, and the like.

Further research is required as to how tourists and residents form and accept different stereotypes of the landscape. For example, alternative views of local realities may vary between the images of inhabitants, or insiders (local residents), and those of outsiders (B.C. residents visiting another place in the province, Canadian visitors to the province, or international tourists). Just as Urry (1990:1) notes, "When we 'go away' we look at the environment with interest and curiosity", questions arise as to the differences between the extent these people experience and appreciate, or take conscious notice of, the B.C. landscape they are visiting. Pragmatics in such studies is of utmost importance.

For example, tourists from these different spatial origins could be interviewed about their experiences in B.C., relating the intentions of their trip and initial images held of B.C. to their level of satisfaction after the trip. Questions to be posed could take into account previous expectations and images of the destination noticed in advertising.

The contemporary concept of tourism research typically dwells on amassing and recording empirical knowledge that already exists, such as the number of tourist hotel stays, restaurant meals and litres of gasoline purchased. More attention is devoted to accumulating and organizing such data than to *understanding* the data. The absence of hermeneutical awareness in tourism and natural resource studies seems to be related to the fact that such studies pay too little attention to the particular nature of their own knowledge, that is, that they too easily overlook the interrelationships between their work and other disciplines.

Finally, since tourist advertisements are being increasingly looked at from a decoding, deconstructional and semiotic viewpoint (Williamson, 1978), care must be exercised in determining ambiguous associations between the goal of the advertisement and the subject portrayed in the advertisement. Caution must be taken in interpreting a multitude of meanings in such advertisements so as not to misconstrue the advertisement's context and true character.

### 7.3 Coda

Tourism is built upon imagery. Logically, if B.C. Tourism is to promote the province as "Beautiful" and "Super,Natural", the scenery of British Columbia *should be* beautiful and super natural. However, the B.C. Tourism's "Beautiful" and "Super,Natural" tourism product is developing a poor reputation in the perceptions of some tourists and residents of the province. Recent public criticism as to the inauthenticity of B.C.'s 'Super,Natural' destination image, in particular, may lead to a tarnished image. A reluctance of B.C. Tourism to act upon this damaged image may lead to serious consequences and irreversible damage to British Columbia's tourism industry.

Davidson (1981:34) states that "despite our familiarity with visual experience we are still unaccustomed to search for the meanings in the visual imagery that surrounds us. If we did, the effort might shed an entirely new light on old information." The same is true of our ordinary, or vernacular, landscapes. The visual landscape is a resource in itself. Advertising British Columbia's landscape promotes the exotic and extraordinary environmental qualities that make B.C. residents proud. However, the attentions of British Columbian people, tourists and residents alike, have been intensely focused by the provincial government into one visual image, that of "Beautiful" or "Super,Natural British Columbia". Nevertheless, tourists are already coming to the province and not seeing the "super natural" attributes to the extent they were expecting. Perhaps we should open our eyes and see whether "Beautiful British Columbia" is indeed an authentic slogan by which to promote the province, or merely a contrived perception.

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**APPENDIX 1: Glossary of Terms**

*advertising*: any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services to a targeted audience by an identified sponsor (Middleton, 1988:154).

*affect*: a class name for feeling, emotion, mood, and temperament. Affect is involved in the acquisition and maintenance of attitudes and perceptions (West, 1981:37).

*behavioural environment*: the image of the phenomenal environment held by an individual. The behavioural environment, based on perceived stimuli from the phenomenal environment, is strongly influenced by the individual's personality, attitudes, beliefs, dispositions, preferences, and values (Porteous, 1977:142-3).

*cognition*: the state of true understanding or clear insight into the workings of phenomena. In this holistic process, objects are contextually understood rather than abstractly removed, dissected, and measured (Johnston, et al., 1986:57).

*contextual environment*: the matching of perceptions with information already held in the experiential environment, the latter derived from an individual's beliefs, attitudes and preferences, as well as the colouring of these attributes by experiences as a member of family, ethnic, social class, cultural, national, and life-style groups (Porteous, 1977:143).

*domestic tourism*: residents visiting destinations within their own country's boundaries (Middleton, 1988:4).

*environment*: the aggregate of all conditions, physical and cognitive, affecting the existence, growth, and circumstances of an individual.

*government*: a group of individuals in a political system who create, interpret, and enforce rules and laws in a given territorial area (Dahl, 1984:15).

*hermeneutics*: the study of the subjective intentions of the author; the goal is to rediscover this subjective intention through the documents, signs, artifacts and life-impressions of the text. The reader's presuppositions are not regarded as prejudices to be suppressed, but rather as legitimate assumptions which furnish the necessary conditions for any real understanding (Bubner, 1988:23-4).

*icon*: a representation that resembles its object and is thus the equivalent of a symbol.

## APPENDIX 1 (continued)

*iconography*: the interpretation of the material landscape as a carrier and repository of symbolic meaning. Iconographic approaches recognize that the visual power given by the landscape complements the power humans exert over land as property (Cosgrove, 1985:45).

*image*: the form, resemblance, mental representation, idea, conception, character of a thing as perceived by an individual or society.

*landscape*: a space with a degree of permanence with its own distinct character, either topographical or cultural (Jackson, 1984:5); a portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance (Jackson, 1984:8).

*media*: newspapers, television, radio and all other mass circulation means of communication either paid or unpaid messages to prospective consumers. Advertising media are those which sell space to advertisers as a commercial transaction (Middleton, 1988:155).

*message*: what advertising aims to communicate, both visual and copy [the words in an advertisement] elements, including images and symbols (Middleton, 1988:155).

*perception*: the process of becoming aware of the stimuli in our surroundings (Canter, 1977:8).

*place (sense of)*: the consciousness that people themselves have of places that possess a particular significance for them, either personal or shared (Tuan, 1974; Eyles, 1985).

*political system*: any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power or authority (Dahl, 1984:10).

*propaganda*: a systematic effort to persuade a body of people to support or adopt a particular opinion, attitude, or course of action.

*qualitative methodology*: ways of examining the nature of the social world through an interpretative and empathetic understanding of how people act in and give meaning to their own lives. The researcher needs to discover individuals' perceptions and interpretations of reality and how these relate to behaviour (Johnston et al., 1986:380).

*quantitative methodology*: concerned with the application of statistical methodology or mathematical models to geographical systems of interest; a useful device in prediction (Johnston et al., 1986:382).

**APPENDIX 1 (continued)**

*reflection*: the thoughtful and deliberate examination of underlying assumptions, motives, values or intentions of groups and individuals (Murray and Ozanne, 1991:142).

*resident*: one who resides or lives in a place.

*space*: is comprised of geographic space and conceptual space. Physical space is the extension of area surrounding a point, that is, the physical or geographic space of landscapes. The physical landscape is a concrete entity also in conceptual space in the realm of an individual's mind, including feelings, imaginations, perceptions, and spirituality (Naveh and Lieberman, 1984:28-29).

*symbol*: a sign denoting something other than the symbol itself. Symbols are the instrumentalities whereby individuals and societies codify experience; their utility depends upon the fact that all group members react more or less uniformly to them (Duncan, 1968:6).

*tourist*: any activity concerned with the temporary short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work, and their activities during the stay at these destinations (Middleton, 1988:7).

*travel*: any temporary movement for business, social, religious, educational, sports or any other purpose, provided that the destination of travel is outside the normal place of residence or work (Middleton, 1988:7).

*verbal text*: the copy, or written component, of a text, including headlines, body copy, and captions supporting any visual text.

*vernacular landscape*: a landscape where evidences of a political organization of space are largely or entirely absent. Its spaces are usually small, irregular in shape, subject to rapid change in use, in ownership, and in dimensions (Jackson, 1984:150-1).

*visit*: any travel activity concerned only with aspects of life outside normal routines of work and social commitments, and outside the location of those routines (Middleton, 1988:7).

*visual text*: the illustrative component of a text, including photographs, maps, diagrams, and pictures.

## APPENDIX 2: CONTENT OF THE "BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA" MAGAZINE

### LEGEND

- YEAR = Year of publication
- SUBJECT TITLE = Condensed title of article; indicates subject content of article
- ISSUE = Issue number, where: 1=SPRING; 2=SUMMER; 3=AUTUMN; 4=WINTER
- ARTICLE = Ordinal placement of article in the issue
- NO. PGS = Number of pages per article
- PHOTOS = Number of photographs per article
- MAPS = Number of maps per article
- DIAGRAMS = Number of diagrams and pictures per article
- VERBAL TEXT = Amount of "grid" (100 spaces of grid = 1 magazine page) of text copy per article
- CAPTION = Amount of grid of "captions" (text adjacent to illustrations) per article
- TOTAL VERBAL TEXT = Total amount of grid of verbal text per article
- EMPTY = Amount of grid in article left empty, usually left as white space (containing no verbal or visual text)
- PHOTO GRID = Amount of grid of photographic illustrations
- MAP GRID = Amount of grid of map illustrations
- DIAGRAM GRID = Amount of grid of diagram and picture illustrations
- TOTAL VISUAL TEXT = Total amount of grid of visual text per article
- TOTAL TEXT = Total amount of textual grid per article, excluding empty grid
- LOCATION = Site in British Columbia specific to article, where: 1=VANCOUVER ISLAND; 2=SOUTHWESTERN B.C.; 3=OKANAGAN / SIMILKAMEEN; 4=KOOTENAY COUNTRY; 5=HIGH COUNTRY; 6=CARIBOO CHILCOTIN 7=NORTH BY NORTHWEST; 8=PEACE RIVER / ALASKA HIGHWAY; 9=ROCKY MOUNTAIN;
- 10=PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA (no site mentioned, other than "B.C."); 11=UNKNOWN LOCATION;
- 12=NORTH OF B.C. (Alaska); 13=SOUTH OF B.C.(the U.S.A.); 14=B.C. COASTLINE; 15=SOUTH INTERIOR, B.C
- 16=NORTH OF B.C. (the Yukon, Northwest Territories); 17=OUTSIDE OF B.C. (International).
- CATEGORY = Subject of article, where: 1=NATURAL LANDSCAPES; 2=BUILT LANDSCAPES; 3=EVENTS; 4=ACTIVITIES; 5=ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES; 6=OBJECTS; 7=PEOPLE. For increased breakdown of these categories, see TABLE 1 in chapter 3.

