

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Popular geographies: Celebrating the nation in  
*Canadian Geographic, Australian Geographic* and  
*New Zealand Geographic, 1995-2004***

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Geography

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Andrew Charles Bruce Wilson

2008

## ***Abstract***

Popular geography magazines like *National Geographic (NG)* provide readers with a lens of the world around them. Yet sadly they often only serve a limited utilitarian purpose as dust collectors on coffee tables of hospital waiting rooms or doctors' practices. It should be of little surprise then that the relative importance of geographic magazines as a representational forum has been underestimated historically. The importance of geographic magazines as an outlet for creating and disseminating preconceived visions of what may be termed 'popular geographies' has only become the subject of scrutiny in the last two decades. Authors including Lutz and Collins (1993) and Rothenberg (1994, 2007) have reflected critically upon the place of *NG* as a powerful ideological institution for legitimating particular visions of the world in the wider corpus of the discipline of geography. Yet while there has been a substantial volume of work dedicated to unravelling the situated lens of *NG* there has been no research devoted to deciphering the lenses of other geography magazines such as *Canadian Geographic (CG)*, *Australian Geographic (AG)* or *New Zealand Geographic (NZG)*. These magazines also embody the ideals of adventure, discovery and nature made famous by *NG* but purvey geography through distinctively national narratives. Through discourse analysis the thesis examines these three magazines in order to unravel geographic imaginations of nationalism in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* and in the process challenge divergent conceptions of geography itself as both an academic discipline and popular subject.

## ***Acknowledgements***

First and foremost I wish to thank Dr Matthew Henry and Professor Michael Roche who readily gave their time, knowledge and guidance as joint supervisors throughout the duration of this thesis. Their support has been integral to the success of this project.

I would also like to acknowledge the monetary assistance given to me by various groups. First the Sasakawa Foundation provided a generous Masters Scholarship which enabled me to attend the RGS-IBG Annual International Conference in London to present my research to fellow geographers. Their assistance also removed the financial burdens of full time study throughout the entire year. I must also recognize the generosity of the Australian National University who funded my Summer Research Scholarship in 2007/08 which enabled me to research *Australian Geographic* at the National Library of Australia in Canberra. Lastly my thanks go to the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University in Palmerston North who provided me with funding to research *Canadian Geographic* in the Dunedin City Library.

## Contents

<b><i>Abstract</i></b> .....	<b><i>i</i></b>
<b><i>Acknowledgements</i></b> .....	<b><i>ii</i></b>
<b><i>List of Figures</i></b> .....	<b><i>v</i></b>
<b><i>CHAPTER ONE Introduction</i></b> .....	<b><i>1</i></b>
<b><i>CHAPTER TWO Imaginative Geographies</i></b> .....	<b><i>4</i></b>
INTRODUCTION.....	4
GENEAOLOGY OF IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES.....	4
<i>ORIENTALISM (1978)</i> .....	6
<i>IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES</i> .....	9
POPULAR USE OF IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES DISCOURSE.....	14
<i>OTHERING</i> .....	15
<i>NATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND SELF PROMOTION</i> .....	22
<i>POPULAR CULTURE</i> .....	24
<i>CG, AG AND NZG – FUSION OF ALL THREE IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES DISCOURSES</i> .....	27
CONCLUSION .....	28
<b><i>CHAPTER THREE Imagining Geography</i></b> .....	<b><i>30</i></b>
INTRODUCTION.....	30
UNDERSTANDING AND CONSUMING GEOGRAPHY .....	31
<i>POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES</i> .....	36
<i>IMAGINING AND CONSUMING THE GEOGRAPHIC GENRE: National Geographic</i> .....	40
<i>POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES: EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY AND PRETTY PICTURES</i> .....	40
<i>THE CULTURAL NICHE OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC</i> .....	42
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....	44
<i>METHODOLOGY</i> .....	46
CONCLUSION .....	49
<b><i>CHAPTER FOUR Situating the Magazines</i></b> .....	<b><i>50</i></b>
INTRODUCTION.....	50
THE MAGAZINES .....	50

MAPPING ( <i>NATIONAL</i> ) GEOGRAPHIC IMAGINATIONS .....	53
<i>CANADIAN GEOGRAPHIC</i> .....	54
<i>AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHIC</i> .....	55
<i>NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHIC</i> .....	56
SITUATING THE MAGAZINES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GEOGRAPHIC GENRE: NARRATIVE AND STYLE .....	58
<i>INDIVIDUAL MAGAZINE LEVEL: EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS - NATIONAL NARRATIVE</i> .....	60
<i>POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES LEVEL: 'GEOGRAPHIC GENRE' –HOMOGENISED STYLE</i> .....	64
CONCLUSION .....	85
<b><i>CHAPTER FIVE National Narratives</i> .....</b>	<b>87</b>
INTRODUCTION.....	87
NATIONAL IDENTITY – LANDSCAPES AND WILDLIFE.....	88
<i>LANDSCAPES</i> .....	89
<i>WILDLIFE</i> .....	94
CELEBRATION OF THE NATION – IDENTITY, PEOPLE AND CULTURE.....	99
<i>BANAL CULTURAL REFERENCES TO THE NATION</i> .....	100
<i>OVERT SELF PROMOTION OF THE NATION</i> .....	104
<i>SHARED NATIONAL NARRATIVES – CELEBRATION OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES AND</i> <i>OUTDOOR LIFESTYLES</i> .....	108
CONCLUSION .....	112
<b><i>CHAPTER SIX Conclusions</i>.....</b>	<b>114</b>
<b><i>References</i> .....</b>	<b>118</b>

## ***List of Figures***

<b>Figure 1</b> - Average length of cover articles in <i>Canadian Geographic</i> , <i>Australian Geographic</i> and <i>New Zealand Geographic</i> (1995-2004).....	<b>58</b>
<b>Figure 2</b> - Two levels of influence upon <i>Canadian Geographic</i> , <i>Australian Geographic</i> and <i>New Zealand Geographic</i> : narrative and style .....	<b>59</b>
<b>Figure 3</b> - Spectacular photograph of the 'Rockies' Mountains - Canada.....	<b>67</b>
<b>Figure 4</b> - Spectacular photograph of a waterfall - Catlins Coast, New Zealand.....	<b>68</b>
<b>Figure 5</b> - Iconic wildlife photo of a Grizzly – Canada .....	<b>69</b>
<b>Figure 6</b> - Dominant 'middlebrow' advertising categories in <i>Canadian Geographic</i> , <i>Australian Geographic</i> and <i>New Zealand Geographic</i> .....	<b>75</b>
<b>Figure 7</b> - Advertisements display similar themes to the magazines themselves. The narrative of adventure and luxury is captured brilliantly by <i>Rolex</i> . .....	<b>76</b>

## CHAPTER ONE *Introduction*

In his seminal book devoted to reinterpreting the socially constructed term 'Orientalism' Edward Said (1978) conceptualised the term 'imaginative geographies' to explain overwhelmingly negative conceptions of the faraway physical and imagined space of the Orient. Said (1978) outlined the ways in which western culture, denoted as the Occident, produced a negative view of the Orient based on particular imaginations which became popularized and sedimented over time through travel writing, Oriental studies and colonialism. Imaginative geographies are a discursive tool for depicting particular visions of the world, legitimating the beliefs of powerful actors and demarcating space as either self or other (Gregory, 1995, 1995a, 2000; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Said, 1978). There has been an abundance of relevant conceptual literature deciphering the imaginative geographies of magazines, journals and movies (Dittmer, 2005; Dodds 2003, 2006; Edwardson, 2003; Greenberg, 2000; Odhiambo, 2006; Sharp, 1998, 2000). Perhaps the most pertinent example of the unravelling of imaginaries in popular literature is provided by Sharp (2000) who examines the strands of imaginative geographies of Cold War geopolitics in *Readers Digest* to understand how popular magazines influence and shape how we see the world.

Likewise the interpretation of landscapes is intrinsically linked to the reproduction of particular imaginaries (Cosgrove, 1984, 1985; Daniels, 1993; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988; Morin, 2003; Nash, 2005). While seemingly neutral spaces, the close observation of landscapes whether physical or abstract, delineates the ideals and desires of those producing and reinforcing particular imaginative geographies. Despite the abundance of literature on the imaginative geographies of popular magazines, beyond *NG* there has been little research undertaken into the imaginative geographies of geographic publications beyond *NG*. Instead geographers tend to focus on formal geopolitics or the role of statesmen rather than popular geopolitics or imaginative geographies (Dodds, 2003, 2006; O'Tuathail, 2006). However, imaginative geographies and popular geopolitics are intertwined in the realm of mass media and culture. O'Tuathail (2006, 8)



identifies the powerful link between the two by labelling the way states behave culturally in the world as “geopolitical imaginations”. The concept of imaginative geographies remains highly relevant in contemporary geographic literature and in this thesis is applied to the representation of the nation through popular geographic magazines.

The choice of three popular geographic magazines might appear bewildering and unimaginative especially due to their status as popular rather than academic publications. Yet through these textual spaces it is necessary to extend inquiry beyond the content of each publication and instead deconstruct the complex and situated nature of magazine production in the creation of the glossy, friendly and idealised world the three magazines seek to appropriate to their audiences. The central focus of the thesis involves unravelling the significance of the national narratives of each magazine in knowing Canada, Australia and New Zealand respectively. There are multiple layers of interest. At their most simplistic (the aspect publishers promote to attract their desired audiences) these three magazines are interesting bodies of knowledge bound by spectacular photographic imagery to portray local, yet unfamiliar places, people and objects. At a deeper level (the level this thesis focuses upon predominantly) each magazine is not simply treated as a singular text but is instead deemed a series of para-texts which all operate to legitimate and homogenise situated forms of knowledge in the interests of their producers. The term ‘text’ has a plethora of meanings. As Barnes and Duncan (1992) argue notion of ‘text’ can be extended from the traditional convention of the printed page to incorporate various other cultural productions including maps, photographs, paintings and landscapes. These additions to the conventional concept of text are all para-texts situated throughout each of the publications under scrutiny in this thesis. It is the study of these various forms of texts within each magazine to which this thesis applies the theoretical framework of imaginative geographies.

The approach to this thesis takes the form of a close examination of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* between 1995 and 2004 with particular emphasis placed on the lead article of each issue. This timeframe is extensive enough to examine changes in their national geographical imaginations through time and has allowed for the sedimentation of difference between

these three seemingly similar (yet individual) publications. While magazines are the summation of a myriad of various textual forms, they are also a series of different constitutive parts. The three magazines examined are all relatively conventional in their form. Each includes a contents page, some form of editorial section, a section devoted to letters and recent news and developments of supposed interest to readers and lastly at least five full length articles. This thesis examines the reasons why cover stories are selected as cover stories and the extent to which this selection is a political process reflective of particular imaginative geographies of the producers of the magazines. While *CG* was first published in 1933, *AG* (1986-) and *NZG* (1989-) are relatively new publications and during the period examined were tentatively seeking to establish themselves as geographic magazines. Therefore it is appropriate to rightfully allude to the relative differences in terms of age and establishment of the magazines. The institutionalised *CG* on the one hand is contrasted with the comparatively infant *AG* and *NZG*. What makes this thesis so exciting is the dichotomy between the innate similarities of national narrative of the three magazines which are also equally different in their age and place in the world. These three magazines were not selected at random. They were carefully chosen for the contrasts they embody when compared with *NG*, the hugely successful American geographic magazine each is loosely based upon. Despite all three having the *Geographic* suffix in their title each version has its own distinct national flavour and seeks to showcase their respective nation to the world.

## CHAPTER TWO *Imaginative Geographies*

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for interpreting imaginative geographies' discourse and trace the genealogy of the concept. First conceived in Said's *Orientalism* (1978), imaginative geographies has evolved to become a prolific research interest for cultural geographers in recent decades. As a conceptual starting point for the remainder of the thesis, attention is situated towards assessing the continued relevance of imaginative geographies' discourse in the first decade of the twenty-first century in unravelling the central narrative of this thesis - the deconstruction of the geographical imagination of nationalism across three similar popular geographic magazines. Said was not a geographer yet *Orientalism* has been adopted by geographers as a seminal contribution to both geography and post-colonial studies. Gregory (2000a, 566) even states that despite some criticism *Orientalism* has "proved to be of the utmost importance to the political-intellectual corpus of post-colonialism". As an exemplar of this form of praise Marcuse (2004, 809) lavishes accolades upon Said stating *Orientalism* is a "striking model of engaged intellectual work, in which the link between deep scholarly effort and immediate political reality is ever present. We can learn much by trying to apply the same critical approach to other hegemonic concepts of our time". Both *Orientalism* as a distinguished text and imaginative geographies as a seminal concept need no real introduction to cultural geographers of the past quarter century due their lasting longevity in geographic consciousness. As Holloway and Valentine (2000) state, *Orientalism* has had an important influence on how geographers view the world and study the implicated knowledges of other people and places.

### GENEAOLOGY OF *IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES*

Imaginative geographies operate as discourses in action. Put simply discourse in action refers to the idea that discourses are not simply pure representation, but are embedded

materially in places and objects. As O'Tuathail (2006) explains the fraught world of geopolitics is governed by discourses. Discourses operate as a framework of meaning rather than as a theory or system of ideas (Mills, 1997), yet the concept is ambiguous and difficult to define. Gregory (2000a) defines discourse as a set of representations, performances and practices where particular meanings are produced, solidified through constant reproduction and are legitimized. Discourses are the knowledges and assumptions which are reflected by governing actors in any given society. Gregory (2000a) argues discourses are heterogeneous, regulated, embedded, situated and performative.<sup>1</sup> Likewise Mills (1997) states discourses form discursive structures, regimes of truth and reflect power relations.

Discourse analysis is useful as a methodological tool in engaging with the selected magazines for a variety of reasons. Waitt (2006, 164-165) cites the integral elements of discourse analysis:

“(i) to explore the outcomes of discourse in terms of actions, perceptions, or attitudes rather than simply the analysis of statements/texts; (ii) to identify the regulatory frameworks within which groups of statements are produced, circulated and communicated within which people construct their utterances and thoughts; and (iii) to uncover the support or internal mechanisms that maintain certain structures and rules over statements about people, animals, plants, events, and places in existence as unchallengeable, ‘normal’, or ‘common-sense’ rather than to discover the ‘truth’ or the ‘origin’ of a statement”.

As this quote illustrates, discourse analysis is a diverse phenomena yet once broken down the concept is palatable. Discourse analysis has been used as the primary methodological framework in this thesis for its durability and analytical qualities as a geographical concept. One other salient methodological strength of discourse analysis as outlined by Waitt (2006) (which is reinforced throughout this thesis) is its ability to be used as a tool for uncovering issues of power relationships that inform and govern how people think

---

<sup>1</sup> The five aspects of discourse alluded to above are interrelated. (i) *heterogeneous*: discourses are never the product of a single author and are not confined to written texts alone; (ii) *regulated*: discourses operate as ‘regimes of truth’ that demarcate what is inside and what is outside and act as boundaries to facilitate inclusion and exclusion; (iii) *embedded*: discourses are materially embedded in social life and are not free floating ideas but circulate many subject positions; *performative*: discourses are enacted through space and time and constitute variable meaning (Gregory, 2000a).

and behave beyond more simple issues of text, subtext and representation. Discourses shape taken for granted views of the world, naturalizing and universalizing particular views of their authors in positioning their subjects differently (Gregory, 2000a; Schoenberger, 1998). The key element is the performative aspect of discourse. Meanwhile in the way it has been constructed, this thesis illustrates that discourses also influence the research practices of geographers and their ways of thinking.

### *ORIENTALISM (1978)*

To successfully trace the genealogy of imaginative geographies discourse' it is essential to decipher the concept through direct engagement with Said's (1978) *Orientalism*. Four main theoretical elements of Orientalism are directly relevant to contemporary discourses of imaginative geographies. These comprise the role of Western power in Orientalizing the Orient, the process of othering which results from the exertion of hegemonic power, the self reinforcing nature of othering and finally the performative aspect of the wider process. The first of these, 'power' circulates throughout *Orientalism* and is referent to the embeddedness of distinctive regimes of truth of the Orient constructed by the West. Said (1978) identifies the notion of power through the construction of the Orient arguing Europeans first, then later, Americans created the illusory of the Orient through their travels and conquests of Oriental space by defining their Western space as superior. Orientalism is an interdependent term used differently by different groups, yet is in short, a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978, 3). The Orient embodies what Said (1978) argues is a one-sided relationship of power exercised by the hegemonic West over the inferior Orient. This relationship of power is especially significant. The Orient has been constructed by the West by what Said (1978) labels configurations of power where the "relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1978, 5). It was the purpose of Said (1978) to create a blueprint of "an immensely powerful repertoire through which ordinary men and women found the terms for cultures and landscapes for which they otherwise had no other terms" (Gregory, 2005, 185). *Orientalism* recognizes that geographical knowledge spirals through, and is consumed by the forces of everyday life.

Othering of the Orient by the West is the second central theme of *Orientalism*. Othering and power are mutually inseparable in the construction of Oriental discourses. Construction of identity involves the creation of opposites or others. Historically the Orient has defined the West by being constituted by it as a contrasting image of what it is not (Said, 1978). Over time Western, in particular, European culture, gained strength and identity by “setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (Said, 1978, 3). Orientalism became the tool for identifying and reifying Europeans against non-Europeans to showcase Western superiority. Orientalism is considered:

“[a] collective notion identifying ‘us’ Europeans against all ‘those’ non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures...reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness” (Said, 1978, 7).

This quote iterates the ideas which Said (1978) seeks to critique in *Orientalism* as the West as somehow better than the Orient by demarcating perceived difference as inferiority. Historically the Orient, and indeed all things deemed non-western have been imagined as inferior due to their difference from European culture. Even defining the Orient perpetuates the negative stigma of othering. For Said (1978, 51) the term Oriental “identifies...everything Asiatic, which was wonderfully synonymous with the exotic, the mysterious, the profound [and] the seminal”. Orientalism involves categorization of difference of all space non-European and embodies negative imaginaries of the Orient. Discourses constantly reproduced defining Oriental space as other depict this mythical space as inferior and an insinuating danger to supposedly democratic and open European space (Said, 1978). The act of othering is reinforced by signifying danger yet of equal importance is the vacillation of the Orient as a space of difference to the West. As a by-product of othering, demarcation of difference reflects the West’s “contempt for what is familiar and its shivers of delight in – or fear of – novelty” (Said, 1978, 59). Othering is not only about mystifying difference, but is entwined with desires for difference and familiarity. To further perpetuate the imaginative geographies of othering, difference is

also afflicted upon distance. Said (1978, 55) argues othering by the West is intensified by “dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away” In effect the further from Europe the Orient is, the more unfamiliar it becomes. Likewise the more this process is repeated the more institutionalized discourses of othering are.

The notion of familiarity in perpetuating discourse is paramount to the survival of Orientalism as a concept and process. The Orient is not just an idea. It is a fixture enacted through constant circulation of unequal power relationships and the process of othering by the West. These processes are constantly reinforced over time to become ‘truth’. For Said (1978, 5) the pre-eminent feature of the Orient is the “regular constellation of ideas” through the production and circulation of imaginative geographies. Orientalism is not merely a European fantasy. It is rather a created body of theory replicated over and again, across time and generations. As Said (1978, 6) argues:

“continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied – indeed, made truly productive – the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture”.

Orientalism became an archive of theory and knowledge disseminated through popular culture, constant repetition and recycling of the powerful othering statements about the Orient. In *Orientalism* Said (1978) is strongly fixated upon the cultural construction of the gaze or the ways in which the demarcations of space as other reflect the vision of the viewing subject, in this case the negative constellations of the Orient produced by the West. In essence these ideas become sedimented as truth through constant repetitive performance over time.

The fourth and final main theme of *Orientalism* concerns the performative nature of the process of Orientalizing the Orient. Said (1978) labels the Orient as a stage to which the East is confined. The Orient is “not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe” (Said, 1978, 63). Imaginative geographies of the Orient are performances of space upon the othered stage of

the Orient. Metaphors of theatrics and performance are constant throughout *Orientalism* as Said envisages the process of representation as the embodiment of the theatre (Gregory, 2004a). As a theatrical stage affixed to Europe, the Orient had a minor casting role. In demarcating the Orient as other Said (1978, 71-72) argues the stage for which Orientalism is set upon is a “theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are *for* Europe, and only for Europe”. To illustrate this Said (1978) examines Dante’s book *Inferno* and the role of the stage as a space for characterizing the Orient as alien through the act of performance. Meanwhile travel writings of the nineteenth century are perhaps the most popular space of performance and have been the subject of intense interest since the proliferation of the imaginative geographies concept in the 1990s.

### *IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES*

Since the emergence of the cultural turn in human geography during the 1990s Said’s seminal ideas have been reinterpreted. At the heart of this movement is the expanded concept of imaginative geographies transformed beyond the realm of *Orientalism*. The cultural turn represents the most recent major paradigm shift within human geography and occurred with the emergence of anti-foundational epistemologies. This new focus has become synonymous with the ‘post’ movement and is associated with the splintering of the discipline from its mono-paradigm hegemonies (Johnston, 2000a). From the late 1980s human geographers began to take interest in self reflexivity by standing back and reviewing the discipline through feminist, post-structural, post-modern and post-colonial lenses. This about turn sparked renewed interest in Said’s *Orientalism* which had never proven to be popular amidst prominent structural and radical geographers of the 1980s. The cultural turn offered a framework for critiquing discourses of colonialism and allowed geographers the opportunity to review their own position in the discipline. During the mid 1990s the main ideas of *Orientalism* were first revived and then reissued under the more savvy term ‘imaginative geographies’. Imaginative geographies’ discourse represents a new translation of the key concepts of the seminal text. At the heart of this movement was Derek Gregory, an avid supporter of Said.



Throughout the mid-1990s Gregory (1995, 1995a) redefined Said's work through the imaginative geographies lens. Orientalism as a concept has not only been revived (Gregory, 2003, 2004) but is once again alive (Gregory, 2004a, 2005). As Gregory (2003, 307, 2004, 18) states "Orientalism is abroad again, revived and hideously emboldened". Likewise it is still equally "aggressive and exorbitant" (Gregory, 2004a, 799). The proliferation of the imaginative geographies concept must be attributed to its direct genealogy with *Orientalism* the text. Meanwhile the revived relevance of *Orientalism* is in large part a by-product of the cultural turn. It is interesting to consider this genealogy briefly. While *Orientalism* was written through Said's self proclaimed humanist lens, the use of the imaginative geographies concept from the 1990s onwards has been framed through post-colonialism, part of the cultural strand of human geography. This direct genealogy is peculiar but is reverent of the wider changes in human geography during the past three decades. Contemporary authors employing Said's *Orientalism* ideas do so under the imaginative geographies name, but are quick to refer back to Said as the seminal contributor to the concept. The proliferation of the imaginative geographies reflects the desires of cultural geographers to construct a "clearly 'post-colonial' transnationalist identity and agenda" (Bonnett, 2003, 56). *Orientalism* remains both relevant and portable through the semblance of imaginative geographies.

The discourse of imaginative geographies has been remoulded for use in the contemporary world of cultural geography. Driver (1999, 210) states imaginative geographies continues to be an integral theoretical framework:

"The study of imaginative geographies takes images seriously; it treats words and pictures as both objects of study in their own right and as clues towards an understanding of the ways in which identities are constructed. Human geographers are concerned with the realms of imagination, not as a contrast, or an escape from, the real world 'out there', but because they help make sense of, and indeed, shape, that world".

Gregory (2000, 372) defines imaginative geographies as the "representations of other places – of peoples and landscapes, cultures and natures – and the ways in which these images reflect the desires, fantasies and preconceptions of their authors". Gregory

(2004a, 801) further breaks the concept down into its two words stating imaginative geographies:

“are ‘imaginative’ not only because that is what they *are* (they are quite literally fabrications, a word that usefully combines ‘something fictionalized’ with ‘something made’) but also because that is *where* they reside, concealed in the collective unconsciousness, where they too often fan the flames of enmity and hatred. And they are ‘geographies’ because they fold difference into distance through a series of dramatized spatializations...”.

Imaginative geographies can be considered fabrications as the term usefully combines something fictionalized and something made real, but through constant performance, they become their own version of truth (Gregory, 2004).

In *Orientalism* Said (1978) argued the notion of imaginative geographies transcended European constructs of the Orient as ‘other’ reflecting the desires and power interests of Europe, which over time through constant repetition, cemented a regime of truth. Imaginative geographies of the Orient “combined over time to produce an internally structured archive in which things came to be seen as neither completely novel nor thoroughly familiar” (Gregory, 2004, 18). As an archive of sedimented truth claims, imaginative geographies are neither here nor there. With reference to Said (1978), Gregory (1995a, 29) situates the positionality of the concept as “discursive formations, tense constellations of power, knowledge and spatiality, that are all centred on ‘here’ and projected towards ‘there’ so that the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here”. Imaginative geographies are never passive but are construed through contestation reflecting hegemonic power struggles. Yet in working with the imaginative geographies concept, geographers must be careful that they are not perpetuating and legitimating the imaginaries they are seeking to challenge. To ensure they do not reinforce existing imaginaries, geographers need to allow for multiple imaginations through what Cumbers and Routledge (2004, 826) term the urgency of praxis which “recognizes the importance of letting a thousand flowers bloom in the geographical/academic imagination”. The real purpose of the concept is to challenge discourses, not merely salute and reinforce their perpetuation.

Geographical imaginations can be deciphered through non-academic publications. Popular magazines like *NG* “transmit geographical information in ways that give a powerful ideological cast (in which the interests of dominant classes and the nation-state brook large) to our understanding of the world” (Harvey, 2000, 553). Imaginative geographies filtered through mass media outlets construct ideological representations that reflect the dominance and desires of their authors. In *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* these desires are framed to depict visions of uniqueness to the world. The aspect of power embedded within imaginative geographies is closely aligned to Foucault’s concept of ‘relations of power’. Foucault claimed that societies are constituted discursively through a series of normalizing judgments instituted through a system of micro level divisions, exclusions and oppositions. This aspect is pertinent to the study of imaginaries in magazines. Imaginaries are constantly depicted, yet of equal interest are those which are excluded from publication. Said (1978) identifies this notion of power through his study of the construction of the Orient arguing that Europeans are the creator of the ‘Orient’ through their travels and conquest to define their space as superior. Categorization of one group as other is a discursive form of power and control through subordination. The Orient has been historically demarcated as other and is a space socially constructed by Europe to represent inferiority. This ‘othering’ of people and spaces embodies the second key thread of imaginative geographies.

The process of ‘othering’ by one hegemonic group over another operates to reinforce imaginative geographies created by powerful actors. Drawing on Said (1978) who states imaginative geographies are solidified through the differentiation of what is close and what is far away Gregory (1995a, 29) argues imaginative geographies of otherness are the “figurations of place, space and landscape that dramatize distance and difference in such way that ‘our’ space is demarcated from ‘their’ space”. Designating familiar space as ‘ours’ and unfamiliar space as ‘theirs’ can be an arbitrary geographical distinction (Gregory, 1995, 2004). Yet as Gregory (1995, 456) states “anxiety, desire and fantasy enter into the production of imaginative geographies”. The process of othering is also an important aspect actively involved in the formation of identity. Gregory (2000) alludes to claims made by Said (1978) stating the production of alterity or otherness is intrinsically linked to the formation of identity of the viewing subject. In the formation of imaginative

geographies, the mental designation of space that is 'ours' and unfamiliar space as 'theirs' is an identity process whereby viewing subjects define their character through reference to what they are not (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Conversely othering also involves the appropriation of other spaces and claiming them as our own (Gregory, 1995). The production of identity is interwoven in the social construction of other in the creation of imaginative geographies (Gregory, 1995a, 2004). Othering is neither absolute, fixed or given but is set in motion through cultural practices and is never natural (Gregory, 2004). Furthermore, otherness does not have to be recognized by the subject group. It is a label socially constructed in the creation of imaginative geographies. Holloway and Valentine (2000) state conceptions of other do not need to be based on empirical evidence. Intensive knowledge of the other is not a necessary prerequisite for demarcating space or peoples as foreign. Notions of 'other' are never a natural phenomena; the process of othering is a social construction based on visibility and perception which embodies the third important thread to the discourse of imaginative geographies.

Imaginative geographies reflect the desires and fantasies of those most closely involved in their production. Over time imaginative geographies become sedimented to form a self-reinforcing archive (Gregory, 2000, 2003). The aforementioned connotations all act to reinforce any particular series of imaginative geographies. Said (1978) was strongly fixated upon the cultural construction of the gaze referred to here as vision and visibility. Demarcations of the Orient as an inferior form of 'other' reflect the visibility of the viewing subject. In this sense, national self-promotion as a positive form of othering in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is the product of each magazines respective authors, editors and publishers and their preconceived vision of the world. Said (1978) was strongly influenced by French philosopher Gaston Bachelard's notion of the 'poetics of space' "whereby the anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning for us here" (Gregory, 2004, 803). Referring to Bachelard, Said (1978) alluded to this concept by depicting the interior of a house which itself acquires notions of intimacy, secrecy and security due to the appropriate experiences of home whether real or imagined. When one conjures up images of home, the physical aspects of a house including corridors, corners and rooms pale in significance to the figurative values poetically ascribed through imaginaries of 'home' (Said, 1978). Poetic images of space are more important than

physical realities as they embody an imaginative element not directly constrained by physical or material realities. While poetic imaginaries become naturalized over time, in some cases reflecting perceived reality through their constant reproduction, they are socially constructed and the subject of contestation. Less interested in the psychoanalytics of space Said (1978) argued the importance of the 'politics of space'. While the "construction of identity through the poetics of space is a generalized practice...it is also a 'contest'...inseparable from determinate modalities of power" (Gregory, 1995, 456). Through the concept of the politics of space, vision and visibility operates as a key conceptual link between power and the production of space as self or other. Attached to the notion of vision and visibility is the argument that imaginative geographies are performative. "Imaginative geographies are not only accumulations of time, sedimentations of successive histories; they are also *performances of space*" (Gregory, 2004, 18). While reinforced over time to form a self reinforced archive imaginative geographies are at the same time an act in themselves which perpetuate discourses of power and othering.

### **POPULAR USE OF *IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES* DISCOURSE**

Academic use of imaginative geographies discourse' began in earnest during the 1990s as the by-product of the cultural turn in human geography. As previously mentioned there was no real concerted study of imaginative geographies in the decade following *Orientalism* though this was probably reflective of the dominance of political economy and radical geographies of the 1980s which opposed the humanist movement which Said was part of. In the mid-1990s Radcliffe (1996) complained of a lack of study of imaginative geographies in the post-colonial world. Since then there has been a rapid influx of application of the concept. The increase in popularity of imaginative geographies may be attributed to its durability and openness to application on a myriad of different topics. As one of the earliest authors of the concept, Jarosz (1992) states imaginaries can be called into play through metaphor (as Said argued) in film, mass print media and travel writing. Likewise imaginative geographies are evident through production by the state and by means of popular culture to be "produced, circulated and reworked" (Radcliffe, 1996, 24).

More recent examples of use of imaginative geographies since the 1990s include political geographies of nationalism and nationhood, social constructions of ethnicity, representation of urban environments and tourism (Chang and Lim, 2004). Imaginative geographies are an important theoretical tool for understanding the situated nature of the world and aid with the unpicking of discourses of power, othering and subordination. What remains pertinent to any study of the concept, is the challenging of any discourses or imaginaries perpetuated. As Gregory (2005) highlights in his study on the reporting of the 9/11 attacks in American newspapers, imaginative geographies need to be deciphered and challenged as they have an immense influence on the way news is disseminated to readers.

Attention now focuses on the different forms of imaginative geographies relevant to the study of popular geographic magazines. Research here examines how the concept has been appropriated through time and illustrates the differences in the discourses of imaginaries studied by human geographers in the last fifteen years. Imaginative geographies occur in *many forms* including travel writing, newspaper reporting, popular magazines and film but also for *many purposes* such as othering, national identity and place promotion. It is the purpose here to illustrate the main purposes and map the different forms of key imaginative geographies studies to iterate that themes studied by geographers may perpetuate othering, yet this is not the intention of the authors themselves. Instead human geographers study imaginative geographies to contest the imaginations rather than to reproduce them. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to deciphering discourses of othering, national identity and self promotion and maps the recent resonance of the concept through interpretations of popular culture before situating the geographical imaginations of the central thesis narrative. While the concept of imaginative geographies lies in the wider geographic corpus of Said and Gregory their ideas have been applied sporadically to several diverse topics since its inception.