**APPENDIX 2: CONTENT OF THE "BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA" MAGAZINE**

Year	title subject	issue	articl	# pgs	photo	maps	diag.	verb text	caption	Ttl verbl	empty	ph. grid	map gri	dia grid	Ttl. visua	Ttl. text	location category
1959	messages	1	1	3	4	0	0	173	2	175	72	53	0	0	53	228	n/a
1959	BC's campsite system	1	2	5	11	0	0	53	29	82	75	343	0	0	343	425	10 5.3
1959	Tyee salmon fishing	1	3	2	4	0	0	22	12	34	10	156	0	0	156	190	10 4.1
1959	Glacier likened to pan	1	4	2	3	1	0	28	3	31	38	127	5	0	132	163	7 1.2
1959	Douglas L. cattle ranc	1	5	5	6	1	0	44	19	63	48	377	13	0	391	453	5 5.1
1959	Stampede, Williams Lk	1	6	1	2	0	0	20	10	30	10	60	0	0	60	90	6 3.1
1959	Alkali Lake panorama	1	7	2	4	1	0	22	13	35	24	130	11	0	141	176	6 1.1
1959	Hammer L fishing mec	1	8	2	2	1	0	19	11	30	38	127	5	0	132	162	6 4.1
1959	Fraser album	1	9	2	8	0	0	20	20	48	112	112	1.1	0	112	152	2 1.1
1959	Tweedsmuir P paradisi	1	10	2	3	1	0	25	8	33	14	148	5	0	153	186	6 1.2
1959	The mountains	1	11	4	14	0	0	41	23	64	66	270	1.1	0	270	334	10 1.1
1959	Fabulous Kootenay V.	1	12	2	2	1	1	25	8	33	40	118	5	4	127	160	9 1.4
1959	Clinton Country	1	13	2	5	1	0	19	12	31	37	123	10	0	133	164	6 1.4
1959	North of 60 degrees	1	14	3	8	1	0	12	17	29	34	209	28	0	237	266	16 1.1
1959	But Barkerville lives on	1	15	1	3	1	0	23	5	28	19	48	5	0	53	81	6 6.1
1959	Quensel	1	16	2	2	1	0	32	6	38	41	116	5	0	121	159	6 2.1
1959	Upper Levels Highway	1	17	2	3	1	0	36	18	54	38	67	41	0	108	162	2 5.3
1959	Van. is. holiday playgr	1	18	2	6	1	0	28	14	42	21	130	7	0	137	179	1 1.1
1959	administration	1	19	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	n/a
1959	Beyond the horizon...	1	20	1	3	0	0	4	4	8	9	83	9	0	83	91	1 2.3
1959	messages	2	1	0.7	2	0	0	36	1	37	24	9	0	0	9	46	n/a
1959	The city of Vancouver	2	2	7.3	8	2	0	40	23	53	69	590	8	0	598	661	2 2.3
1959	The Deas Island Tunne	2	3	2	4	0	0	32	5	37	41	122	0	0	123	159	2 5.3
1959	BC's yachting paradise	2	4	4	7	0	0	44	9	53	36	311	0	0	311	364	1 4.1
1959	Portland is. shangri-la	2	5	2	3	0	0	34	9	43	12	145	0	0	145	188	1 1.2
1959	New rec. - Marine park	2	6	2	4	0	0	41	8	49	33	118	0	0	118	167	1 5.3
1959	Pacific Great Eastern	2	7	2	6	0	0	30	7	37	14	149	0	0	149	186	10 5.1
1959	Shawnigan Lake	2	8	2	3	1	0	6	3	9	13	174	4	0	178	187	1 1.2
1959	no title, photo spread	2	9	6	5	0	0	48	12	60	580	520	0	0	520	580	10 1.2
1959	BC's winter wonderlan	2	10	3	4	1	0	12	3	15	30	251	4	0	255	270	2 5.3
1959	The Kootenays	2	11	5	6	1	0	36	15	51	60	385	4	0	389	440	15 1.2
1959	Fraser Valley vistas	2	12	2	4	1	0	33	8	41	36	119	4	0	123	164	2 5.1
1959	Nanaimo, Island hub ci	2	13	2	4	0	0	8	11	19	11	170	0	0	170	189	1 2.3
1959	BC's fishing industry	2	14	2	3	0	0	31	9	40	16	144	0	0	144	184	14 5.1
1959	Wells Grey Park	2	15	2	5	0	0	27	8	35	25	140	0	0	140	175	5 5.3
1959	no title, photo spread	2	16	2	2	0	0	12	3	15	31	154	0	0	154	169	11 6.4
1960	messages	1	1	1	2	0	1	67	6	73	14	9	0	4	13	86	n/a
1960	Amazing land, Spatsizi	1	2	11	12	1	0	144	34	178	112	806	4	0	810	988	5 1.2
1960	H2O bombing forest fir	1	3	4	7	0	0	41	21	62	45	293	0	0	293	355	10 7.2
1960	Blossom time in BC	1	4	2	4	0	0	12	19	31	25	144	0	0	144	175	15 1.4

1960	Fairfare for a festival	1	5	4	7	0	0	0	42	15	57	42	301	0	301	358	2	3.2
1960	no title, photo spread	1	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	198	0	198	200	2	1.1
1960	Easy travel, rugged Fr	1	7	4	4	0	0	0	9	8	17	11	372	0	372	389	2	5.3
1960	The city of Kitimat	1	8	2	3	0	0	0	12	9	21	28	151	0	151	172	7	2.1
1960	Steelhead hideaway	1	9	3	3	0	0	0	15	6	21	12	167	0	167	188	7	1.4
1960	Osoyoos & Summerlan	1	10	4	5	0	0	0	12	12	24	25	351	0	351	375	3	2.1
1960	Lazy days ahead	1	11	2	4	0	0	0	11	9	20	25	155	0	155	175	10	5.3
1960	Riding high	1	12	4	3	0	0	0	16	19	35	28	337	0	337	372	10	4.1
1960	no title, photo	1	13	1	1	0	0	0	36	0	36	0	64	0	64	100	11	1.1
1960	administration	1	14	0.66	1	0	0	0	3	3	3	3	60	0	60	63	n/a	n/a
1960	no title, photo spread	1	15	1.33	0	0	0	0	122	0	122	11	0	0	0	122	5	6.1
1960	Queen Charlottes	1	16	1	0	0	0	1	9	3	12	8	0	80	80	92	7	6.4
1960	messages	2	1	0.5	2	0	0	0	34	1	35	5	10	0	10	45	n/a	n/a
1960	New Westmtr, royal cit	2	2	8.5	14	0	0	0	75	35	110	90	650	0	650	760	2	2.3
1960	The great outdoors	2	3	2	3	0	0	0	12	5	17	11	172	0	172	189	10	1.2
1960	Hon. Frank MacKenize	2	4	3	5	0	0	0	60	17	77	44	179	0	179	256	1	7.1
1960	no title, photo spread	2	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	200	200	11	1.2
1960	Holiday time	2	6	2	4	0	0	0	16	9	25	30	145	0	145	170	3	4.1
1960	Thesis Lake Park	2	7	2	1	0	0	0	48	0	48	30	122	0	122	170	1	4.1
1960	Gateway Columbia-Reve	2	8	4	3	0	0	0	35	11	46	13	341	0	341	387	5	1.4
1960	New ferry, less 2 hrs.	2	9	2	4	1	0	0	19	13	32	36	126	6	132	164	2	5.3
1960	no title, photo spread	2	10	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	200	200	11	1.4
1960	Mountain vistas	2	11	4	3	0	0	0	6	8	14	9	377	0	377	391	15	1.2
1960	Gateway to holiday fun	2	12	2	3	0	0	0	28	12	40	35	125	0	125	165	10	5.3
1960	Trail...the silver city	2	13	2	3	1	0	0	23	11	34	21	141	4	145	179	4	5.2
1960	Scenic trip to Bella Co	2	14	2	2	1	0	0	49	4	53	39	104	4	108	161	6	1.4
1960	Royal Vic. Yacht Club	2	15	3	3	0	0	0	18	9	27	126	147	0	147	174	1	7.2
1960	no title, photo spread	2	16	1	1	0	0	0	40	0	40	0	60	0	60	100	11	1.1
1960	administration	2	17	1.33	0	0	0	0	120	0	120	13	0	0	0	120	n/a	n/a
1960	photo spread	2	18	1.66	2	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	162	0	162	165	11	4.1
1960	Sharp-tailed Grouse	2	19	2	0	0	0	2	68	0	68	31	0	101	101	169	1	6.4
1960	messages	3	1	1.1	2	0	0	0	86	0	86	15	9	0	9	95	n/a	n/a
1960	When autumn comes	3	2	12.5	8	0	0	0	141	21	162	146	892	0	892	1054	10	5.3
1960	The University of B.C.	3	3	5	10	0	0	1	80	44	128	71	403	0	405	529	2	5.4
1960	no title, photo spread	3	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	200	200	5	5.1
1960	Yule Log Ceremony	3	5	1	1	0	0	0	32	4	36	9	55	0	55	91	1	3.2
1960	calendar & photo spre	3	6	9	8	0	0	0	33	17	50	152	698	0	698	748	10	2.1
1960	The transportation stor	3	7	6	8	1	0	0	73	24	97	62	434	7	441	538	2	5.3
1960	The rock hound story	3	8	4	11	0	0	0	60	22	82	35	283	0	283	365	10	4.1
1960	no title, photo spread	3	9	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	198	0	198	200	9	1.2
1960	City - Prince George	3	10	1	2	0	0	0	17	8	25	11	64	0	64	89	7	2.3
1960	City - Prince Rupert	3	11	1	2	0	0	0	22	6	28	8	64	0	64	92	7	2.3
1960	The cinnamon teal	3	12	1.4	0	0	0	1	32	0	32	8	100	0	100	132	11	6.4
1961	Springtime in Creston	1	1	6	9	0	0	0	76	24	100	85	415	0	415	515	4	3.1
1961	Victoria, spring flowers	1	2	5	5	0	0	0	43	15	56	54	390	0	390	443	1	5.3
1961	Albernis...industry & re	1	3	3	4	0	0	0	52	14	66	59	175	0	175	241	1	2.3
1961	Long Beach...ocean ge	1	4	5	1	0	0	0	41	17	58	58	373	11	384	442	1	1.2
1961	Carr painting...N. hillgh	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	13	3	16	25	59	0	59	75	7	6.2
1961	The hangman's tree	1	6	2	3	0	0	0	17	11	28	49	123	0	123	151	6	6.1

1961	no title, photo spread	1	7	3	2	0	0	0	34	2	36	16	248	0	0	248	284	6	4.1
1961	Alaska Hiway, adventu	1	8	11	17	1	0	0	116	48	164	125	791	0	0	811	975	8	5.3
1961	Nelson: holiday packa	1	9	3	7	0	0	0	71	15	86	67	147	0	0	147	233	4	4.2
1961	Nelson: Summer Arts	1	10	3	5	0	0	0	26	9	35	44	221	0	0	221	256	4	7.2
1961	no title, photo spread	1	11	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	64	64	133	0	0	133	136	5	5.3
1961	admin. and messages	1	12	1	2	0	0	0	68	0	68	26	6	0	0	6	74	n/a	n/a
1961	The Harlequin Duck	1	13	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100	100	11	6.4
1961	Williams L, heart of Ca	2	1	10	17	1	0	0	159	32	191	107	690	12	0	702	893	6	2.3
1961	Shimmering Shuswap	2	2	5	5	0	0	0	34	14	48	54	398	0	0	398	446	5	1.4
1961	Saltspring, is. of charm	2	3	6	12	2	0	0	90	3	125	108	339	28	0	367	492	1	5.3
1961	BC "country fair", PNE	2	4	6	8	0	0	0	52	20	72	31	497	0	0	497	569	2	3.1
1961	Hunting with a camera	2	5	1	2	0	0	0	14	6	20	15	65	0	0	15	85	6	4.1
1961	Pleasure in Okanagan	2	6	6	7	0	0	0	51	23	74	90	436	0	0	436	510	3	4.1
1961	Good fishing, no accid	2	7	3	8	1	1	1	80	24	104	62	92	36	6	124	238	3	5.1
1961	Yoho means "wonderfu	2	8	2	3	0	0	0	26	10	36	26	138	0	0	138	174	9	1.1
1961	Ladies golf champs Va	2	9	2	4	0	0	0	24	11	35	43	122	0	0	122	157	2	3.1
1961	no title, photo spread	2	10	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	68	130	130	0	0	130	132	11	6.4
1961	admin. and messages	2	11	2	3	0	0	0	61	4	65	57	78	0	0	78	143	n/a	n/a
1961	Shoveller	2	12	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	11	6.4
1961	Autumn comes to BC	3	1	6	6	0	0	1	47	21	68	58	469	0	5	474	542	10	4.1
1961	The RCN on the Pacific	3	2	6	9	0	0	0	65	28	93	50	457	0	0	457	550	1	5.3
1961	Uchuck II	3	3	9	13	1	0	0	93	35	128	109	615	48	0	663	791	1	3.1
1961	Mayne Island	3	4	4	5	1	0	0	38	11	49	42	300	9	0	309	358	1	1.4
1961	Vancouver's chinatown	3	5	7	17	0	0	0	124	19	143	109	448	0	0	448	591	2	6.2
1961	Highway 16	3	6	6	10	1	0	0	126	18	144	105	330	21	0	351	495	7	5.3
1961	Craigdarroch Castle	3	7	3	6	0	0	0	68	9	77	62	161	0	0	161	238	1	6.1
1961	Wasa L., holiday jewel	3	8	3	3	0	0	0	20	5	25	63	212	0	0	212	237	9	1.1
1961	admin. and messages	3	9	1	2	0	0	0	30	0	30	64	6	0	0	6	36	n/a	n/a
1961	Group mallard ducks	3	10	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	2	6.4
1961	Sports in B.C.	4	1	8	13	0	0	0	100	19	119	73	608	0	0	608	727	10	4.1
1961	Historic Fort Steele	4	2	4	5	0	0	0	56	12	68	28	304	0	0	304	372	9	6.1
1961	BC Cdn's convention c	4	3	4	6	0	0	0	73	21	94	55	251	0	0	251	345	15	5.3
1961	Francols L, 60 mi beau	4	4	4	4	1	0	0	29	9	38	39	302	0	0	302	361	7	1.3
1961	no title, photo spread	4	5	4	4	0	0	0	36	4	40	74	286	0	0	286	326	11	1.2
1961	Chilliwack	4	6	7	10	0	0	0	87	26	113	75	512	0	0	512	625	2	2.1
1961	Gabriola Island	4	7	3	4	1	0	0	58	8	66	44	172	8	0	190	256	1	1.1
1961	Memory of summer	4	8	3	2	0	0	0	21	5	26	24	250	0	0	250	276	3	4.1
1961	Cowichan ind. sweater	4	9	3	6	0	0	0	40	18	58	53	189	0	0	189	247	1	6.2
1961	Salute to stern-wheele	4	10	2.5	3	0	0	0	18	6	24	21	205	0	0	205	229	4	6.1
1961	admin. and messages	4	11	2.5	3	0	0	0	116	4	120	45	85	0	0	85	205	n/a	n/a
1961	geese painting	4	12	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	11	6.4
1962	Spring in B.C.	1	1	8	9	0	0	0	73	22	95	83	622	0	0	622	717	15	1.4
1962	Athalmer	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	19	2	21	22	148	9	0	157	178	9	6.1
1962	Barkerville, city of gold	1	3	10	15	1	0	0	154	40	194	104	691	11	0	702	896	6	6.1
1962	Dude ranching in B.C.	1	4	6	9	0	0	0	52	19	71	54	475	0	0	475	546	6	5.1
1962	Victoria	1	5	8	13	1	0	0	83	35	118	87	582	13	0	595	713	1	2.3
1962	Fernie, city with future!	1	6	3	2	0	0	0	25	5	30	18	252	0	0	252	282	9	2.1
1962	Fishin' is for kids	1	7	3	15	1	1	1	31	4	35	75	177	11	2	190	225	3	4.1
1962	Nanaimo's bastion	1	8	1	1	0	0	0	43	3	46	38	16	0	0	16	62	1	6.1