### *OTHERING*

As Said (1978) robustly argued in *Orientalism*, imaginative geographies are a discursive tool of othering. His signature example was the process of demarcating the Orient as

inferiorly different by the hegemonic West. Since that seminal book geographers like Gregory have continued this tradition through the study of othering through nineteenth century travel writing (Gregory, 1995, 1995a; Jarosz, 1992) and more recently the performance of othering of the Middle East post-9/11 (Gregory, 2003, 2004, 2005). Travel writing is part of the intimate European act of colonizing faraway places. Gregory (1995a) outlines the purpose of travel writing as the recovery of the physical experience of travel by Europeans to foreign landscapes and the subsequent imaginaries representative of the different cultures written about. Hence travel writing of the nineteenth century was an expedition of discovery that took place “within a complex web of textualizations in which dreams of the fantastic were captured in intricate display” (Gregory, 1995a, 30). In his selective study of European travel writing of the nineteenth century Gregory (1995, 1995a) examined the importance of Egypt as an important space as a gateway to Africa and the Far East and as a space of othering by Europeans while Jarosz (1992) offered an insight into the metaphoric othering of Africa as the ‘Dark Continent’ by European explorers.

Integral to the process of othering of faraway spaces through nineteenth century travel writing was the large extent to which correspondence operated as part of the colonial imperial project of European powers Britain and France which resulted in the perpetuation of othering in Africa since then (Jarosz, 1992). Gregory (1995a, 463) identifies clearly the “connections among power, knowledge and geography inscribed within these representations that made the imperial project possible”. Gregory (1995, 1995a) and Jarosz (1992) both highlight and in turn challenge the imperial element of the construction of imaginative geographies through travel writing, colonial paintings and metaphor respectively in broadcasting a vision of the world which actively others and excludes Africa and Africans. Gregory (1995a) provides a useful comparative account of the imaginative geographies of Florence Nightingale and Gustave Flaubert Egypt through travel writings and letters between 1849 and 1850 during their separate travels in Egypt. Gregory (1995a, 30) examines how the “physical passage of European travellers through other landscapes and other cultures marked the very process of their writing and their representations of those spaces”. Nightingale and Flaubert offered different imaginaries

of the unfamiliar Egyptian landscape.<sup>2</sup> The production of imaginative geographies in the mid-nineteenth century brought Egypt within the visibility and intelligibility horizons of Europe reflecting the demarcation of Egyptian space as other yet within the realm of European power and desire (Gregory, 1995a). Imaginaries of othering were deciphered focusing on both the Egyptian landscapes and inhabitants themselves. The travel writings of Nightingale, who described “Egypt and Europe as the ‘two ends of Time and Space’” (Gregory, 1995a, 34) illustrates the gaze of othering brilliantly by effacing the difference between modernity and antiquity. In terms of the landscape Egypt was rendered unnatural, an evil place and a world turned upside down when compared with Europe. Likewise Egyptians were represented as inhuman “living in ‘lair’s’ and ‘nest’s’, ‘baying like jackals’ and ‘climbing like lizards’” yet this was rather ironic given Egypt’s place as the “cradle of antiquity, of ancient civilization” (Gregory, 1995a, 36). This explicit othering may seem out of place in the twenty-first century but was commonplace in colonial writings of the nineteenth century.

Gregory (1995) also alludes to the situated painting of the Egyptian landscape during the Napoleonic era which operated as a signifier representing French power and dominance. Egypt was imagined to be an extension of France through the erasure of Egyptian contemporaries from the famous Egyptian landscape painting *Description de l’Egypte* frontispiece. Remnants of Egypt were instead replaced by open spaces and surrounded by a picture frame inclusive of the famous Napoleonic seal (Gregory, 1995). Imaginative geographies are not simply about demarcating our space from their space, but are part of the imaginative reaching into their space and claiming it as our own as Napoleon sought to do in his ill-fated conquest in Egypt in the late eighteenth century. Napoleon’s Egypt, represented through the *Description* was what Gregory (1995, 471) terms a “fantasy-Egypt”. The real Egypt was nowhere to be seen replaced by a situated landscape conjuring Cosgrove’s (1985) notion of the landscape as a way of seeing. Instead Gregory (1995, 463) identifies clearly the “connections among power, knowledge and geography inscribed within these representations that made the imperial project possible”.

---

<sup>2</sup> Consult Gregory (1995a) for a full description of the varying imaginative geographies of Nightingale and Flaubert. Their respective imaginaries are rather contradictory.



Jaroz (1992) continues the theme of othering through discourses of Africa as the 'Dark Continent' by white European explorers of the nineteenth century. Travel writings' of the "metaphoric identification of Africa as the Dark Continent, the Lost Continent or the White Man's Grave construct knowledges of the continent through metaphors which simultaneously expropriate and incorporate an 'Other' as an oppositional category" (Jarosz, 1992, 106). Jaroz (1992) outlines and challenges contemporary 'white' visions of Africa in the nineteenth century which included notions of a dark space, a primeval continent, a mysterious exotic woman to be conquered and tamed and as unknown evil landscape. These metaphors operate to reinforce negative values of Africa as a space of danger and the unknown while providing a foil for the perceived notion of Western enlightenment and superiority. Furthermore the use of metaphor legitimated status quo and perpetuated unequal colonial power relations in the Continent. Discourses and imaginaries of travel writers and explorers were legitimated and taken as truth as their authors were deemed to be the legitimate bearers of knowledge.

This notion is reminiscent of discourses of geographies of knowledge. Driver (2000) and Heffernan (2001) both state historical demarcations of what constituted real geographic knowledge had to be appropriated through legitimate channels. For example Heffernan (2001) examines the evolving concept of knowledge in relation to the fixated quest for discovery of the mythical city of Timbuctoo. At the centre of the argument are questions of what constitutes knowledge, and who counts as the legitimate bearer of knowledge. Heffernan (2001) argues there was inherent concern over what forms of knowledge are deemed appropriate. The discovery of Timbuctoo needed to be legitimized by the right method of discovery which could not involve undue deception and had to be discovered by a noble explorer with Anglo-Saxon lineage and the appropriate social credentials. Travel writers (Gregory, 1995, 1995a) and explorers (Jarosz, 1992) exemplified these credentials as white bourgeoisie Europeans. Because most of Africa was the object of European gaze, the imaginative geographies of these writers were of course taken as truth. In essence, what Gregory (1995, 1995a) and Jarosz (1992) have highlighted is the ideological power of imaginative geographies as a metaphoric instrument for othering colonial spaces of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately however, similar discourses of othering are abundant in present day texts.

Contemporary examples of imaginative geographies of othering are as widespread and relevant as those of the nineteenth century. While early writing of imaginative geographies during the mid-1990s highlighted the significance of travel writing, more recent studies of imaginative geographies since 2000 have examined the performative aspect of othering of evil enemies to legitimate controversial wars against terror in the post-9/11 world by both America (Gregory, 2004, 2004a, 2005) and Israel (Gregory, 2003). Iterating the importance of Said's contribution to geography Gregory (2004a, 805) states "Orientalism has been mobilized in all sorts of ways to orchestrate the 'war on terror'" and is therefore a relevant theoretical framework for examining how America has othered Islamist groups in the aftermath of the traumatic terrorist attacks of 9/11 to legitimate retaliation through the much publicized war on terror. Gregory (2004, 2004a, 2005) has examined the performative imaginative geographies of othering constructed by America after 9/11 which were in turn used by Israel to legitimize attacks on Palestine (2003). Despite their differences, the imaginative geographies construed by America and later reissued by Israel can be collectively labelled imaginaries of 'civilization' and 'barbarism' (Gregory, 2003). This situates a bipolar world of good versus evil. America and Israel are demarcated as good while conversely Islamist groups and Palestinians represent evil. The purpose of these papers by Gregory is to understand how images first perpetuated by 9/11 triggered and reinforced imaginaries of hatred and enmity against outsiders or others and were reinforced over time to solidify their position as truth.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 are symbolic of the new era of global instability and necessitate as the starting point of the aforementioned process of othering. Geographical imaginations of 9/11 are so powerfully symbolic in perpetuating the demarcation of good and evil because they were a spectacular act of terror on metropolitan America (Gregory, 2004). The subsequent imaginative geographies of othering are resultant of the repetitive question of "Who hates America?" (Gregory, 2004, 20). The result of the 9/11 attacks was a hasty response of othering against evil Islamist groups endorsed by then United States President George W. Bush and perpetuated by American media outlets. The reporting of 9/11 plotted this sense of othering by portraying Islamist groups in general (not just the

terrorists themselves) as a singular evil against a plural United States and painted a one-sided image of 'us versus them' which initiated the process of othering. To create some sense of understanding as to why such a democratic nation could be attacked so callously, America has created a series of nominalizing judgments of itself and the perpetrators. As Gregory (2004, 23) states "'America' is constructed as the normal – because it is assumed to be the universal – and so 'any attack on America' can only have arisen from the pathologies that are supposed to inhere within 'the world of Islam'". This explicit sense of othering operated to legitimize the subsequent 'war on terror' as retribution and to put to the sword, the evil perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks. The construction of the 'us' and 'them' notion is a pretend epistemological perception that 'our' civilization is natural while 'theirs' is strange and unnatural. This "architecture of enmity...is produced and set to work through a repertoire of practices that have performative force" (Gregory, 2004, 24). The demarcation of otherness by America after 9/11 aimed at the Islamist world is reinforced and perpetuated through repetitive performance. As a result the subsequent military campaigns against Afghanistan in 2001 and later Iraq in 2003 used the imaginative geographies of othering to wage the war as a legitimate, teleological act where the ends justify the means.

Likewise the 9/11 imaginaries of othering were used as a legitimating tool by Israel for pre-emptive strikes against Palestine. Gregory (2003) highlights how use of the 9/11 imaginaries of othering were used as a smokescreen by then Israeli Prime minister Ariel Sharon to legitimize unjust political dispossession of Palestinians in 2001, actions which were not criticized by America who were themselves carrying out similar measures in Afghanistan. Both the United States and Israel used the imaginative geographies of othering to perpetuate similar ideals of supposedly ridding the world of terror. Gregory (2003) is critical of these actions and those of the United States which did not go as far as condoning Israel's actions, but did little to condemn them due to their geopolitical relationship and the blatant contradiction which would occur had they done so. Sharon used the 9/11 attacks and their aftermath to mask his own actions and was quick, when criticized, to liken his actions to those of America to gain legitimacy. As one Palestinian official noted "He thinks that the dust in New York and Washington will cover up Israeli actions here" while another laments that due to all attention being focused on America

and 9/11 “He is taking advantage of the fact that no one is watching” (Gregory, 2003, 308). Moreover as Gregory (2003) argues, Said equally opposed the motives of Sharon in likening Palestine attacks on Israel to the World Trade Centre attacks of 9/11. Like the othering of Islamist groups by Americans, Gregory (2003) is critical of the cruel othering of Palestinians by Sharon as a means of dehumanizing and legitimating attacks upon and the dispossession of their homeland. Notorious forms of othering include the representation of Palestinians as “denizens of a barbarian space lying *beyond* the pale of civilization”, while Israel’s offensive operations sought to demarcate Palestinians as enemies and aliens while perhaps most cruelly the Sharon regime resurfaced old Nazi analogies in characterizing the Palestinians as a “‘cancerous tumour’ that is ‘destroying the ordered host [Israel]’” (Gregory, 2003, 311, 318).

Apart from being gruesome at the outset, these labels and connotations are a product of the othering process akin to the imaginative geographies of Islamist groups constructed by America (Gregory, 2004). Palestinians were othered in such a way that they were likened to the Taliban allowing Sharon to justify attacks on Palestine as part of the global fight against international terror. By using the imaginative geographies of legitimacy seemingly bestowed upon the United States, Sharon legitimated his actions by arguing the case that the elimination of the Palestinian Authority by Israel and the Taliban by the U.S would be conceived as twin objectives (Gregory, 2003). Sharon’s own questionable actions were packaged as a combo deal with the ‘legitimate’ plight of the United States in quashing international terrorism. Not surprisingly Gregory (2003, 2004) is overtly critical of the performative imaginative geographies of othering. In essence the United States and Israel produced shared imaginative geographies of othering through their respective lenses on the war on terror and these were institutionalized performances of post-9/11 space. Gregory (2003, 319) sums up the joint contemporary process of the othering of Evil by stating “the Bush and Sharon administrations continue to perform their own ‘God-trick’ of seeing the face of Evil everywhere except in their own looking-glasses”. These forms of othering are constituted and constantly reinforced through mass media outlets such as television, the internet, newspapers and magazines. The media are prominent actors in the perpetuation of imaginative geographies of othering whether

negative as illustrated here in the demarcation of difference in the battle of good versus evil, or positive in the form of positive place promotion in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*.

### *NATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND SELF PROMOTION*

The imaginative geographies concept has also been used frequently as a tool for interpreting performances of national identity and self promotion at national and local levels. While equally political, nationalism is an aspect of imaginative geographies that is not usually discursive like othering. Instead use of nationalist discourses usually occur as a form of self promotion as is most evident in Chapter Five through geographical imaginations of nationalism in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* as the central narrative of this thesis. In outlining two prominent strands of nationalism, 'hot' and 'banal' Billig (1995) argues only the former is privileged or even noticed. Nationalism "is typically seen as the force which creates nation-states or which threatens the stability of existing states" and is usually "extraordinary, politically charged and emotionally driven" (Billig, 1995, 43, 44). Such hot forms of nationalism are challenged by Billig (1995) who states these types of definition ignore the ways in which nationalism is maintained after autonomy or independence is gained. Of greater relevance to deciphering national identity are banal forms of nationalism usually ignored or taken for granted. Banal nationalism is defined as:

"the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or 'flagged', in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition" (Billig, 1995, 6).

This statement indicates national identity is a product of the mundane performances of everyday life. As Billig (1995, 6) argues, the "world of nations is the everyday world, the familiar terrain of contemporary times". It is pertinent to state that references to nationalism embody both forms of the concept, hot and banal.

The act of perpetuating national identity is the projected desire of either usually one or both of the following groups; the state or local indigenous populations. This sub-section focuses upon the imaginative geographies of national identity in Ecuador (Radcliffe, 1996)

and 'New Asia Singapore' (Chang, 2005; Chang and Lim 2005) as these are spaces where national sentiment has been both celebrated and contested. The use of the imaginative geographies concept to interpret national identity and nationalism in Ecuador (Radcliffe, 1996) and Singapore (Chang, 2005; Chang and Lim, 2004) differ markedly in scope. For the former, national identity is examined as a local process of conceptualizing the nation while the latter is situated as a marketing ploy in promoting 'New Asia Singapore' as a commercial brand. Most colonial imaginaries usually involve the othering of the spaces they are interpreting (Gregory, 1995, 1995a; Jarosz, 1992) yet Radcliffe (1996) illustrates how Ecuador, a developing nation, has resisted colonialism and has successfully forged its own imaginaries of national identity through both official state and popular imaginations of the people. Despite having a long post-colonial history Ecuador has been internally divided by divergent visions of national identity therefore the importance of understanding the imaginative geographies of nationalism is fundamental in creating a sense of collective unity for the future. Radcliffe (1996) illustrates the interwoven strands of national identity evident in Ecuador yet the "imagined geography of the nation remains highly problematic and fragmented; no hegemonic national identity has been built around a shared imaginative geography. Imaginative geographies exist, to be sure, but they vary among popular and official groups" (Radcliffe, 1996, 37). The paradox of imaginative geographies of nationalism is a theme replicated in Singapore through the construction of desirable ideals that constitute of 'New Asia Singapore'.

The creation of 'New Asia Singapore' (NAS) as a marketing slogan is an explicit form of nationalism. For Chang and Lim (2004) NAS is part of a collective resurgence in reimagining Asia, and in particular Singapore collectively as a vibrant entity. Notable examples of this rebranding of identities in Asia include the historic waterfront of Singapore, colonial hotels key in South East Asian cities and the vivid, colourful festivals of Hong Kong (Chang, 2005). NAS is just one aspect of the wider revitalization of Asia, and is a process of celebrating the exoticness of Singapore. As a signifier of New Asia, Chang (2005) argues there is no more explicit symbol of all the concept embodies than Singapore. For Chang and Lim (2004, 169) debate is centred on the question of whether or not the "NAS identity constitutes a form of *self-orientalising*", or what may be termed

othering in a positive fashion. One pertinent example of self othering is the statement by the Singapore Tourism Board:

“NAS depicts Singapore as ‘progressive and sophisticated, yet still a unique expression of the Asian souk’, a place where ‘East meets West, old engages new, and tradition marries technology in harmonious co-existence’ (STB, 1998, 3 cited in Chang and Lim, 2004, 171).

While Said (1978) argued the demarcation of the Orient was part of the subordinate process of othering by outsiders, the demarcation of Singapore as exotic is an act of self promotion by so-called Orientals (in Said’s sense of the term) themselves. The marketing strategy of New Asia “conjures up images of exoticism and modernity...the expression of new *cultural and social identities*...as a political project that shapes community visions and directs hope for the future” (Chang, 2005, 252). These forms of imagination can be considered a palimpsest as they involve multiple layers of imaginaries forming a diverse cultural archive. Yet unfortunately a remnant negative of Oriental othering filters through the Singapore Tourism Board when it is stated ‘New-Asia’ is “catching up with the rest of the world” (Chang and Lim, 2004, 171). This statement negatively stipulates that Asia is still somehow backward when compared with the seemingly advanced West. Yet as a form of imaginative geographies the self promotion of national identity is an indispensable concept and is evident through the state, local populations, marketers and also the media.

### *POPULAR CULTURE*

The importance of popular media as an outlet for depicting imaginative geographies of national identity cannot be ignored. Defined as “culture which is widely favoured or well liked by many people” (Storey, 2005, 264) popular culture plays an important role in developing national identity and operates to solidify imaginative geographies of any particular regime. The internalization of both symbolic and mythic aspects of national identity is initiated through the production and consumption of popular culture (Dittmer, 2005; Edwardson, 2003; Sharp, 1998). In his study of the hugely successful James Bond 007 franchise Dodds (2003, 2006) emphasizes the role of popular media in bolstering national morale. Films play an important role for morale in the current Bush

administration while also contributing to a particular narrative (or imaginary) of the United States in the Post-9/11 world (Dodds, 2006). The role of popular media in legitimizing imaginative geographies loosely replicates the concept of popular geopolitics. Dodds (2006, 127) argues “popular geopolitical sources such as film contribute to the generation and reproduction of a series of geographic imaginations and traditions, which help to sustain particular national visions of states and territories”. Popular geopolitics defined by O’Tuathail (2006, 9) as the “narratives of world politics that find expression in the popular culture of a state, its cinema, magazines, novels and even cartoons” resonates snugly within the field of imaginative geographies directly relevant to this thesis. Popular geopolitics is one of three geopolitical discourses; the other two being formal geopolitics and practical geopolitics.<sup>3</sup> While recognizing the majority of formal geopolitics occurs at the state level where policy is enacted, Sharp (2000) argues popular geopolitics are equally important in creating and solidifying imaginative geographies. The discourses of imaginative geographies and geopolitical imaginations are closely intertwined and are essential elements in the formation and replication of national identity (O’Tuathail, 2006). Likewise, as an important tool for disseminating imaginaries of nationalism, popular culture is in itself a strand of imaginative geographies worthy of closer study.

Imaginative geographies are shaped through many various forms of popular culture. In terms of the genealogy of imaginative geographies themes since the 1990s (which started in earnest with the study of early of travel writing (Gregory, 1995, 1995a; Jarosz, 1992)), the study of popular culture is the most recent strand of prominent interest. The recent uptake in studies of popular culture is likely attributable to the diverse scope for engagement with such a diverse topic which coincides with the blossoming proliferation of the imaginative geographies concept itself as a way of understanding the world. While imaginative geographies lies in the wider corpus of Said and Gregory, its ideas have been applied sporadically to diverse topics in popular media since the start of the twenty-first century. Many recent studies of imaginative geographies have focused on popular magazines (Greenberg, 2000; Odhiambo, 2006; Sharp, 2000), the cyberspace genre of science fiction in the new millennium (Kitchin and Kneale, 2001) comic books (Dittmer,

---

<sup>3</sup> Consult O’Tuathail (2006) for a full definition of the concept of geopolitics.



2005), films (Dodds, 2003, 2006) and newspapers (Winder, 2007). Each study disseminates differing imaginative geographies of peoples, places and spaces through popular mediums. Highlighting this diversity Sharp (2000), as mentioned earlier, examines the geopolitics of fear in post-Cold War America through the banal space of the *Readers Digest* while Odhiambo (2006) examines the role of *Drum*, a trans-national magazine in disseminating imaginaries of freedom and black identity against the oppressive shackles of colonialism in the mid twentieth century. Adding to these seemingly divergent imaginaries, Greenberg (2000) maps the emergence of urban lifestyle magazines which facilitated the development of consumer orientated urban imaginaries in the late twentieth century. These three studies have an implicit commonality. Each focuses on identity formation through the demarcation of space whether urban identity (Greenberg, 2000), insular American political identity (Sharp, 2000) or trans-national identity that traverses national borders (Odhiambo, 2006).

Popular imaginative geographies are not limited to magazines and are abundant in comic books, films and newspapers. Dittmer (2005) unravels the layered imaginaries of the United States and its fight against evil through the popular comic hero *Captain America*, while Dodds (2003, 2006) examines the geopolitical significance of James Bond both since the Second World War and more recently in the wake of the terrorist bombings of 9/11 through film. Meanwhile Winder (2007) outlines the key imaginaries of national newspapers from across the globe. Newspapers are a mass media space whereby imaginaries are distributed to mass audiences (Harvey, 2000; Potter, 2007; Winder, 2007). Dittmer's (2005) study of *Captain America* is a good example of the use of popular culture as a means to articulate and legitimize an imaginary of the U.S. as a heroic defender of democracy. At the same time this comic book hero demarcates 'others' such as the Japanese in the Second World War, the communist Soviet Union, and more recently in the post-9/11 world, Islamic groups as evil and/or a threat to the west (Dittmer, 2005). This imaginary is constantly reproduced, yet while the enemies may change, *Captain America* remains relatively stationary and "serves as a territorial symbol that participates in the construction of difference between...the United States and...the rest of the world" (Dittmer, 2005, 631).

Likewise James Bond serves as a British secret service agent assigned to quash fanatical evil villains. The James Bond franchise depicts two contrasting imaginaries. Dodds (2006) argues that on the one hand, in *Die Another Day* (2002) for example, Bond films closely replicate the contemporary geopolitical climate. In *Die Another Day* Bond saves the world from Gustav Graves a fanatical North Korean madman which implicitly mirrors the labelling of North Korea as an axis of evil by George W. Bush in January 2002 (Dodds, 2006). Conversely Bond films depict a reality far from actual. In the period of the emergence of James Bond during the late 1950s Britain's role in world geopolitics was receding. Britain lost many colonies including India and Pakistan (1947) while her grip over the Suez Canal was severed in 1956 (Dodds, 2003). The portrayal of Bond in novels and on the big screen ignores this reality by depicting aspirations of a resurgent Britain as the key player in global geopolitics. This point reinforces the notion that imaginative geographies are a social construction not bound to truth or reality. Simultaneously they are performative. Imaginative geographies constitute a blueprint for what should be done but are not necessarily what is being done and are reinforced constantly to legitimate the particular desires and fantasies of their authors, whether they are writers, editors or publishers.

#### *CG, AG AND NZG – FUSION OF ALL THREE IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHIES DISCOURSES*

As a precursor to the research findings presented later in this thesis it is important to situate the three discourses of imaginative geographies (othering, national identity and popular culture) in the context of the central thesis narrative. The central theme of this thesis incorporates positive othering through national identity situated in the deconstruction of geographical imaginations of nationalism across three similar popular geographic magazines. The discourse of othering is extended in appropriating forms of positive place promotion of the nation. While Lutz and Collins (1993) and Rothenberg (2007) have conducted studies on *NG* in the last two decades (which contest forms of negative othering of peoples and landscapes through various forms of representation), this thesis extends imaginative geographies' discourse by examining the politics of representation involved in positive forms othering through self promotion of the nation in *CG, AG* and *NZG*.

The celebration of national identity across the three geographic magazines selected embodies this form of positive othering and operates as a continuation of recent studies of geographical imaginations of nationalism. Nationalism is a performative geographic imagination across the three magazines and is the key narrative expressed. The central crux of research in this thesis delineates the extent to which each of the magazines operates autonomously in promoting the nation despite having a shared national narrative. As national magazines (in terms of their content and style) *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* promote the nation and are produced for domestic audiences who may be deemed an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). The magazines (and their producers) assume that the national, colloquial content presented will be easily understood and actively embraced by local readers. Meanwhile the performative nature of banal nationalism is reminiscent of the term 'invented traditions'. Hobsbawm (1983, 1) defines invented traditions as the "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by *repetition*, which automatically implies continuity with the past".<sup>4</sup> Invented traditions occur through a process of formalization and ritualization and become embedded through constant recurrence (Hobsbawm, 1983). Constant banal and colloquial reference to the nation as the dominant geographical imagination of the three magazines constitutes the active and performative ritual of nationalism.

## CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter several themes need to be reiterated. In tracing the genealogy of imaginative geographies discourse it must be recognized that Said's (1978) seminal *Orientalism* text is the birthplace of the contemporary concept. During the last three decades imaginative geographies discourse has evolved considerably. Yet this thesis illustrates that it is possible to deconstruct complex layers of meaning between the different ways the imaginative geographies concept has been appropriated and extended

---

<sup>4</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

in remaining relevant in the twenty-first century. For the purpose of this thesis imaginative geographies discourse is treated a theoretical tool for unravelling the national narratives of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. It is not a standalone theory as such, but is part of a wider corpus of ideas of power, othering and representation. This chapter has illustrated some prominent examples of the varied topics which have been previously examined using the imaginative geographies concept relevant to the purposes of this study. There are a plethora of thematic elements which can be examined in relation to the literature on imaginative geographies which has flowed steadily since the 1990s. Discourses of othering, national identity and the strands of imaginative geographies which flow through popular culture are most directly relevant in relation to the three magazines examined in this thesis. The next chapter continues the theme of popular culture and unravels the situated history of *NG* as a precursor to study of the imaginative geographies of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*.

## CHAPTER THREE *Imagining Geography*

### INTRODUCTION

In continuing the theme of imaginative geographies this chapter situates the concept in relation to the magazines selected for study and to geography as a concept, subject and discipline. Geography can be (and is) imagined, understood and consumed in a variety of ways. The previous chapter outlined several main elements of the imaginative geographies discourse incorporated by human geographers since Said (1978) first imagined the term – othering, national identity and its diffusion in popular culture. This chapter begins by outlining the ways geography has been imagined and consumed as both an academic discipline and popular subject before examining the popularization of geography through *NG*. Lastly the methodological approach to the study of geographic magazines as important sites for imaginative geographies of nationalism is discussed. This chapter contends that the magazines examined in this thesis *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all subscribe to the populist style of geography made famous by *NG* during the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> This group of magazines is referred to as the *Geographic Genre* in this thesis due to their similar style, format and adherence to a populist form of geography. In a similar way to how Sharp (1996) renders the institutional significance of *Readers Digest* as a network of power and knowledge, the *Geographic Genre* is an institutional framework for disseminating popular geography to mainstream audiences and is an important marker of this particular vision of geography. The *Geographic Genre* (as it is termed in this thesis) needs to be recognized for occupying a hegemonic institutional position from which this particular approach to geography is produced and consumed. To situate *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* magazines in the realm of geography, this chapter deconstructs academic and popular conceptions of the discipline in illustrating how the imaginative geographies of these publications and geography itself are entangled. *NG* represents the zenith of popular discourses of geography and serves as a useful conceptual starting point for engaging with the imaginative geographies of the aforementioned magazines.

---

<sup>5</sup> Note academic geography was much closer to *NG* during the epoch of regional hegemony and when Royal Geographical Society expeditions were prominent in the early to mid twentieth century.

## UNDERSTANDING AND CONSUMING GEOGRAPHY

Geography is confusing. It is impossible to frame geography in one wide-sweeping definition. As Livingstone (2000, 304) states, “‘geography’ means, and has meant, different things to different people in different times and places”. There is no ubiquitous agreed-upon consensus of what the term actually means. Rudimentary eighteenth century definitions situated geography as an activity devoted to descriptions of the surface of the earth (Mayhew, 1998) while Parsons (1977, 1) contends that for geographers, as a loosely defined group, the common denominator in such a diverse discipline is “shared values and a common, almost mystic, bond – our curiosity about this planet and the human experience on it”. Geographers and geography are loosely knitted by a shared acquaintance and desire to understand people and places. Perhaps one link between geography and geographers is the central theme of “inviting enquiry into the nature of the universe and the dynamics of the earth, prompting exploration and adventure, the naming and claiming of territory, and theories about relationships between human societies and their environments” (Buttimer, 1998, 90). Geography, while bound by no concise definition, is summed up nicely in this quote. The key purpose of highlighting the lack of a singular, definitive definition of geography is to illustrate that since the late nineteenth century geographers (either academic or non-academic) have shared some quite different imaginations of what constitutes the term.

To some, geography is treated as an academic discipline yet to others it may only imply a subject matter or body of knowledge. This difference is fundamental and has allowed geography to be defined broadly. It also means geography can imply a plethora of different meanings across time and space. As an academic discipline in higher education, geography offers understanding and explanation of the world via application in science, humanities and social sciences.<sup>6</sup> Yet within academic geography it is difficult to pinpoint a concise definition of geography that has stood the test of time. The most widely known and well used academic definition of geography is provided by Hartshorne (1959, 21) who defined geography as being “concerned to provide accurate, orderly, and rational description and interpretation of the variable character of the earth’s surface”. This

---

<sup>6</sup> Secondary school geography can be considered a precursor to academic geography at university level.

definition however is an artefact of time and must be situated in the context in which it was written during the regional paradigm of geography. More recently Bonnett (2008, 110) has stated that geography is “an attempt to find and impose order on a seemingly chaotic world... [it] helps us imagine that there is meaning and sense in the world”. These two definitions are divided by nearly 50 years, illustrating the fluid nature of academic geography which makes it so difficult to summarize the term in one sentence. Conversely popular imaginations of geography encompass more diverse connotations, which may imply a subject matter with emphasis on mapping, landscapes, national flags, capital cities or the study of natural history. To this end it is difficult to pinpoint an all encompassing definition of the subject or discipline. Meanwhile to pinpoint what may be meant by popular geographies, the term popular embodies something that is “liked or admired by many people...suited to the tastes of the general public...connected with or carried out by ordinary people” (Hawker, 2006, 699). Popular approaches geography imply widespread appeal to a large audience. It is the latter approach to geography that is most relevant to this thesis in deciphering geographical imaginations of nationalism across popular geographic magazines.

Academic and popular approaches to geography offer contrasting geographical imaginations. In outlining the contested nature of the discipline Buttimer (1998) outlines academic (scientific) and popular (folk) as being two of the most important strands of geography. It is these two flavours of geography that this chapter is concerned with. There has emerged an uneasy divergence between academic geography (the type taught and written about in universities by academics) and popular forms of geography (the style epitomized by the descriptive, exploratory style of the magazines of the *Geographic Genre*). The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conceptual geographical framework of the style of popular geography ascribed to and made famous by *NG* as a theoretical precursor to the study of imaginative geographies of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* magazines in the period 1995-2004. As mentioned above, different definitions of geography tell only part of the tale of the diverse nature of the discipline. This diversity is also expressed through the uneasy relationship between these two approaches. Before examining the popular approach to geography it is imperative to outline the divergence between academic and popular geographies in order to understand their subsequent differences.

During the last 100 years there has been a divergence in the ways geography is imagined and consumed. Geography is synonymous with diversity and this is best exemplified in the lack of a precise definition of geography. Yet despite a history of ubiquity, widespread concern has emerged at the growing detachment of academic geography from non-academic geography. This has resulted in a situation which has had detrimental consequences for both (Bonnett, 2003). The divergence of academic geography from non-academic forms of geography such as the popular geographies of the *Geographic Genre* has been widespread for decades. In the United States this departure was engrained as early as the turn of the twentieth century. In his study of *NG* Rothenberg (2007, 25) states:

“By the turn of the century, however, professionalization [academic geography] and popularization [popular geography] were no longer considered compatible...Geography, with its new and tenuous existence in American research universities, was particularly sensitive to this tension – or at least, academic geographers were”.

Academic geography was to be found in universities and the formation of professional academic geographical societies in Anglo-American geography. Prominent examples include the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) (United Kingdom), and the American Geographical Society (AGS) and the Association of American Geographers (AAG) (United States). Conversely as a product of the National Geographical Society (NGS), *NG* became the “face of popular geography” for non-academics (Rothenberg, 2007, 25). Ironically as geography struggled to define itself as either academic discipline or popular subject it was *NG* and the NGS which “became caught in the struggle over definitions of geography” (Rothenberg, 2007, 11). This nineteenth century struggle culminated in the establishment of the (AAG) which became a ‘centre of calculation’ for academic geography in the United States in the Latour (1987) sense, in opposition to the non-academic NGS. Over the first half of the twentieth century academic geography slowly situated itself away from the descriptive, exploration style geography which was to become synonymous with *NG*. Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century academic geography diversified further adopting several competing approaches to the discipline including ‘regional,’ ‘quantitative,’ ‘radical,’ and ‘post’ specialisms. This divergence between academic and popular forms of geography was instigated by scholarly geographers who sought to leave behind the style of popular geography that *NG* started



producing at the turn of the twentieth century. Since 1945 academic geography has left popular geography behind as it tried to establish itself as a technical specialty. In an era of the post-imperial nation state academic geography sought to situate itself from its imperial heritage, which was still being continued as the mainstay of imperial, exploratory discourses of the popular style of geography produced and consumed by *NG*.

The divergence of academic geography from popular geography post-1945 was cemented by the proponents of each style. The state of affairs between the two has been accentuated by popular geography's hostility to academic involvement while academic geographers consider popular forms of geography to be "an embarrassment to the serious pursuit of the contemporary discipline; that it gets geography badly wrong" (Bonnett, 2003, 56). Academic geography created conditions to deem popular geography and the study of other societies (the way *NG* presents geography) as old fashioned and backward in an era more accustomed with new technologies and scientific laws in the post-war world. Popular geography was considered a throw-back to the amateur imperial days of the exploratory style of geography from which academics have sought to situate themselves as far away as possible from (Bonnett, 2003). In rendering popular geography as irrelevant in the new global world, academic geography has defined itself along strict principles allowing no space for popular elements of geography.

In the process of isolating themselves from popular forms of geography, Bonnett (2003) argues academic geographers have narrowed the scope of geographic vocabulary by making it increasingly technical. This has resulted in the alienation of academic geography (and its geographers) from wider public debate on geographical issues. In essence academic geographers have placed the academic arm of the discipline in a narrow box and are therefore unable to relate to, or accept other conceptions of geography. Academic geography has cut itself from the public imagination by disassociating itself from popular geography. The confined space academic geographers have created for geography goes against the boundless nature of the discipline evident in the widespread definitions of the concept mentioned at the start of the chapter. This splintering of geography between popular and academic forms has had detrimental consequences for

geography as a whole (Bonnett, 2003; Rothenberg, 2007). Harvey (1996, 99) best sums up the 'looking-down-the-nose' attitude academic geographers now have towards popular geography:

"What was once an important preserve for the geographer fell into the hands of popular magazines and the producers of commercial travelogues and brochures, television films, news, and documentaries. The failure to help build appropriate popular understandings to deal with a world undergoing rapid geographical integration was a striking abrogation of responsibility".

This quote brilliantly summarizes the tense divergent relationship between academic and popular geographies. To academics like Harvey (1996), the style of geography subscribed to magazines of the *Geographic Genre* is not worthy of being labelled geography and yet he also laments this situation. Bonnett (2003, 61) brilliantly encapsulates this attitude stating that the view of Harvey (1996) is a "useful reflection of a common academic stance towards popular geography: 'they [popular] need us...but that just goes to show how important it is we keep our distance from them'". Academic geography (and geographers who share the view of Harvey (1996)) may be considered elitist in the sense that it they believe that the style of scholarly geography they prescribe to is superior to that of popular geography. In reality however, it is likely that more people worldwide imagine geography in the popular sense (the *NG* style of geography) as opposed to the academic style known only by academics. How can anyone claim to believe that any style is better than another? Can academic geography be considered 'the real geography' just because it is scholarly (yet narrow in the fact that only academics ascribe to it) or should popular geography take the mantle because it is accessible to more people? Perhaps the beauty of geography lies in the fact that geography means many different things to many different people. Being an academic is not a prerequisite for having an opinion on what constitutes geography.

## POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES

It is not the place of this thesis to provide a detailed history of academic geography in the twentieth century. That has been done before by numerous academic geographers.<sup>7</sup> Of greater relevance is the study of popular approaches to geography as a conceptual framework for deciphering geographical imaginations of nationalism in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Unlike academic geography which has undergone a series of paradigm changes during the twentieth century, the *Geographic Genre* style of geography has remained comparatively static as the successful format for disseminating the popular narrative of geography to mass audiences.<sup>8</sup> As the epitome of geography's popular strand the *Geographic Genre* incorporates the exploratory style synonymous of the classical and modernist periods of the late nineteenth century prior to the rise of academic geography in the twentieth century. During this time geography had the twin imperial ethos of exploration and discovery and was investigated by scientists and amateurs trained in other fields such as natural history (Johnston and Sidaway, 2004). This subsection unravels and situates the place of 'popular geography' in this geographic milieu.

Geography is not just an academic discipline, it is also a window of understanding of how the world works for millions of subscribers past and present to magazines of the *Geographic Genre*. As Buttimer (1998, 92) argues "the term 'geography' thus connotes not only a field of expertise, an academic discipline, but also a reality of lived experience". Readers of popular geographic magazines like *NG* are an essential component of what geography is all about, namely the dissemination of knowledge for the experience of a wide audience. Geography needs to be understood as "an ensemble of practices, institutions and concepts" rather than limiting it solely to the academic field (Driver, 2001, 217). Bonnett (2003, 56) provides a useful definition of popular geography. The category of popular geography refers to "all forms of self-designated geographical knowledge and representation with a mass audience and developed outside of the higher education community...geography is a popular subject". Unlike academic geography, which is strictly limited to academics, the popular *Geographic Genre* style of geography is

---

<sup>7</sup> Excellent examples include Johnston and Sidaway (2004), Hubbard et al. (2002).

<sup>8</sup> During the twentieth century popular stand of geography has not radically altered its successful format in presenting geography through magazines like *NG*. Meanwhile during the same period academic geography has passed through a series of epochs.

readily available for mass consumption through the format of magazine. Magazines of the *Geographic Genre* represent the popular styles of geography chosen by mass audiences. As its title suggests popular geography is concerned with making geography popular. Mayhew (1998) states that as early as the eighteenth century there was an attempt to make geography pleasurable. The *Geographic Genre* has successfully aligned geography to be pleasurable pastime for mainstream readers in an era of mass consumerism. The most famous exponent of the popularization of geography is *NG* which “has emerged as the face of popular geography” (Rothenberg, 2007, 25). The role of *NG* in popularizing geography will be examined shortly, but beforehand it is important to trace the roots of popular geography, as it is known today, as part of burgeoning nineteenth century exploratory tradition of geography.

The style of geography popularized first by *NG* and more recently by the other three magazines of the *Geographic Genre* is strongly rooted in the amateur exploration era of geography first as part of the classical and then later modern periods. During the nineteenth century the major activity of geography was exploration. This was carried out through the collection and classification of information about unknown parts of the world by explorers through geographic expeditions and voyages of discovery to open places and horizons (Driver, 1992, 2001; Hubbard et al. 2002; Johnston and Sidaway, 2004). Hubbard et al. (2002, 24) define the exploration period of geography as:

“the pre-paradigmatic phase of geography where the growth of knowledge about the globe was the principal aim. This was characterized by efforts to accumulate and map information about the world implicating geography in the wider process whereby the colonial powers sought to extend their reach through the accumulation of knowledge”.

Geography during this period was concerned with growth and knowledge of the unknown spaces on the surface of the earth and was imperialist in nature. Nineteenth century geography was not academic in the contemporary sense but was instead engaged with by amateurs (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007). Driver (1992) classifies three distinct epochs of the exploratory period as *Geography Fabulous* (concerned with speculation about the world), *Geography Militant* (the rigorous quest for certainty about the world) and *Geography Triumphant* (the end of the era of geographic heroism) which

all embody specific aims of the exploratory discourse for knowledge and certainty about unknown spaces of the globe.

Before the rise of academic geography in the twentieth century, the exploration style was 'geography'. As Parsons (1977, 16) argues this focus on exploration and discovery has been "one of the wellsprings of our subject's strength since antiquity". Yet during the nineteenth century there was distinction between the geographer and the explorer. As Overton (1981, 53) states early geographers:

"were intimately concerned with the extent and nature of the known world. Being closely interrelated with cartography, their work drew heavily on the reports of explorers and travellers to extend their view of the world. It was the chronicling of exploration and discovery that gave geography much of its early *raison d'être*".

As this quote suggests the exploratory period of geography involved exploration, narrative and description. The descriptive nature of geography was a permanent fixture of this tradition, and like the other two elements is still present in magazines from the *Geographic Genre*. As Johnston and Sidaway (2004, 45) state, "the exploration tradition is maintained in the United States by the National Geographical Society (NGS) and its popular journal, the *National Geographic Magazine*". The popular geography of the *Geographic Genre* is reminiscent of these exploratory discourses and methods of knowledge production (Bonnett, 2003). Popular geographies of the *Geographic Genre* continue to privilege the tradition of exploration, narrative and description established by amateur geographers of the late nineteenth century. Interestingly however, while this style of geography described here was 'geography' in the period it was produced, the emergence of professional geographical societies such as the *RGS* during the mid-nineteenth century continued this exploratory trend, yet rather ironically, later became synonymous with academic geography.

Geography has been consumed in a variety of ways in accordance to the style it is produced in. As Philo (1998, 344) points out "recent scholarship in the history of geographical inquiry has stressed the many and varied sites in which geographical knowledges have been produced and consumed". Geographical societies are one such

space, yet of greater relevance to this thesis are the textual spaces where geography is consumed, in particular consumption spaces for popular geographies. There has been limited study of the different textual spaces geography has occupied. So far academic considerations of the trends of writing geography have tended to focus on academic publishing rather than popular publishing (Mayhew, 1998; Philo, 1998). This thesis is unique in the fact that is focused upon the latter through comprehensive study of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*; three magazines not yet studied by geographers.

The central publishing outlet for academic geography is through scholarly textual spaces. Academic geography has a long print history in not-for-profit, peer reviewed, scholarly journals. These consumptive spaces are comparatively narrow in scope and are published for academic audiences. Rigour in academic publishing is present through the close relationship between academic journals and academic institutions. Academic journals are the publishing outlet for university academics and publication is subject to peer review and scrutiny. Conversely, popular publishing outlets operate more liberally. Popular magazines such as those from the *Geographic Genre* are written for mass lay audiences, are not peer reviewed and receive most of their capital from advertising revenue. The implications of this difference are staggering. This genre defining method of publication best illustrates the vast difference in the approaches to geography; first by first academics with the end goal of expanding geographic knowledge to the distinguished academic community, and secondly that of popular magazines written with the aim of making a profit for their publishers. Aside from research conducted on *NG* there has been no significant study of the imaginative geographies other geography texts from the *Geographic Genre* and how they are consumed in popular culture. This thesis is groundbreaking as it attempts to mitigate this gap in geographic knowledge. Limited prior research of this subject area has tended to focus on academic rather than popular geographic texts. As Philo (1998, 344) argues “the focus has tended to remain on the productions of academic geographers”. As a blueprint for the focus of research into the imaginative geographies of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*, *NG* provides a useful conceptual starting point for examining how the genre is imagined and consumed as the popular style of geography.

## **IMAGINING AND CONSUMING THE GEOGRAPHIC GENRE: *National Geographic***

Despite the argument of Bonnett (2003) that academic geography has left popular geography behind as the rigorous element of the discipline, the popular strand of geography remains resonant and vibrant through magazines like *NG*, *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. While academic geography is disseminated to a narrow audience, the popular geography style of *NG* has enjoyed mass worldwide appeal. Not surprisingly writers of the history of *NG* regard the magazine as an overwhelmingly epic success story (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007) when success is measured by longevity and circulation. Histories have been written about *NG* which examine its significance as a cultural icon, its situated construction of the world, and at times racialized nature. Yet the purpose of engaging with the magazine for this thesis is to position it as the primary trendsetter for the popularization of geography for non-academic audiences in relation to deciphering the national lenses of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. *NG* started as a dull technical journal for gentlemanly scholars that evolved into a “glossy magazine whose circulation is the third largest in the United States” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 16). Meanwhile its parent society the NGS began life as an amateur scientific organization in 1888 and has gone on to become “the largest scientific-educational organization in the world”. From modest beginnings in the exploratory era of geography of the nineteenth century, *NG* has proliferated to be the most recognized magazine of the popular geography genre.

### *POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES: EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY AND PRETTY PICTURES*

Founded in 1888, *NG* has a long history as the symbol of popular geography for mainstream readers and is regarded as the outstanding success of all magazines from the popular science category (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). While regarded by some as a magazine of natural history (Pauly, 1979), *NG* is situated in the category of popular geography but does have a strong scientific flavour (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 1994; 2007 Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991)<sup>9</sup>. As Lutz and Collins (1993, 1) state “*National*

---

<sup>9</sup> While overtly geographical in the most populist conventions of the term *National Geographic* reignited elements of the declining natural history school of thought of the nineteenth century. This lead some like Pauly (1979, 527) to argue the *Geographic* “was extending the life of the old rubric of natural history”. This statement rings true in an academic sense, yet for the armchair geographer *NG* is likely to be deemed geography if only for the name.

*Geographic* identifies itself as a scientific and educational institution". *NG* also has its genesis in exploration and from the outset was intended for both scholarly and popular audiences (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991), yet its affiliation with academia was short lived (Rothenberg, 2007). Originally intended as a scholarly magazine, the death of founder Gardiner Greene Hubbard in 1897 marked the point where the magazine sought to popularize geography for mainstream audiences (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). To make geography accessible *NG* aimed to make geography fun and popular (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007) while as the hallmark of the popular strand it has maintained and popularized the exploratory tradition of nineteenth century geography (Johnston and Sidaway, 2004) in such a commanding fashion that Forbes (2000, 129) argues "among geographical publications few, if any, have been as important an influence on people's views of the world as *National Geographic*". As a cultural institution "*National Geographic Magazine* holds an almost mythic place in American society" due to its ease of readability, educational purposes, the pretty pictures it embodies and its aura of respectability which has been accumulated over the century of its publication (Rothenberg, 1994, 155).

As the dominant symbol of 'what geography means' to generations of readers, *NG* has institutionalized popular geography and has made faraway corners of the globe accessible. As Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991, 229) argue, "*National Geographic* brought people and places around the globe into American living rooms...[and] made various journeys possible for millions of readers". This would never have been possible had *NG* not been so popular. The success of *NG* "proves how strong the love of this kind of geography is in every breast" (Rothenberg, 2007, 1). Not surprisingly the resounding testament of the magazine's achievement is that most people affiliate with *NG*'s popular narrative of geography as opposed academic conceptions of geography. Meanwhile perhaps the most symbolic feature attributed to lasting success is the powerful role of photographs and maps in presenting the world. Numerous authors have examined the situated and controversial nature of *NG* photos (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 1994, 2007) yet of more resonance to this thesis is the significance of photographs in popularizing geography for mass consumption. Photographs and maps are so powerful that they are the lens to which most people see the faraway world (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). "*National Geographic* built its success on photography" (Rothenberg,



2007, 71). The desire of *NG* to locate itself on the boundaries of science and entertainment is reflected in the status of photographs which became a bridge between these two aims (Lutz and Collins, 1993). As is illustrated further in the next chapter the proliferated use of photographs has set the entire *Geographic Genre* apart as the purveyors of popular geography.

### *THE CULTURAL NICHE OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC*

Over the course of the last 120 years *NG* has carved its own special niche in the geographic milieu. Lutz and Collins (1993, 24) neatly summarize the main aims of the magazine and its position as a distributor of a particular brand of non-specialized geography to large audiences on the boundary between science and pleasure:

“The *Geographic* sought, on the one hand, to be a potent force in exploration and scientific research that was independent of national scientific organizations and their ideologies of specialized research, and on the other to win the attention of large masses of people”.

*NG* has created its own special genre. Instead of attempting to disseminate complex knowledge to a select band of people, it has chosen a path whereby knowledge is deciphered descriptively in a way that it is appealing to the curious reader with a thirst for information about the world. Moreover it is unique in the fact that as mainstream publication, it has diverted away from specialized journals of geography which have become strict and complex in their distribution of knowledge. Yet in doing so it has garnished a reputation of validity and trust as both a not-for-profit educational source and as a scientific authority through its exploratory ideals (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 1994, 2007). *NG* “defined its general science in terms of facts, exploration and discovery” ideals of which were popularized in their production for mass audiences (Rothenberg, 2007, 11). Despite its strong scientific flavour *NG* has always been able to successfully retain a safe position between science and entertainment as a populist publication.

The special niche created by *NG* must be considered middle-ground. The magazine seeks to engage with science but in a way that is palatable for a wide demographic. In doing so

*NG* “strategically occupies the spaces between science and pleasure...” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 46). Through *NG*, the *NGS* presented a science that was popular which contrasted authoritative sciences of academic institutions (Pauly, 1979). Yet in presenting a popular form of geography to large audiences, the special cultural niche *NG* occupies in geography has meant that academics have often ignored the magazine in studies of popular culture, mass media or photography (Lutz and Collins, 1993). In much the same way academics have dismissed and ignored *NG* as *real* geography, other writers have excluded it from their histories of popular magazines in America (Reed, 1997; Schneirov, 1994). *NG* is regarded as an educational rather than popular magazine. Therefore *NG* occupies a middlebrow spot as an educational cultural artefact as it is positioned near neither high culture nor mass culture on the spectrum of consumptive spaces of culture. Neither high art nor trashy tabloid, *NG* has a treasured place in American culture and is a respected cultural icon. No other popular magazine has the cultural legitimacy *NG* has (Lutz and Collins, 1993). This legitimacy has been achieved by continuity in the style, format and appearance of the magazine, its connections to the state as a source of reliable information for maps, national identity and its scientific focus. Perhaps the most iconic measure of the respected status of the magazine is its commonplace presence in waiting rooms for hospitals and doctors practices. While a symbolic outlet of popular geography, *NG* is esteemed as good taste in the magazine genre.

Read widely by generations of armchair geographers from America and around the world, *NG* has had huge influence on how people come to imagine geography. Historically the mass appeal of *NG* can be attributed to the rise of mass circulation magazines. Apart from an initial period of slow growth in the formative years of publication, *NG* has enjoyed high levels of circulation which continues into the present. Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991, 86) have labelled this “a climb without equal in magazine history”. Despite a recent general downturn in global magazine sales in the era of fast-paced information spurred on by the onset of television and the internet, *NG* is still read by millions worldwide. Emphasizing the extent of readership among subscribers the subscription rate of *National Geographic* was third largest in the United States for the magazine genre behind *TV Guide* and *Readers Digest* (Lutz and Collins, 1993). In terms of readership *NG* has traditionally appealed to a diverse range of people and groups:

“The magazine is used by schools as a teaching tool; it is subscribed to by middle-class parents as a way of contributing to the education of their children; its high prestige value affords it a place on coffee tables; its high-quality printing and binding and its reputation as a valuable reference tool mean that it is rarely thrown away, more frequently finding its way into attics and secondhand bookstores” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 2).

This quote brilliantly summarizes the legitimate place of *NG* as a source of geographic information and illustrates that *NG* is deemed a trusted disseminator of knowledge. This quote also highlights that readership of *NG* is associated with particular notions of taste and status. Typical membership of the magazine “was a badge of culture and of a certain level of social status” (Pauly, 1979, 529). As a well recognized emblem of conservative middle-class taste *NG* represents idealized aspirations of betterment through education and taste as a middlebrow magazine. This section has attempted to situate the particular style of geography celebrated and reproduced by magazines of the *Geographic Genre*. Despite their differences *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* follow a similar format and embody the populist style of geography made famous by *NG* during the last 120 years.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This final section of this chapter takes into consideration the methodological elements of research into the geographic imaginations of nationalism in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* in the period 1995-2004. One resonant theme which should be evident throughout this thesis is that the study of popular culture (in particular magazines) serves as an important subject area for research by human geographers. Popular culture can refer to several things; namely television, film or magazines. “To understand how people are acculturated to a particular set of views...one should look first to television, film and mass circulation photographs in magazines and textbooks for their content and their effect on readers” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 4). This statement illustrates the significance of popular culture as a relevant field of study. As the previous section demonstrated, there has been a plethora of research conducted into the relevance of *NG* as a disseminator of geographic knowledge. *NG* is an artefact of popular culture and has been the subject of study in recent years (Bryan, 2001; Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 1994, 2007). Yet despite the interest in popular

geographies of *NG* in recent times, there has been no significant research conducted into other magazines of the *Geographic Genre*. Magazines are important producers of knowledge and should not be dismissed as irrelevant just because they are artefacts of popular culture. As Sharp (1996) has shown, magazines have the power to change how people read and tell them what to think. Magazines are an important outlet for providing knowledge, truthful or not about the world.

As explained in Chapter One, the imaginative geographies concept is a useful performative tool for depicting privileged positions of the world. Magazines are the medium through in which the *Geographic Genre* publishes popular geography and disseminates imaginative geographies of nationalism. *NG* and the three magazines selected from the *Geographic Genre*, *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all fill the role of framing our discursive expectations of what popular geography is. This is one strand of familiarity across the genre. Likewise all four magazines (*NG* included) are nationalistic but the streams of nationalism are different. First *NG* is overtly *international* in content scope, yet is nationalistic in the sense that it disseminates the rest of the world; namely exotic faraway people and places to a predominantly American audience. Conversely *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are *national* in terms of content scope; focusing predominantly on their own distinct places in the world and are published for consumption by domestic readers as the main audience. These three magazines are based on the style of geography popularized by *NG* yet have no institutional relationship with each other. It is important to recognize that while the three magazines are modelled overtly on *NG* (in terms of a style, content and format) neither is officially affiliated with *NG*. Institutional similarities with *NG* start and end with geographic style and in the *Geographic* suffix on the end of each of their titles. *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* follow a similar format to *NG* and have sought to align themselves with the successful magazine and its style of popular geography. As the previous section highlighted *NG* is a respected educational institution. Readers know what to expect from the magazine due to its familiarity and consistent style. As a performative expectation it is highly likely that the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand versions of the *Geographic* chose the format of *NG* to mimic the success it has had in capturing the essence of popular geography imagined and enjoyed by millions worldwide.

## METHODOLOGY

The process of research for this thesis has been based on discourse analysis of the selected magazines. As Barrett (1992) states, discourse analysis allows us to understand how what is said, (or in the case of magazines, what is written about) fits into a network which has its own entwined history and conditions of existence. Discourse analysis offers a methodological framework for understanding the world and unravelling the discursive forms of knowledge perpetuated through various forms of texts. In this thesis discourse analysis is the main strategy employed in framing how the selected magazines of the *Geographic Genre* disseminate particular populist visions of geography and how they operate to perpetuate imaginative geographies of nationalism to their readers. Geographers have turned to poststructuralist writers like Michel Foucault to examine how geographical knowledges have social influence on what people think and perceive the world. As Gregory (2000, 190) argues, “discourses shape the contours of the taken-for-granted world: they ‘naturalize’ and often implicitly universalize a particular view of the world and position subjects differentially within it”. The popular style of geography of the magazines of the *Geographic Genre* operates as discourse, holding the power to regulate how people imagine and consume geography. Likewise imaginative geographies of nationalism present in the magazines naturalize particular nationalistic regimes of truth about place by celebrating all the unique and spectacular aspects within the discursive apparatus of the nation.

From a post modernist perspective discourse, analysis of the three magazines of the *Geographic Genre* may be considered ‘archival’ in the loosest sense of the term. Archival work is not traditionally demarcated as *real* fieldwork. Instead the notion of fieldwork as an exploratory activity to be engaged with *away* is reiterated constantly in geographic literature (Crang, 2003; DeLyser and Starrs, 2001; Driver, 2000; Kearns, 2002; Maguire, 1998; Powell, 2002; Tuan, 2001). As opposed to conventional discourses of fieldwork as an away activity of exploration and discovery ‘fieldwork’ constituted an exploratory quest through ten years of three magazines of the *Geographic Genre* in various libraries. Yet the denotation of any form of research of published material as archival has inherent dangers. Purist conceptions of the term archive do not usually allow for published material such as

magazines to be considered as archival sources. Archival artefacts usually take the form of non-published, primary sources. Conventionally an archive is defined as the privileged space where primary records are officially consigned as raw data for writing histories (Lynch, 1999). Usually in the form of written texts, archival sources include “some combination of letters, diaries, journals, ledgers, wills, newspapers, statutes, minutes, reports and so on” (Harris, 2001, 331). Archival research is an important component of fieldwork for human geographers; in particular those of the historical strand (Harris, 2001; Lovell, 2001). Some authors such as Bradley (1999, 108) have “veneration for this notion of the pre-existing documentary collection, often housed in a purpose-built site...waiting for the sharp mind of the scholar to excise its secrets...”. Yet for others, purist definitions of archive have been deemed too narrow in convention and ignore the element of imagination.

Magazine research may be liberally termed archival when the guard of strictness is lowered. Osborne (1999) argues archives are a centre of interpretation. This notion of interpretation is a useful analogy when considering the place of magazines as artefacts. Research into the imaginative geographies of the *Geographic Genre* is archival in the sense that it is a reinterpretation of others’ work from archived sources. As Harris (2001, 333) states “archival research is a creative, personal engagement with the past”. In ascribing to this definition, the intensive study of archived magazine documents in various reference libraries in both New Zealand and Australia is worthy of being considered archival. The main research spaces for this thesis, the Dunedin City Library (CG), the National Library of Australia (AG) and Massey University Library (NZG), may be deemed archives for two main reasons. First none of these locations permitted taking the research material from their premises; in the case of the first two, the magazines were not on the shelves, but were kept hidden in collections away from the less inquisitive set of eyes. Second, archives have been relied upon for the empirical basis of this historio-cultural geography. Research of the selected magazines was conducted in these three places exclusively.

As the primary space of research in this thesis, the three magazines were approached as a plethora of interrelated texts. Each finished magazine represents a collective assortment

of textual components. Therefore to adequately conduct a discourse analysis these elements need to be deconstructed and examined separately to gauge the overall spectrum of the magazine as meta-text. At first glance texts include the written words on a page and in the case of magazines of the *Geographic Genre*, the abundance of photographs which compliment and form the dominant part of the narrative. Husni (2007, 179) partially summarizes the significance of this textual relationship stating “both text and photos work together to create communication that, if successful, will draw in viewers and get them hooked”. This statement is true when considering the role of text and photos in appealing to potential consumers. Yet at another level, written text and photographs are stylistic components of different textual spaces of the magazine. As a meta-text, the magazine is the total product of other textual elements and components. Articles, editorials and advertisements are all textual spaces (incorporating elements written text and images) which collectively inform the imaginative geographies of nationalism present in the magazines. It is these elements which form the methodological focus of discourse analysis of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* examined as the central focus of the next chapter.

To successfully gauge the imaginative geographies of all three magazines over the ten year time span, attention has focused predominantly on cover articles (written text and photographs), the editorial section, and advertisements of each issue.<sup>10</sup> The narrow focus on cover articles as the prominent textual space has been selected for several pertinent reasons. First, cover articles are the flagship story of an issue and are advertised on the cover for this reason. Covers are of paramount importance to magazine publishers as the imaginaries of cover articles reflect the explicit interests of the publishers as they seek to attract readers by the images or stories depicted on the glossy front page. As Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991, 363) argue, “publishers seek headlines, graphics, and logos likely to catch the eye...”. Along with the magazine title itself (Husni, 2007) cover stories are the primary means in capturing the imagination of the reader. Readers are drawn to magazines by the images and promise of intriguing cover articles depicted on the front cover. Second cover articles have been selected for the sake of scope and scale.

---

<sup>10</sup> Editorials and advertisements are examined in thorough detail as situated artefacts in Chapter Four.

Examination of every article in the three magazines during the ten year period would have been beyond the realistic scale of this thesis. The selection of cover stories across a ten year period provides an important window into understanding and reconstructing the imaginaries of the magazine, while allowing a significant space for examining changes in imaginative geographies over time.

## CONCLUSION

Geography is imagined, produced and consumed in a variety of different ways. The purpose of this chapter has been to illustrate the divergence between academic and popular approaches to geography; and in relation to the wider thesis, indicate how geography has been imagined and consumed as popular subject during the twentieth century. The significance of geographic styles is none more evident than through the divergent nature in which geography is produced by academics on the one hand, who disseminate geography to largely in-house audiences, and on the other through popular geographic magazines like *NG* which seek to promote geography as fun and accessible to mainstream audiences. Conceptually this thesis is concerned with the discursive style of the latter, which in style and content has been mimicked by magazines of the genre throughout the twentieth century; first by *CG*, and more recently by *AG* and *NZG* in purveying a populist brand of geography. These three magazines are similar in format and style to *NG*, yet as is shown in the next chapter through the lens of a national narrative and content, the geographical imaginations they embody are strikingly dissimilar.



## CHAPTER FOUR *Situating the Magazines*

### INTRODUCTION

With the theoretical context of the research established in the previous two chapters, attention turns to the magazines. As Chapter Three illustrated, there are profound differences in the ways geography is produced, consumed and imagined. *NG* is the most famous purveyor of the popular strand of geography, but is by no means the definition of geography. Geography means many things to different groups. Geography may be considered an academic discipline or popular subject. The popular geographical imaginations that the three selected magazines of the *Geographic Genre* produce are alien to academic geography, but are accessible to mass audiences. After formally introducing *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* the chapter is divided into two parts which focus on unravelling the relationship between the nationalistic narrative and the geographic style of the magazines. This relationship occurs on two levels. The first section examines the extent to which the producers of the individual magazines are themselves responsible for the national narrative of each magazine. The lens of nationalism, while shared by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is in fact a space for separate magazine agency. Finally the chapter concludes by pressing the notion that the magazines informally conform (with no institutional instruction) to certain homogenized journalistic styles and pursue particular themes of geographical enquiry as produced by other magazines like *NG* as purveyors of the *Geographic Genre*. The style of the magazines is reflective of the *Geographic Genre*, yet the lens of nationalism is representative of the three individual magazines and is a product of their authors.

### THE MAGAZINES

Before engaging with styles and themes it is necessary to provide brief histories and details of the three selected magazines in situating their place in the wider *Geographic Genre*. As a starting point all three magazines are national. That, is they all use their

nation-state prefix in their respective titles which can be appropriately measured as being respective of their status as magazines oriented to place. This is in contrast to *NG*, which although American with the same geographic suffix, has become increasingly international in its scope and content in presenting the world to Americans. The three magazines examined in this thesis are important to the study of national identity across the individual countries because unlike *NG*, they each pursue geographical inquiry in issues related to home rather than away. And in celebrating home there is a distinct focus on the 'faraway of the local', the 'esoteric' rather than the 'everyday'. These magazines celebrate the best parts of the nation, which are often the most obscure. One detail must be stressed: all articles in the magazines were related directly to place - Canada, Australia or New Zealand, or the people that inhabit these places - Canadians, Australians or New Zealanders. Emphasizing this point all three magazines are targeted at domestic rather than international audiences. These magazines are easily accessible in their country of origin, therefore the widespread dispersal of parochial national geographic imaginations is within the realms of possibility<sup>11</sup>. The most significant element of similarity between *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is through the geographical imagination of the nation. All three magazines celebrate the nation and national identity through the positive demarcation of difference, most notably uniqueness. Uniqueness is deemed an intrinsic feature of national identity. The most common method of celebrating distinct national identity across the three magazines occurs through the demarcation of difference through positive place promotion. In celebrating the nation, each magazine employs different methods yet, at different points in the ten year period examined all three magazines incorporate all aspects.

The geographical lens of nationalism forms the research basis for Chapter Five which addresses the methods to which *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all explicitly promote the spectacular

---

<sup>11</sup> All three magazines are available through either subscription or can be found in bookshops, magazine outlets and selected supermarkets in their respective countries. Note that for several years (as a badge of exclusivity) *AG* was available only to members of the Australian Geographic Society. Dick Smith gave the reason for the change from retail sales to exclusive AG Society membership as "some of the issues of the journal cost more to produce than others...when we supply the journal to retail outlets, people who have no commitment to or even interest in our aims can buy a single issue because a single article appeals to them. This leads to the most incredible waste, because unsold copies are normally destroyed by the distributor when the new issue comes out...with our "members only" policy...we will know exactly how many copies to print of each issue so there will be less waste, giving us more money to put into the important causes that the Society supports" (Smith, 1988, 14).

*uniqueness* of their landscapes and wildlife. This theme of uniqueness marks a significant departure point for popular geography from academic geography. In academic geography uniqueness (in terms of landscape) is more likely to refer to earth forming processes and the regional approach to geography rather than features of beauty in relation to landscape scenery. This is closely related to a second lens, *national identity* incorporating people, culture and the celebration of the nation through banal and explicit forms of nationalism. The central significance of these interrelated geographical imaginations is the ubiquity of nationalism promoted through these themes, its resonance in all three magazines and the way that these narratives are naturalized. While there are some differences in the ways national identity is portrayed and celebrated across each publication, there is shared resonance in the promotion of the nation.

The othering of Canada, Australia and New Zealand by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* operates in contrast to Said's (1978) notion of the concept. While Said (1978) argued imaginative geographies were created to demarcate the Orient as other and inferior to Europe, all three magazines 'other' their nations through the performance of self promotion. Uniqueness is socially constructed to be an asset not a negative connotation. Comparisons of the concept of othering of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* can be made with *NG*, yet their imaginaries are different. All four magazines seek to portray unique places as other but through different lenses. *NG* is a primary means for United States citizens to receive images and information about the outside world (Lutz and Collins, 1993). Historically the magazine has portrayed other peoples and places as different and inferior to western culture from an outsider's point of view (Americans depicting foreign places and peoples to an American audience). Conversely the authors of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* portray their nations as unique in a positive manner to the rest of the world from an insider's perspective (Canadians, Australians and New Zealander's depicting their own people and places to themselves and the rest of the world). These magazines are concerned with othering as a form of self promotion for their place of origin, and this occurs differently to *NG*.