1963	Summer in B.C.	2	5	11.5	11	0	0	93	17	110	33	957	0	0	957	1067	10	5.3
1963	admin. and messages	2	6	1.5	2	1	0	87	5	92	46	8	4	0	12	104	n/a	n/a
1963	Grey Cup Vancouver	3	1	12	18	0	0	135	17	152	128	920	0	0	920	1072	2	3.1
1963	Conquest of Mt. Waddi	3	2	9	16	1	0	57	21	68	68	745	9	0	754	832	6	4.1
1963	Autumn in B.C.	3	3	17	12	0	0	110	30	140	100	1460	0	0	1460	1600	10	1.1
1963	Canadians first	3	4	5	6	0	0	55	15	70	55	375	0	0	375	445	2	3.2
1963	admin. and messages	3	5	2	2	0	0	137	0	137	55	8	0	0	8	145	n/a	n/a
1963	Historic churches in B.	4	1	10	19	0	0	171	20	191	167	642	0	0	642	833	10	6.1
1963	Greenery of Christmas	4	2	6	10	0	0	87	21	108	107	385	0	0	385	493	1	5.1
1963	The power of the Peac	4	3	16	17	1	1	144	28	172	138	1170	64	58	1292	1462	8	5.1
1963	The jade story	4	4	7	12	1	0	58	17	75	67	546	12	0	558	633	10	4.1
1963	Kootenai canoe	4	5	5	4	0	0	24	9	33	129	338	0	0	338	371	4	6.2
1963	admin. and messages	4	6	2	2	1	0	135	0	135	53	8	4	0	12	147	n/a	n/a
1964	Trees	1	1	10	8	0	0	85	6	96	175	734	0	0	734	825	10	1.1
1964	Salmo-Creston "Skywa	1	2	6	6	1	0	54	10	64	41	487	8	0	495	559	4	5.3
1964	Q Charlottes: old to ne	1	3	9	9	1	0	105	19	124	139	624	13	0	637	761	7	5.3
1964	Nanaimo and north	1	4	13	21	1	0	86	42	128	158	1004	10	0	1014	1142	1	2.3
1964	Smile show	1	5	5.5	14	0	0	92	22	114	67	369	0	0	369	483	1	3.1
1964	admin. and messages	1	6	1.5	1	1	0	69	3	72	70	4	4	0	8	80	n/a	n/a
1964	The Arrow Lakes	2	1	13	22	1	0	125	36	161	141	984	14	0	998	1159	4	2.3
1964	BC Internat. Trade Fair	2	2	4	10	0	0	85	8	93	82	225	0	0	225	318	2	3.1
1964	Green light for train bu	2	3	7	7	1	0	41	14	55	50	581	14	0	595	650	7	5.3
1964	Van.'s animal kingdom	2	4	4	10	0	0	78	11	89	59	252	0	0	252	341	2	2.3
1964	City of season: Gr Fork	2	5	2	1	0	0	36	3	39	25	136	0	0	136	175	4	2.3
1964	Ailin re-awakening	2	6	6	16	1	0	83	18	101	107	379	13	0	392	493	7	6.1
1964	Kelowna, lady of lake	2	7	2	2	0	0	17	6	23	30	147	0	0	147	170	3	2.1
1964	Adventure on the Peac	2	8	4	10	0	0	69	15	84	51	265	0	0	265	349	8	4.1
1964	Kitsilano showboat	2	9	1.5	1	0	0	85	7	8	12	130	0	0	130	138	2	3.2
1964	admin. and messages	2	10	1.5	2	0	0	85	4	89	6	5	0	0	5	94	n/a	n/a
1964	Deserted village	2	11	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	28	0	0	70	70	72	11	1.3
1964	Siman Fraser days	3	1	12	20	1	0	90	32	112	132	946	10	0	956	1068	7	3.2
1964	The Saanich Peninsula	3	2	8	15	1	0	102	28	130	111	549	10	0	559	689	1	5.3
1964	Okanagan grapes	3	3	6	8	0	0	59	16	75	58	467	0	0	467	542	3	5.1
1964	Hedley	3	4	6	10	1	0	94	18	112	82	394	12	0	406	518	3	2.3
1964	Industrial B.C.	3	5	11	17	0	0	109	29	137	117	846	0	0	846	983	10	5.2
1964	admin. and messages	3	6	2	2	0	0	145	1	146	51	3	0	0	3	149	n/a	n/a
1964	Farm near Courtenay	3	7	1	0	0	1	0	4	4	46	0	0	50	50	54	1	5.1
1964	Vernon, winter capital	4	1	14	22	1	0	125	38	163	190	1037	10	0	1047	1210	3	5.3
1964	Ind. masks, timeless ar	4	2	3	3	0	0	47	7	54	33	113	0	0	113	167	1	6.2
1964	Gallery BC communitie	4	3	18	11	1	0	52	7	59	65	1659	17	0	1676	1735	10	2.2
1964	J. Hart-Peace R Highw	4	4	9	11	1	0	154	23	177	147	564	12	0	576	753	8	2.3
1964	admin. and messages	4	5	2	2	0	0	137	3	140	57	3	0	0	3	143	n/a	n/a
1964	Dall Sheep	4	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	27	0	0	73	73	73	11	6.4
1965	Mt Robson holid. empir	1	1	9	11	1	0	83	22	105	104	678	13	0	691	796	5	1.2
1965	Barkerville revisited	1	2	8	18	0	0	97	31	128	127	545	0	0	545	673	6	6.1
1965	Van. day/night capital	1	3	13	23	0	0	119	49	168	210	922	0	0	922	1090	2	2.3
1965	Kootenay Skyway cere	1	4	3	8	1	0	31	13	44	51	197	8	0	205	249	4	5.3
1965	Get a lift to loveliness	1	5	4	10	1	0	56	13	79	58	253	10	0	263	342	5	1.4
1955	Dudes, sit tall in saddl	1	6	7	14	0	0	86	27	113	158	431	0	0	431	544	15	5.3

1965	admin. and messages	1	7	2	2	0	0	2	92	5	96	96	3	0	0	6	9	104	n/a
1965	Billy Barker	1	8	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	28	0	0	72	72	72	72	7.1
1965	Everything's OK in Ok	2	1	14	20	1	0	0	142	42	184	144	1064	8	0	0	1072	1256	2.3
1965	Westwood Track	2	2	3	7	0	0	0	58	17	184	41	184	0	0	0	184	259	3.1
1965	New ferry: circle tour	2	3	17	20	1	0	0	79	32	111	158	1399	32	0	0	1431	1542	1.4
1965	Greenwood's new look	2	4	8	14	1	0	0	102	23	125	137	525	13	0	0	538	663	3.2
1965	City of sm: Salmon Ar	2	5	1.5	1	0	0	0	9	6	15	17	118	0	0	0	118	133	2.1
1965	admin. and messages	2	6	1.5	2	0	0	0	94	2	96	49	5	0	0	0	5	101	5
1965	untitled painting	2	7	1	0	0	0	1	5	1	6	52	0	0	0	42	42	48	11
1965	When autumn comes	3	1	15	27	0	0	0	117	32	149	154	1197	0	0	0	1197	1346	6.2
1965	Bridge R., colour gold	3	2	8	8	1	0	0	85	13	98	73	614	15	0	0	629	727	1.4
1965	Jewel of the Fraser V.	3	3	4	5	1	0	0	35	7	42	68	281	9	0	0	290	332	5.3
1965	Cith of season: Quens	3	4	2	1	1	0	0	35	0	35	38	114	13	0	0	127	162	2.2
1965	Manning P: for everyo	3	5	4	9	0	0	0	47	20	67	63	270	0	0	0	270	337	1.2
1965	B.C.'s industrial boom	3	6	9	16	0	0	0	187	29	216	147	537	0	0	0	537	753	5.2
1965	admin. and messages	3	7	2	2	0	0	0	119	7	126	69	5	0	0	0	5	131	n/a
1965	untitled painting	3	8	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	38	0	0	0	61	61	62	1.1
1965	Thousand bells ring ou	4	1	8	8	0	0	0	75	12	87	66	647	0	0	0	647	734	3.2
1965	Richter Pass Highway	4	2	8	14	0	0	1	111	10	121	156	498	25	0	0	523	644	5.3
1965	Tower Bridge-Golden G	4	3	4	9	0	0	0	66	9	75	66	259	0	0	0	259	334	5.3
1965	Van. Is.: looks to north	4	4	4	4	1	0	0	30	6	36	54	306	4	0	0	310	346	2.3
1965	Focus on wildlife	4	5	8	10	0	0	0	81	1	82	234	484	0	0	0	484	566	6.4
1965	Gallery BC communitie	4	6	6	6	1	0	0	29	3	32	58	494	16	0	0	510	542	2.1
1965	RCMP musical ride. Ce	4	7	5	9	0	0	0	65	17	82	101	317	0	0	0	317	399	10
1965	admin. and messages	4	8	2	2	0	0	0	109	8	117	78	5	0	0	0	5	122	3.1
1966	Backgrd for Centennial	1	1	12	13	1	4	1	162	27	189	26	498	13	0	274	785	974	1.1
1966	Highway on the sea	1	2	30	61	1	0	0	412	73	485	399	2014	102	0	0	2601	2601	6.1
1966	no title, photo	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	10	88	0	0	0	88	90	5.3
1966	admin. and messages	1	4	2	2	0	0	1	131	7	138	53	5	0	4	4	9	147	6.2
1966	Kootenays...many face	2	1	26	22	1	1	1	231	42	303	350	1965	11	1	1	1947	2250	n/a
1966	Furl Centennial '66	2	2	7	13	0	0	0	114	9	123	169	404	0	4	4	408	531	4
1966	Okam. Smr School Arts	2	3	3	5	0	0	0	69	5	79	68	158	0	0	0	158	232	3.2
1966	The Cowichan Valley	2	4	6	3	0	0	0	119	15	134	17	449	0	0	0	449	583	7.2
1966	admin. and messages	2	5	2	2	0	0	0	150	8	158	38	4	0	0	0	4	162	1
1966	Sprngtime in Kootena	2	6	1	0	0	0	1	4	4	4	51	0	0	0	45	45	49	n/a
1966	The Fraser Valley	3	1	18	28	1	1	1	219	15	234	236	1315	8	7	1330	1564	4	
1966	Silver city, playgrd gre	3	2	6	7	1	0	0	63	7	70	105	415	10	0	0	425	495	1.1
1966	A world of mushrooms	3	3	4	11	0	0	0	64	7	71	57	272	0	0	0	272	343	2.3
1966	River with built miracle	3	4	4	16	0	0	0	99	8	107	74	219	0	0	0	219	326	6.5
1966	The pulp factory	3	5	6	16	0	0	0	97	10	107	148	345	0	0	0	345	452	1
1966	Looking down...up nort	3	6	5	6	0	0	0	42	10	52	41	407	0	0	0	407	459	5.1
1966	admin. and messages	3	7	2	2	0	0	0	157	4	161	35	4	0	0	4	4	165	1.1
1966	Okanagan Lake plng	3	8	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	5	52	0	0	43	0	43	48	n/a
1966	Thnks for the splendou	4	1	12	20	0	0	0	26	4	30	243	927	0	0	0	927	957	1.1
1966	The Centennial Ball	4	2	5	12	0	0	0	60	7	67	103	330	0	0	0	330	397	3.1
1966	Winter fun on slopes	4	3	10	23	0	0	0	74	5	79	115	776	0	0	0	776	885	4.1
1966	Gallery BC communitie	4	4	6	6	1	0	0	26	2	28	88	468	16	0	0	468	512	2.1
1966	Santa Claus ship	4	5	6	17	0	0	0	91	3	94	163	343	0	0	0	343	437	3.2