## MAPPING (*NATIONAL*) GEOGRAPHIC IMAGINATIONS

Despite all three magazines sharing a national geographical imagination in the period 1995-2004, there are differences in the ways geography is presented. As previously mentioned, all three magazines showcase two dominant national themes which are examined in detail in the next chapter; the celebration of unique landscapes and wildlife, and second the celebration of people and national identity. All three incorporate these privileged aspects of the nation but on different scales. As a first main point of difference, *AG* and *NZG* are most similar in the way they explicitly sell their countries to their readers through the first lens of uniqueness and difference in terms of landscapes and wildlife. *CG* also celebrates these themes but not as exclusively. For example there are noticeable differences in the way wildlife is represented, reflective of the different physical geographies of the three countries. Sharing a border with the United States, Canada has fewer distinctively Canadian native species, yet Australia (as a continent) and New Zealand (as a group of islands) are surrounded by ocean and therefore are home to an endemic of distinctively native species.<sup>12</sup> In *AG* and *NZG*, wildlife articles focus on native or iconic species, yet in *CG* wildlife articles tend to focus on more symbolic rather than native species for this reason.

Another notable difference in the magazines is the diversity in national themes explored in cover articles. *CG* is more diverse in the types of themes covered in representing Canada. Not as overtly celebratory as *AG* and *NZG*, or as fixated upon landscapes and wildlife, *CG* regularly promotes articles of national interest on its front cover; incorporating a plethora of themes directly related to Canada and Canadians. Prevalent issues covered during the ten year period include articles celebrating indigenous culture and national unity, extreme Canadian weather events, the environment and sustainable energy. Likewise despite a predominantly landscapes and wildlife cover article focus, *NZG* diversified significantly in its cover outlook in the early years of the twenty-first century with more articles related to national interest themes such as the Catholic Church, milk, and sustainable energy. *AG* on the other hand did not deviate from the tried-and-

---

<sup>12</sup> Bio-geographic isolation means that New Zealand has no native mammals (apart from bat and marine mammals such as seals and dolphins) while Canada has an abundance of four-legged native mammal species.

true landscapes and wildlife theme of its cover articles. One theme that was ever present across all three magazines however, was the central narrative of national sentiment, whether overt or covert in its placement.<sup>13</sup>

### *CANADIAN GEOGRAPHIC*

The oldest of the three magazines, *CG* first went to print in May 1930 as *Canadian Geographical Journal* and is the publishing outlet of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society (RCGS) formed in 1929.<sup>14</sup> With such a distinguished history the lens of the magazine has fluctuated between national and international issues.<sup>15</sup> Published bi-monthly, two editors served *CG* during the ten year period in question. Ian Darragh (1989-1995) served the first five issues of the period examined and was succeeded by Rick Boychuk (1995-) who remains editor to the present.<sup>16</sup> The large production team includes the editor, managing editor, assistant editor, art director, senior editor, cartographer, photo editor and several other editors along with a publisher, society membership staff, advertising staff and the remainder of the production team. Articles and photographic essays are compiled by freelance contributors, though editorial staff regularly provide articles and columns for the magazine. During the time period examined, each issue of *CG* included four to five main 'feature' articles under topical subheadings such as 'wildlife', 'environment' or 'people' covering around 60 percent of the 100-120 pages of each issue. Of the three magazines *CG* had the shortest average cover article length (11.4 pages) compared to *AG* and *NZG* with a relatively large gap between the longest (23 pages – Struzik, 2002) and the shortest article (5 pages - Lynch, 2000). Figure 1 maps the average length of cover articles across the ten year period. Alongside articles were regular 'departments' including *Editor's Notebook* (editorial), *The*

---

<sup>13</sup> Despite the dominant display of national content in the three magazines, there were cover articles in both *CG* and *NZG* which deviated from the two aforementioned geographical imaginations. Rogue articles about cars (*NZG*), aero planes, houses and cities (*CG*) do not fit in with the idealized and celebrated lenses of people, wildlife and landscapes which are the celebrated geographical imaginations of nationalism pursued by the three magazines. Yet they are passable as national purely for the fact that they either are celebrated as part of the national fabric, or are related in some form national identity, the theme of Chapter Five.

<sup>14</sup> *Canadian Geographical Journal* changed to *Canadian Geographic* in 1978 The RCGS was modelled on the NGS (National Geographic Society) (Darragh, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Throughout its distinguished history *CG* evolved from a magazine international in scope during the first 50 years of publication to a more national magazine in the last 25 years (Roy-Sole, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> Present editor as at September 2008. Incidentally Rick Boychuk is only the seventh editor of the magazine in its entire print history (Society News, 1995).

*Inside Story* (RCGS news), *Contributors* (notes from magazine contributors), several news pages with titles such as *Discovery*, *Exploration* and book reviews. One relatively recent addition to the magazine is the *Annual Environment Issue* (1996- ), a once-yearly issue devoted entirely to the environment and conservation in Canada. This annual issue signifies the increasing environmental focus of the magazine in the last decade.

### AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHIC

Launched in 1986, *AG* is the brainchild of Australian entrepreneur, philanthropist and adventurer Dick Smith and is supported by the Australian Geographic Society (AGS) formed in 1987. As a privately-owned organization, *AG* has operated a complex (and confusing) hierarchal staff structure, (unlike *CG* and *NZG* which are simply centred on the editor and publisher). Interestingly one unique feature of the publication is its self prescribed status as a *journal* rather than magazine. This reflects the desire of Smith (1986, 12) to create a publication that is “not just a journal but an inspirational part of Australia itself”.<sup>17</sup> In terms of content and style Smith (1993) unashamedly acknowledges that *AG* is modelled on *CG*. For many years Smith had direct editorial control over the content of the magazine, yet in recent years he has stood back and remains chairman of the AGS.<sup>18</sup> During the period in question the head role of the magazine has been served by three individuals Dick Smith (1986-1995), Howard Whelan (1995-2002) and Terri Cowley (2002-2004) under the various guises and roles as either ‘publisher and editor-in-chief’, ‘executive director’ and ‘managing editor’. Other important figures in magazine production team include the managing director, production/creative director, art director, and the director of cartography; all accompanied by an extended production team. Articles in *AG* are commissioned by in-house writers and photographers and undergo an internal peer-review process. This stance was established by Smith (1987, 14) who states “we’ve found that commissioning work is the only way we can achieve the quality and accuracy we demand for AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHIC”. As a magazine of the

---

<sup>17</sup> For all intensive purposes *AG* is referred to as a magazine in this thesis rather than journal.

<sup>18</sup> Traditionally in *AG* the head of the magazine has written *While the Billy Boils* (the provocative editorial piece featured directly after the contents page) while the editor has contributed *On the Wallaby* (an editorial piece outlining the main features and introducing the authors of the issue featured directly after AG Society News). During the period in question in this thesis Whelan and Cowley held the main editorial mantle, though Smith remained a key figure as the contributor of *While the Billy Boils* until 1999.

*Geographic Genre* there is strict emphasis on producing quality. Smith (1989) argues the use of commissioned work, though more expensive and time consuming over contributory pieces is one reason for the success and quality of *AG*. Furthermore “the decision to remove the journal from retail sale...allows us to concentrate our circulation and our full attention on our members, who are committed to our aims, and avoid the waste of copies left unsold” (Smith, 1988a, 14). Published quarterly each issue of *AG* usually includes six ‘feature’ articles which (of the 120-130 pages per issue), has historically accounted for 65 percent of the available magazine space. The average length of cover articles in *AG* was 15.6 pages with a large range in length between the shortest articles (8 pages – Croker, 1997) and the longest (24 pages – Whelan, 1996; Curl, 1997; Meredith, 2000). Complimenting the feature articles in *AG* were regular departments including *While the Billy Boils* (provocative notes from the publisher), *On the Wallaby* (editors notes) *Members Mailbag* (letters to the magazine), an opinion page *Opinion* and several pages devoted to news; *AG Society News*, *Corroboree* and *Adventure and Expedition News*.<sup>19</sup> Unlike *CG*, which only published articles on Canada during the ten year period, *AG* (through the AGS) has funded expeditions to faraway places such as Antarctica and Chile. Finally, not simply a magazine enterprise, *AG* has branched out into retail operating 70 stores under the title *Australian Geographic Shop* since the early 1990s.

### NEW ZEALAND GEOGRAPHIC

The most recently established of the three magazines examined, *NZG* was first published in 1989. Unlike *CG* and *AG*, *NZG* is not affiliated with a geographic society.<sup>20</sup> From its inception until 2001, *NZG* was published quarterly, while from 2001 onwards the magazine has become a bi-monthly publication. Conceived in early 1988 when John Woods, then publisher of *New Zealand Adventure* magazine approached Kennedy Warne and suggested New Zealand should have its own geographic magazine, *NZG* is based on other successful geographic magazines. “Australia has a *Geographic*. Canada has a *Geographic*. There’s *National Geographic*, of course. Why don’t we start a *Geographic* for

<sup>19</sup> In 2002 “While the Billy Boils” was removed leaving “On the Wallaby” as the sole editorial piece.

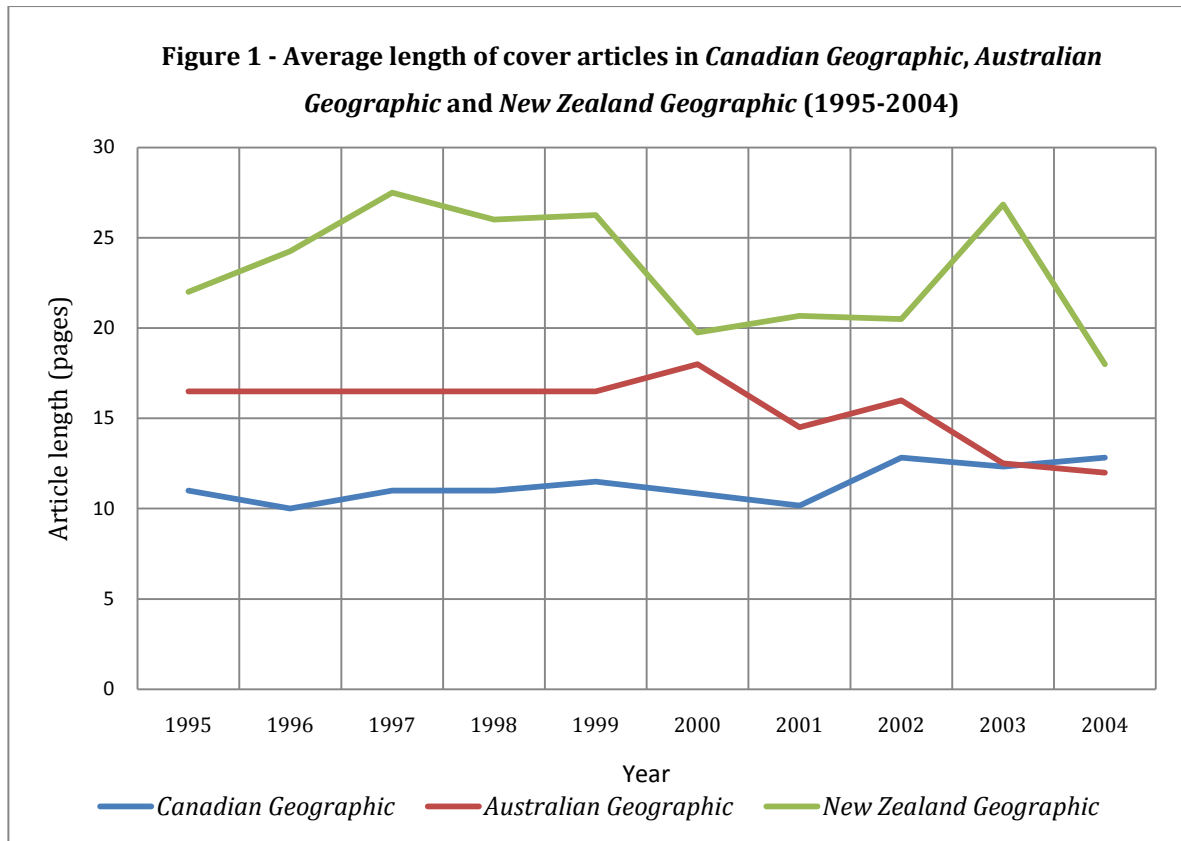
<sup>20</sup> In 2008 *NZG* unveiled details of the formation of the *New Zealand Geographic Trust* (NZGT) with the goal of “promoting New Zealand’s natural and cultural heritage” (Frankham, 2008, 8). In the same issue NZGT aligned itself with four other geographic societies (Australian Geographic Society, Africa Geographic Society, Canadian Geographic Society and Royal Geographical Society) in making a joint statement on climate change.

New Zealand” (Warne, 1999, 10). During its relatively short history three editors have guided the magazine, Warne (1989-2004), Warren Judd (2004-2008), who was Warne’s deputy and most recently James Frankham (2008- ). For a brief period in 2004 *NZG* went on an imposed hiatus due to liquidation. It was at this time Judd assumed editorship from Warne. As the smallest magazine of the three (in terms of subscription and budget), *NZG* has historically employed a relatively small editorial staff including editor, deputy editor, art director and web designer along with an extended production team. Like *CG* freelance contributors provide the majority of articles and photo essays in the magazine with regular articles also compiled by editorial staff. Each issue usually contains four to six main articles covering (on average) 60 percent of the total 120-130 pages of the magazine. Considerably longer than *CG* and *AG*, the average length of cover articles in *NZG* (23.1 pages) was a standout point of difference between the magazines. Yet despite this there was vast difference in length between the longest article (48 pages – Scott, 1997) and the shortest (9 pages – Caldwell, 2004). Like the other two magazines, the articles were part of a series of texts within the wider publication, which also included regular features such as the aptly titled *Editorial*, *Letters*, *Viewpoint* and *GeoNews*. Unique to *NZG* is the appointment of a patron. Sir Edmund Hillary served this role from 1989 until his death in 2008. Although none of the magazines are commonly international in their coverage, *NZG* and *AG* published articles on Antarctica while the former also extended its coverage to the wider Pacific region.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Until the 1958 Antarctic Treaty, New Zealand and Australia had territorial claims on parts of Antarctica.

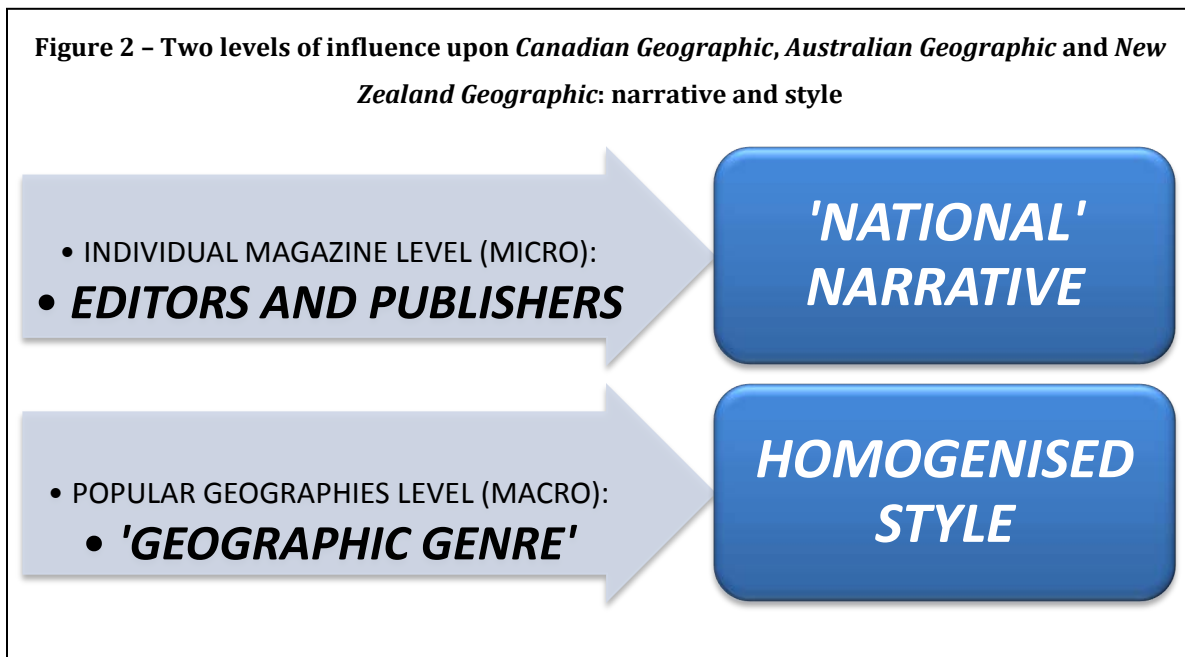




### **SITUATING THE MAGAZINES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GEOGRAPHIC GENRE: NARRATIVE AND STYLE**

The similarities of national narrative, style and production between the three magazines are by no means accidental. There is a complex correlation between the shared geographical imaginations of nationalism present in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* and the stylistic conventions of the *Geographic Genre* adopted by the three magazines. In establishing that these elements and processes are not natural, it is necessary to pinpoint ownership of their narrative and style. It is necessary to acknowledge the powerful role of the magazines and their creators themselves in constructing a national narrative on one level, while at another level recognize that these magazines implicitly adhere to the rigid stylistic conventions of the genre. Yet in demarcating such a relationship it is imperative to reiterate that there are no institutional links between any of the magazines selected here, or from the wider genre. This form of relationship discussed here is indicative of

similarities rather than formal bonds and is illustrated in diagrammatic form in Figure 2. Here it is proposed that at the level of the individual magazine (micro level) the national narrative of each publication is the creation of the authors of the magazine, most notably the editors and publishers reflecting wider national discourses. These influential figures are responsible for the content and direction of the magazine. This is the main space of agency. Conversely *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are constrained by certain performative expectations, conventions and themes at the popular geographies level (macro level) as magazines of the *Geographic Genre*. Adherence to stylistic elements of the genre is reflected in the homogenized style of the three magazines.<sup>22</sup> The definition of imaginative geographies by Gregory (2000, 372) as the “representations of other places – of peoples and landscapes, cultures and natures – and the ways in which these images reflect the desires, fantasies and preconceptions of their authors” operates as a useful theoretical reference point when positioning this relationship between narrative (agency) and style (structure) in the production of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. The remainder of this chapter explains this interesting correlation in more detail and situates the shared similarities.



<sup>22</sup> It must be noted however that neither of these processes operates independently to the other because in the first instance these magazines are not identical and secondly the identification with a *Geographic Genre* is not fixed as an entity. The *Geographic Genre* is in fact a social construction and is a geographical imagination in its own right.

### *INDIVIDUAL MAGAZINE LEVEL: EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS - NATIONAL NARRATIVE*

The narrative of nationalism across *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* stressed in this thesis is indicative of the producers of each magazine. All three magazines purvey two dominant lenses; the first (and most dominant) is nationalistic, and the second is promotes adventure and discovery. These are visible most explicitly through the words of the editors and publishers in indicating the geographical aims of their magazines. The role of the editor is to represent the publisher's interests (Somerville, 1997). As the dominant agents of each magazine, the editors and publishers exert collective influence over the prospective direction of the publication. As mentioned in Chapter One, imaginative geographies reflect the desires of their authors and the positionality of the viewing subject and over time become sedimented to form a self-reinforcing archive. The notion of power is most evident in the nationalistic prose of the editors and publishers of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. All three magazines share a national content and narrative focus. Yet this feature is the individual creation of the magazines as separate entities.

Of the three magazines, *AG* is most overtly nationalistic in its narrative and broad aims reflective of the views of founder Dick Smith.<sup>23</sup> From the outset Smith (1986, 12) instilled a nationalistic sentiment to the magazine. "It's been a dream of mine for many years to produce our own geographic magazine that shows Australia in a positive way... [and] inspires our young people to share in the great adventure of being Australian". This desire is reflective of the celebratory nature of the magazine for all things Australian – landscapes, wildlife and people during the ten year period examined. Most explicitly national "AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHIC is proudly Australian - that's why every article is about Australia or Australians" (Smith, 1986a, 14). In terms broad aims, the magazine is all about promoting Australia in a positive fashion. The main aims are listed as:

- Producing informative and entertaining articles about Australia and Australians
- Offering encouragement and support to Australian adventurers
- Offering encouragement and financial support for research into Australia's flora, fauna and the environment
- Recognising achievements in Australian technology

---

<sup>23</sup> Most explicitly nationalistic relative to the types of nationalism outlined by Billig (1995).

- Encouraging Australian writers, photographers and artists to excel
- Maintaining a positive, enthusiastic editorial stance (Smith, 1986b, 13).<sup>24</sup>

Complimenting the national aims of the editors and publishers of *AG* is the innate lens of adventure and discovery. Smith (1986c, 14) states what makes *AG* different from other publications is that “we are trying to encourage a spirit of excellence, a spirit of adventure and discovery”. As part of the magazine subscription *AG* pledges to guarantee \$100,000 per year to the Scientific Research and Expedition fund (which later became AGS) aid in this goal (Smith, 1986).<sup>25</sup> Reasons for this support are declared triumphantly. Smith (1990, 6) states “we support adventurers and run articles on their achievements because these activities inspire us all. Most Australians know they’ll never be able to sail around the world or climb Mount Everest, but they are inspired by those who do”. The celebration of adventure is engrained within the fabric of the magazine as part of distinguished Australian national identity. Reinforcing these complimentary lenses Whelan (1999, 6), in his first issue as magazine publisher, states the importance of offering “a positive view of Australia and promote the spirit of adventure, especially among the young”.

To underline the ideals of the editors and publishers *AG* has published letters of support by influential Australians and other well known international identities such as Sir Edmund Hillary and Sir David Attenborough. The publishing of these letters has reaffirmed and supported the lenses of nationalism, adventure and uniqueness. For example then Australian Prime Minister Robert J. Hawke (1986, 16) indicated his pleasure at the creation of a distinctly Australian geographic magazine for garnishing national identity. “AUSTRALIAN GEOGRAPHIC will enable all Australians, as well as people elsewhere in the world, to better understand and appreciate the magnificence of this country and the abilities of the people who inhabit it”. Meanwhile the celebration of uniqueness is endorsed by world famous wildlife celebrity Attenborough who states “Australia seems to me to be one of the most marvellous, the most varied, and the most consistently surprising countries in the world, full of fascination for everyone who has

---

<sup>24</sup> These aims are the hallmarks of *AG* and were republished by Whelan (1995) in the ten year anniversary issue.

<sup>25</sup> This research fund mimics the various *NG* research funds created to aid scientific research.

any interest whatever in the natural world. How splendid that there should be a magazine devoted to displaying its marvels..." (Attenborough, 1986, 16). Letters to the magazine operate as an ideal space for spreading national sentiment.

Like *AG*, the prominent narrative expressed in the aims for the magazine by the editors and publishers of *NZG* is national in scope. This occurs most explicitly in every issue where *NZG* is presented in the editorial information column as "The journal of New Zealand". In his first mission statement *NZG* publisher John Woods (1989, 6) stated "our mission is to explore New Zealand's wildlife and environment, our people and towns, our history and natural heritage". This routine form of deixis in referring to the national homeland is a common performance of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). Further emphasizing the national narrative of the magazine, foundation editor Kennedy Warne (1993, 6) states "from the beginning two aims have guided the magazine: To discover New Zealand; to celebrate New Zealanders". *NZG* salutes and celebrates the cultural and geographical identity of this country in every facet of geography (Warne, 1995; Woods, 1989). "In our pages you will meet people, visit places...go on adventures and read about *our* unique birds animals and plants" (Woods, 1989, 6).<sup>26</sup> Particular emphasis of the magazine is placed upon exploration and discovery of New Zealand's spectacular and unique environment (Warne, 1993; Warne, 1999a). In his celebratory book highlighting the best of the early years of *NZG* Warne (1995, inside cover) outlines what he considers as the four most important themes of the magazine:

"the geography of the country – its mountains, forests, rivers and seas; the people – both indigenous and later arrivals; the wildlife – often startlingly unique, and in many cases threatened; and realms beyond these shores – islands of the South Pacific and subantarctic, and Antarctica".

Discovery of the spectacular, exciting elements of New Zealand wildlife, landscapes and culture are celebrated aspects of New Zealand national identity and reflect the national lens of *NZG*.

---

<sup>26</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

Letters from the public in *NZG* indicate particular public desires and expectations of the magazine. Numerous letters of support state an expectation that *NZG* would be able to tell the world about New Zealand and its unique environment, wildlife and culture. Foundation editor of academic geography journal *New Zealand Geographer*, Kenneth Cumberland, a man labelled as the patriarch of New Zealand geography (Hammond, 1992) illustrated his desire for the magazine to “restore New Zealand geography to its proper place and rightful function by satisfying the ‘common curiosity’ we all have for knowledge” (Cumberland, 1989, 7).<sup>27</sup> This statement is reminiscent of his early years as editor of *New Zealand Geographer* where in reference to the place of geography in New Zealand, Cumberland (1945, 2) argued there is a “common curiosity about it [New Zealand’s] numerous distinctive parts – about the regions which have been so strongly differentiated by human phenomena”. In his letter of support to *NZG* it might be stated that Cumberland wished for the magazine to have similar philosophies to the early years of *New Zealand Geographer*; which by 1989 had a strictly academic audience and lost touch with the general public. Cumberland’s desire for a mainstream descriptive geographic journal was realised when the first issue of *NZG* went into print in December 1988.

Not as outwardly overt, *CG* also shares a nationalistic editorial lens. As the oldest of the three magazines *CG* was the first to perpetuate its national aims. When founded in 1930 *CG* was created with the distinct purpose of being a “national magazine” to satisfy the broad aims of the RCGS which are stated as “the advancement of geographical knowledge and the general diffusion of information on the geography of the Dominion” (Lanken, 2004, 157). Fast forward to the present and the magazine still operates within a nationalistic lens. This appears most vividly in the magazine’s mission statement which starts the purpose of *CG* is “to make Canada better known to Canadians and to the world” (Lanken, 2004, 157). This proclamation induces the notion that *CG* is focussed predominantly on presenting Canada to Canadians through the celebration of national pride. Further emphasising the national narrative of *CG*, Roy-Sole (2004, 14) states the

---

<sup>27</sup> Cumberland’s comments are one of only a handful made by academic geographers in the entire print history of *NZG*. Grant Anderson was also a member of the Advisory Board of the magazine for a short period while it was in existence.

magazine publishes an “almost exclusive coverage of all things Canadian”. While not as explicitly nationalistic as the other two magazines, which primarily celebrate uniqueness through landscapes, wildlife and people, *CG* is more subtle in its parochial lens.

### *POPULAR GEOGRAPHIES LEVEL: ‘GEOGRAPHIC GENRE’ –HOMOGENISED STYLE*

The national thread of the three magazines is unique in marking *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* stand as different from other magazines from the *Geographic Genre*, which are less national in their focus. Lanken (2004) lists the ‘Geo family’ of magazines as *National Geographic*, *Geographical* (United Kingdom), *GEO* (Europe), *Africa Geographic*, *Canadian Geographic*, *Australian Geographic* and *New Zealand Geographic*. As magazines of the wider genre, *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* follow certain stylistic conventions and themes at the popular geographies level (macro level) as *Geographic* publications. All three magazines seek to emulate the success of *NG* as the vendor of popular geography, yet in achieving this objective they are constrained by macro level conventions, which are in part reflective of the style and content of their magazines. Style is genre specific. The remainder of this chapter examines how *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* present geography to mainstream audiences through two main elements reflective of the *Geographic Genre*; ‘Geographic Style’ (visual and textual) and ‘Geographic Narrative’ (lens and theme).<sup>28</sup>

#### GEOGRAPHIC STYLE (TEXTS)

All three magazines emphasise certain stylistic characteristics of the *Geographic Genre*. In examining the presentation of geographic style (and in particular in situating the geographic imaginations of nationalism attention) is focussed on three interrelated textual spaces; photographs, written text and advertisements. These features are most evident as namely the visual (photographs and images) and the textual (journalistic approach to geography). Like other magazines of the genre (most notably *NG*) *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are notable for their striking visual impact. This is most evident through the presence of high quality photographs but also other forms of illustrative material

---

<sup>28</sup> The elements examined in this chapter are those elements most resembling of *NG* and other magazines of the *Geographic Genre* but are by no means fully representational of all the stylistic nuances of these magazines (*NG* in particular).

including maps and posters. Signifying their importance, all three magazines employ professional photographers and photojournalists who are either acknowledged in the credits or are listed as authors. The place of spectacular photos in *NG* has been analysed (Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007) while the role of photographs in perpetuating geographical imaginations has received recent interest (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003). What is most significant to this thesis is the situated nature of photography.

Photographs in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* operate as authored texts in themselves capturing the best bits of place in reinforcing the broad geographical imagination of nationalism expressed through the uniqueness of landscapes, wildlife people and culture. In particular 'peopleless' landscape photos generally showcase all that is spectacular about place by capturing breathtaking scenery and picturesque, out-of-the-way locations in all three countries. (Figures 3 and 4 capture the essence of the characteristic spectacular landscape photography of the magazine). Likewise wildlife photographs in all three magazines capture striking images of unique fauna in their natural habitat in a style similar to *NG*, while photographs of people (which are prevalent throughout the magazines) capture a glimpse of unique cultures and celebrate diversity. Photographs give the reader the opportunity to visit local yet faraway places, meet an assortment of different people and get up close and personal with wildlife they are not likely to see otherwise with their own eyes. Payton (2001, 43) summarises the importance of photographs in allowing the reader to witness the spectacular and the unique. "Let's face it – most people will never see a bear in the wild, let alone a grizzly". (Figure 5 depicts an iconic *Geographic Genre* style image of a wild Grizzly which Payton (2001) is luckily enough to witness in person).

The use of spectacular photographs to represent uniqueness is as equally important to the promulgation of imaginative geographies as the text itself. Photographs act to legitimate and constantly reinforce the biases and worldview of the editors and publishers. The importance of photographs as a central focal feature of *NZG* is reiterated by Warne (1993, 6) who states:



“Good pictures are windows into other worlds: a Dutch immigrant’s wistful longing for the home country, a tuatara with the look of a million yesterdays in its eyes, a haka on the beach at Waitangi where the air is thick with pride and mana. *Such pictures, supporting informed, intelligent journalism have the power to give lasting insights and memories.* This is the goal of our communication”.

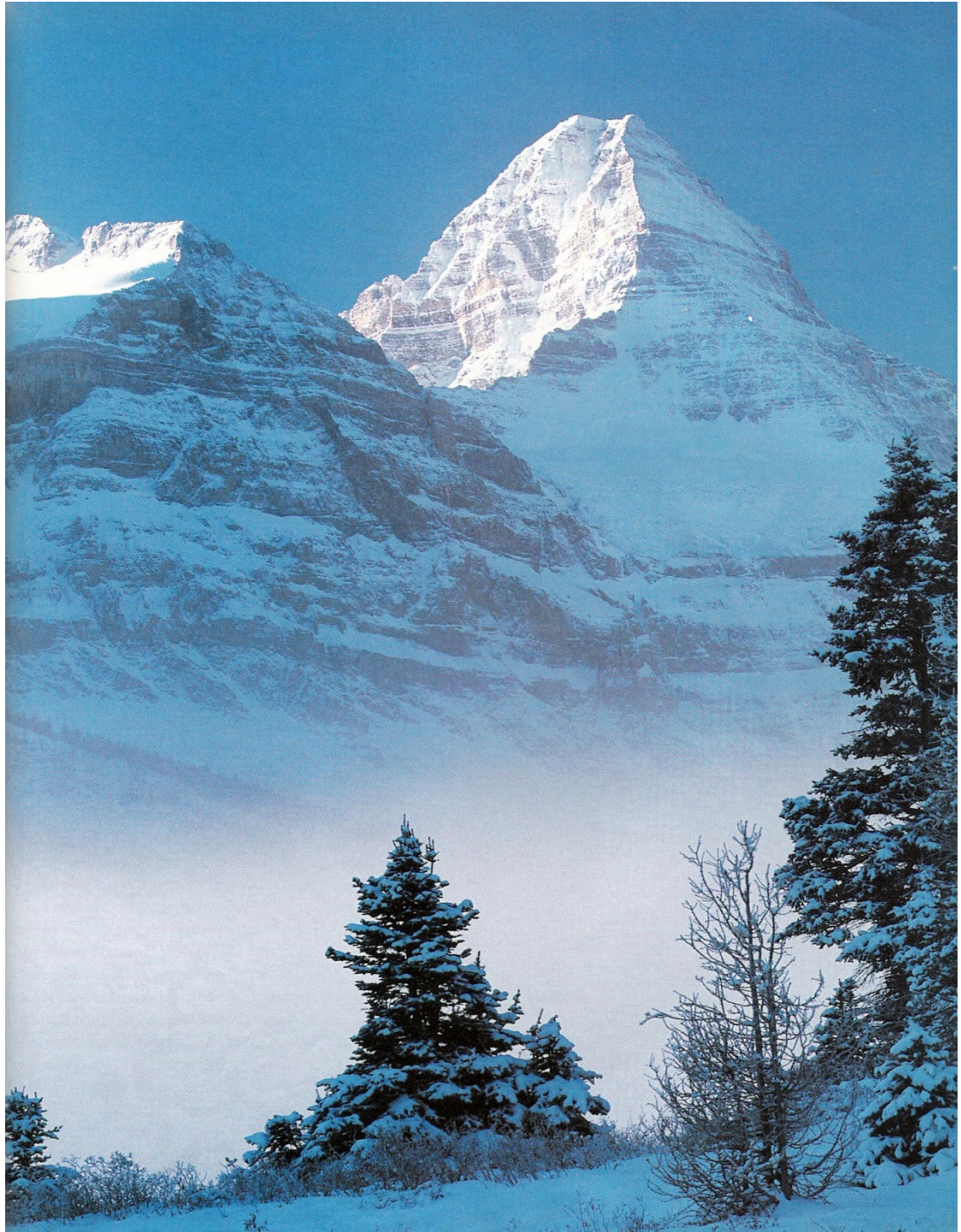
All three magazines use spectacular images to capture and reinforce poignant aspects of the nation. Photographs occupy a large portion of cover articles in the three magazines therefore their significance cannot be understated.<sup>29</sup> Iterating their importance, some cover articles in *CG* are comprised entirely of photographs with no text other than a few descriptive words to accompany the images. Over the ten year period there were no fewer than ten photo-essay cover articles in *CG* capturing landscapes and wildlife. Topics included Boreal Forests (Lanken, 1996), Canadian mountains (Lanken, 2001), Glaciers (no author, 1998), The Tombstone Range (Morrow and Morrow, 1997), Sea lions (Nicklen, 1999) and the Praying Mantis (Teyssier, 1997). *NZG* included one photo-essay - Gannets (Hosking, 2004), while *AG* incorporated no articles completely made up of photographs. Most articles in *AG* integrated an equal mixture of text and photographs though one unique feature was the accompaniment of detailed maps and posters with the magazine.<sup>30</sup> While all three magazines map space in an absolute sense reinforcing notions of place, *AG* (like *NG*) situates particular emphasis on its strong cartographic focus. Emphasizing their importance Whelan (1995, 44) states “the richly detailed maps and posters that are included with each issue are one of the hallmarks of the journal”. Posters included with the magazine, like the maps, are detailed and informative providing pictures and information on a particular place or species from an article.

---

<sup>29</sup> Early issues of academic journal *New Zealand Geographer* contained photo-essays in the 1940s and 1950s.

<sup>30</sup> This is a common feature in *NG*.

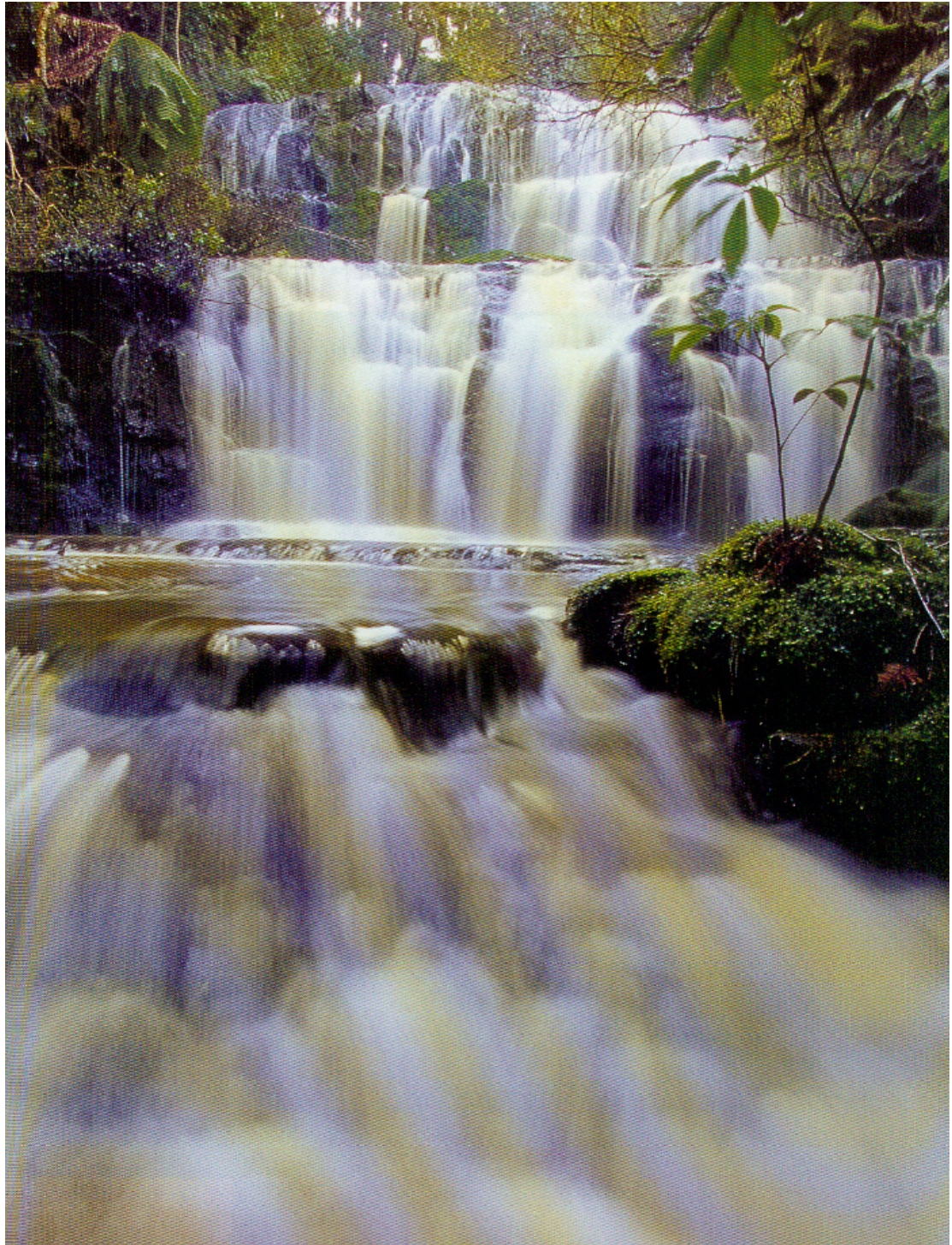
**Figure 3 – Spectacular photograph of the ‘Rockies’ Mountains - Canada**



Source: (Lanken, 2001, 45)



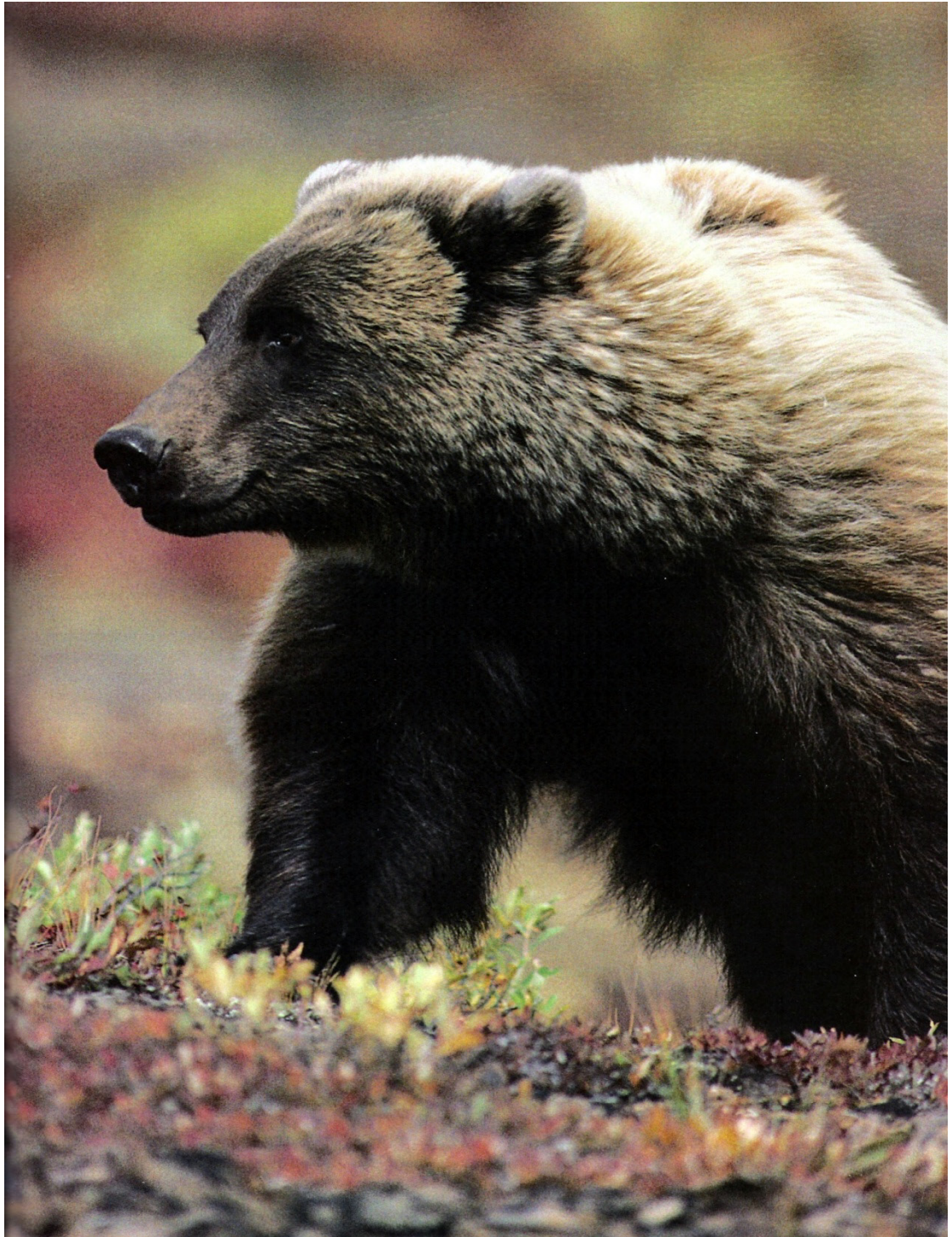
**Figure 4 – Spectacular photograph of a waterfall - Catlins Coast, New Zealand**



Source: (Jaquiere cited in Grzelewski, 2003, 41)



**Figure 5 - Iconic wildlife photo of a Grizzly - Canada**



Source: (Struzik, 2003, 41)

In terms of textual style *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* closely follow the popular journalistic conventions of *NG*. As popular magazines, all three publications are written for lay audiences and therefore are written in a style far removed from academic geography journals. In terms of written style Whelan (1995) states *AG* contributors write in the first person to express their love of Australia. This emphasizes a personal affiliation with the nation. Within articles the majority of text is dominated by descriptive language, reported speech and direct quotations attributed to interviews with people and the places visited in the articles. All articles include interviews conducted with local residents and or specialists related to the subject focus of the article. For example the use of quotations is significant in three ways. First articles are 'place' specific, reinforcing the demarcation of national spaces through interviews with locals, while secondly articles are presented in a personal manner as individual experiences and interactions with people and places. This replicates the style of *NG* which has been termed as the "classic first-person, eyewitness-account style" (Grosvenor, 1988, 90). Thirdly by including interviews with experts and specialists all three magazines are able to assert some form of scientific authority despite the fact that neither of three magazines has any association with academia whatsoever. The absence of academic geography, or even reference to the work of academic geographers, is a resounding feature of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. In terms of written style the use of reported speech is equally significant as it is presented in the tone of a journey. In all three magazines, articles record the journey of the author to 'faraway local' places to present unique landscapes, people and wildlife. This approach to popular journalism dominates and is reminiscent of what Matless et al. (2008) label conventional travel writing. Meanwhile in conveying a situated representation of place, all three magazines are devoid of political views. This does not mean they are not political, it means they just seek to display an impartial lens or apolitical stance. In the world of the spectacular and the unique it seems there is no place for controversial politics.

To illustrate the journalistic style of the three magazines it is necessary to provide evidence of their shared strategic emphasis of the personal. In particular the textual use of descriptive, figurative language and the anthropomorphising of phenomena are stylistic techniques engaged upon by the three magazines to appeal to mass, mainstream

audiences; in much the same way *NG* presents itself through written text.<sup>31</sup> Unlike academic geographical publications which are dominated by strict writing conventions, the magazine style of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* allows for more liberal use of descriptive, figurative language which is used in abundance in all three magazines. For example Clyne (1999, 54) provides a non-scientific, descriptive 'day in the life' account of a cicada in Australia. "Not much larger than a flea, he took a skydive to the ground and, buoyed by air resistance, landed unharmed in a leaf litter". Meanwhile seals spotted on the Atlantic Ice horizon in Canada are figuratively described as being "like black pepper sprinkled on a tablecloth" (Guy, 2000, 37). Referring to a helicopter Marty (1997, 37) figuratively describes how "pilot Monica Stotzer yaws a million dollars worth of eggbeater around in a tight circle". Phenomena and objects are referred to informally in nearly every article of the magazines. Excitement and colloquial language also go hand in hand. The popular outdoor pursuit of mountain biking in New Zealand is epically recounted. "Wow! Dude! That was cool! Almost hooked a tree with my handlebars. That jump was wicked, but man, gnarly landing" (Grzelewski, 2000, 80). Meanwhile the treatment of the environment by Canadians is likened to motorcycle gangs by Gayton (1997, 34) who brazenly states "we tend to arrive on new land masses like the Hell's Angels at a church picnic: unexpected, ignorant and destructive". Puns are also rampant across all three magazines. For example Wilson (2000, 74) recounts "I was a kid growing up in Victoria when I found my first gecko. It nipped me on the finger and it was *love at first bite*". Likewise water pythons are "more than willing to *bite the hand that feeds them*" (Torr, 2004, 87).

Another descriptive language technique is the regular anthropomorphizing of wildlife and landscape phenomena in *AG* and *NZG* in their explicit promotion of unique species. Creatures are given human attributes or are described as having human behavioural traits which reinforces the personal textual style, and the natural history theme of the magazines. For example in describing the behaviour of the cassowary, Grzelewski (2004, 75) states "in the wild the birds are usually shy and non-confrontational, although sometimes they still like to keep up the tough guy image". Taylor (2001, 36) provides the

---

<sup>31</sup> There is also an abundance of place related colloquial language used but this will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

most memorable (and long winded) example of the anthropomorphizing of wildlife when likening dolphin mating rituals to school rugby trials:

“Until recently, flying head butts and other aerial displays were thought to be competitive sparring displays performed by males to show their sexual prowess to nearby females. However, new work shows that younger sub-adult and juvenile males perform most of the leaping and head-butting during summer. These males are unlikely to be sexually active, so the aerial activity may be associated with establishing rank in the male hierarchy. Perhaps such displays can be compared with pre-season trials for a school’s first-15 rugby team as opposed to similar trials for a senior club side. You can guarantee there will be more interest shown by school girls in the selection of the older (though undoubtedly stronger and faster) men who play for a club. This is because the school team falls inside the female students’ peer group. The boys’ displays may be the first step to impressing a female of similar age and a way of beginning a longer-term relationship”.

This long quote epitomizes the extent to which the magazines align wildlife and their behaviours with people to personalize the articles for the reader. Yet not limited to wildlife, landscapes are also subjected to anthropomorphizing in *NZG*. Volcanoes in the Taupo Volcanic Zone are constantly referred to by Harbutt (1995, 55) in human terms and are likened to a nuclear family. “The other more sedate craters of the Tongariro range puff away and watch the younger members of the family behave badly”. Furthermore “Ruapehu is something of tweed-jacketed gentlemen...[while] Taupo is much more irregular. He’s more of a teenager who’s not sure whether he’s going to bash that old lady or help her across the road” (Harbutt, 1995, 58). Rugged volcanoes are likened on one hand to a respectable gentlemen and hostile pubescent teenager on the other. This sort of colloquial jargon would never grace academic publications but is right at home in a magazine which seeks to interpret New Zealand to general lay audiences.

The third textual space of similarity all three magazines share with the wider *Geographic Genre* examined in this thesis is advertising. All three magazines implicitly reference elements of popular culture through the text (for example movies such as *Lord of the Rings* (Scott, 2001), *Jaws* (McGhee, 2004), *The Wizard of Oz* and *Twister* (Lanken, 1996)) yet it is the deliberate placement of certain types of advertisements within the magazine which is most intriguing. As was mentioned in the previous chapter *NG*, is a magazine of

middlebrow taste and is a respected cultural icon having established its place as a respected educational magazine over the course of the last 120 years. In retaining this desired place:

“companies advertising in *Geographic* are an exclusive group, focusing on durable or luxury goods and respectable services that slightly overshoot, in terms of class status, the marketing profile of readers of the magazine. The ads are quite traditional in form – aesthetically pleasing but not gimmicky. *Geographic* photography, like all of photojournalism, must operate in an environment conditioned by advertising photography and must often respond to trends that advertising sets” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 83-84).

What this means is that to retain its middlebrow status, advertisements in *NG* must promote desirable products in a sophisticated, pleasant fashion while the exquisite style of advertisements is mimicked by photographers seeking to portray vivid and enduring images. The types of advertisements present in the magazine reflect this status while the editor is expected to satisfy marketing considerations and retain its educational and middlebrow taste status. Extensive analysis of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* has revealed a similar middlebrow advertising trend but taking the analysis one step further also has uncovered other genres of advertising leaning to the desired place of the magazines as the purveyors of a certain style of geography. Advertisements in the three magazines, while promoting class status, also reinforce the nationalistic lens of the magazines; in particular their emphasis on the spectacular in terms of wildlife and landscapes, and their ideals of adventure, science and discovery.

As the largest of the three magazines, *CG* generally devoted a greater volume of its pages to advertising during the ten year period examined while *NZG* usually had the fewest advertisements. One trend across all three however was the gradual increase in full page advertisements through the decade. Interestingly a high moral standard for advertisements was set in *AG* from the outset. “Our advertising is limited to products and services that Dick Smith would use himself or recommend to others...advertisements for cigarettes, alcohol and other unhealthy products will not be tolerated” (Smith, 1986,



14).<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile on the other hand, *CG* frequently advertised whiskies, vodkas and other top end alcoholic products associated with taste and status. Colour advertisements are universal in magazines of the *Geographic Genre* (and have been a staple in *NG* since the 1950s) reinforcing the claim that “colo[u]r has become the language of consumption” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 94). In terms of advertisement placement there were some differences between the magazines. *AG* tended to place all of its advertisements on either side of the six main articles (for example in the first and last 20 pages of the magazine), never between or within individual articles. This placement is reminiscent of *NG*. Meanwhile *CG* and *NZG* both placed advertisements throughout their entire magazines, including between and during some articles. In the case of *NZG*, advertisements placed after articles often promoted goods or services related to the subject matter of the article in question. For example, after Lambert’s (1999) article about Pukekura Park in New Plymouth, advertisements in the pages directly following showcase the *TSB Bank Rhododendron Festival* (an annual event held in the park) and tourism in the region *New Plymouth: Taranaki* as a desirable destination. *CG* included advertisements during and just after articles, but they were not usually related to the article. Instead advertised products related to the theme of the wider magazine genre such as off-road recreational vehicles like the *Toyota Rav4*. The most implicit form of advertising occurred in *AG* and *NZG* through name dropping particular products in articles, especially those recounting epic expeditions or travels. In their Antarctic expedition (McIntyre and Meredith, 1996, 101) the clothing worn by the authors was described as “full cold-weather battledress (thermal underwear, fibrepile long pants, *Gore-Tex* overpants...”.

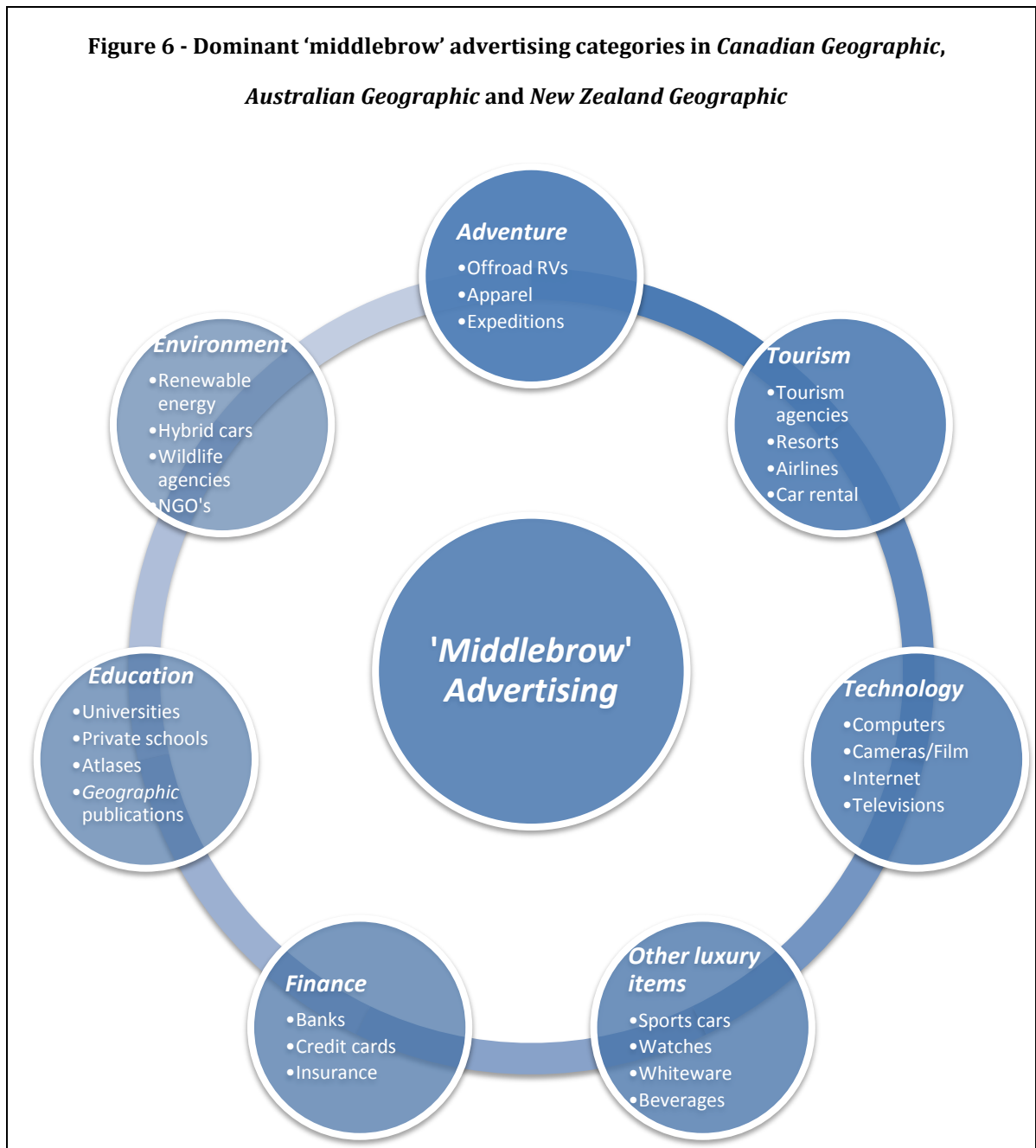
All three magazines included similar prominent types of advertisements which have been categorized for ease of interpretation. The popular advertisement categories are *adventure, tourism, technology, other luxury items, finance, education and environment*. These groups have been constructed under these headings as they best represent the dominant advertising themes of the three magazines and showcase the middlebrow values associated with the target audience and readership. It is important to note that the categories are linked representing their permeability and the ability of certain adverts to

---

<sup>32</sup> Interestingly however numerous advertisement for McDonalds appeared in *AG* during the late 1980s and early 1990s somewhat contradicting Smith’s stance on unhealthy products.


transverse multiple categories. (Figure 6 displays these categories and provides examples of prominent products and services advertised). For example *Rolex* watch advertisements fit in the luxury category as they are an expensive product epitomizing elegance and taste; yet they are also in the adventure category as the advertisements depict exploration and the outdoors as well as the elegant, yet rugged timepiece itself. *Rolex* is a signifier of taste and the outdoors lens of the three magazines. (This theme is portrayed in Figure 7).


**Figure 6 - Dominant 'middlebrow' advertising categories in *Canadian Geographic*, *Australian Geographic* and *New Zealand Geographic***



**Figure 7 – Advertisements display similar themes to the magazines themselves.**

**The narrative of adventure and luxury is captured brilliantly by Rolex**



  
**ROLEX**

*Rolex Yacht-Master. Chronometers in gold and in steel and 18 ct gold.*

**About time**

197 Broadway, Newmarket, Auckland, Phone (09) 524-6645

Source (NZG)

## GEOGRAPHIC NARRATIVE (LENS)

As with style, *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* follow similar narratives to other magazines of the *Geographic Genre*. Three thematic discourses of the genre are focused on – *exploration and adventure*, *popular science* and *conservation and the environment*. Like *NG* all three magazines are informative, educational and are supported by societies. *CG* and *AG* are supported by geographical (Canadian Royal Geographical Society) and geographic societies (Australian Geographic Society) respectively while *NZG* has recently announced the formation of the New Zealand Geographic Trust.<sup>33</sup> The role of these institutions is significant in the geographic narratives of the magazines, especially in their focus on exploration and discovery. Across all three magazines there is an underlying discourse of exploration, adventure and discovery through expeditions, fieldwork or just visiting faraway local places. As proponents of the travel writing style, all authors in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* have visited a distant location to tell a story about the place and its inhabitants.

The geographic imagination of nationalism celebrated through the uniqueness of native wildlife, landscapes and national identity in Canada, Australia and New Zealand is perpetuated and reinforced through descriptive accounts of field expeditions to unknown spaces while encounters of familiar spaces reconceptualised from a different point of view. As Warne (1993, 6) states, the twin focus of discovering New Zealand and celebrating New Zealanders has taken *NZG* on “journeys of exploration” to *faraway spaces* as well as *local places*. Importantly the notion of faraway can be both physical and epistemological. This occurs in two main ways through casual excursions and secondly more extreme expeditions. Both have the end purpose of informing the reader and celebrating fieldwork and discovery. Some notable examples of casual field excursions from the three magazines include visits to a flax plantation (Hindmarsh, 1999), the tourist hub of Kaikoura (Grzelewski, 2002) a visit to rural New Zealand to learn how pottery is made from clay (Grzelewski, 1999) an excursion to Tasmania by Reardon (1999) to go quoll spotting and a visit to a local powwow festival in Canada (Ackerman, 2004). Discovery in *NZG* may be of unknown places and phenomena or “may take the form of

---

<sup>33</sup> *NZG* announced the formation of the *New Zealand Geographic Trust* in their July-August Issue of 2008 after previously announcing the creation of a *New Zealand Geographic Society* months beforehand. This about-turn in the name is probably due to their discovery of the existence of the *New Zealand Geographical Society* which has been the main forum for academic geographers in this country since the 1930s.

looking at the familiar but seeing it in a fresh way” (Warne, 1999, 8). Yet most important to the wider genre is the endorsement of adventure, discovery and exploration by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Authors and photographers take their readers to faraway pockets of their countries (and a few other places) to keep alive the spirit of adventure and discovery.

Descriptive accounts of unique landscapes, wildlife, people and culture in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are intimately linked to exploration and discovery. Powell (2002, 263) argues “geographical discovery has been seen as the practical expression of a common view of knowledge as exploration”. Likewise Stevens (2001) states nothing is more exciting than the exhilaration of firsthand discovery after living and working for long periods of time in remote faraway places. In opposition to ‘armchair geographers’, explorers believed there was no substitute for knowledge gained from adventures into the unknown (Driver, 2000). All three magazines follow this discourse closely when providing descriptive accounts of travels to faraway places and describing unique phenomena. In an ironic twist, all three perpetuate ideals of fieldwork and discovery through their mission statements, articles and photographs, yet they are magazines for armchair audiences to ‘read’ about exploration rather than ‘do’ exploration. Magazines permit the authors, rather than the readers to experience the thrills of discovery and the (heroic) perils of fieldwork. During his epic traverse of the North-Western Territories (NWT) Struzik (2002, 52) experienced some of the pitfalls and dangers of fieldwork:

“When I’m not muscling through cold, northwesterly winds that sweep metre-high rollers along the river, I am crouching in the kayak trying to avoid lightning strikes...At least twice I am slapped with sudden gusts that flip me over”.

Likewise Torr (2003, 70) also experienced similar discomforts while searching for elusive forest dragons in far north Queensland:

“I was menaced by feral pigs and stung by ants and stinging trees, unwittingly provided sustenance for a precession of ticks, mosquitoes and leeches, and was scratched and bitten more times than I care to remember by forest dragons. And let me tell you, a bite from a large male forest dragon is not something you forget in a hurry”.

These two quotes epitomize the inherent dangers of fieldwork celebrated in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Like Maguire (1998) and Powell (2002) who both argue geographers traditionally

believed real geographic knowledge took place in the field and occurred through physical, mental and emotional experiences of unknown faraway spaces, the three magazines marvel in their own adherence to discourses of fieldwork.<sup>34</sup> Fieldwork has been defined as the real geography and “depicted as the locus of becoming for the real geographer” (Powell, 2002, 267). The three magazines of the *Geographic Genre* examined in this thesis all adhere to this mantra in a roundabout way by naturalizing these practices.

Of the three magazines, *AG* endorses the expeditionary discourse most visibly. Following the exploratory lens of Smith the AGS has funded expeditions (AG Sponsored Expeditions) in and out of Australia. *AG* sent a husband and wife team to Cape Denison, Antarctica to live in the wilderness for a year and document their experiences (McIntyre and Meredith, 1996), sponsored a kayaking duo to paddle the inhospitable Chilean coastline (Croker, 1997) and funded a scientific expedition to examine the wildlife and ecosystem of Cooper Creek in the Australian outback (Eastwood, 1998). The expedition to Chile is especially significant as it celebrates two young Australian adventurers. As Croker (1997, 36) explains “last year, 1995 *AG Young Adventurers of the Year* Eric Croker and Mark Shearer completed an epic kayaking journey down southern Chile’s coastline” along South America’s great Southern Icecap. Likewise *CG* and *NZG* embrace the spirit of exploration and discovery. Research expeditions to local and faraway places are a prominent theme in both magazines. Most spectacular are adventures to inhospitable faraway landscapes. Antarctic trips are most popular in *NZG*. Adventures of self-knowledge include tracing the footsteps of early twentieth century Antarctic explorers (Learned, 1999), and epic kayaking journey across the continent (Jones, 2001). These two articles most explicitly celebrate the heroic discourse of exploration:

“The explorers who set out to conquer Antarctica at the beginning of this century didn’t know that it was the highest, coldest, driest and windiest continent on Earth – just that it was the last great frontier, and likely to test the mettle of any man courageous (or foolhardy) enough to venture upon its icy domain...today the three [huts] that were erected on Ross Island offer mute testimony to this age of heroism” (Learned, 1999, 27).

---

<sup>34</sup> This represents the macho approach to geography which still exists in physical geography.

Meanwhile, more nationalistic in his celebration of adventure, Jones (2001, 21) recounts the hard graft of the kayaking expedition:

“Pushing through a field of brash ice, an intrepid New Zealand expedition closes in on the bottom of the world. Their goal: the Antarctic Circle. Their route: wherever wind, wave and ice permit a passage along the western shore of the Antarctic Peninsula. Their means: three fibreglass kayaks and a fair measure of grit”.

The celebration of New Zealand achievement also provided the incentive for Yarwood (2001) to visit Nepal in commemoration of the multiple accomplishments of Sir Edmund Hillary, New Zealand’s most famous adventurer. Hillary’s epic ascent of Mount Everest was an achievement that put New Zealand on the map and was one “which forever would bind the name of Hillary with the mountain and one that has come to symbolise the ultimate in endeavour” (Yarwood, 2001, 14). *CG* also celebrates expeditions to the faraway pockets of the world; most notably in an expedition to the edge of the Arctic Ice Cap (Dunn, 1999). Emphasizing the notion of ‘author in the field’ to the extreme Dunn (1999, 32) recounts “standing 1,000 kilometres north of the Arctic Circle and 1,600 kilometres from the North Pole...Our goal was to circle the eastern section of [Devon] island by ski with sleds”. Meanwhile like *NZG* kayaking was a popular adventure choice in *CG* with Struzik (2002) traversing the diverse North-Western Territories region.