1966	The fence-art craze	4	6	4	11	0	0	63	157	182	0	0	0	182	243	2	4.1
1966	admin. and messages	4	7	2	2	0	0	155	35	4	0	0	0	4	165	n/a	n/a
1966	The Hoodoos	4	8	1	0	0	1	0	32	0	0	63	63	68	9	1.1	
1967	The valley is a garden	1	1	10	2	0	0	80	260	653	0	0	0	653	740	3	1.2
1967	The trap	1	2	5	9	0	0	62	141	291	0	0	0	291	259	2	6.1
1967	Surveyors of the north	1	3	9	25	0	0	113	126	623	0	0	0	623	749	16	7.2
1967	Gracious Queen sails..	1	4	8	17	0	0	83	60	645	0	0	0	645	740	12	5.3
1967	On powdered wings	1	5	3	8	0	0	55	55	178	0	0	0	178	245	11	6.4
1967	The giants	1	6	7	31	1	4	80	128	419	12	44	475	572	8	5.1	
1967	admin. and messages	1	7	2	2	0	0	151	40	4	0	0	4	160	n/a	n/a	
1967	Redwood's delight	1	8	1	0	0	1	0	34	0	0	61	61	66	1	1.1	
1967	Come harvest the sea	2	1	12	21	0	0	70	246	871	0	0	871	954	14	5.1	
1967	Alaska Highway	2	2	9	17	0	0	118	142	580	0	0	580	722	8	5.3	
1967	Vancouver Harbour	2	3	12	23	0	0	91	193	897	0	0	897	1007	2	5.3	
1967	O'Keefe Ranch	2	4	5	10	0	0	93	95	303	0	0	303	405	3	6.1	
1967	Ranch country weeken	2	5	4	8	0	0	76	89	232	0	0	232	311	5	4.1	
1967	A nursery for trout	2	6	1.5	6	1	0	23	29	89	7	0	96	121	9	5.1	
1967	admin. and messages	2	7	1.5	2	0	0	98	44	5	0	0	5	106	n/a	n/a	
1967	Two's Company	2	8	1	1	0	0	0	47	48	0	0	48	53	2	6.4	
1967	Thanksgiving	3	1	17	29	0	2	113	306	1261	8	12	1273	1394	10	3.2	
1967	Centennial trophy	3	2	3	3	0	0	30	58	212	0	0	212	242	2	6.3	
1967	Ft Steele: ghost town	3	3	9	18	1	0	116	148	620	6	0	626	752	9	6.1	
1967	Universities, a new loo	3	4	7	13	0	0	143	115	430	0	0	430	585	2	5.3	
1967	Rediscovery of Adven Cov	3	5	4	6	1	0	93	69	203	30	0	233	331	1	6.1	
1967	From ancient art to rug	3	6	3	6	0	0	33	78	184	0	0	184	222	3	6.2	
1967	admin. and messages	3	7	2	2	0	0	139	53	5	0	0	5	147	n/a	n/a	
1967	BC woods	3	8	1	0	0	1	0	21	0	0	72	72	79	2	1.1	
1967	untitled photo	4	1	2	1	0	0	7	0	193	0	0	193	200	1	3.2	
1967	Steelheading, Thomp	4	2	8	14	1	0	121	177	477	12	0	489	623	5	4.1	
1967	Xmas trees come from	4	3	4	9	0	0	67	101	229	0	0	229	239	5	5.1	
1967	Gallery BC communitie	4	4	6	9	1	0	31	97	452	17	0	469	503	10	2.1	
1967	Find yourself a mountin	4	5	12	23	1	0	128	118	930	14	0	944	1082	9	1.2	
1967	BCs Centennial fountai	4	6	5	10	0	0	44	101	355	0	0	355	399	2	6.2	
1967	A portfollo of wildlife	4	7	6	12	0	0	90	168	342	0	0	342	432	10	6.4	
1967	admin. and messages	4	8	2	2	0	0	133	57	5	0	0	5	143	n/a	n/a	
1967	Williams Lake painting	4	9	1	0	0	1	0	40	0	0	56	56	60	6	1.2	
1968	Victoria. City with diffe	1	1	12	26	0	0	113	316	760	0	0	760	884	1	2.3	
1968	Along a mountain trail	1	2	3	8	0	0	47	75	173	0	0	173	225	4	1.2	
1968	And there they gol	1	3	5	13	0	0	101	109	281	0	0	281	391	2	3.1	
1968	Highway #16 wanderin	1	4	14	28	0	0	171	259	944	0	0	944	1141	7	5.3	
1968	Vancouver's west end	1	5	9.5	18	0	0	125	137	615	0	0	615	752	2	2.3	
1968	admin. and messages	1	6	1.5	2	0	0	97	44	5	0	0	5	106	n/a	n/a	
1968	Clydesdales racing	1	7	1	0	0	1	0	48	0	0	48	48	52	2	3.1	
1968	Summertime	2	1	2	1	0	0	35	15	148	0	0	148	185	9	1.2	
1968	The Sea Festival	2	2	5	15	0	0	53	127	314	0	0	314	373	2	3.1	
1968	Let's go hiking	2	3	5	5	0	0	26	106	363	0	0	363	394	2	1.2	
1968	At old Fort Steele	2	4	2	5	0	0	23	71	106	0	0	106	129	9	6.1	
1968	Down into the ocean	2	5	3	11	0	0	21	84	191	0	0	191	216	11	4.1	
1968	It's the wildest...	2	6	3	4	0	0	17	33	247	0	0	247	267	6	3.1	

1968	The wonderful coast	2	7	4	7	0	0	22	3	25	38	337	0	0	337	362	1	4.1
1968	Summer schools	2	8	4	13	0	0	42	3	45	90	265	0	0	265	310	3	5.4
1968	At the regatta	2	9	4	14	0	0	42	2	42	57	301	0	0	301	343	3	3.1
1968	Point Ellice House	2	10	2	3	0	0	43	3	46	32	122	0	0	122	168	1	6.1
1968	Highland touch...	2	11	5	16	0	0	33	4	37	57	406	0	0	406	443	4	3.2
1968	Swing your partner	2	12	3	5	0	0	18	2	20	42	238	0	0	238	258	3	4.1
1968	Prince George	2	13	0.33	1	0	0	2	1	3	0	30	0	0	30	33	7	3.1
1968	Kitimat	2	14	0.33	1	0	0	1	1	2	15	16	0	0	16	18	7	3.1
1968	Fort St. John	2	15	0.33	1	0	0	2	1	3	0	30	0	0	30	33	8	3.1
1968	To sum up...	2	16	0.5	0	0	0	35	1	35	15	0	0	0	0	35	10	1.4
1968	admin. and messages	2	17	1.5	2	0	0	97	3	100	45	5	0	5	105	n/a	n/a	n/a
1968	Hummingbird in Arbutu	2	18	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	50	0	0	50	50	1	6.4	6.4
1968	Heigh-ho. To the fair!	3	1	6	13	0	0	90	8	98	111	391	0	0	391	489	1	3.1
1968	Van. Festival - decade	3	2	10	24	0	0	97	27	124	246	630	0	0	630	754	2	3.2
1968	Botany Bay	3	3	4	9	0	0	56	7	63	72	265	0	0	265	328	1	1.2
1968	The Secheit Peninsula	3	4	9	13	1	0	56	11	67	147	648	38	0	686	753	2	1.2
1968	Gold River	3	5	5	11	0	0	117	7	124	87	289	0	0	289	413	1	5.1
1968	The bottleologists	3	6	4	8	0	0	52	5	57	77	266	0	0	266	323	9	6.1
1968	Different world, Kuper I	3	7	4	8	0	0	70	3	73	177	150	0	0	150	223	1	6.1
1968	BBC Centennial trophy	3	8	1	2	0	0	30	0	30	25	45	0	0	45	75	3	1.1
1968	admin. and messages	3	9	2	2	0	0	167	3	170	25	5	0	5	175	n/a	n/a	n/a
1968	The grizzly	3	10	1	0	0	1	0	5	5	51	0	0	44	44	49	2	6.4
1968	Xmas at the lighthouse	4	1	12	23	0	0	50	13	63	119	1018	0	0	1018	1081	1	5.3
1968	Here come snowmobil	4	2	3	6	0	0	68	3	71	77	152	0	0	152	223	3	3.1
1968	Van. Public Aquarium	4	3	7	11	0	0	87	7	94	124	482	0	0	482	576	2	5.4
1968	Kitimat: multiplicity of	4	4	9	28	1	0	100	15	115	102	673	10	0	383	798	7	2.3
1968	Winter fantasy	4	5	3	10	0	0	26	7	33	49	218	0	0	218	251	1	3.2
1968	'Ksan	4	6	3	11	0	1	37	5	42	82	166	0	10	176	218	7	6.2
1968	Painting the province	4	7	7	12	0	8	21	42	63	229	151	0	257	408	471	1	6.2
1968	More about BC, just as	4	8	0.33	0	0	0	20	0	20	13	0	0	0	0	20	10	1.2
1968	admin. and messages	4	9	0.66	2	0	0	21	3	24	38	5	0	5	29	n/a	n/a	n/a
1968	Vancouver skyline	4	10	1	0	0	1	0	5	5	49	0	0	46	46	51	2	2.1
1969	Bastion Square	1	1	8	15	0	0	90	6	96	130	574	0	0	574	670	1	2.3
1969	A time to look & see...	1	2	5	9	0	0	70	3	73	94	333	0	0	333	406	11	1.1
1969	Of mind and matter	1	3	4	10	0	0	42	2	44	79	277	0	0	277	321	2	6.2
1969	Hlway 5, Yellowhead R	1	4	9	7	0	0	100	2	102	72	726	0	0	726	828	5	5.3
1969	Power of the Peace	1	5	3	7	0	0	35	4	39	43	218	0	0	218	257	8	5.1
1969	Victoria's flower basket	1	6	4	8	0	0	41	4	45	104	251	0	0	251	296	1	6.2
1969	Return of the trumpet	1	7	2.5	2	0	0	65	0	65	64	121	0	0	121	186	6	6.4
1969	admin. and messages	1	8	1.5	2	0	0	98	4	102	43	5	0	5	107	n/a	n/a	n/a
1969	The old wharf shed	1	9	1	0	0	1	0	8	8	47	0	0	45	45	53	1	2.1
1969	Sweep of the ages	2	1	10	12	0	0	108	9	117	77	806	0	0	806	923	2	5.4
1969	Columbia River dams	2	2	8	15	0	0	69	12	81	66	653	0	0	653	734	4	5.1
1969	Garibaldi's great!	2	3	12	15	1	0	93	14	107	83	970	40	0	1010	1117	2	1.2
1969	Van. Internat'l airport	2	4	3	7	0	0	53	3	56	41	203	0	0	203	259	2	5.3
1969	Salish weavings...art	2	5	5	10	0	1	89	8	97	88	277	0	38	315	412	2	6.2
1969	The Gulf Islands	2	6	7	22	0	0	91	4	95	55	550	0	0	550	645	1	1.4
1969	admin. and messages	2	7	1	2	0	0	59	5	64	32	4	0	4	68	n/a	n/a	n/a
1969	High wilderness	3	1	13	15	1	0	97	20	117	129	1034	20	0	1054	1171	3	1.2