The discourse of exploration and discovery is resonant in the second major research narrative of the genre; popular science. Research expeditions are framed by scientific motives. As mentioned earlier, in reference to the style of language used (descriptive and colloquial), the narrative of science in the three magazines is particularly basic and descriptive reflecting the lay audiences each magazine targets and their lack of academic affiliation. Like *NG*, which strategically occupies the spaces between science and pleasure...” (Lutz and Collins, 1993, 46) the three magazines all have a scientific flavour; in terms of their preference for scientific expeditions and the natural history theme pursued in wildlife articles. For example Archer (1995, 87) recounts his scientific research expedition to discover Platypus fossils in Argentina. “On a windswept coastal plain in Argentina, scientists seek evidence of an Australian favourite’s ancestors”. Notions of fieldwork as discovery and exploration are closely affiliated with discourses of geographies of knowledge. In their shared criticisms of this view Driver (2000) and

Heffernan (2001) both state historical demarcations of what constituted real geographic knowledge had to be appropriated through legitimate channels. For *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*, outdoor field-science, like exploration is a decisive channel of legitimacy. All three magazines promote natural science through research expeditions while so called important scientific breakthroughs are documented.

*CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all express emphasis in fieldwork as the legitimate means of garnering scientific knowledge. All three magazines seek to promote their role as educational magazines by incorporating science in their articles. This is achieved through reporting breakthrough discoveries about the unique species they frequently celebrate in cover articles and by practicing scientific research. Articles during the ten year study period with a strong scientific expeditionary flavour in *CG* encompassed a variety of research objectives including the study of erratic polar grizzly behavioural traits on the Arctic (Struzik, 2003), the effects of seal culling in Newfoundland on the food chain (Guy, 2000), the fragile ecosystem of the Prairie (Savage, 2002), and an archaeological research expedition to save totem poles (Koppel, 1996). Prominent research expeditions conducted in *AG* included a journey to save the Wombat from the brink of extinction (Eastwood, 2003), documenting the rediscovery of the lost Blue-Tongue Lizard species (Torr, 1999), an adventure to discover Newhaven; Australia's newest forest park (Grzelewski, 2002a) and an expedition to seek groundbreaking new knowledge about Great White sharks (McGhee, 2004). Meanwhile the main theme of *NZG* scientific research expeditions during the ten year period was to travel to remote parts of the country and garner new knowledge to preserve vulnerable species such as the Kakapo (Grzelewski, 2002b), Hoiho (Grzelewski, 2004), and Albatross (Warne, 2003) from extinction. Research expeditions are conducted to make new discoveries and enhance scientific understanding of the unique flora and fauna of the three countries. In his expedition to learn more about the relatively unknown forest dragon, Torr (2003, 70) argues that the quest for new knowledge is a driving force behind scientific research. "Next to nothing was known about the species, and I thought it was incredible that such a large and charismatic animal had never been studied in any depth". New knowledge about unique, iconic species is a hallmark principle of the *Geographic Genre*. The three



magazines seek to contribute to the wider pool of popular and geographic and scientific knowledge.

To assert their popular scientific flavour all three magazines include scientific terminology and describe the process of scientific research. Perrin (1998, 38) recounts the scientific techniques used in examining the once endangered Peregrine falcon. "Victor...conducted his science: banding, blood-sampling, weighing, sizing and sexing the chicks". Meanwhile all three magazines call upon experts to legitimize scientific elements of research. For example quoll researchers from the University of New South Wales analyzed "the genetics of all six [Australian] quoll species using tissue samples from museum specimens and live animals, trying to learn how closely quolls from different areas are related to each other" (Reardon, 1999, 100, 102), while squid expeditions in Kaikoura were carried out "as joint ventures by Smithsonian, National Geographic, NASA and NIWA, each with a budget of around \$10 million..." (Grzelewski, 2002, 37). While all three magazines are devoid of academic affiliation, each enlists the prior research of academics to install scientific rigour to their publication. Outdoor field-science is actively promoted as legitimate means of seeking attaining knowledge.

Reinforcing the narrative of popular science in the wider *Geographic Genre*, all three magazines present a natural history approach to science.<sup>35</sup> Most overtly this theme is evident in the proliferation of articles devoted to wildlife. Reinforcing Pauly (1978, 518) who labelled *NG* as "primarily a magazine of natural history" *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all adhere to a basic inductive natural history theme in the proliferation of articles devoted to wildlife. In terms of methodology articles are observational rather than experimental. Wildlife articles are broad in perspective, and as popular magazines, the theme of natural history is right at home in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* as opposed to academic journals. Of the three publications, *AG* is most concentrated in its emphasis on wildlife in cover articles with the majority of its covers dominated by wildlife images. In terms of wildlife, all three magazines were predominantly focused on fauna rather than flora, though there were some exceptions including articles on Flax (Hindmarsh, 1999), Seaweed (Marsh, 2002)

---

<sup>35</sup> Natural history broadly encompasses scientific research of plants or animals and is methodologically situated towards observational rather than experimental means of scientific engagement.

(*NZG*), Wattle trees (Cowley, 2001) (*AG*) and Boreal forests (Lanken, 1996) (*CG*). It is neither desirable nor practical to list all the articles and types of wildlife from the three magazines with a natural history lens.<sup>36</sup> Instead, more important, is the identification of the elements of natural history style engaged with by the three magazines. Explicitly echoing the interest in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, all wildlife descriptions include basic scientific information such as the biological classification of species and their anatomical structure. For example Ginis (2002, 44) provides the biological name of the Mantra Ray (*Mantra birostris*) and a generalized description of its features to be informative without overawing the reader with scientific facts. “A mantra has cephalic lobes – large, fleshy protrusion that sprout forward like horns from its snout; a very broad rectangular mouth at the front of the head; and a short barbless tail”. This type of broad description is common across the magazines and is reminiscent of nineteenth century natural history.

Continuing the popular science narrative, all three magazines shed some basic insight into topics of physical geography and other topics in the realm of science. For example geological histories of landscapes are included in articles on the Tongariro Volcanic Zone (Harbutt, 1995), Catlins coastline (Grzelewski, 2003) (*NZG*), Christmas Island (Curl, 1997), the Blue Mountains (Meredith, 2000), Mount Buffalo (Meredith, 2002) (*AG*), Queen Charlotte Islands (Koppel, 1996) and Earth itself (Wood, 1996) (*CG*). While engaging with field techniques from physical geography, Hall and David (1997, 113) iterate the need to core mud samples in reconstructing the past on their expedition to Mount Mulligan. University of Queensland botanist Don Butler explains the importance of coring. “The mud layers can tell us a lot about the natural history of the area, especially about how the forest may have changed...it’s possible to re-create the past by studying pollens and charcoal trapped in the mud cores”. Meanwhile Uren (2001, 50) provides a descriptive account of the metamorphous that takes place when snow converts into ice. “Metamorphosis...is the process whereby snow crystals are compressed, and the air between them expelled, to form a dense compacted material called snow ice”. Other popular scientific interest themes include meteorology and weather, with *CG* publishing

---

<sup>36</sup> Most wildlife types are listed and examined in Chapter Five.

cover articles about Tornadoes (Lanken, 1996), an Ice Storm (Harris, 1998), and lightning (Lanken, 2000). Not limited to terrestrial matters alone, *CG* and *NZG* published articles on meteorites (Dickinson, 1995) and Venus (Caldwell, 2004) respectively. The realm of popular science is a narrative of interest shared across the three magazines studied as it is with other magazines of the wider *Geographic Genre*.

Lastly all three magazines take a vested interest in conservation issues and the state of environment. This narrative is reflective of the genre. As Lutz and Collins (1993, 45) state environmental conservation has been seen “as an important topic at *National Geographic*. Of the three publications, *CG* purveys the strongest environmental conservation lens; most evident since 1996 in the *Annual Environment Issue*. This yearly volume is a forum for articles related directly to the environment or conservation in Canada. Across the three magazines particular focus is placed on safeguarding pristine natural landscapes and unique tracts of wildlife for future generations. Emphasizing the conservationist lens in the second instalment of the feature environment issue of *CG*, Gayton (1997, 33) provides a brief history of the prominent Canadian environmental conservation movement:

“The last century has witnessed the development of a remarkable movement to identify endangered birds, mammals fishes and plants, and to protect them from extinction...Endangered species grab our attention because we tend to respond, as a culture and perhaps as a species to crises”.

This ethos of conservation is most prevalent in articles concerned with the preservation of native species in all three countries though these are examined in more detail in the next chapter.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most controversial article related to conservation examined the preservation of Canadian forests through controlled burning of forest fires (Gayton, 1998). In a seemingly contradictory statement to the ideals of conservation Gayton (1998, 32) states “sometimes saving a forest means setting it on fire”. More conventionally Marsh (2002)

---

<sup>37</sup> Chapter Five illustrates the extent of the conservation narrative of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* in relation to specific native species. This species-based rather than ecosystem-focused approach to conservation is also reminiscent of nineteenth century natural history.

provides a brief description of his multi-faceted role as a Department of Conservation Officer on Little Barrier Island, New Zealand situating the importance of conserving the environment and native species. Meanwhile celebrating conservation spaces in New Zealand Warne (2003, 36) states the Snare Islands “are among New Zealand’s and the world’s – most important wildlife sanctuaries”. Likewise *AG* promotes the significance of conservation. The Blue Mountains are deemed an iconic conservation landscape for being the location “where the Australian conservation movement was born” (Meredith, 2000, 40). Tied in with the lens of conservation is the innate concern for the environment expressed most explicitly by *CG* and *NZG*. Future energy concerns arose in articles on sustainable energy (Scanlan, 2001) and wind farms (Meduna, 2002) in an effort to educate on the issue of climate change while the now extremely topical debate about global warming (Warne, 2004) came to prominence in the last issue of the magazine study in *NZG*.

## CONCLUSION

There is an interesting relationship between *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* as national magazines and as artefacts of the wider *Geographic Genre*. As this chapter has illustrated, there is a dual connection between the nationalistic ‘narrative’ and the homogenized ‘style’ of the magazines. This occurs on two levels. The producers of the individual magazines are responsible for the national narrative of each magazine as was most evident in the aims and mission statements of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Meanwhile each of the three publications implicitly conform to certain homogenized journalistic ‘styles’ and ‘narratives’ pursuing particular themes of geographical enquiry reminiscent of other magazines like *NG* as purveyors of the *Geographic Genre*. Stylistically, the magazines place particular emphasis on the visual and describe their unique landscapes, wildlife and people in a way that is digestible to a mainstream audience. Yet in terms of narrative there is shared innate focus on adventure and discovery through exploration within a lens of popular science, most explicitly natural history. In summarizing this relationship between *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* and the wider genre, the style of the magazines is reflective of the *Geographic Genre*, yet the lens of nationalism is representative of the three individual magazines and is a

product of their authors. With the three magazines situated in their own nationalistic context and the wider stylistic and narrative context of the wider genre, the next chapter examines how nationalism is celebrated in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* through the parochial representation of landscapes, wildlife, peoples and culture.

## CHAPTER FIVE *National Narratives*

### INTRODUCTION

After identifying the universal particularism between nationalistic ‘narrative’ and homogenized ‘style’ of the three magazines, the final chapter is devoted to deciphering the former to reveal how national identity is expressed as a geographical imagination through *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. As was illustrated in Chapter Four, the national narrative is reflective of the desires and aims of the publishers and editors of the three magazines. Following on from this, attention shifts to the proper examination of this national thread through extensive analysis of the national lens present in cover articles between 1995 and 2004. Most evident as a geographical imagination across *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is a distinct desire to promote an assumed identity of the nation. Divided into two sections, the chapter unravels the way national identity is entangled with the celebration and promotion of certain privileged aspects of the nation through the depiction of landscapes and wildlife, people and cultures. People are excluded from promotion in the first instance, but celebrated in the second. The first section examines the promotion of national identity through the representation of landscapes and wildlife. The proliferation of articles of articles pronouncing spectacular and unique landscapes and wildlife by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is a positive performance of othering through the demarcation of difference. The chapter concludes by framing the nationalistic content of the magazines in the parochial depiction of Canada, Australia and New Zealand through the celebration of distinct identity, people and cultures, which extends the theme of uniqueness.

The two lenses incorporate desirable aspects of the land, the wildlife and the people who inhabit the nation. There is a contrived sense of harmony in this depiction. All three magazines celebrate people without recognizing any real sense of interference with pristine landscapes and unique wildlife. The magazines offer a national discourse across the two themes, yet as this chapter illustrates *AG* and *NZG* place particular emphasis showcasing the uniqueness of their landscapes and wildlife, while *CG* is more overtly nationalistic in celebrating the nation. As Driver (1999, 210) argues, “the study of

imaginative geographies takes images seriously; it treats words and pictures as both objects of study in their own right and as clues towards an understanding of the ways in which identities are constructed...”. Reiterating the themes of nationalism presented in Chapter One, banal and hot, this chapter presents overt forms of national discourse through situated, naturalized depictions of landscapes, wildlife, identity and culture. The national lens of the three magazines is embedded as a situated and performative construction of identity and is targeted at the imagined communities of the three respective nations.

### **NATIONAL IDENTITY – LANDSCAPES AND WILDLIFE**

The national lens of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* is reflected explicitly in the selective representation of unique, iconic and symbolic landscapes and wildlife. Entangled in the national discourse, the magazines showcase all that is spectacular about the nation in terms of the physical landscape and the creatures and species that live there. Defining imaginative geographies as the “representations of other places – of peoples and landscapes, cultures and natures – and the ways in which these images reflect the desires, fantasies and preconceptions of their authors”. Gregory (2000, 372) provides a theoretical framework for delineating the situated national narratives of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. All three magazines make a point of promoting what are deemed, the best elements of their natural landscapes and wildlife, through the celebration of uniqueness. *CG* is most overtly nationalistic in celebrating iconic landscapes while *AG* promotes national identity most explicitly through its depiction of distinctly Australian wildlife species. This section illustrates that there is a particular emphasis on the positive performance of difference. *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* present idealized lenses of the world in depicting certain types of landscapes and wildlife. Therefore the three magazines operate to demarcate narrow visions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Successive articles depicting spectacular landscapes and unique and often (fragile wildlife) only tell a partial story of what is really ‘out there’. Cover articles ignore and exclude the mundane aspects of the nation but celebrate the best elements. Despite celebrating the unique elements of their individual

nations, the lenses of nationalism in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are overwhelmingly ubiquitous, contrived and by no means natural.

### *LANDSCAPES*

Promotion of the nation through landscape depiction is a resonant theme across the ten year period in all three magazines. Particularly relevant to this thesis is the interpretation of landscape representation as a *way of seeing*. This interpretation is commonly associated with Cosgrove (1984, 1) who states the landscape idea “represents a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it”. Landscape depiction is a way of structuring the world to reflect order and control through the composition of space and appropriating it as ‘ours’ (Cosgrove, 1985). As Daniels (1993, 5) argues, “landscapes, whether by focussing on single monuments or framing stretches of scenery, provide visible shape; they picture the nation...[and] particular landscapes achieve the status of national icons”. As a way of seeing *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* most explicitly celebrate iconic landscapes that are *spectacular* and *unique* as their resounding focus. In depicting spectacular and unique landscapes all three magazines produce a privileged lens of the nation representing the desires of the editors and publishers to disseminate Canada, Australia and New Zealand to their readers through a national lens. The three magazines overwhelmingly emphasize non-urban, esoteric landscapes and places out of the way. These landscapes are usually rendered peopleless and therefore unspoilt and are remote enough that the author has to undertake a journey or expedition to get there. Furthermore *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* often showcase landscapes so spectacular and remote that the only way for the reader to visit is to travel imaginatively via the magazines themselves. In terms of the popular types of landscapes represented, all three showcase pristine, rugged and or idyllic (supposedly natural) landscapes of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.<sup>38</sup> The remainder of this section highlights some of the typical places celebrated.

---

<sup>38</sup> Reigniting the argument of prominent cultural geographer Carl Sauer (1925) the landscapes presented by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* cannot be considered natural in the strictest sense of the word as all have been modified by humans.



The most obvious shared landscape celebration as a way of seeing across the three magazines occurs in articles devoted to rugged National Parks of magnificent natural beauty. National Parks are synonymous with *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* and epitomize the spectacular nature of landscape depiction most vividly. National Parks presented across the ten year period include Aulavik (Lynch, 1995), Wapusk (Lanken, 1996), Banff (Marty, 1997) (*CG*); Witjira (Webster, 1995), Carnarvon (Whelan, 1996) (*AG*) and Kahurangi (Hindmarsh, 1995) (*NZG*) as well as Australia's newly designated Newhaven Nature Reserve (Grzelewski, 2002a). Intrinsic National Park promotion aptly represents the theme of the spectacular and the unique. Emphasising this notion Lynch (1995, 26) states rugged Aulavik National Park in Canada "encompasses 12,275 square kilometres of wilderness, wildlife and windswept tundra". Spectacular in a unique sense Wapusk National Park incorporates 320,000 square kilometres of peat bogs, muskeg and spruce, the type of terrain which Lanken (1996, 34) argues "was not previously represented in Canada's national park system". Distinctly Australian, "Witjira National Park has a wealth of artesian water, wildlife and Aboriginal dreamings...surrounding thousands of square kilometres of Australia's most arid country (Webster, 1995, 53, 55). Significant in a symbolic sense, Banff National Park is celebrated as "Canada's first and most famous national park" (Marty, 1997, 31). Meanwhile Kahurangi National Park in New Zealand is considered unique as it does not fit into the typical definition of a national park. Kahurangi is deemed "real wilderness without a doubt, but with no fiords or white herons, Mitre Peaks or Franz Josef Glaciers, Kahurangi didn't quite seem national park material" (Hindmarsh, 1995, 108). Instead Kahurangi is presented as a landscape of innate rugged beauty worth preserving. These parks are a blueprint depicting all that is fantastic and spectacular about protected landscapes of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. There are several other shared narratives explored by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* in relation to landscape. These include depictions of landscapes celebrated for their rugged, pristine, or tranquil beauty and for being symbolically culturally significant to the nation.

Canadian landscapes representations are overtly nationalistic in the 'hot' sense (Billig, 1995), emphasising the spectacular and unique. While landscapes do not feature as regularly as on the covers of *NZG* and *AG*, there is a greater sense of attachment between

landscapes and the nation through the situated representation of rugged and pristine places in *CG*. Most visibly *CG* promotes landscapes deemed iconic and distinctively Canadian. The boreal forests of Canada are celebrated most extensively. Parochial in his description Savage (2004, 40) states the boreal forest “remains the bedrock of our national experience...this is the iconic Canadian landscape”. Emotion is embedded within the demarcation of specifically local places deemed significant in the production of identity. Meanwhile continuing the national theme, boreal forests are celebrated for their pristine natural beauty and tranquillity and most importantly their embodiment of the spectacular:

“When Canadians speak of wilderness, they speak most often of the great northern forest – the vast tract of trees that stretch in a broad, unbroken belt between the far northern barrens and the settled southern edge. This is the boreal forest – boreal meaning northern – which occupies more than a third of Canada. It is the forest of spruce and fir and pine and tamarack, of white birch and shimmering aspen groves, of sphagnum bogs and countless lakes, of quiet streams and thundering falls. It is the ancient home of northern birds and fur-bearing mammals, of Indians and voyagers, of snowshoes and canoes, of poets and painters and mystery and imagination” (Lanken, 1996, 26).

This depiction best embodies the notion of landscapes as a way of seeing, and further emphasizes the national narrative of *CG*. Not a neutral space, the boreal forest is ascribed spiritual connotations which symbolise mystique while enforcing white-Anglo Canadian ownership of the landscape. Other prominent landscapes represented include the rugged Tombstone Range (Morrow and Morrow, 1997) numerous mountains of Canada (Blore, 2000; Lanken, 2001) and the pristine Les Isles de Mingan archipelago (Pelly, 1996). Continuing the spectacular nature theme Lanken (2001, 43) states “our mountains are, as Lord Bryson wrote, ‘the palaces of nature’”. Meanwhile as iconic and symbolic natural landmarks “mountains lend more grandeur to the landscape than any other natural feature. Rising majestically, soaring skyward, their very nature denotes prominence and impressiveness” (Lanken, 2001, 44). The emotional celebration of Canadian landscapes is a resonant theme of *CG* and is indicative of the national lens of the magazine.

*NZG* is influential in presenting what are deemed as distinctively New Zealand landscapes. Most explicit are rugged landscapes of spectacular natural beauty. Prominent examples include Kahurangi National Park (Hindmarsh, 1995), Mount Ruapehu (Harbutt, 1995), Cook Strait (Kidman, 1997), Arthurs Pass (Scott, 2001), the Catlins (Grzelewski, 2003) and Paparoa coastlines (Grzelewski, 1998) and parts of Antarctica under New Zealand authority (Jones, 2001). The Catlins region is invariably rugged. “Long neglected as a chilly, hilly backwater, the Catlins in the south-eastern corner of the South Island is coming to be appreciated for its wild coastline, lush forests and uncrowded settlements” (Grzelewski, 2003, 21). This description embodies all that is rugged and spectacular, but also renders the Catlins as a tranquil, unspoilt treasure. The ruggedness of the New Zealand landscape is entrenched with the national psyche and embodies the hegemonic masculinity of the nation (Longhurst and Wilson, 1999). *NZG* also depicts landscapes of idyllic beauty in contrast to rugged spaces. Marsh (2002, 11) promotes Hauturu/Little Barrier Island as an exemplar of an unspoilt vision of New Zealand as a pristine natural paradise from days before colonization. Adding to the charm is its close proximity to the urban civilization of Auckland. “Mountainous, densely forested and bounded by cliffs and boulders, Little Barrier Island (Hauturu) crouches in the outer reaches of the Hauraki Gulf, a relic of a wild New Zealand now largely vanished. Set aside as a nature reserve in the late nineteenth century, the island houses a matchless cargo of wildlife inhabiting an unusual diversity of forest types”. Hauturu/Little Barrier Island is significant as both a pristine natural landscape, but also a symbolic cultural landscape:

“Hauturu is many things to many people. For scientists it is most often a place of study and academic toil. Others are drawn to its lore and its Maori and Pakeha history. For conservation volunteers and seconded tradesmen the island may just be a work site...for tangata whenua it is sacred ground, the resting place of a long line of tupuna. Most visitors, however, come to experience Tane’s world – to hear and see the forest birds” (Marsh, 2002, 29, 31).

This depiction of Hauturu/Little Barrier Island reflects the multiple layers of meaning embodied in landscape interpretation as a way of seeing. Meanwhile continuing the cultural theme Scott and Roke (1995) provide a history of the symbolic Waikato River heaving with a history of conflict and contestation Maori and Pakeha. As well as being

deemed pristine and culturally significant, New Zealand landscapes also symbolize tranquillity and freedom in *NZG*:

“At the northern end of Twilight Beach is a place between two massive dunes where you can look for miles and not see any vestige of human activity except for the rotating beam of Cape Reinga lighthouse. You can find Saharian solitude in a place like this, created and defined by sand” (Seitzer, 2000, 34).

Likewise during an excursion in Canterbury Brown (2002, 80) exclaims “as the sun was setting over the Southern Alps, Christchurch’s Port Hills were, as usual, emanating their powerful aura of freedom”. In presenting New Zealand to New Zealanders the representation of landscape in *NZG* is particularly situated in providing positive lens of place promotion in relation to spectacular, rugged, and symbolic aspects of place.

Like *NZG*, the celebration of spectacular and unique landscapes is a prominent feature of place representation in *AG*. Articles promote iconic, remote and untouched Australian landscapes like rugged Cooper Creek (Eastwood, 1998), the Blue Mountains (Meredith, 2000), Mount Mulligan (Hall and David, 1997) and Mount Buffalo (Meredith, 2002). For example Mount Mulligan is “just far enough away from the main roads, and apart from the occasional bushwalker and naturalist, very few people have ever been up here” (Hall and David, 1997, 110). Emphasis of the spectacular is paramount in landscape descriptions. The Blue Mountains embrace all that is spectacular about the outdoors in a location close enough in reach for the keen adventurer, yet remote enough to deter mass tourism. Meredith (2000, 34) states the vast region encompasses:

“10,000 square kilometres of scrub-covered plateaus, spectacular gorges, deep canyons, towering cliffs, wide valleys and impressive outcrops...just beyond Sydney’s western suburbs...we were deep in officially declared wilderness defined as a large area where people can find solitude and adventure”.

This type of vivid description is commonplace throughout *AG* in promoting Australian landscapes of beauty, ruggedness and tranquillity off the beaten track. The splendour of the landscape is fondly emphasised. As Meredith (2002, 75) states, “visitors come to Mt Buffalo to gorge...on its spectacular scenery”, while Cooper Creek is endorsed as uniquely Australian “classic outback scenery” (Eastwood, 1998, 106). The demarcation and

ownership of distinct local space is an ever present theme across all three magazines. Like *NZG*, landscapes are presented as untouched and pristine in *AG*. With reference to Mount Buffalo, a local resident tells Meredith (2002, 85) that “one day when you and I are old we can bring our grandkids and say, ‘This is what the bush was like when I was a child and when Captain Cook found Australia’”. Not simply barren tracts of natural beauty, landscapes are depicted as being richly diverse in flora and fauna. Cobourg Marine Park is described by Moran (1999, 38) as “a place teeming with wildlife and trimmed with seemingly endless stretches of shell-strewn white beach; a place for bushwalking, fishing and photography”. This vivid account is overtly positive in its promotion of place and reads like a conventional tourism brochure; perhaps best emphasising the situated and celebratory nature of landscape representation in *AG*.

### *WILDLIFE*

The representation of landscapes in *CG*, *NZG* and *AG* is entangled with the positive promotion of the nation through the celebration of the spectacular and unique. There is a similar national narrative evident in the promotion of wildlife across the three magazines, emphasizing unique, native and symbolic species deemed iconic to the nation and national identity. Interestingly across the ten year period there is an emphasis on fauna rather than flora through articles devoted to mammals, birds, insects and marine life (often endangered or threatened species) iconic to Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Of the three magazines, *AG* is most nationalistic in its concentrated emphasis on unique species of wildlife in cover articles. Australian national identity is most explicitly reinforced through the representation of wildlife embodying Australian attributes and values. Meanwhile as was discussed in the previous chapter, there are noticeable differences in the way wildlife is represented. In *AG* and *NZG* wildlife articles focus on native or iconic species yet in *CG* wildlife articles tend to focus on more symbolic rather than native species. Iterating a point previously made, this is probably reflective of Australia (continent) and New Zealand (islands) being surrounded by ocean and therefore are home to a greater diversity of distinctively native species, while Canada is bordered by the United States and would therefore have fewer distinctively Canadian native species.

The depiction of unique Australian wildlife is the most prevalent performance of hot nationalism in *AG* across the ten year period. Cover articles devoted to wildlife frequently focus on native species symbolic to Australia and Australians. Prominent iconic species that graced the front cover include the Platypus (Archer, 1995), Emu (Eastwood, 2000), Tasmanian devil (Grzelewski, 2003a), Bluetongue lizard (Torr, 1999), Rock Wallaby (Torr, 2000), Cicadas (Clyne, 1999) and the Magpie (Drayson, 2002) while Cowley (2001) published an article on the symbolic Wattle tree.<sup>39</sup> Of these species only the first five are actual Australian natives. The rest are depicted by *AG* as being synonymous with Australia. Emphasizing the collective ownership of Australian species by Australians Archer (1995, 88) states the platypus is iconic as “it’s always been a uniquely Australian symbol” while Cowley (2001, 85) claims “the wattle has been such a powerful symbol for Australians”. Meanwhile most parochially, Eastwood (2000, 36) declares the Emu as a distinctly Aussie bird by claiming it as *ours*:

“As the kiwi is for New Zealand, the emu is our avian ambassador: an animal so unidentifiably Australian it was the obvious choice for the national coat of arms...It’s an adaptable battler...athletic...as tough as the country it lives in”.

The emu is celebrated due to the fact it is an icon but also due to its uniqueness. As Eastwood (2000) states the emu is the second-largest bird in the world and is distinctly Australian. Ownership is a significant feature of other unique species such as the Bluetongue lizard which are “among *our* best-loved and most familiar reptiles” (Torr, 1999, 53) meanwhile Clyne (1999, 60) openly claims “I believe we’ve developed a special proprietorial feeling about *our* cicadas”. Some species of are also deemed an intrinsic part of the Australian way of life and are depicted as such in *AG*. Both cicadas and magpies are lavished deemed to be integral soundtracks of life in Australia. Cicadas provide “the theme song of a long, hot Australian summer” (Clyne, 1999, 63). Likewise for Drayson (2002, 45) “the song of the magpie is one of the quintessential sounds of Australia”. Unique species of Australian wildlife are represented as symbolic and are deemed an integral feature of the nation itself.

---

<sup>39</sup> These species are only indicative of the period 1995-2004. Prior to this *AG* published articles on other iconic Australian species including Echidnas (Liverani, 1987), Platypus (Hamilton, 1988), Koalas (Lee, 1991), Kangaroos (Reardon, 1992), Dingoes (Reardon, 1992) and Wombats (Reardon, 1993).

Iconic species grace the cover articles of *NZG* regularly, yet the form of nationalism is not as openly hot as it is in *AG*. Caldwell (2004a, 2) signifies the desire to promote iconic wildlife in stating “our natural history stories celebrate New Zealand’s unique organisms”. The unique wildlife of New Zealand is celebrated regularly in *NZG* with articles devoted to iconic, yet endangered native wildlife. At the forefront of this focus are avian species such as the Kiwi (Wolfe, 2000), Kakapo (Grzelewski, 2002b) Yellow-eyed penguin (Hoiho) (Grzelewski, 2004) and the southern Buller’s albatross (Warne, 2003).<sup>40</sup> Of these, the Kiwi stands out as the most iconic and symbolic in relation to New Zealand national identity. Wolfe (2000, 14) stipulates patriotic importance of the kiwi:

“Among the panoply of lions, wallabies, bears and eagles that represent their countries, the unprepossessing kiwi stands (as opposed to flies) above the rest, for no other creature has given its name to both a nation’s inhabitants and it’s culture”.

The kiwi is the quintessential national icon of New Zealand and *NZG* celebrates its place as the nation’s most recognisable and symbolic creature. Sadly, like the Kiwi, the Kakapo is iconic for the wrong reasons as a threatened species. As Grzelewski (2002b, 24) solemnly declares “no other creature in the pantheon of New Zealand’s endemic fauna has ever attracted so much attention, effort and funding, and none is more critically endangered or vulnerable”. Likewise the native Hoiho or “yellow-eyed penguin - a plucky bird which has become a New Zealand conservation icon” is also endangered, but recognised as symbolic New Zealand species through fame from television advertisements (Grzelewski, 2004, 80). The Hoiho is unique as “the rarest penguin in the world... found only in New Zealand” and is a distinctly New Zealand icon because “it is a front-stage performer in the troupe of bizarre animal characters that make this country unique” (Grzelewski, 2004, 82, 100). *NZG* promotes iconic, yet endangered species in celebrating the unique fauna of the nation in an effort to garnish awareness of the fragile nature of New Zealand’s native wildlife.

With few strictly native species, *CG* celebrates iconic and symbolic species in relation to the nation and Canadian national identity. Canada is abundant with vast tracts of wildlife therefore in the ten year period examined there are regular cover articles devoted to the

---

<sup>40</sup> As a nation with relatively few native mammals, the most iconic native faunal species in New Zealand are birds.

most iconic of species. Notable examples include the Grizzly bear (Marty, 1997; Payton, 2001; Struzik, 2003), Moose (Wangersky, 2000), Caribou (Payton, 2003), Bighorn (Marty, 2002), Golden Eagle (Marty, 2002a) and Salmon (De Mont, 2004). These species are all celebrated by *CG* as being distinctly Canadian. Most emphatically the Grizzly is promoted as a national icon by Payton (2001, 34) who states “no other animal casts a longer shadow over our subconsciousness. It [the Grizzly] is at the very heart of our concept of wilderness” even though it is not a native of Canada. Epitomizing the iconic theme, the Caribou is a national symbol immortalised on the 25 cent coin (Payton, 2003). Meanwhile as a distinctly Canadian icon Wangersky (2000, 45) deems that “the moose is a cultural symbol” of Canada. Like *NZG*, some iconic species that grace the cover of *CG* are endangered. Symbolized as a bird of freedom, the golden eagle is aptly described as an “elusive, powerful and legendary bird” yet due to its threatened status it is now protected (Marty, 2002a, 42). Likewise iconic Caribou are reported to be “staging their last stand in the Columbian Mountains in southeastern and east-central British Columbia” (Payton, 2003, 57). It is rather pertinent and reflective of the conservationist narrative of *CG* that symbolic, yet endangered species grace the cover to raise awareness of the potential threat of losing Canadian wildlife icons forever.<sup>41</sup>

All three magazines also showcase unique species not as iconic or well known as well as endangered and threatened wildlife, reinforcing the shared conservation lens of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* as outlined in the previous chapter. The promotion of other unique species which may not be deemed iconic (in the sense that they are celebrated as national symbols) is representative of the natural history flavour of the three magazines. It also indicates a pressing desire of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*, as popular magazines, to create awareness of the plight of threatened species which may only otherwise garner interest in more radical environmental (yet less mainstream) publications.<sup>42</sup> Throughout the decade *AG* published an abundance of articles on non-iconic, yet spectacularly unique Australian species. Notable examples include Desert fish (Lehane and Skipsey, 1996), Phascogales (Rhind, 1996), the Burrowing Bettong and Western Barred Bandicoot (Richards, 1998),

---

<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile across the three magazines there is an abundance of cover articles devoted to other species less nationally iconic that are also either endangered or threatened.