1969	Nanaimo today	3	2	5	14	0	0	0	121	16	137	57	306	0	0	0	306	443	1	2.3	
1969	And now it's fall...	3	3	19	17	0	0	0	55	4	201	201	1640	0	0	0	1640	1699	10	1.1	
1969	Rossland, old gold rus	3	4	4	11	0	0	0	66	6	72	68	260	0	0	0	260	332	4	6.1	
1969	An Okanagan by-way	3	5	2	5	0	0	0	47	2	49	29	122	0	0	0	122	171	3	5.4	
1969	admin. and messages	3	6	1	2	0	0	0	52	6	58	38	4	0	0	0	4	62	n/a	n/a	
1969	Arbutus: tree sheds sk	3	7	2	4	0	0	0	24	1	25	20	155	0	0	0	155	180	1	6.5	
1969	untitled photo.	4	1	2	2	0	0	0	21	5	26	47	127	0	0	0	127	153	1	6.2	
1969	In Fraser's canyon	4	2	15	19	0	0	0	95	16	111	176	1213	0	0	0	1213	1324	2	1.4	
1969	The Parliament Bldings	4	3	11	25	0	0	103	103	16	119	112	869	0	0	0	869	988	1	6.1	
1969	Railroadin'	4	4	15	44	0	0	104	104	46	150	137	1213	0	0	0	1213	1363	10	5.3	
1969	BBC Centennial trophy	4	5	1	2	0	0	15	15	0	15	26	59	0	0	0	59	74	2	6.3	
1969	admin. and messages	4	6	1	2	0	0	59	6	5	64	30	6	0	0	0	6	70	n/a	n/a	
1969	The Garry Oak	4	7	1	3	0	0	27	27	1	28	32	40	0	0	0	40	68	1	6.5	
1970	Japan & BC. Neighbou	1	1	30	67	1	1	527	594	67	594	414	1801	190	1	190	1992	2586	10	3.1	
1970	Creston Valley flyway	1	2	6	11	0	0	75	88	13	88	39	473	0	0	0	473	561	9	1.2	
1970	Let's walk	1	3	7	8	0	0	108	116	8	116	55	529	0	0	0	529	645	10	4.1	
1970	admin. and messages	1	4	1	2	0	0	62	64	2	64	30	6	0	0	0	6	70	n/a	n/a	
1970	Pacific Rhododendron	1	5	2	8	0	0	30	34	4	34	24	142	0	0	0	142	176	3	6.5	
1970	Spelunkers	2	1	10	24	0	0	102	119	17	119	184	697	0	0	0	697	816	1	4.1	
1970	Puppets and fairy tales	2	2	2	5	0	0	41	31	2	31	127	169	0	0	0	127	169	1	3.1	
1970	Bathubs ahoy	2	3	4	14	0	1	51	63	12	63	25	310	0	2	2	312	375	1	3.1	
1970	Visit to Eckford's place	2	4	2	6	0	0	55	55	0	55	47	98	0	0	0	98	153	5	6.1	
1970	Chiloolin Country	2	5	20	37	1	0	134	149	15	149	112	1673	66	0	0	1739	1888	6	1.4	
1970	The young voyageurs	2	6	7	18	0	0	87	102	15	102	112	486	0	0	0	486	588	15	7.2	
1970	admin. and messages	2	7	1	2	0	0	57	61	4	61	35	4	0	0	0	4	65	n/a	n/a	
1970	Welcome to apple cou	3	1	8	11	0	1	96	100	4	100	12	621	0	19	0	640	790	3	5.1	
1970	Antique auction, Victor	3	2	3	7	0	0	69	63	4	63	71	166	0	0	0	166	229	1	3.1	
1970	Hiking the trail of '98	3	3	9	19	1	0	139	151	12	151	164	568	17	0	0	585	736	12	1.2	
1970	Think clouds	3	4	8	8	0	0	70	75	5	75	98	627	0	0	0	627	702	10	1.4	
1970	Old Hastings Mill Store	3	5	3	8	0	0	63	67	4	67	64	169	0	0	0	169	236	2	6.1	
1970	At Haida. A new totem	3	6	2	3	0	1	46	49	3	49	65	84	0	2	2	86	135	7	6.2	
1970	untitled photo spread	3	7	2	12	0	0	13	16	3	16	52	132	0	0	0	132	148	10	1.2	
1970	Edwards of Lonesome	3	8	9	17	1	0	84	96	12	96	86	710	8	0	0	718	814	6	7.1	
1970	admin. and messages	3	9	1	2	0	0	37	43	6	43	34	4	0	19	0	23	66	n/a	n/a	
1970	untitled photo.	4	1	2	1	0	0	12	12	0	12	0	188	0	0	0	188	200	11	1.1	
1970	The Provincial Museum	4	2	16	33	0	0	107	133	26	133	138	1329	0	0	0	1329	1462	1	5.4	
1970	Winter is...	4	3	16	34	0	0	69	78	9	78	105	1417	0	0	0	1417	1495	15	4.1	
1970	Windows of glory	4	4	5	16	0	0	42	64	22	64	54	382	0	0	0	382	446	10	6.2	
1970	Our wild orchids	4	5	4	9	0	0	58	4	4	62	104	181	0	53	0	0	234	296	10	6.5
1970	Some notes on B.C.	4	6	0.25	0	0	0	15	10	0	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	15	15	10	2.3
1970	admin. and messages	4	7	1.75	2	0	0	150	156	6	156	15	4	0	0	0	4	160	n/a	n/a	
1970	American sparrow-haw	4	8	1	1	0	0	20	20	0	20	25	45	0	0	0	45	75	11	6.4	
1971	Jasper...to the sea	1	1	22	44	1	0	164	193	29	193	155	1836	16	0	0	1852	2045	7	1.4	
1971	BC Festival of Sports	1	2	6	17	0	1	68	71	3	71	95	415	0	19	0	434	505	10	3.1	
1971	Memorial: Mungo Marti	1	3	6	18	0	0	56	62	6	62	54	484	0	0	0	484	546	10	6.2	
1971	Beauty at Bradner	1	4	3	9	0	0	58	63	5	63	42	195	0	0	0	195	258	6	5.1	
1971	Father "Gerry"	1	5	7	15	0	0	66	73	7	73	49	548	0	0	0	548	621	1	7.1	
1971	admin. and messages	1	6	2	2	0	0	159	165	6	165	31	4	0	0	0	4	169	n/a	n/a	
1971	untitled photo spread	2	1	2	1	0	0	7	7	0	7	2	191	0	0	0	191	198	13	3.1	

1971	B.C.: North and East	2	2	14	21	1	0	171	20	191	176	996	37	0	1033	1224	8	4.1
1971	Gastown almost died	2	3	6	16	0	0	66	5	71	50	479	0	0	479	550	2	2.3
1971	Musical ambassadors	2	4	6	23	0	0	77	18	95	71	434	0	0	434	529	15	7.2
1971	On whispering wings	2	5	5	11	0	0	62	9	71	72	357	0	0	357	428	2	4.1
1971	Houseboat holiday	2	6	5	10	0	0	75	4	79	93	328	0	0	328	407	5	4.1
1971	Valley of wild flowers	2	7	2	6	0	0	25	8	33	163	130	0	0	130	163	5	1.1
1971	R: Pender islands	2	8	5	8	1	0	35	5	40	79	368	13	0	381	421	1	5.3
1971	admin. and messages	2	9	1	2	0	0	52	6	58	38	4	0	0	58	62	n/a	n/a
1971	Old Ft Steele: alive, w	3	1	10	14	0	0	86	10	96	11	793	0	0	793	889	9	6.1
1971	Queen Charlotte Island	3	2	15	21	0	0	91	16	107	114	1279	0	0	1279	1386	7	1.4
1971	Van.'s "other world"	3	3	6	12	0	0	56	6	62	101	437	0	0	437	499	2	2.1
1971	Africa in Canada	3	4	3	11	0	0	43	4	47	40	213	0	0	213	260	3	5.3
1971	Apple art.	3	5	2	5	0	0	42	2	44	68	88	0	0	88	132	2	6.3
1971	B.C.: North and East	3	6	8	22	1	0	110	13	123	94	547	36	0	583	706	8	5.3
1971	admin. and messages	3	7	1	2	0	0	51	5	56	40	4	0	0	4	60	n/a	n/a
1971	untitled photo.	4	1	2	1	0	0	5	1	6	0	194	0	0	194	200	1	1.2
1971	Thomson's Xmas trees	4	2	4	6	0	2	63	2	65	60	231	0	44	275	340	1	6.2
1971	West coast wildlife	4	3	8	14	0	0	66	8	74	158	568	0	0	568	642	1	1.1
1971	ImpoExpo71	4	4	5	14	0	1	57	7	64	136	282	0	51	333	364	2	3.1
1971	Prize-winning photos	4	5	6	6	0	0	19	6	25	68	507	0	0	507	532	15	1.2
1971	Campus on ice	4	6	7	9	0	0	88	10	98	91	511	0	0	511	609	7	5.4
1971	Bicycles & free museu	4	7	5	17	0	1	51	4	55	85	360	0	10	370	415	2	6.2
1971	The Dogwood Trek	4	8	7	19	1	0	120	8	128	158	289	25	0	414	542	2	4.1
1971	admin. and messages	4	9	1	2	0	0	50	5	55	41	4	0	0	4	59	n/a	n/a
1972	BC Cent. Photo Contes	1	1	6	13	0	1	40	1	41	219	339	0	0	340	381	10	1.2
1972	Climbing the Coast Rg.	1	2	6	10	0	0	86	11	97	108	395	0	0	395	492	6	4.1
1972	Along Dewdney's Trail	1	3	20	48	1	0	154	22	176	187	1561	76	0	1637	1813	4	5.3
1972	Visit to Mount Currie	1	4	8	19	1	0	33	9	42	118	624	16	0	640	682	2	6.2
1972	Gorge is gorgeous aga	1	5	4.5	13	0	0	77	9	86	90	274	0	0	274	360	1	2.3
1972	admin. and messages	1	6	1.5	2	0	0	107	4	111	34	5	0	0	5	116	n/a	n/a
1972	Kootenay country	2	1	15	31	1	0	90	18	108	124	1251	17	0	1268	1376	4	5.1
1972	Vancouver cuisine	2	2	5	16	0	0	53	2	55	99	346	0	0	346	401	2	4.2
1972	Northwest diary	2	3	19	37	1	0	324	26	350	253	1260	47	0	1307	1657	7	5.3
1972	Honey of a Four-H club	2	4	4	15	0	0	58	13	71	261	261	0	0	261	332	1	7.2
1972	it's a rare bird	2	5	0.7	1	0	0	32	1	33	22	15	0	0	15	48	2	6.4
1972	admin. and messages	2	6	1.3	2	0	0	86	3	89	38	4	0	0	4	92	n/a	n/a
1972	A circle tour	3	1	17	19	1	0	126	14	140	247	1298	15	0	1313	1453	1	5.3
1972	Homes, Canada Geese	3	2	3	6	0	0	42	4	46	70	184	0	0	184	230	2	6.4
1972	Queen Charlottes	3	3	10	16	0	0	60	1	61	188	751	0	0	751	812	7	1.2
1972	A farm that's different	3	4	3	8	0	0	48	2	50	47	203	0	0	203	253	2	5.3
1972	The farthest corner	3	5	6	12	1	0	53	8	61	130	393	16	0	409	470	7	2.3
1972	Serfozo's place	3	6	4	9	0	0	39	7	46	49	305	0	0	305	351	1	6.1
1972	Our flying jewels	3	7	1.25	3	0	0	18	1	19	29	77	0	0	77	96	11	6.4
1972	admin. and messages	3	8	1.75	2	0	0	133	3	136	34	5	0	0	5	141	n/a	n/a
1972	Armstrong cheese	4	1	9	22	0	0	111	11	122	272	506	0	0	506	628	3	5.2
1972	Northern rendezvous	4	2	6	27	0	0	102	5	107	136	357	0	0	357	464	8	3.1
1972	Stanley Park sea-walk	4	3	3	7	0	0	80	2	82	66	152	0	0	152	234	2	2.1
1972	Portraits of nature	4	4	6	9	0	0	47	0	47	93	460	0	0	460	507	2	1.1
1972	Revelstoke winters	4	5	8	17	0	0	97	6	103	140	557	0	0	557	660	5	4.1



1974	Pacific National Ex	3	2	4	11	0	0	0	52	7	59	282	0	0	282	341	2	3.1
1974	Land of the Sasquatch	3	3	9	10	0	0	0	81	8	89	727	0	0	727	816	2	1.1
1974	Procyon Lotor	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	17	0	17	48	0	0	48	65	2	6.4
1974	Earth station	3	5	2	3	0	0	0	39	3	42	127	0	0	127	169	1	5.4
1974	Big fish story	3	6	12	18	0	0	0	96	13	109	907	0	0	907	1016	14	5.2
1974	Fresh appeal	3	7	2	7	0	0	0	43	6	49	104	0	0	104	153	10	4.1
1974	Landscape legacy	3	8	0.25	0	0	0	0	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	17	10	1.1
1974	admin. and messages	3	9	1.75	2	0	0	0	139	0	142	5	0	0	5	147	n/a	n/a
1974	Atlin's fun days	4	1	9	18	0	0	0	109	13	122	656	0	0	656	778	7	3.1
1974	The work was rewardin	4	2	6	10	0	0	0	99	10	109	423	0	0	423	532	3	5.1
1974	Professionals on parad	4	3	7	7	0	0	0	33	4	37	545	0	0	545	582	10	2.1
1974	Waves and their ways	4	4	12	17	0	0	0	99	10	109	971	0	0	971	1080	2	4.1
1974	Christmas, game of gol	4	5	4	8	0	0	0	57	6	63	273	0	0	273	336	1	3.1
1974	Jade	4	6	6	16	1	0	0	120	7	127	373	20	0	393	520	7	5.1
1974	Frosty night	4	7	0.25	0	0	0	0	13	0	13	0	0	0	0	13	11	1.1
1974	admin. and messages	4	8	1.75	2	0	0	0	136	2	138	5	0	0	5	143	n/a	n/a
1975	Splendoured spring	1	1	29	66	0	0	0	273	32	305	2305	0	0	2305	2610	10	3.1
1975	Once upon a train...	1	2	9	19	3	1	0	92	6	98	662	32	4	698	796	2	5.3
1975	Heritage village	1	3	6	11	0	0	0	98	5	103	413	0	0	413	516	2	6.1
1975	admin. and messages	1	4	2	2	0	0	0	151	3	154	5	0	0	5	159	n/a	n/a
1975	Earl Grey's dream	2	1	13	25	1	0	0	196	21	217	975	29	0	1004	1221	9	1.1
1975	Aquatic adventure	2	2	3	5	0	0	0	54	4	58	203	0	0	203	261	2	5.3
1975	Fun in getting ready	2	3	5	10	0	0	0	52	8	60	377	0	0	377	437	1	3.1
1975	Summer music, Courte	2	4	6	9	0	0	0	58	8	66	465	0	0	465	531	1	7.2
1975	Plunging into language	2	5	5	7	0	0	0	59	7	66	375	0	0	375	441	2	5.4
1975	New abundance	2	6	4	7	0	0	0	70	9	79	234	0	0	234	313	2	6.4
1975	Sallspring..freedom	2	7	8	11	1	4	0	71	15	86	522	14	84	620	706	1	6.2
1975	Quensell's water wheel	2	8	0.5	1	0	0	0	23	0	23	16	0	0	16	39	6	6.1
1975	admin. and messages	2	9	1.5	0	0	0	0	68	0	68	5	0	0	5	73	n/a	n/a
1975	Smile behind rain	3	1	11	19	1	0	0	92	19	111	876	14	0	890	1001	7	2.3
1975	Marble castle restored	3	2	7	9	0	1	0	71	10	81	517	0	20	537	618	1	6.1
1975	Fairmont Hot Springs	3	3	14	16	1	0	0	81	19	100	1193	12	0	1205	1305	9	1.4
1975	Fruit of the vine	3	4	8	12	0	0	0	103	13	116	596	0	0	596	712	10	5.1
1975	Texada: paradoxical isl	3	5	4.5	6	1	0	0	55	7	62	307	21	0	328	390	2	2.1
1975	admin. and messages	3	6	1.5	0	0	0	0	120	0	120	0	0	0	0	120	n/a	n/a
1975	Winter	4	1	2	3	0	0	0	8	2	10	190	0	0	190	200	10	4.1
1975	Carried by dogteam	4	2	2	3	0	2	0	15	3	18	161	0	3	164	182	7	3.1
1975	Chills and thrills	4	3	2	6	0	1	0	9	0	9	164	0	3	167	176	10	4.1
1975	Figures and forms	4	4	2	3	0	0	0	12	0	12	168	0	0	168	180	8	3.1
1975	And a festive yule	4	5	1	3	0	0	0	24	3	27	56	0	0	56	85	1	3.1
1975	Park for all seasons	4	6	7	11	1	0	0	94	8	102	542	12	0	554	656	2	4.1
1975	Kimberly: Cinderella ci	4	7	5	9	1	0	0	58	6	64	380	11	0	391	455	9	2.3
1975	Touring winter country	4	8	3	3	0	0	0	25	2	27	250	0	0	250	277	10	4.1
1975	Cross-country on skis	4	9	6	15	0	0	0	49	6	55	519	0	0	519	574	2	4.1
1975	Flowers of Holy Night	4	10	2	3	0	0	0	56	2	58	104	0	0	104	162	1	6.5
1975	The storied coast	4	11	6	7	1	0	0	59	6	65	494	12	0	506	571	1	4.1
1975	Snuggling in	4	12	2	4	0	0	0	10	1	11	136	0	0	136	147	10	2.1
1975	A festival for spring	4	13	3	6	0	0	0	39	5	44	235	0	0	235	279	2	3.2
1975	Beautiful BC	4	14	1	2	0	0	0	46	0	46	34	0	0	34	80	11	5.2

1975	admin. and messages	4	15	2	2	0	0	156	3	159	36	5	0	0	164	n/a	n/a
1976	The Princess rules waw	1	1	7	10	1	0	84	8	92	78	518	12	0	530	13	5.3
1976	Explore Creston marsh	1	2	6	9	1	0	63	13	76	60	447	17	0	464	4	1.4
1976	Land of Lillooet	1	3	15	17	1	0	113	21	134	105	1245	16	0	1261	6	2.3
1976	Museum train	1	4	6	10	0	1	87	11	97	57	417	29	0	446	8	6.1
1976	Plants of pocket desert	1	5	5	10	1	0	48	14	62	59	365	14	0	379	3	1.1
1976	Denman-Hornby: two f	1	6	6	9	1	0	88	9	97	56	437	10	0	447	1	1.4
1976	admin. and messages	1	7	1	2	0	0	61	7	68	28	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1976	Vancouver: host city	2	1	19	35	0	0	178	42	220	201	1479	0	0	1479	2	2.2
1976	Monarch, Cdn Rockies	2	2	11	11	1	0	96	11	107	51	920	22	0	942	5	1.2
1976	How keep 'em in the ci	2	3	6	10	0	0	87	8	95	49	456	0	0	456	1	4.1
1976	Lake-a-daysical countr	2	4	9	11	1	0	58	9	67	84	740	9	0	749	5	1.4
1976	admin. and messages	2	5	1	2	0	0	56	4	60	36	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1976	Days of old, and gold	3	1	10	21	0	0	134	15	149	147	704	0	0	704	6	6.1
1976	Radium Hot Springs	3	2	6	11	1	0	57	8	65	68	458	9	0	467	9	2.3
1976	Skeena: river of mists	3	3	15	19	1	2	176	16	192	146	1102	29	31	1162	7	1.4
1976	BBC trophy	3	4	3	5	0	0	19	4	23	99	178	0	0	178	15	1.4
1976	Autumn harmony	3	5	10.5	11	0	0	36	8	44	112	894	0	0	894	10	1.2
1976	admin. and messages	3	6	2	2	0	0	107	8	115	81	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1976	West Coast adventure	4	1	15	22	1	0	139	20	159	118	1214	9	0	1223	1	4.1
1976	Winterfest	4	2	4	15	0	0	46	7	53	86	261	0	0	261	3	3.1
1976	If man were meant to fl	4	3	8	8	0	0	65	8	73	39	688	0	0	688	4	4.1
1976	Christmas on the ranc	4	4	4	8	0	0	88	9	97	79	224	0	0	224	6	5.1
1976	The Butchart Gardens	4	5	7	9	0	0	79	11	90	51	559	0	0	559	1	1.4
1976	Peace River county	4	6	7	5	0	0	35	7	42	114	544	0	0	544	8	1.4
1976	admin. and messages	4	7	1	2	0	0	61	5	66	30	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1977	Bella Coola, impossible	1	1	13	20	1	0	144	16	160	223	946	11	0	957	6	2.1
1977	Sailing for Swifsure	1	2	8	8	1	0	94	9	103	99	585	13	0	598	1	3.1
1977	Sunshine valley	1	3	8	10	1	0	84	10	94	111	588	7	0	595	4	2.3
1977	Columbia R canoeing e	1	4	11	12	1	0	96	10	106	129	854	11	0	865	9	1.2
1977	Birthplace of BC	1	5	5	7	1	0	72	4	76	73	343	8	0	351	2	6.1
1977	admin. and messages	1	6	1	2	0	0	62	3	65	31	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1977	A city meant for peopl	2	1	16	28	1	0	109	31	140	231	1218	11	0	1229	1	2.3
1977	Lava, water wilderness	2	2	14	15	1	0	111	23	134	151	1107	8	0	1115	5	1.2
1977	Holiday with a purpose	2	3	4	7	1	0	33	5	38	56	297	9	0	306	3	7.2
1977	Like hell gone cool...	2	4	4	6	1	0	42	8	50	67	278	5	0	283	4	6.1
1977	Steam on the Fraser	2	5	7	10	1	0	56	12	68	72	551	9	0	560	2	5.2
1977	admin. and messages	2	6	1	2	0	0	62	4	66	30	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1977	The last days of summ	3	1	8	9	0	0	44	14	58	74	668	0	0	668	3	2.1
1977	B.C.: a personal view	3	2	16	11	0	0	44	5	49	334	1217	0	0	1266	10	1.1
1977	A garden for learning	3	3	4	10	1	0	54	13	67	79	247	7	0	254	2	5.3
1977	Going down the road	3	4	6	9	1	0	63	13	76	77	436	11	0	447	2	4.1
1977	Flying the north countr	3	5	11	17	1	0	127	31	158	188	740	14	0	754	7	5.3
1977	admin. and messages	3	6	2	4	0	0	117	3	120	76	4	0	0	4	n/a	n/a
1977	Grand old lady is back	4	1	5	8	0	0	84	11	96	97	308	0	0	308	2	6.2
1977	Of ice and snow	4	2	9	11	0	0	9	24	33	127	740	0	0	740	10	4.1
1977	Putting on the bull...	4	3	3	6	1	0	72	7	79	54	155	12	0	167	5	3.1
1977	B.C. mosaic	4	4	21	36	0	0	150	39	189	273	1638	0	0	1638	10	2.3
1977	Cottonwood House	4	5	2	6	1	0	24	0	24	33	134	9	0	143	6	6.1