<sup>42</sup> It is fair to say that endangered species are given significant coverage in other environmental magazines, yet the three magazines examined in this thesis are more mainstream in their circulation.



Giant Australian Cuttlefish (Moran, 1998), Quolls (Reardon, 1999), Water Pythons (Torr, 2004) and the Cassowary (Grzelewski, 2004). *NZG* also published articles on less iconic, though distinctly local species such as the New Zealand Mantis (Walsby, 1996), native Frogs (Judd, 1998) Paua (Hindmarsh, 1998) and the Bottlenose Dolphin (Taylor, 2001), while *CG* included species like the Lynx (Marty, 1995), Sea Lions (Nicklen, 1999), Owls (Lynch, 2000) and Orcas (Obee, 2001). Many of these species outlined are either threatened or endangered.

Reinforcing the prominent conservation ethos *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all highlight a series of threats and challenges which could potentially unravel the spectacular uniqueness of the landscapes and wildlife of the three countries. Recognizing that the idealized image of New Zealand as spectacular and unique cannot be taken for granted Woods, (1989, 6) states in the very first issue of the magazine that “*New Zealand Geographic* will examine the important geographical themes of our times and the global threats to our fragile web of life”. As mentioned earlier, the use of the word *our* when referring to New Zealand (or Australia or Canada) operates as an implicit form of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) and simultaneously represents the perceived collective ownership of the nation by the magazines creators, contributors or readers reinforcing the imaginaries depicted throughout. Threats are an important part of identity formation in the creation of imaginative geographies. As well as being endangered, certain species of unique wildlife examined in *NZG*, *CG* and *AG* remain threatened by climate changes, predation, and habitat destruction by humans or a combination of all three. Many of the iconic species celebrated in *NZG* and *CG* are well known to be endangered. Yet of equal concern is the vast array of less iconic species facing less publicized challenges.

The plight of iconic endangered species is well documented in *NZG* and *CG* especially. Cover articles on the Kiwi (Wolfe, 2000), Kakapo (Grzelewski, 2002b), Albatross (Warne, 2003), Hoiho (Grzelewski, 2004) (*NZG*) and Grizzlies (Marty, 1997; Payton, 2001; Struzik, 2003), the Golden Eagle (Marty, 2002a) and Caribou (Payton, 2003) (*CG*) all highlight threats challenging the future survival of these iconic national species. However, it is recognized by Grzelewski (2002b, 29) in *NZG* that while these iconic species get

preferential coverage, there are other species facing uncertain futures. “If we can’t save the kakapo, our flagship species and number one conservation priority, what hope is there for all the other, less glamorous critters?” *NZG* publicizes the challenges facing other less iconic species of wildlife important to New Zealand, as does *AG* in relation to Australia. Iconic and non-iconic species such as native Frogs (Judd, 1998), Paua (Hindmarsh, 1998) and Bottlenose Dolphins (Taylor, 2001) (*NZG*), Frogs (Carwood, 1997), Rock Wallabies (Torr, 2000), the Leadbeaters Possum (Eastwood, 2004) and the Cassowary (Grzelewski, 2004) (*AG*) all face an uphill battle for survival in the wake of predation, climate changes and human encroachment upon their habitats. Most alarming is the close proximity of the Northern Hairy-Nosed Wombat to extinction. The precarious position of the rare Wombat is aptly described by Eastwood (2003, 73) who states:

“If there’s a cliff called extinction, you can watch half a million African elephants stampeding towards it. They have time to change course...But an Australian marsupial – the northern hairy-nosed wombat – has three of its four paws hanging off the cliff edge. There are just 113 northern hairy-noses left, burrowed under one 300-hectare strip of ancient creekbed in a small national park in Central Queensland”.

Meanwhile emphasizing concern about possible unique bird species extinctions Grzelewski (2002a, 69) states “Australia has 155 threatened bird species”, while in Mount Buffalo National Park alone there are 21 species of plants which are either endangered, vulnerable or rare (Meredith, 2002). In a nation full of diverse native wildlife these statistics are phenomenal and illustrate why the three magazines are so concerned with issues of conservation and the environment in relation to the unique and fragile species of their respective countries.

## **CELEBRATION OF THE NATION – IDENTITY, PEOPLE AND CULTURE**

The previous section illustrated the strong naturalized narrative of national self promotion evident in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* through the representation of landscapes and wildlife as spectacular, iconic and unique. While each country is explicitly promoted through these two elements there is a distinct national feel to the magazines in relation to

the identity of the nation itself. The remainder of this chapter continues the national flavour in investigating the extent to which the three magazines use banal and hot forms of nationalism (Billig, 1995) in celebrating the nation and distinct the national identity of people and cultures of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The theme of uniqueness is continued throughout the remainder of the chapter as the three magazines actively promote difference as a positive feature. All three magazines are overtly parochial in the portrayal of their nations, as is most recognisable in the national prefixes of their titles – ‘*Canadian*’ *Geographic*, ‘*Australian*’ *Geographic* and ‘*New Zealand*’ *Geographic*. *CG* is most overtly nationalistic in parochially celebrating the Canadian nation, while *NZG* and *AG* use more banal forms of nationalism through colloquial references to people, places and objects when referring to either New Zealand or Australia. Across the three magazines there is an assumed national discourse perpetuated through banal performances of nationalism reiterating the argument of Billig (1995, 6) that the “world of nations is the everyday world, the familiar terrain of contemporary times”. As a performative process, banal celebration of the nation is most relevant in relation to national discourses, although *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* also employ more parochial forms of hot nationalism in celebrating their respective nations.

#### *BANAL CULTURAL REFERENCES TO THE NATION*

To reinforce New Zealand, Australian and Canadian identity *NZG*, *AG* and *CG* use banal forms of nationalism. Prominent cultural reference techniques employed throughout the ten year period include colloquial language, the comparison of away spaces with iconic local landmarks and most implicitly through constant reference to the nation in all articles of the magazine. Of the three magazines *NZG* is most active in its use banal cultural references in celebrating the nation; while conversely, *CG* produces overtly hot forms of nationalism in its proclamation of Canada. In *NZG*, New Zealandness is reinforced most frequently through reference to elements or objects of popular culture which are recognizable for their national sentiment. Symbols of Kiwiana are most obvious as objects which promote the New Zealandness of the nation. Wolfe (2000, 20) provides the most comprehensive list of Kiwiana items:

“Plastic sandals, the black bushman’s singlet, Edmond’s “Sure to Rise” baking powder and cookbook, fibrolite, paua-shell ashtrays, school milk, Jeyes toilet tissue (akin to wax paper, and about as efficacious), sandsoap, Bushell’s coffee essence, corrugated iron and L & P are a few of the many items that today are venerated as Kiwiana”.

Other noteworthy Kiwi symbols presented in articles during the ten year period include the *Speight’s* beer ‘Southern Man’ image (Grzelewski, 2003) and Paua (Hindmarsh, 1998). Meanwhile Judd (2003, 51) lists a survey of what are deemed common Kiwi activities. According to a survey which examined the shared experiences of New Zealanders “92 per cent of us have owned a pair of gumboots, 78 per cent of us have used the Edmonds cookbook, 70 per cent have drunk espresso coffee, and 44 per cent have milked a cow”. Scott (1995) makes explicit reference to distinct New Zealand cultural artefacts such as *Shortland Street* (a popular New Zealand daily soap opera) and places like *Pak ‘n Save* (a discount supermarket chain) as does Grzelewski (2002, 2004) in referencing iconic New Zealand movie *Once Were Warriors* and the famous *Mainland Cheese* television advertisements.

Other notable banal cultural references in *NZG* include colloquial language and the reference to iconic New Zealanders. Use of colloquial New Zealand language in celebrating symbols of Kiwiana reinforces the national lens of the magazine which aimed at local audiences and is reflective of the journalistic style of the magazine. Grzelewski (2003, 34) provides the most noteworthy use of colloquial language in his conversation with an old friend during his expedition to the Catlins coast. Direct reference is made to ‘Southern Man’ image promoted by the *Speight’s* and its famous advertising quote:

“I begin to sense that I have arrived at the birthplace of the “Southern man” image”.

“My old man once bought a ton of Speight’s. It was on special in Dunedin...Had to keep the Land Rover outside. The crates filled up the whole garage”

“Did it last long?” I ask.

“Not as long as you’d think. Mind you we all helped”

I lower my voice to a low grumble: “*Good on ya, mate*” (Grzelewski, 2003, 34)

This blatant reference to *Speight’s* television commercials reinforces the rugged outdoor image perpetuated throughout the magazine and is linked to a situated image of New

Zealandness. Reference to iconic or famous New Zealanders is another form of banal nationalism present in *NZG*. Archetypical outdoors kiwi icon Barry Crump is referenced most regularly (Hindmarsh, 1995; Grzelewski, 2003b). For example with reference to a rafting trip Hindmarsh (1995, 108) refers to his comrades as “four good keen blokes” which is reminiscent of syntax used in books written by Crump. Other notable New Zealanders referred to across the ten year period include Prime ministers Sir Joseph Ward, Michael Joseph Savage and Jim Bolger (Sweetman and Freedman, 2001), comedian Billy T. James (Grzelewski, 2000a), internationally renowned opera singer Dame Kiri Te Kanawa (Lambert, 1999) and local television weatherman Jim Hickey who is warmly referred to as a “legend of weather forecasting” (Uren, 2001, 53). These examples reinforce Bell’s (2004) argument that New Zealanders have regularly sought symbols of ‘Kiwiana’. As Bell (2004, 176) states, “the recognition of Kiwiana gives us something in common, distinct from any other culture...images and symbols achieve secure recognition in the collective national imagination”. Lastly authors compare faraway spaces with New Zealand landmarks to enable readers to gauge the scale of the unfamiliar. For example Tuvalu is compared with New Zealand places to gauge how small it is. Tuvalu is described as “the size of Rangitoto Island with a population rivalling that of Greymouth” (Warne, 2004, 42). The comparison of faraway landscapes with iconic New Zealand landmarks reinforces New Zealandness by conjuring up images of places of familiarity when compared to spaces of the relative unknown. Metaphors of New Zealand people, places and cultural artefacts are used to imagine the unfamiliar in national imaginary terms, while operating as an implicit force to colonize the mind.

Banal cultural references to the nation are also a prominent feature of *AG*. Colloquial language is the most prominent technique used to promote Australianness and reinforce the uniqueness of the Australian way of life. Across the ten year period colloquial language was used as the most explicit expression of banal nationalism prevalent in *AG*. The use of Aussie slang is most evident in relation to articles dedicated to life in the Australian outback. Most overtly the famous Australian landmark of Alice Springs in the middle of the continent is colloquially referred to by Lehane and Skipsey (1996, 107) as simply the “Alice”. Colloquial language is employed when describing food and its preparation in the bush. Webster (1995, 56) refers to outback food as “bush tucker”

while after a hard days slog, Richards (1998, 86) announces dinner by stating it was time to “boil the billy”. The use of local slang is reflective of the assumption that Australian readers will be able to commonly associate with the outback way of life and its terminology in affiliating with Australia. Australianness is further emphasized through constant reference to Australian objects or products. Notable examples include the former Australian airline *Ansett* (Curl, 1997), the *Optus Tower* in Melbourne (Perrin, 1998) and the *Brisbane Broncos* rugby league team (Perrin, 2001). Meanwhile similar to *NZG* in comparing faraway landscapes to local ones, *AG* compares relatively unknown Australian landscapes to symbolic and famous local landmarks. For example in gauging the relative size of Mount Mulligan Hall and David (1997, 108) state that as a “formidable block of sandstone, Mt Mulligan is about ten times the size of Uluru”. As an iconic Australian feature Uluru (Ayers Rock) is likely to be in the imagination of readers therefore it is easy to imagine ten Uluru’s in interpreting the large size of Mount Mulligan. Banal forms of nationalism reinforce the national lens of *AG*.

Lastly *CG* is less frequent in its use of banal nationalism in promoting the nation. The most explicitly patriotic of the three magazines, *CG* is less inclined to rely on banal cultural references in celebrating Canadianism. Across the ten year period there is a substantial dearth of explicit colloquial Canadian language used (unlike *NZG* and *AG*). Instead the most obvious expression of banal national interest in *CG* is through focus on contemporary issues or events directly affecting Canada and Canadians. This banal form of nationalism is both prominent and unique to cover articles in *CG*, which unlike *AG* and *NZG*, is not dominated by a national focus limited largely to landscapes and wildlife. Prominent Canadian issues examined across the ten year period include extreme weather events (Lanken, 1996, 2000; Harris, 1998), urban revival (Cormier, 1995), rural decline (Milne, 1997), forest fires (Gayton, 1998; Clugston, 2002), houses (Simonds, 2003) and the health benefits of salmon (De Mont, 2004). These articles are directly related to Canada but are not blatantly nationalistic like those mentioned earlier in the chapter and are instead more implicitly orientated toward the nation. Like *NZG* and *AG*, reference to cultural artefacts and iconic celebrities is a common feature in *CG*. Most notable is the reference to Canadian firefighting icon Smokey the Bear who is aptly deemed “the symbol of forest firefighting in Canada” (Gayton, 1998, 42), while other cultural references

include the Toronto's iconic *CN Tower* (Lanken, 2000), and famous Canadian personalities Jim Carrey, Pamela Anderson and Avril Lavigne (Iyer, 2004). Although less prominent, banal nationalism continues the national theme of *CG* and is entwined with the wider national narrative of the magazine.

### *OVERT SELF PROMOTION OF THE NATION*

Hot forms of nationalism (Billig, 1995) are fervently articulated in *CG* through regular celebration of the nation and Canadianism in cover articles.<sup>43</sup> Throughout the decade the nation is presented most expressively through explicit promotion of Canada as a unique place and society. Most overt are articles that staunchly celebrate national identity and the diversity of Canada as a free and democratic society. Dyer (2001, 45, 46) openly states “we’ve become the most spectacularly diverse country in the world...Canada, more than anywhere else, is truly becoming the world in one country” in relation to Canada’s diverse cultural demographic makeup and its bilingual heritage. Meanwhile Canada has become “the spiritual home, you could say, of the very notion of an extended, emancipating global citizenship” (Iyer, 2004, 62). Emphasizing the sentiment of freedom and democracy Iyer (2004, 64) provides a metaphoric description of all things great about Canada:

“Geography, of course has long been one of the singular blessings of Canada – and with its openness of spirit Canada seems to have decided to take the gifts of its geography and history – its bilingualism, its First Nations heritage, its territory stretched across five and a half time zones – and use them to advance a wider, global sense of community and home”.

This quote stipulates that Canadian national identity is most directly related to the natural landscape which, as it implies, has democratized the nation. Complimenting this notion of freedom Iyer (2004, 66) further states Canadians:

“Enjoy a great advantage in not having a colonizing past behind them, as many European powers do, and in being closer to the world, in many respects, than the geopolitical giant on their doorstep. Canada offers the promise of prosperity without hierarchy and newness without arrogance”.

---

<sup>43</sup> One aspect of national identity omitted in *CG* are Canada’s Anglophone and Francophone identities and the implications of shared national identity rather than just the singular ‘Canadian’ identity celebrated throughout the magazine. The latter celebration of Canada may be deemed ‘Canadianism’,

The Canadian nation has been socially constructed by *CG* to embody nationalistic values associated with positive attributes of freedom and democracy.

Entrenching the parochial nature of Canadian national self-promotion is the historical celebration of modernity and progress which are perceived to have contributed to national unity. Significant historical events representing these two elements attributed to national unity include the unification of the telegraph and rail networks (Harris-Adler, 1995) and the development of the Canadian aviation industry (Vincent, 2000). As a metaphor of progress Harris-Adler (1995, 43) argues “the railroad connected us physically, a massive feat. But the telegraph connected our minds – and *that’s* what helped us define the Canadian community, the national ethos”. As a vital component of the nation building process for at least 90 years, “aircraft have been moving Canadians and their goods across the country and around the world magnificent men and women in flying machines opened up the country... aviation helped shrink the distances that separate us” (Vincent, 2000, 47). Perhaps the best embodiment of the national unity theme in *CG* occurred with the recital of the Canadian national anthem by Savage (2004, 38) “*Dear – sweet – Can - a - da...dear – sweet – Can - a - da, Can - a - da, Can - a - da*”. This explicit form of national self promotion reinforces the theme of nationalism resonant in *CG* and situates the national lens of the magazine.

Self promotion of the nation is equally prominent in *NZG*, though is more appropriated to celebrating New Zealanders and New Zealandness. *NZG* readily celebrates elements of heritage and symbolic events of nationhood which are embedded within collective national identity. To achieve this *NZG* explicitly forges for and reproduces desired imaginaries of what it means to be a ‘real’ New Zealander, which are in turn deemed an implicit product of our pioneer heritage and are strongly influenced by New Zealand’s rugged landscape.<sup>44</sup> Prominent national themes related to New Zealandness across the ten year period include the celebration of ANZAC Day as a symbol of national identity

---

<sup>44</sup> The study of national identity in New Zealand is a topic which has been the subject of intense interest by historians. Notable writers on the topic include Sinclair (1986), Belich (1996, 2001) and Bell (2004) all of whom give some impetus to ideas that the formation of national identity was a product of our shared pioneer upbringing and the belief that the nation was constructed only after taming the harsh landscape. Meanwhile a desperate desire to retain links with Britain whilst at the same time desires to create a distinct New Zealand identity both played a significant part in the construction of New Zealandness in the juvenile years of the nation (Belich, 1996).



(Quinn and Warne, 2002), the national obsession with rugby (Williams, 1996) nostalgic celebration of rural communities as the moral fabric of the nation (Scott, 2001), the nation's pioneer heritage (Grzelewski, 1996; Hindmarsh, 1997; Yarwood, 2003), the celebration of Kiwi ingenuity (Grzelewski, 2002b; Meduna, 2002), New Zealand's conservation ethos (Brown, 2002) and promotion of a supposed clean green image (Hindmarsh, 1995; Grzelewski, 2002, 2003). Epitomizing New Zealandness, Hindmarsh (1999, 30) colloquially refers to the nation as "the land of the long white cloud" celebrating the Maori translation of New Zealand to Aotearoa. In the most fervently display of self promotion, Grzelewski (2002, 39) in essence provides a metaphor celebrating all that is fantastic about New Zealand. "Kaikoura seems to encapsulate many of the good things New Zealand has come to stand for: mountains and ocean; forest and wildlife; a relaxed collect-your-own-seafood lifestyle; unrestricted breathing space". This quote places strong national emphasis on the environment and reinforces the clean green image of New Zealand perpetuated through *NZG* and other forms of media. New Zealand "markets a "100% pure" image to the world" (Grzelewski, 2002, 39). Meanwhile symbolically tugging at the emotional heart strings of the nation Quinn and Warne (2002, 24) describe the commemoration of a typical New Zealand war memorial. "A monument of a World War I soldier – complete with "lemon squeezer" hat and rifle – stands on the hillside beside the church". The celebration of ANZAC Day in New Zealand (and Australia) recognizes the close trans-Tasman relationship between the two nations during wartime but also is a symbolic celebration of the period when New Zealand first embraced nationhood.

As is stipulated in *NZG*, being a New Zealander embodies several symbolic connotations. First the love of rugby is commonly regarded as a national pastime. To outsiders New Zealanders and the 'All Blacks' may be imagined as a unique breed of people. This notion is summed up nicely in a quote by Williams (1996, 32) who states "across the seas is a land of hardy farmers who shave with sandpaper and train by running up mountains with a sheep up each arm". New Zealand identity is synonymous with rugby, farming and the rugged nature of each, reflecting an arduous relationship with the land which conjures up an endearing masculine image (Phillips, 1987; Sinclair, 1986). *NZG* recognizes this emotional link with national identity and promotes it to create an idealized image that

readers alike would desire to embrace. As is reiterated in *NZG* to be an All Black purportedly epitomizes all that is New Zealand and represents a dream held by all New Zealanders – “for the schoolboy it is a dream of hope, for the overweight middle-aged Kiwi male it is the Château Lafitié that lies in the cellar, cherished but unopened...[the dream] to be an All Black” (Williams, 1996, 50). Reinforcing the significance of rugby to the national psyche are indirect references to rugby littered throughout articles. For example Warne (2003, 38) refers to the way a researcher held an albatross as being “tucked under his arm rugby-ball style” while the skills needed lambing season in Southland are likened to rugby where “to tackle a runaway lamb...tackling and scoring tries are practical everyday skills” (Grzelewski, 2003). Celebration of rugby is tied in with the nostalgic promotion of grass-roots, small town New Zealand as opposed to urban centres. On his journey through Arthurs Pass, Scott (2001, 42-43) reflects on “how wonderful it is that city-slacker malaise and its pathogens of grunge and gloominess cannot survive the clarity of this [clean] air”. While recalling an evening at a typical rural mainland pub Scott (2001, 42) describes a nostalgic scene. “I see a collection of vehicles drawn up to the pub like pups to a teat...Tonight is a big night, a darts tournament. The hotel fills with Swanndri worn like a second skin”. This quote celebrates the rural way of life showcasing a typical community scene in remote backdrop of the country and epitomizes a wistful image of mainland New Zealand.

National self promotion is presented differently in *AG*. As was illustrated in the first half of the chapter, the *nation* is promoted most predominantly in articles celebrating spectacular Australian landscapes and unique native wildlife. Australian national identity is commonly represented through parochial depictions of non-human phenomena. Most cover articles endorse landscapes and wildlife, therefore is little space (or desire) to celebrate Australianness through depictions of people and pastimes like *NZG* or via explicit place promotion of the nation as is evident in *CG*. Prominent examples objects of national place promotion include the outback and the wattle tree which are both presented by *AG* as embodying a national spirit related to the identity of Australia and Australians. Reinforcing the national lens of the magazine *AG* creates and celebrates an idealized image of the outback as an essential component of Australianness and national identity. There is a romantic notion with celebrating the rugged outback as a space which

has influenced the identity of Australia and Australians. The outback, which dominates the landscape of central Australia is deemed to be part of the national consciousness. As Grzelewski (2002a, 69) (a New Zealander) states “there must be something intrinsic in the Australian psyche that relates to the centre”. Meanwhile Australianness is celebrated through the patriotic description of the wattle tree during Australian centenary commemorations symbolizing the qualities of the nation as a rugged battler in the face of adversity:

“wattles are the embodiment of the Aussie spirit...you can just about destroy the landscape and you’ll have the wattle coming up again from beneath. It’s what Australians are all about – we go through ravaging droughts and floods and still manage to rise above them and make the most of what we have” (Cowley, 2001, 85).

This quote appropriately summarizes the sense of national belonging placed on wildlife and landscapes in relation to national identity in *AG*. There are notable instances across the ten year period where *AG* has stamped national authority in celebrating the nation. The most visible form of Australian national place promotion in *AG* is evident in the claimed ‘ownership’ of all things Australia. Most explicitly Perrin (2001) is staunchly nationalistic in demarcating Australian space from Indonesian space while patrolling the Northern waters of Australia with the Royal Australian Navy. After catching an Indonesian vessel sailing illegally in Australian waters and subsequently discovering a butchered turtle on an Australian island Perrin (2001, 65) angrily states “these are Australian waters, and Browse Island is *our* sovereign territory”.<sup>45</sup> This statement of ownership is overtly nationalistic in the proclamation of an Australian space.

### *SHARED NATIONAL NARRATIVES – CELEBRATION OF INDIGENOUS CULTURES AND OUTDOOR LIFESTYLES*

Continuing the shared national narrative, all three magazines take an interest in promoting indigenous cultures and celebrate the outdoors lifestyle of Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders. Celebration of the nation and national unity is

---

<sup>45</sup> This issue is particularly relevant as the article was published in the immediate months following 9/11 where the demarcation of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ was a dominant geopolitical narrative in the United States especially in identifying whether people or states were ‘good’ or ‘evil’.

expressed symbolically in articles devoted to indigenous groups. Of the three magazines *CG* best tackles indigenous issues. Successive articles celebrate the spirit of First Nations peoples and their cultural revival in Canadian society (Koppel, 1996; Vlessides, 1998; Lanken and Vincent, 1999; Ackerman, 2004). For example Ackerman (2004) rejoices in the celebration of cultural diversity at a local powwow festival. At a powwow “you will hold your head up high, because you are celebrating the culture and spirit of your people” (Ackerman, 2004, 58). Meanwhile the creation of the Nunavut province in 1999 is deemed an important event in recognizing the cultural significance of local Inuit people and is viewed as a significant step in the process of nation building. As one local aptly states “we’re not trying to break up Canada. We’re trying to join Canada” (Lanken and Vincent, 1999, 46). *CG* has a vested interest in documenting momentous cultural events in Canada’s national development. Preservation and revival of aboriginal cultures is also of pressing concern. Vlessides (1998) follows the revival of Inuit culture after the symbolic cultural practice of whale harpooning was resumed for the first time in decades, while Koppel (1996, 22) celebrates the role of Haida in preserving cultural identity through the restoration of ancient totem poles. “The Haida are playing a vital role in preserving totem poles that symbolize the history and mysteries of B.C.’s [British Columbia’s] Queen Charlotte Islands”.

*NZG* and *AG* celebrate topics of cultural interest rather than tackling indigenous issues. In *NZG* articles celebrate the symbolic significance of flax (Hindmarsh, 1999), Maori affiliation with Hauturu/Little Barrier Island (Marsh, 2002) and St Mary’s church (Quinn and Warne, 2002) while Grzelewski (2002) descriptively recounts the colonization of Kaikoura by Maori. Celebrating the cultural significance of St Mary’s church in Tikitiki near East Cape, Quinn and Warne (2002, 24) state the church was donated as a gift by Sir Apriana Ngata who is described as being “one of the most influential and illustrious Maori leaders of the 20<sup>th</sup> century”. Flax is celebrated with Hindmarsh (1999, 32) stating “the importance of flax to early Maori cannot be understated”. Yet the cultural flavour of *NZG* is limited and is more concerned with Maori promotion as part of the nation’s cultural uniqueness rather than tackling more pressing cultural issues. Likewise *AG* recognizes the troubled plight of Aborigines (Hall and David, 1997) yet is more focused on promoting cultural diversity by celebrating Aboriginal heritage (Moran, 1999; Cowley,

2001; Grzelewski, 2003a). Most notably Grzelewski (2003a, 87) tells the Aboriginal dreamtime story which accounts for the devil's much maligned nature:

"It [the Tasmanian devil] kept annoying the bush spirits who complained about this to a creator, being named Moine. Moine gave the devil several opportunities to repent but harassments of the spirits continued. Finally doing his block, Moine reshaped Terabah [old devil] into today's ungainly shaggy-tailed devil – he reddened its ears with a squashed native cherry, gave it an ugly voice, a quarrelsome disposition, and condemned it to a lifetime of scavenging carrion".

Unlike *CG* which promotes and addresses indigenous issues as being significant towards national identity and unity, *NZG* and *AG* showcase elements of indigenous culture which may be celebrated as being unique to the nation. Yet all three magazines represent indigenous cultures for their difference. In essence indigenous groups are othered by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* through the representation of uniqueness under the guise of national celebration and place promotion.

As a national theme *CG* and *NZG* actively celebrate the outdoor recreation as a shared societal obsession. As has been illustrated earlier in this chapter *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* depict landscapes and scenery as spectacular, rugged, pristine and unique. This narrative is extended most explicitly to *CG* and *NZG* who on the one hand portray hardworking citizens such as miners (Yarwood, 1995; Cameron, 1999), yet most actively celebrate the dual national obsession with nature and the outdoors. This second theme is most overt and is emblazoned throughout the ten year period closely linked to the wider narrative of adventure and discovery of the magazines. Spectacular landscapes and wildlife go hand in hand with a thirst for the outdoors in *CG* and *NZG*. There is a distinct celebration of recreation and pastimes in *CG*. As Lynch (1995, 26) aptly states, "Canada has always been just another long weekend for me". The celebration of Canada's numerous National Parks promotes the idealized image of Canada as a society which craves an outdoor lifestyle. National Parks are "a wilderness environment unaltered by humanity, where an individual can rejoice in the workings of the natural world" (Lynch, 1995, 33). Meanwhile Struzik (2002, 42) epitomizes this celebrated outdoor lifestyle in his own "2300 kilometre journey from one end of the North Western Territories to the other" in a kayak. Likewise

distinctly Canadian, another quintessential outdoor pastime, and an explicit image of Canada referred to in *CG* is moose hunting:

“Moose hunting is a perennial fall tradition...no winter freezer is complete without some moose meat in it, and the gangly ungulate’s image appears so widely – from moose-logoed T-shirts to charity moose – stew dinners, where government – salvaged roadkill is the main ingredient – it is practically a provincial symbol” (Wangersky, 2000, 47).

As is represented in *CG*, Canadianism is entangled with desires to celebrate a hard working nation but one which promotes the outdoors as the Canadian way of life. This geographic imagination blends in well with the explicit celebration of nature in *CG* through spectacular landscapes and unique wildlife.

*NZG* promotes New Zealand’s perceived obsession with an outdoor lifestyle most explicitly in articles on mountain biking (Grzelewski, 2000) trout fishing (Grzelewski, 2000a), ice climbing (Uren, 2001) and through outdoor excursions (Grzelewski, 2003). The celebration of these recreational activities is closely associated with the promotion of New Zealand’s unique and spectacular landscapes and scenery. Most explicitly Grzelewski (2000a, 114) states “in this country we have a lifestyle and environment that most of the world envies, and we can’t afford to squander it”. Emphasizing this notion, Grzelewski (2000, 89, 93) celebrates New Zealand as a great space for the outdoors enthusiast in his article dedicated to mountain biking stating “you don’t need to go to the Himalayas or Moab, it’s all right here – if you know where to look...This I thought, was my kind of country”. The rugged landscape of New Zealand makes it a haven for outdoor recreation. Meanwhile Grzelewski (2000a, 96) also lavishes praise on the Maitai River during a fly-fishing excursion:

“To those who fish its waters, it is a river of legend offering a fly-fishing experience that is close to perfection. But thumb through any New Zealand trout-fishing guide and you will find dozens more rivers that fit that description – landed for their solitude, breathtaking surroundings, crystal-clear water and trophy sized fish. Surely we live in the Country of Trout”.

New Zealand is world renowned for its spectacular scenery and the celebration of outdoor recreation reinforces this national narrative of self endorsement in *NZG*. The

promotion of the outdoor lifestyle also reinforces stereotypical notions of morality where rurality and the outdoors are perceived to nurture better individuals. After an excursion to the remote Arthur's Pass Scott (2001, 28) rejoices in the fact that his "city-slacker" daughter "became someone I had never seen before. A transformation among these massive clean, clear mountains. The crystal air. Sharp blue sky". Likewise life on Hauturu/Little Barrier Island is celebrated as idyllic and embodies all that is great about New Zealand and the outdoors. For Marsh (2002, 16) and his young daughter in particular:

"Hauturu meant Correspondence School courses during the day, and in her spare time lots of reading, riding her bicycle, building huts and climbing trees. Our "pets" were wild kaka, tui and pateke, and a kereru which regularly visited the homestead to be hand-fed bread and bananas. As a family we fished, swam, snorkelled for crayfish, walked in the bush and enjoyed picnics on the coast"

This depiction paints a privileged reality and is somewhat detached from the norm. The celebrated outdoor lifestyle represented in *NZG* is reflective of a wider national narrative promoting a privileged lens of the nation.

## CONCLUSION

The national narrative is prominently expressed in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* during the period 1995-2004 through banal and hot performances of national self promotion. Extending the national theme first discussed in the previous chapter (which situated the dual relationship between national narrative and homogenized style of the three magazines), this chapter has illustrated the shared threads of nationalism most evident across *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Promotion of the nation is the dominant geographical imagination of all three magazines and is enacted through the celebration of certain privileged aspects of each country. In terms of national narrative, there is a distinct focus on presenting an idealized representation of landscapes and wildlife, people and identity. The diverse range of articles showcasing the spectacular and unique through representation of landscapes and wildlife by *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* illustrates the desire of the three magazines to explicitly sell the nation to their readers. This overt strand of nationalism is reinforced through

parochial depictions of the three nations; Canada, New Zealand and Australia themselves most unequivocally through celebration of distinct national identity, people, pastimes and cultures. All three magazines share this national narrative yet it is *CG* which is most overtly nationalistic in its presentation of Canada. There is a distinct patriotic feel to *CG* whereby the nation is the centrepiece of all cover articles. *NZG* and *AG* on the other hand are most parochial in depicting distinctly New Zealand or Australian landscapes and wildlife, yet the sentiment of nationalism is less concentrated and is more celebratory of the nation through colloquial references and the promotion of uniqueness. In summary *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* celebrate the 'best bits' of their nations though the selective representation of their landscapes, wildlife, people and cultures through overt and covert methods which actively entrench the national mastheads on their magazine covers.