1982	Forgotten songs	1	2	4	11	0	0	54	4	59	101	240	0	0	240	299	2	3.2
1982	Rivers of ice	1	3	14	18	1	0	106	13	119	134	1000	0	0	1147	1266	7	1.2
1982	Flowers of forest floor	1	4	5	10	0	0	47	7	54	125	321	0	0	321	375	10	6.5
1982	Getting out of fast lane	1	5	13.8	23	1	0	132	13	145	295	933	7	0	940	1085	1	5.3
1982	admin. and messages	1	6	1.2	2	0	0	70	2	72	44	4	0	0	4	76	n/a	n/a
1982	Chinatown	2	1	10	25	0	0	88	17	105	225	670	0	0	670	775	2	6.2
1982	Whirling into time froz	2	2	10	9	1	0	109	10	119	96	762	0	0	786	904	6	1.2
1982	Cranbrook	2	3	14	21	1	1	117	13	130	330	923	7	10	940	1070	9	2.1
1982	Travels with Emily	2	4	10.5	10	1	3	135	12	147	195	472	79	157	708	855	7	1.2
1982	admin. and messages	2	5	1.5	3	0	0	67	0	67	40	43	0	0	43	110	n/a	n/a
1982	Sea-land smorgasboar	3	1	14	15	0	0	101	11	112	269	1019	0	0	1019	1131	10	5.1
1982	UBC's Museum Anthro	3	2	8	12	0	0	107	10	117	151	532	0	0	532	649	2	5.4
1982	Ghosts of the Tulamee	3	3	6	6	0	0	46	5	51	113	436	0	0	436	487	3	6.1
1982	Hooking liquid delirium	3	4	7	9	0	0	96	7	103	171	426	0	0	426	529	10	4.1
1982	Scenery by the potflus	3	5	8.5	12	2	0	87	7	94	151	581	24	0	605	699	1	2.3
1982	admin. and messages	3	6	1.5	3	0	0	64	0	64	43	43	0	0	43	107	n/a	n/a
1982	Pacific fantasia: shore	4	1	12	16	0	0	113	14	127	237	836	0	0	836	963	14	1.2
1982	West Kootenay winter	4	2	12	12	0	0	29	4	34	341	825	0	0	825	859	4	1.1
1982	Lions Gate:steel railnb	4	3	5	8	0	0	65	5	70	51	379	0	0	379	449	2	5.3
1982	The mountain city	4	4	7	13	0	0	68	5	73	132	495	0	0	495	568	9	1.4
1982	Van. Maritime Museum	4	5	2	4	0	0	40	3	43	54	103	0	0	103	146	2	5.4
1982	Squeeze in some skiin	4	6	7.5	10	0	0	75	8	83	225	442	0	0	442	525	18	5.3
1982	admin. and messages	4	7	1.5	3	0	0	65	0	65	41	43	0	0	43	109	n/a	n/a
1983	Roadhouses of Caribo	1	1	14	17	1	0	112	18	130	275	980	15	0	995	1125	6	5.3
1983	Kayaking the wild side	1	2	12	14	1	0	113	14	127	265	776	32	0	808	935	1	1.2
1983	Victoria: bathed in ligh	1	3	6	11	0	0	36	8	44	121	435	0	0	435	479	1	2.1
1983	Manning Pk: drive-in s	1	4	6	8	1	0	66	4	70	168	354	8	0	362	432	2	1.2
1983	Pedaling pier to pier	1	5	6	8	1	0	46	4	50	102	425	23	0	448	498	1	4.1
1983	With love, to Phyllis	1	6	0.5	1	0	0	26	0	26	17	7	0	0	7	33	6	7.1
1983	admin. and messages	1	7	1.5	3	0	0	65	0	65	41	43	0	0	43	109	n/a	n/a
1983	Princess Louisa:walt fo	2	1	12	15	1	0	114	11	125	243	814	18	0	832	957	2	1.2
1983	Robson Street	2	2	6	18	1	0	77	1	78	155	356	11	0	367	445	2	2.3
1983	Monashee	2	3	10	11	1	0	77	6	83	124	786	7	0	793	876	4	1.2
1983	Heads up at Hedley	2	4	4	4	1	0	55	4	59	79	256	6	0	262	321	3	6.1
1983	BC Place, into the futu	2	5	2	3	0	0	46	3	49	57	94	0	0	94	143	2	2.2
1983	Landscape on the mov	2	7	10	10	0	0	40	8	48	302	650	0	0	650	698	10	1.1
1983	Preparing for adventur	2	8	0.5	1	0	0	23	1	24	12	12	0	0	12	36	10	5.3
1983	admin. and messages	2	8	1.5	3	0	0	72	0	72	35	43	0	0	43	115	n/a	n/a
1983	Vancouver sculpture	3	1	7	10	0	0	127	17	144	197	359	0	0	359	503	2	6.2
1983	The cape of lost dream	3	2	11	15	1	0	144	9	153	178	745	24	0	769	922	1	1.4
1983	Bulkley Valley	3	3	12	11	1	0	108	11	109	270	808	13	0	821	930	7	1.4
1983	Dust riders	3	4	10	13	0	0	88	10	98	265	637	0	0	637	735	6	3.1
1983	Rapid shots	3	5	4	15	0	0	64	1	65	120	215	0	0	215	280	9	4.1
1983	V-O-O-TI	3	6	1	1	0	0	24	1	25	27	48	0	0	48	73	2	6.1
1983	admin. and messages	3	7	1	2	0	0	63	0	63	33	4	0	0	4	67	n/a	n/a

**APPENDIX 3: FRONT AND BACK COVERS OF THE "BEAUTIFUL BRITISH COLUMBIA" MAGAZINE**

where: FRONT = front magazine cover; BACK = back magazine cover

AREA = British Columbia tourist region (see figure 5, chapter 3 and LEGEND, appendix 2)

CATG. = subject category (see table 1, chapter 3)

S,NA = 'Super,Natural' slogan mentioned

ID	SEASON	LOCATION FRONT	AREA	CATG.	DESCRIPTION	GRID S,NA	LOCATION BACK	AREA	CATG.	DESCRIPTION	GRID S,NA
1959.1	Summer	unknown	11	4.1	huge salmon, serene lake, blu	85	Lake O'Hara	11	1.1	sunny lake, snow-capped mtn	72
1959.2	Winter	Vancouver	2	1.2	snow on trees, skiing, city lig	85	McLeese Lake	6	1.1	rainbow over quiet lake, trees	72
1960.1	Spring	unknown	11	1.2	blooming apple trees	85	near Revelstoke	5	1.2	fishing, base of cascading fall	72
1960.2	Summer	B.C.	10	4.1	fishing, quiet lake, rowboat	85	unknown	11	4.1	woman, boy around picnic ta	72
1960.3	Fall/Winter	Horseshoe Bay	2	5.3	new highway, autumn leaves	72	Horseshoe Bay	2	1.1	autumn leaves and trees	72
1961.1	Spring	Victoria	1	2.3	field of blooms	72	Paul Lake	5	1.2	pier, rowboats, boys fishing	72
1961.2	Summer	Cariboo	6	4.1	couple galloping on horsebac	72	Alexis Creek	6	7.1	woman "beauty" leaning fence	72
1961.3	Fall	unknown	11	6.2	Chinese woman, "autumn gre	72	Victoria	1	2.1	two bicyclists, duck pond, par	72
1961.4	Winter	Koksilah Ind. Reserve	11	6.5	old church, wooden cross, fal	72	Elk River	1	1.1	snow mtns, icy flowing river	72
1962.1	Spring	unknown	11	5.1	white dogwood blossoms, blu	72	Dinosaur Park, Haney	11	6.1	woman, looking up dino sculp	72
1962.2	Summer	Okanagan	3	5.1	w selling peaches, peach tree	72	unknown	11	3.3	crowd at carnival ride, whirligi	72
1962.3	Fall	Butchart Gardens	1	1.4	view of gardens, autumn colo	72	Kathlyn Lake	7	4.1	kids swimming, pier, suntanni	72
1962.4	Winter	B.C.	10	4.1	man skiing, powder, blue sky	72	near Mission	2	2.3	quiet marsh, town, rowboats	72
1963.1	Spring	B.C.	10	1.1	close-up, red tulips	72	Victoria	1	1.1	white blooms, apple tree	72
1963.2	Summer	unknown	11	5.1	woman picking apples off tree	72	West Kootenays	4	6.4	closeup, porcupine on branch	72
1963.3	Fall	Lions, Vancouver	2	3.1	cheerleaders on football field	72	B.C.	10	4.1	fishing with young kids, rocky	72
1963.4	Winter	Victoria	1	3.2	Mass, Christmas Eve in churc	72	Shuswap Lake	5	1.1	snowy white road thru bush	72
1964.1	Spring	unknown	11	7.2	blossoms, young girl smiling	72	unknown	11	1.1	tree standing 'guard', seashor	72
1964.2	Summer	Cormorant Island	1	6.2	face in totem pole	72	unknown	11	5.3	woman, hotel service out of ca	72
1964.3	Fall	Goldstream Park	1	1.2	walking among trees	72	unknown	11	6.5	begonia flowers	72
1964.4	Winter	unknown	11	3.2	child, decorated Christmas tre	72	Vancouver	2	2.2	night, downtown lights	72
1965.1	Spring	S. coast, Van. Island	1	6.5	Indian Paint Brush flower	72	B.C.	10	4.1	trail-riding, resting under trees	72
1965.2	Summer	Okanagan Valley	3	7.1	woman climbing berry tree	72	Okanagan L., Skaha Lake	3	5.1	picking peaches for market	72
1965.3	Fall	Tatla Lake	6	1.1	sunset over glowing lake	72	Tatla Lake	6	1.1	sunset over glowing lake	72
1965.4	Winter	unknown	11	6.4	Rocky Mtn Goat on rock ledg	72	unknown	11	3.2	choir boys singing in church	72