## CHAPTER SIX *Conclusions*

The underlying argument of the entire thesis has been to contest the notion that the only 'real' geography is academic geography. At the heart of this argument this thesis has iterated the necessity of acknowledging the intrinsic relevance of popular geographies in deciphering the ways in which the world is imagined and consumed. Too often non-academic geographical ideas are cast aside as extraneous for the simple fact that they are not the constituted ideas of academic geographers. To the millions of subscribers and readers of popular geography magazines like *NG*, their notion of what constitutes geography may in fact be entirely different. The style and narrative of geography produced and disseminated by popular geographic magazines is markedly unique. The central theme of this thesis has been the deconstruction of geographical imaginations of nationalism across three similar popular geographic magazines in a ten year timeframe. In deciphering the academic concept of imaginative geographies and applying it to non-academic textual spaces, some interesting relationships between academic and popular geography have been uncovered. Through popular magazines, one can dissolve the somewhat simplistic content of each publication and deconstruct deeper processes behind editorial and publishing authority, while also unravelling the situatedness behind the glossy, friendly and idealised world magazines seek to appropriate to their audiences. In particular this thesis has sought to deconstruct shared lenses of nationalism evident in the three 'national' geographic magazines and constitute how the nation is celebrated and promoted.

Three central layers of meaning have formed the bulk of attention in relation to the central concept of imaginative geographies in this thesis. It has been possible to deconstruct complex layers of meaning between the different ways the imaginative geographies concept can be appropriated and extended. As Chapter One illustrated, Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is a key theoretical text for situating the politics of representation. This thesis has illustrated its continued relevance in the first decade of the twenty-first century and has indicated new directions for its implementation in cultural geography.

Contributing to wider understanding of the term geography and representation, imaginative geographies' discourse can be used to situate academic and popular conceptions of geography and examine the politics of representation involved in positive othering through self promotion of the nation through popular geography magazines *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*.

Geography is imagined, produced and consumed in a variety of different ways. This thesis has advocated for a wider understanding and appreciation of the relevance of difference in imagining geography as a popular, as well as an academic entity. Deciphering and promoting the relevance of popular conceptions of geography has been the central underlying narrative of the thesis in promoting popular geographies as an alternative geographic imagination to dominant forms of academic geography. Despite both claiming to be geography, there are vast differences in how geography is conceptualized along academic and popular lines. As an academic discipline in higher education, geography offers understanding and explanation of the world via application in science, humanities and social sciences. In contrast, popular imaginations of geography encompass a more fragmented continuum. Geography can imply a plethora of different meanings. It may imply a subject matter with emphasis on mapping, landscapes, national flags, capital cities or the study of natural history. To this end, as this thesis has illustrated, popular geographic magazines accentuate this approach to some extent in their depiction of geography. Popular approaches to geography provide minimal resemblance to the academic strand of the learned discipline which is most evident in the content of the three magazines studied; *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*. Despite providing geographic suffixes in their mastheads, these magazines are not research based or rigorous in an academic sense, but are instead journalistic in their approach and are overtly commercial. There is little evidence to suggest that the magazines studied attempt to align themselves with academic geography in any shape or form. Academic geography is neither desired or deemed appropriate for the readers of popular geographic magazines. It is rather obvious however, that the magazines promote a style reminiscent of the nineteenth century exploration and the natural history era of geography. *NG* is the most successful and globally recognized purveyor of the popular format and the three magazines examined are loosely based on its geographic style. This thesis has illustrated that the *CG*, *AG* and

*NZG* also contribute to wider discourses of popular geography and add to wider ideas about the promotion and performance of nations and nationalism.

Geographic magazines must be identified as seminal texts in promoting popular geography. The central crux of research has been to delineate the extent to which each of the selected magazines operates autonomously in promoting the nation despite having a shared national narrative (there are no institutional links between the magazines apart from the shared 'geographic' suffix after their national titles) and the extent to which the magazines adhere to stylistic conventions of the wider geographic genre (the stylistic and thematic elements made famous by *NG*). *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* all bear stylistic resemblance to *NG* yet there are profound differences in geographical imaginations perpetuated across the *Geographic Genre*. The three magazines informally conform (with no institutional instruction) to a homogenized stylistic discourse and pursue particular themes of geographical enquiry as produced by other magazines like *NG*. Yet there are opposing geographical imaginations in relation to narratives of representation. While Said (1978) and others (such as Lutz and Collins, 1993; Rothenberg, 2007 in their studies on *NG*) have contested forms of negative othering of peoples and landscapes through various forms of representation, imaginative geographies discourse has been extended through examination of the politics of representation involved in positive forms of othering through self promotion of the nation in *CG*, *AG* and *NZG*.

Positive geographic imaginations of nationalism and national identity form the narrative backbone of the three magazines. As a space for the promulgation of imaginative geographies, the study of these magazines provides a unique insight into the situated national lens of popular geographic publications. Yet the interwoven imaginative geographies of the *uniqueness* of wildlife and landscape and *national identity* incorporating explicit Canadianism, Australianness and New Zealandness, banal identity and nostalgia are situated in the context of their production and are reinforced through constant repetition. The imaginative geographies of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* are performative insofar as they do not simply reflect the uniqueness of the landscape, wildlife or national identity but instead operate to constitute themselves in the descriptive text. The vast

volumes of photographs that adorn the pages of the magazines operate to reinforce the imaginaries through constant performance. During the ten year period, *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* showcased privileged visions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Successive articles depicting unique, fragile wildlife and the spectacular landscapes we inhabit only tell a partial story of the nation.

Nationalism is the performative geographic imagination across the three magazines and is the outstanding narrative expressed. Yet as this thesis has illustrated, there are underlying issues in relation to the contestation of different geographical imaginations of geography itself. The growing divergence between academic and popular geography is of concern. In particular there must be increasing anxiety for the former, as universities in particular, face difficulties in attracting students to the study of geography; while the role of geography in schools is under continued question. Conversely, popular geographic magazines like *NG* and the three magazines examined here continue to thrive despite the recent challenges in print media associated with declining magazines sales, which to a large extent may be attributed to the proliferation of the internet. Yet recent trends towards the production of online magazine editions indicate that these magazines are at least diversifying, rather than remaining static to mitigate the challenges posed. The same cannot really be said for academic geography which is in a state of juxtaposition in regards to questions of relevance of geography as an academic discipline. There still remains time to address these issues, but the question remains as to whether academic geographers are attuned to problems within their field or whether short-sightedness will continue to extend the philosophical divide between academic and popular geography. As a start, academic geography needs to first appreciate the nature of popular geography. In unpicking the national narratives of *CG*, *AG* and *NZG* the lasting impression of this thesis should be that popular geographies are indeed relevant in the diverse world of geography.

## References

- (1986). Our Aims. *Australian Geographic* **1**, 13-14.
- (1995). Society News. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (6), 107.
- (1998). Rivers of Ice. *Canadian Geographic* **118** (7), 34-39.
- Ackerman N (2004). Powwow trail. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (4), 54-64.
- Archer M (1995). Prehistoric Platypus fits the bill. *Australian Geographic* **38**, 86-103.
- Attenborough R (1986). Marvellous Australia. *Australian Geographic* **1**, 16.
- Barnes TJ, Duncan J (1992). Introduction: writing worlds. In: Barnes T J and Duncan J, eds. *Writing worlds: discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape*. Routledge, London. pp 1-17.
- Barnett S (1998). Impure and worldly geography: the Africanist discourse of the Royal Geographical Society. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **23** (2), 239-251.
- Belich J (1996). *Making peoples: a history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Penguin Press, Auckland.
- Belich J (2001). *Paradise reforged: a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. Penguin Press, Auckland.
- Bell C (2004). Kiwiana revisited. In: Bell C and Mathewman S, eds. *Cultural studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: identity, space and place*. Oxford University Press, Melbourne. pp 175-187.
- Billig M (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Sage London.
- Blore S (2000). Risk and rescue. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (3), 34-44.
- Bonnett A (2003). Geography as the world discipline: connecting popular and academic geographical imaginations. *Area* **35** (1), 55-63.
- Bonnett A (2008). *What is geography?* Sage Publications, London.
- Bradley H (1999). The seductions of the archive: voices lost and found. *History of the Human Sciences* **12** (2), 107-122.
- Brown R (2002). A heart for the hills. *New Zealand Geographic* **60**, 76-95.
- Bryan CDB (2001). *The National Geographic Society: one hundred years of adventure and discovery* Thames and Hudson, London.

- Buttimer A (1998). Geography's Contested Stories: Changing States-of-the-Art *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* **89** (1), 90-99.
- Caldwell A (2004). Transit of Venus. *New Zealand Geographic* **69**, 18-26.
- Caldwell A (2004a). Directorial. *New Zealand Geographic* **70**, 2.
- Cameron SD (1999). Last call for Cape Breton coal. *119* **7** (32-40),
- Carwood M (1997). Spawn of an era. *Australian Geographic* **48**, 34-51.
- Chang TC, Lim SY (2004). Geographical Imaginations of 'New Asia-Singapore'. *Geografiska Annaler* **86B**, 165-185.
- Clifford J (1988). On Orientalism. In: Clifford J, ed. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. pp 255-276.
- Clyne D (1999). Cicadas. *Australian Geographic* **56**, 52-63.
- Cormier M (1995). Calling Mocton. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (4), 24-34.
- Cosgrove D (1984). *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Croom Helm, London.
- Cosgrove D (1985). Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **10** (1), 45-62.
- Cowley T (2001). The Green and Gold. *Australian Geographic* **61**, 68-85.
- Crang M (2003). Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see? *Progress in Human Geography* **27** (4), 494-504.
- Croker E (1997). Kayaking on the wild side. *Australian Geographic* **47**, 36-43.
- Cumberland KB (1945). Foreword. *New Zealand Geographer* **1** (1), 1-4.
- Cumberland KB (1989). Satisfying curiosity. *New Zealand Geographic* **1**, 7.
- Curl D (1997). Christmas Island. *Australian Geographic* **45**, 96-119.
- Daniels S (1993). *Fields of vision: landscape imaginary and national identity in England and the United States*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Daniels S, Cosgrove D (1988). Introduction: iconography and landscape. In: Cosgrove D and Daniels S, eds. *The iconography of the landscape*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp 1-10.
- Darragh I (2008). Sixty Years of Discovery Available at: [www.canadiangeographic.ca](http://www.canadiangeographic.ca) (cited 8/11/2008).
- De Mont J (2004). Sea of salmon. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (5), 46-58.

- DeLyser D. Starrs PF (2001). Doing fieldwork: editors' introduction. *The Geographical Review* **91** (1-2), iv-viii.
- Dickinson T (1995). Visitors from space. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (3), 30-40.
- Dittmer J (2005). Captain America's empire: reflecting on identity, popular culture, and post-9/11 geopolitics. *Annals of the association of American geographers* **95** (3), 626-643.
- Dodds K (2003). Licensed to stereotype: popular geopolitics, James Bond and the spectre of Balkanism. *Geopolitics* **8** (2), 125-156.
- Dodds K (2006). Popular geopolitics and audience dispositions: James Bond and the Internet Movie Database (IMDb). *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **31**, 116-130.
- Drayson N (2002). The Magpie. *Australian Geographic* **68**, 36-47.
- Driver F (1992). Geography's empire: histories of geographical knowledge. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **10**, 23-40.
- Driver F (1999). *Geography Militant: cultures of exploration in the age of empire*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Driver F (2000). Editorial: field-work in geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **25**, 267-268.
- Driver F (2001). *Geography Militant: Cultures of exploration and empire*. Blackwell Oxford.
- Dunn J (1999). Summer on the ice cap. *Canadian Geographic* **119** (5), 26-41.
- Dyer G (2001). Visible majorities. *Canadian Geographic* **121** (1), 44-51.
- Eastwood K (1998). Cooper Creek life. *Australian Geographic* **52**, 104-117.
- Eastwood K (2000). Superbird. *Australian Geographic* **58**, 34-49.
- Eastwood K (2003). Northern Hairy-Nosed Wombat. *Australian Geographic* **72**, 72-83.
- Eastwood K (2004). Leadbeaters Possum. *Australian Geographic* **75**, 105-111.
- Edwardson R (2003). The many lives of Captain Canuck: nationalism, culture and the creation of a Canadian comic book superhero. *Journal of popular culture* **37** (2), 184-201.
- Forbes D (2000). Reading Texts and Writing Geography. In: Hay I, ed. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. pp 122-143.
- Frankham J (2008). New Zealand Geographic Trust. *New Zealand Geographic* **93**, 8-9.
- Gayton D (1997). Terms of Endangerment. *Canadian Geographic* **117** (3), 30-41.

- Gayton D (1998). Healing fire. *Canadian Geographic* **118** (5), 32-42.
- Ginis E (2002). Mantra Ray. *Australian Geographic* **66**, 40-59.
- Greenberg M (2000). Branding cities: a social history of the urban lifestyle magazine. *Urban affairs review* **36**, 228-263.
- Gregory D (1995). Imaginative geographies. *Progress in human geography* **19** (4), 447-485.
- Gregory D (1995a). Between the book and the lamp: imaginative geographies of Egypt, 1849-50. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **20** (1), 29-57.
- Gregory D (2000). Imaginative geographies. In: Johnston R J, Gregory D, Pratt G and Watts M, eds. *The dictionary of human geography*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 4th edition, pp 372-373.
- Gregory D (2000a). Orientalism. In: Johnston R J, Gregory D, Pratt G and Watts M, eds. *The dictionary of human geography*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. pp 566-568.
- Gregory D (2003). Defiled Cities. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* **24** (3), 307-326.
- Gregory D (2004). *The colonial present*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.
- Gregory D (2004a). The Lightning of Possible Storms. *Antipode* **36** (5), 798-808.
- Gregory D (2005). Geographies, publics, and politics (part of a forum on 'The role of geography in public debate', ed. A. B. Murphy). *Progress in Human Geography* **29** (2), 165-193.
- Grosvenor GM (1988). A hundred years of the National Geographic Society. *The Geographical Journal* **154**, 87-92.
- Grzelewski D (1996). Travels with 'Mr Explorer' Douglas. *New Zealand Geographic* **32**, 24-45.
- Grzelewski D (1998). Paparoa, the turbulent coast. *New Zealand Geographic* **40**, 26-50.
- Grzelewski D (1999). A feeling for clay. *New Zealand Geographic* **43**, 74-103.
- Grzelewski D (2000). Ride every mountain. *New Zealand Geographic* **48**, 78-93.
- Grzelewski D (2000a). The lure of trout. *New Zealand Geographic* **46**, 90-120.
- Grzelewski D (2002). The town that whales built. *New Zealand Geographic* **58**, 20-41.
- Grzelewski D (2002a). A Newhaven for wildlife. *Australian Geographic* **65**, 58-72.
- Grzelewski D (2002b). Kakapo: a bird on the brink. *New Zealand Geographic* **56**, 20-42.
- Grzelewski D (2003). Where next for the Catlins? *New Zealand Geographic* **64**, 20-48.
- Grzelewski D (2003a). Dining with the devil. *Australian Geographic* **70**, 78-91.



- Grzelewski D (2003b). What price a river? *New Zealand Geographic* **65**, 26-53.
- Grzelewski D (2004). Hoiho - still on the brink. *New Zealand Geographic* **67**, 80-100.
- Grzelewski D (2004a). Rainforest warrior. *Australian Geographic* **76**, 64-75.
- Guy R (2000). Seal Wars. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (2), 36-48.
- Hall L, David B (1997). A rock in time. *Australian Geographic* **46**, 106-121.
- Hamilton G (1988). The Platypus. *Australian Geographic* **12**, 50-67.
- Harbutt J (1995). The mountain has spoken. *New Zealand Geographic* **28**, 48-64.
- Harris-Adler R (1995). Creation of the e-nation. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (6), 40-56.
- Harris C (2001). Archival fieldwork. *The Geographical Review* **91** (1-2), 328-334.
- Harris E (1998). Struck powerless by the weather. *Canadian Geographic* **118** (2), 38-45.
- Hartshorne R (1959). *Perspective on the nature of geography*. Rand McNally, Chicago.
- Harvey D (1996). On the history and present condition of geography: an historical materialist manifesto. In: Agnew J, Livingstone D and Rogers A, eds. *Human geography: an essential anthology*. Blackwell, Oxford. pp 95-128.
- Harvey D (2000). Cosmopolitanism and the banality of geographical evils. *Public Culture* **12** (2), 529-564.
- Hawke RJ (1986). Benefit to youth. *Australian Geographic* **1**, 16.
- Hawker S ed (2006). *Compact Oxford Dictionary, Thesaurus & Wordpower Guide*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Heffernan M (2001). "A dream as frail as those of ancient time": the in-credible geographies of Timbuctoo. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **19**, 203-225.
- Hindmarsh G (1995). Kahurangi: our newest national park. *New Zealand Geographic* **27**, 98-117.
- Hindmarsh G (1997). Images from the frontier. *New Zealand Geographic* **34**, 54-71.
- Hindmarsh G (1998). Passionate about Paua. *New Zealand Geographic* **39**, 64-87.
- Hindmarsh G (1999). Flax - the enduring fibre. *New Zealand Geographic* **42**, 20-53.
- Holloway SL, Valentine G (2000). Corked hats and Coronation Street: British and New Zealand children's imaginative geographies of the other. *Childhood* **7**, 335-357.
- Hubbard P, Kitchin R, Bartley B, Fuller D (2002). *Thinking geographically: space theory and contemporary human geography*. Continuum, London.

- Husni SA (2007). Reaching the Modern Reader. In: Rothstein J, ed. *Designing Magazines: Inside Periodical Design, Redesign, and Branding*. Allworth Press, New York. pp 179-184.
- Iyer P (2004). Canada: global citizen. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (6), 62-69.
- Jarosz L (1992). Constructing the dark continent: metaphor as geographic representation of Africa. *Geografisker Annaler* **74B**, 105-115.
- Johnston RJ (2000a). Human geography. In: Johnston R J, Gregory D, Pratt G and Watts M, eds. *The dictionary of human geography*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford. 4th, pp 353-360.
- Johnston RJ, Sidaway J (2004). *Geography & geographers: Anglo-American human geography since 1945*. Arnold, London. Sixth.
- Jones M (2001). South by kayak. *New Zealand Geographic* **51**, 20-39.
- Judd W (1998). The truth about tadpoles and frogs. *New Zealand Geographic* **38**, 86-109.
- Judd W (2003). Milk - more than a drink? *New Zealand Geographic* **62**, 18-55.
- Kearns R (2002). Reviews: Back to the future/field: doing fieldwork. *New Zealand Geographer* **58** (2), 75-76.
- Kidman F (1997). Dire Strait. *New Zealand Geographic* **35**, 44-70.
- Kitchin R, Neal S (2001). Science fiction or future fact? Exploring imaginative geographies of the new millennium. *Progress in Human Geography* **25** (1), 19-35.
- Koppel T (1996). Spirit of the Haida. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (2), 22-33.
- Lambert R (1999). Pukekura: the people's park. *New Zealand Geographer* (44), 22-45.
- Lanken D (1996). Boreal Forest. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (3), 26-33.
- Lanken D (1996). Home of the White Bear. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (6), 26-34.
- Lanken D (1996a). Mother nature's twist of fate. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (4), 24-31.
- Lanken D (2000). Struck by lightning. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (5), 20-32.
- Lanken D (2001). Rock of Ages. *Canadian Geographic* **121** (5), 42-50.
- Lanken D (2004). Reviews: The Geo family. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (6), 157-159.
- Lanken D, Vincent M (1999). Nunavut, up and running. *Canadian Geographic* **119** (1), 37-46.
- Latour B ed (1987). *Science and Action: How to follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Learned T (1999). Timeless huts, priceless heritage. *New Zealand Geographic* **41**, 26-42.

- Lee T (1991). Koalas. *Australian Geographic* **23**, 50-67.
- Lehane R, Skipsey B (1996). Scales of survival. *Australian Geographic* **42**, 104-119.
- Livernai MR (1987). Echidnas. *Australian Geographic* **8**, 72-83.
- Livingstone D (2000). Geography, history of. In: Johnston R J, Gregory D, Pratt G and Watts M, eds. *The dictionary of human geography*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 4th edition, pp 304-308.
- Longhurst R, Wilson C (1999). *Heartland* Wainuiomata: rurality to suburbs, black singlets to naughty lingerie. In: Law R, Campbell H and Dolan J, eds. *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Dunmore Press Limited, Palmerston North.
- Lovell WG (2001). "Not a city but a world": Seville and the Indies". *The Geographical Review* **91** (1-2), 239-251.
- Lutz CA, Collins JL (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Lynch M (1999). Archives in formation: privileged spaces, popular archives and paper trails *History of the Human Sciences* **12** (2), 65-87.
- Lynch W (1995). A new arctic refuge. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (2), 24-33.
- Lynch W (2000). Owl influx. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (4), 44-48.
- Maguire S (1998). Gender differences in attitude to undergraduate fieldwork. *Area* **30** (3), 207-214.
- Marcuse P (2004). Said's Orientalism: A Vital Contribution Today. *Antipode* **36** (5), 809-817.
- Marsh S (2002). Hauturu: resting place of the wind. *New Zealand Geographic* **55**, 10-31.
- Marty S (1995). The lynx and the hare. *Canadian Geographic* **115** (5), 28-37.
- Marty S (1997). Banff vs. the Bears. *Canadian Geographic* **117** (1), 28-39.
- Marty S (2002). Million-dollar ram. *Canadian Geographic* **122** (6), 36-50.
- Marty S (2002a). Golden predators. *Canadian Geographic* **122** (4), 40-54.
- Matless D, J. O, Swain A (2008). Geographically touring the eastern bloc: British geography, travel cultures and the Cold War. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **NS33**, 354-375.
- Mayhew R (1998). The character of English geography c. 1660-1800: a textual approach. *Journal of Historical Geography* **24** (4), 385-412.

- McDowell L (1992). Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **17**, 399-416.
- McGhee K (2004). Great White: troubled waters. **73** (52-67),
- McIntyre D, Meredith P (1996). Two below zero. *Australian Geographic* **44**, 100-117.
- Meduna V (2002). Reaping the wind. *New Zealand Geographic* **57**, 18-38.
- Meredith P (2000). The Blue Mountains. *Australian Geographic* **57**, 32-55.
- Meredith P (2002). Island in the sky. *Australian Geographic* **67**, 72-87.
- Milne B (1997). Against the grain. *Canadian Geographic* **117** (5), 28-37.
- Mitchell T (1992). Orientalism and the exhibitionary order. In: Dirks N, ed. *Colonialism and culture*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI. pp 289-317.
- Moran P (1998). Giant Australian Cuttlefish. *Australian Geographic* **51**, 70-87.
- Moran P (1999). Splendour in isolation. *Australian Geographic* **53**, 36-55.
- Morin K (2003). Landscape and environment: representing and interpreting the world. In: Holloway S, Rice S and Valentine G, eds. *Key concepts in geography*. Sage, London. pp 319-334.
- Morrow P, Morrow B (1997). Jagged Edges. *Canadian Geographic* **117** (6), 54-65.
- Nash C (2005). Landscapes. In: Cloke P, Crang P and Goodwin M, eds. *Introducing human geographies*. Hodder Arnold, London. 2nd edition, pp 156-167.
- Nicklen P (1999). Lions of the deep. *Canadian Geographic* **119** (6), 30-43.
- O'Tuathail G (2006). General introduction: thinking critically about geopolitics. In: O'Tuathail G, Dalby S and Routledge P, eds. *The geopolitics reader*. Routledge, London. pp 1-12.
- Obee B (2001). Eavesdropping on orcas. *Canadian Geographic* **121** (4), 30-42.
- Odhiambo T (2006). Inventing Africa in the twentieth century: cultural imagination, politics and transnationalism in *Drum* magazine. *African studies* **65** (2), 157-174.
- Osborne T (1999). The ordinariness of the archive. *History of the Human Sciences* **12** (2), 51-64.
- Overton JD (1981). A theory of exploration. *Journal of Historical Geography* **7** (1), 53-70.
- Parsons JJ (1977). Geography As Exploration and Discovery. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **67** (1), 1-16.
- Pauly PJ (1979). The World and All That is in It: The National Geographic Society, 1888-1918. *American Quarterly* **31** (4), 517-532.

- Payton B (2001). Grizzlies in the mist. *Canadian Geographic* **121** (2), 32-44.
- Payton B (2003). Caribou at the abyss. *Canadian Geographic* **123** (3), 54-68.
- Pelly D (1996). Treasured islands. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (5), 36-46.
- Perrin A (1998). Flight of the Falcon. *Australian Geographic* **49**, 34-51.
- Perrin A (2001). Outer limits. *Australian Geographic* **64**, 62-73.
- Phillips J (1987). *A man's country? The image of the Pakeha male*. Penguin, Auckland.
- Philo C (1998). Reading Drumlin: academic geography and a student geographical magazine. *Progress in Human Geography* **22** (3), 344-367.
- Pile S (1991). Practising interpretative geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **16**, 459-469.
- Potter SJ (2007). Webs, networks, and systems: globalization and the mass media in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century British Empire. *Journal of British Studies* **46**, 621-646.
- Powell RC (2002). The siren's voices? Field practices and dialogue in geography. *Area* **34** (3), 261-272.
- Quinn P, Warne K (2002). Lest we forget: restoring a historic church. *New Zealand Geographic* **59**, 22-34.
- Radcliffe SA (1996). Imaginative Geographies, Postcolonialism, and National Identities: Contemporary Discourses of the Nation in Ecuador. *Cultural Geographies* **3**, 23-42.
- Reardon M (1992). Kangaroos. *Australian Geographic* **25**, 90-107.
- Reardon M (1992a). Dingo. *Australian Geographic* **27**, 84-99.
- Reardon M (1993). The secret world of the Wombat. *Australian Geographic* **30**, 54-69.
- Reardon M (1999). Quoll on the run. *Australian Geographic* **54**, 88-105.
- Reed D (1997). *The popular magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880-1960* British Library, London.
- Rhind S (1996). Out on a limb. *Australian Geographic* **43**, 92-99.
- Richards J (1998). Return of the natives. *Australian Geographic* **50**, 82-97.
- Rothenberg TY (1994). Voyers of imperialism: *The National Geographic Magazine* before World War II. In: Godlewska A and Smith N, eds. *Geography and Empire*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. pp 155-172.

- Rothenberg TY (2007). *Presenting America's World: Strategies of Innocence in National Geographic Magazine, 1888-1945*. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot.
- Roy-Sole M (2004). The inside story: news from the Royal Canadian Geographical Society. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (6), 14-17.
- Said E (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Said E (2000). The clash of definitions. In: *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. pp 569-590.
- Sauer CO (1925). The morphology of landscape. *University of California Publications in Geography* **2**, 19-54.
- Savage C (2002). Peril of the Prairie. *Canadian Geographic* **122** (3), 42-50.
- Savage C (2004). The singing forest. *Canadian Geographic* **124** (1), 36-46.
- Scanlan L (2001). Power switch. *Canadian Geographic* **121** (3), 54-62.
- Schneirov M (1994). *The dream of a new social order: popular magazines in America, 1893-1914*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Scott M (1995). Waikato - the royal river. *New Zealand Geographic* **25**, 54-83.
- Scott M (1997). Postcard from Samoa. *New Zealand Geographic* **33**, 26-73.
- Scott M (2001). Arthur's Pass: heart of the mountains. *New Zealand Geographic* **52**, 20-45.
- Seitzer S (2000). Dunes: the waterless sea. *New Zealand Geographic* **47**, 18-39.
- Sharp J (1996). Hegemony, popular culture and geopolitics: the *Reader's Digest* and the construction of danger. *Political Geography* **15** (6/7), 557-570.
- Sharp JP (1998). Reel geographies of the new world order: patriotism, masculinity and geopolitics in post-Cold War American movies. In: O'Tuathail G and Dalby S, eds. *Rethinking geopolitics*. Routledge, London. pp 152-169.
- Sharp JP (2000). Refiguring geopolitics: The *Reader's Digest* and popular geographies of danger at the end of the cold war. In: Dodds K and Atkinson D, eds. *Geopolitical traditions: a century of geopolitical thought*. Routledge, London. pp 332-352.
- Simonds M (2003). A good house. *Canadian Geographic* **123** (1), 32-40.
- Sinclair K (1986). *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity*. Wellington, Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd.
- Smith D (1986). Publisher's Notes. *Australian Geographic* **1**, 12.
- Smith D (1986a). Publisher's Notes. *Australian Geographic* **2**, 14.
- Smith D (1986b). Our Aims. *Australian Geographic* **1**, 13-14.

- Smith D (1986c). Publisher's Notes. *Australian Geographic* **4**, 14.
- Smith D (1987). Publisher's Notes. *Australian Geographic* **3**, 14.
- Smith D (1988). Publisher's Notes. *Australian Geographic* **10**, 14.
- Smith D (1988). Publisher's Notes: A most important announcement. *Australian Geographic* **9**, 14.
- Smith D (1989). AG Society News. *Australian Geographic* **13**, 6.
- Smith D (1993). While the Billy boils. *Australian Geographic* **31**, 6.
- Somerville R (1997). The publishers. In: Griffith P, Harvey R and Maslen K, eds. *Book & print in New Zealand*. Victoria University Press, Wellington. pp 104-111.
- Stevens S (2001). Fieldwork as commitment. *The Geographical Review* **91** (1-2), 66-73.
- Storey J (2005). Popular. In: Bennett T, Grossberg L and Morris M, eds. *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden. pp 262-264.
- Struzik E (2002). The new N.W.T. *Canadian Geographic* **122** (5), 40-62.
- Struzik E (2003). Polar Grizzlies. *Canadian Geographic* **123** (6), 38-48.
- Sweetman R, Freeman P (2001). Our Lady of the Antipodes. *New Zealand Geographic* **54**, 10-35.
- Taylor M (2001). A fin and a prayer. *New Zealand Geographic* **50**, 28-44.
- Tebbel J, Zukerman ML (1991). *The Magazine in America 1741-1990*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Teyssier JC (1997). Devil's riding horse. *Canadian Geographic* **117** (4), 44-50.
- Torr G (1999). True Blue. *Australian Geographic* **55**, 52-67.
- Torr G (2000). Yellow Footed Rock-Wallabies. *Australian Geographic* **60**, 88-101.
- Torr G (2003). Here be dragons. *Australian Geographic* **69**, 68-77.
- Torr G (2004). Snakes Alive! *Australian Geographic* **74**, 82-91.
- Tuan YF (2001). Life as field trip. *The Geographical Review* **91** (1-2), 41-45.
- Uren A (2001). A passion for ice. *New Zealand Geographic* **49**, 48-63.
- Vincent M (2000). Our passion for flight. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (7), 44-56.
- Vllesides M (1998). The taking of a bowhead. *Canadian Geographic* **118** (1), 24-34.
- Walsby J (1996). On a wing and a prayer. *New Zealand Geographic* **29**, 100-116.
- Wangersky R (2000). Moose on the loose. *Canadian Geographic* **120** (7), 44-56.
- Warne K (1993 ). We celebrate our first five years. *New Zealand Geographic* **20**, 6.

- Warne K (1995). *New Zealand Geographic*. Bateman, Auckland.
- Warne K (1999). A decade of discovery. *New Zealand Geographic* **41**, 9-15.
- Warne K (2003). A wing and a snare. *New Zealand Geographic* **61**, 18-41.
- Warne K (2004). Tuvalu: that sinking feeling. *New Zealand Geographic* **70**, 40-61.
- Webster T (1995). Witjira. *Australian Geographic* **39**, 52-71.
- Whelan H (1995). AG embraces a positive future. *Australian Geographic* **40**, 38-47.
- Whelan H (1996). Touching the spirit. *Australian Geographic* **41**, 34-57.
- Whelan H (1999). While the Billy boils. *Australian Geographic* **56**, 6.
- Williams T (1996). Rugby - just a game? *New Zealand Geographic* **31**, 26-54.
- Wilson S (2000). Yellow Footed Rock-Wallabies. *Australian Geographic* **60**, 88-101.
- Winder G (2007). Geographic imaginaries in the networked modern newspaper: the *New Zealand Herald* reports the assassination of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand at Sarajevo, 1914. In: *Historical Geography Symposium on New Zealand Networks Conference*, Canterbury University, Christchurch,
- Wolfe R (2000). The people's bird. *New Zealand Geographic* **45**, 12-21.
- Wood D (1996). Journey into the earth. *Canadian Geographic* **116** (1), 48-59.
- Woods J (1989). Celebration and discovery. *New Zealand Geographic* **1**, 6.
- Yarwood V (1995). Coal on the coast: between a rock and a hard place. *New Zealand Geographic* **26**, 96-116.
- Yarwood V (2001). Burra-sahib: the legacy of Sir Edmund Hillary. *New Zealand Geographic* **53**, 12-30.