1966.1	Spring	Kelsey Bay, Prince Rupert	7	5.3	ferry dry-docked amidst flower	72	no	Barkerville	6	7.2	stage production, dressed wo	72	no
1966.2	Summer	Rogers Pass	5	1.4	cars stopped by hiway, views	72	no	Lake O'Hara	4	1.2	overlooking panaramic view,	72	no
1966.3	Fall	unknown	11	6.5	close-up, bright red mushroom	72	no	B.C.	10	6.4	ground squirrel nibbling	72	no
1966.4	Winter	Victoria	1	3.1	Christmas dinner festival	72	no	Victoria	1	2.3	downn harbour, sailboats,Leg	72	no
1967.1	Spring	B.C.	10	6.5	close-up, Dogwood blossoms	72	no	southwest B.C.	15	1.2	little girl among daffodils	72	no
1967.2	Summer	O'Keefe Ranch, Vernon	3	6.1	old church, artistic photo	72	no	Kootenay Trout Hatchery	9	6.4	boy peering into fish aquariu	72	no
1967.3	Fall	B.C.	10	1.1	red autumn leaves in forest	72	no	unknown	11	3.2	dead pheasant, Thanksgiving	72	no
1967.4	Winter	Vancouver	2	6.3	water fountain, downtown Va	72	no	Thompson River		4.1	trout fishing,river,caught big o	72	no
1968.1	Spring	Victoria	1	3.2	hanging flower baskets, bicyl	72	no	Vancouver	2	2.2	city span, Burrard Inlet	72	no
1968.2	Summer	Courtenay	1	2.3	ballet student behind driftwo	72	no	Nelson	4	3.2	girl highland dancing, piper	72	no
1968.3	Fall	Saanich	1	3.3	boy on merry-go-round horse	72	no	near Field	9	5.3	couple looking map in car, tra	72	no
1968.4	Winter	Race Rocks	1	3.3	santa visiting lighthouse	72	no	unknown	11	7.1	girl painting sky, water, mtns,	72	no
1969.1	Spring	Victoria	1	2.1	two hanging baskets, streetla	72	no	Berg Lake, Mt. Robson	5	1.2	face of Mt. Robson, lake, tepe	72	no
1969.2	Summer	Vancouver	2	2.3	twin girls posing, expensive c	72	no	Georgia Strait	2.1	1.2	sailing at sunset	72	no
1969.3	Fall	East Kootenays	4	1.1	yellow autumn colours, trees	72	no	Keremeos	3	1.1	quiet lake, view thru trees	72	no
1969.4	Winter	unknown	11	6.5	red berries, hanging icicles	72	no	Mt. Robson	5	5.3	CNR train roaring, Mt. Robson	72	no
1970.1	Spring	Osaka, Japan	17	3.1	B.C. Expo pavilion in Osaka	72	no	Hope to Princeton	2	6.5	pink rhododendron flowers	72	no
1970.2	Summer	near Port Alberni	1	4.1	girl spelunking in cavern	72	no	Anahim Lake	6	7.1	cowboy holding little baby	72	no
1970.3	Fall	Okanagan, Similkameen	3	6.5	red apples on tree	72	no	Bennett Lake	7	6.1	old church, vast lake backgro	72	no
1970.4	Winter	Victoria	1	3.2	reflect Museum in Xmas orna	72	no	unknown	11	6.5	yellow orchid flower	72	no
1971.1	Spring	unknown	11	6.5	purple Pasque flower	72	no	Kitwanga, Skeegna River	7	6.2	face from totem pole	72	no
1971.2	Summer	Shuswap Lake	5	1.2	houseboat, tranquil lake, view	72	no	Lytton	5	6.4	closeup, butterfly on flower	72	no
1971.3	Fall	Vancouver	2	5.3	girl by flowers in conservatory	72	no	Fort St. John	8	5.1	panaramic view-threshing grai	72	no
1971.4	Winter	New Westminster	2	6.1	woman on old bicycle, Van.	72	no	B.C.	10	7.1	close-up, Princess Ann	72	no
1972.1	Spring	N. Vancouver	2	1.2	two musicians playing, sunset	72	no	Mount Currie	2	2.1	mtn, meadow view from insid	72	no
1972.2	Summer	'Ksan	7	6.2	carved wooden 'Ksan mask	72	no	West Kootenays	4	4.1	woman drinking from stream	72	no
1972.3	Fall	Rogers Pass	5	1.4	highway, mountain backdrop	72	no	Queen Charlotte Islands	7	7.1	Native carver working argillite	72	no
1972.4	Winter	Fort Nelson	8	3.1	two sled dogs, snow beyond	72	no	Three-Valley Gap	5	6.1	old church, wagon,elderly cou	72	no
1973.1	Spring	Chilcotin River	6	1.2	raft expedition, calm, mtn bgr	72	no	Penticton	3	1.1	blooming apple tree, ocean	72	no
1973.2	Summer	Yoho National Park	9	4.1	canoeing, calm river, forest	72	no	Canim Falls, Cariboo	6	1.2	people climbing beside waterf	72	no
1973.3	Fall	Rogers Pass	5	4.1	rock climbing with rope, snow	72	no	Summerland, Fish Lake	3	1.3	autumn pasture, yellow, misty	72	no
1973.4	Winter	Purcell Mountain Range	9	4.1	glacier skiing, plane dropoff	72	no	Harrison Lake	2	4.1	couple laughing, riding duo-bi	72	no
1974.1	Spring	Mt. Edziza Prov. Park	7	1.1	volcanic cone, aerial view	72	no	Widgeon Lake	11	1.2	hiking along calm lake, hill	72	no
1974.2	Summer	near Castlegar	4	7.1	Doukhobor girl and sunflower	72	no	Lucy Point	1	7.2	sailors look over, yacht on lak	72	no
1974.3	Fall	unknown	11	1.1	lge yellow maple leaves, trunk	72	no	Inverness Cannery, Skeen	7	6.1	sunset through pier pilings	72	no
1974.4	Winter	Copper Mtn., near Terrac	7	1.1	snow-caked tree, sparkling	72	no	Howe Sound	2	4.1	sailing, bright spinnaker out	72	no
1975.1	Spring	Victoria	1	1.1	swan and ducks in pond, park	72	no	Britannia Beach	2	5.3	Royal Hudson Train,beach tra	72	no
1975.2	Summer	Hat Brim Lake	9	1.1	clear blue lake, mountains	72	no	Vancouver	2	1.4	walking over garden bridge	72	no
1975.3	Fall	Texada Island	2	1.2	sunset, silhouette fishing boat	72	no	Okanagan Valley	3	6.5	purple grapes on vine	72	no
1975.4	Winter	unknown	11	7.1	little girl, dressed for Christma	72	no	Manning Prov. Park	2	4.1	two boys hiking, backpacks	72	no

1976.1	Spring	Victoria	1	5.3	ferry leaving harbour	* 72	no	Vaseux Lake	3	6.5	bitter-root blooms	* 72	no
1976.2	Summer	Vancouver	2	2.1	aerial views, marina, hirises	* 72	no	Mt. Robson Prov. Park	5	1.2	hikers viewing lake, mtn belo	* 72	no
1976.3	Fall	Little Fort	5	4.1	autumn vines, creeper, log hu	* 72	no	Kootenay R, Radium Ht S	9	4.1	river rapids, mtn, forest bgd	* 72	no
1976.4	Winter	West Coast Trail	1	4.1	hiking West C Tr., sandy beac	* 72	no	unknown	11	4.1	hanglider preparing for takeo	* 72	no
1977.1	Spring	Bella Coola	6	6.2	totem pole, mist in valley belo	* 72	no	unknown	11	6.5	close-up, pink wild rose, ant	* 72	no
1977.2	Summer	Wells Grey Park	5	1.1	large waterfall, forest backgrd	* 72	no	Victoria	1	2.1	rose garden at legislative grds	* 72	no
1977.3	Fall	Tuchodi Lake	7	1.2	float plane,panaramic view,lak	* 72	no	unknown	11	1.1	fallen autumn leaves on bark	* 72	no
1977.4	Winter	Victoria	1	7.2	young group, singing, ukulele	* 72	no	Atlin	7	1.3	snow cved branches, gid, rive	* 72	no
1978.1	Spring	unknown	11	6.1	Japanese sailing ship, calm	* 72	no	Seventy-Mile House	6	5.1	cowboys rounding up horses	* 72	no
1978.2	Summer	Sooke	1	3.3	man in log-cutting contest	* 72	no	Fort Steele	9	6.1	silhouette of water-wheel	* 72	yes
1978.3	Fall	Cherry Cr., near Kamloop	5	1.2	man horseback, autumn colo	* 72	no	Vancouver	2	5.3	downtown skyscrapers, ferry	* 72	yes
1978.4	Winter	Williams Lake	6	2.1	snow-covered branches, barn	* 72	no	Dawson Creek	8	4.1	speed skaters	* 72	yes
1979.1	Spring	Mt. Revelstoke Nat. Park	5	1.1	wild-flowers in field, mtns	* 72	no	Vancouver	2	1.4	dusk, boy, anchored ships	* 72	no
1979.2	Summer	Ashcroft	5	1.2	two boys, high rock formation	* 72	no	Osoyoos Lake	3	4.1	sailing on Osoyoos Lake	* 72	yes
1979.3	Fall	unknown	11	6.2	carved pumpkin in farm field	* 72	no	unknown	11	6.5	sitka spruce buds, green	* 72	yes
1979.4	Winter	Grouse Mountain	2	4.1	skiing, snow, Grouse Mtn.	* 72	no	Lava Lake	7	1.1	misty lake, tree-tops, water	* 72	yes
1980.1	Spring	Vancouver	2	3.2	little girl, parade, Chinese dre	* 72	no	Richmond	2	6.1	quiet slough, old boathse, ro	* 72	yes
1980.2	Summer	unknown	11	4.1	waterskiing at sunset, boat	* 72	no	Mt. Revelstoke Nat. Park	5	1.4	gravel rd thru flower field, mtn	* 72	yes
1980.3	Fall	Bugaboos	9	4.1	mtn-climbing at peak, glacier	* 72	no	West Kettle R. Valley	3	1.1	pasture valley, dry, brown	* 72	yes
1980.4	Winter	'Ksan	7	6.2	Native Ind village, snow,totem	* 72	no	Bella Coola	6	5.1	fishing boat traveling thru mis	* 72	yes
1981.1	Spring	Victoria	1	4.1	kite flying on field by ocean	* 72	no	Minter Gardens, Chilliwa	2	6.4	close-up, bright orange rose	* 72	yes
1981.2	Summer	unknown	11	7.2	RCMP mounted officer, sceni	* 72	no	Victoria	1	3.1	disabled, wheelchairs, conser	* 72	yes
1981.3	Fall	Tweedsmuir Prov. Park	6	4.1	trekking across meadow, strea	* 72	no	Quadra Island	1	1.1	low-flying seagulls, sunrise	* 72	yes
1981.4	Winter	Field	9	1.1	snow covered forest rocks, str	* 72	no	Fraser R. Delta, Vancouv	2	2.1	sunrise, docks, Fraser River	* 72	yes
1982.1	Spring	unknown	11	6.5	close-up, wild tiger lilies,oran	* 72	no	Mission	2	6.2	Native Ind feather headress	* 72	yes
1982.2	Summer	Victoria	1	6.2	dark alley-way, Chinatown	* 72	no	Cranbrook	9	1.2	canoeing on calm lake, mtn	* 72	yes
1982.3	Fall	unknown	11	6.4	close-up, crabs, clams on san	* 72	no	Sidney	1	5.3	marina, marsh scenery	* 72	yes
1982.4	Winter	Quadra Island	1	6.4	close-up, giant nudibranch	* 72	no	Elk Lake, Fernie	9	1.2	fishing at twilight, marshy str	* 72	yes
1983.1	Spring	Barkerville	6	6.1	log ruin, grennery covering up	* 72	no	Victoria	1	2.2	lighted Parim Bldgs, fountain	* 72	yes
1983.2	Summer	Princess Louisa Marine P	2	1.2	trees, falls, mtns, sailboat	* 80	no	Robson Sq., Vancouver	2	2.2	night lights, water reflection	* 92	yes
1983.3	Fall	Vancouver	2	6.2	sculpture, Bloedel Conservato	* 80	no	Seeley Lake Prov. Park	7	1.1	marsh, water lilies, grasses	* 92	yes

VITA

Surname: Dunham

Given Names: Karen Ann

Place of Birth: Winnipeg, Manitoba

Date of Birth: December 13 / 1966

Educational Institutions Attended:

University of Victoria	1991 to 1994
University of Winnipeg	1983 to 1989

Degrees Awarded:

B.A. (Honours)	University of Winnipeg	1989
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Honours and Awards:


The Sara Spencer Foundation Research Award in Applied Social Science	1993
University of Victoria Fellowship	1991 - 1993
Canadian Association of Geographers Undergraduate Award	1989
Humboldt Scholarship in Geography	1988
Student of Distinction - Scholarships of Academic Proficiency	1987, 1985, 1984
Special Entrance Scholarship	1984

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Author:



(Signature)

KAREN DUNHAM

(Name in Block Letters)

June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1994

(Date)