Canada at *Expo 2005*:
Nation, Audience, and the Branded Display Complex:

by

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Abstract

Popular culture events, such as world's fairs, are important objects of study as they demonstrate how visual culture functions as an agent of nation branding on a global scale. Much of the research on these events has focused on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as sites of imperialism and modernism. Although less attention has been paid to contemporary world's fairs, this study argues that these continue to be critical areas of study. *Expo 2005* in Aichi, Japan was the first world's fair held in Asia in the twenty-first century. As global power dynamics shift to Asia, an examination of cultural events allows us to explore how countries hope to position themselves in this shift.

My case study of the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005* demonstrates how the display simultaneously projected a federal brand and reflected tourist expectations of Canada for the Japanese audience. I use a visual analysis drawing from iconology and visual semiotics to understand how the design of the pavilion represented the unique expectations of three different stakeholders: the organizers of the Aichi expo who sought to position Japan within a wider global framework, the Canadian federal planners who wanted to project a distinct Canadian identity abroad, and the attending public, who went to be entertained.

I draw from critical studies in museology and nation branding to develop a framework, which I term the *branded display complex* to explain this complex form of representation. At Aichi, the brand of Canada continued to emphasize meta-narratives such as 'Logs and Rocks,' 'Great White North,' and 'Unity in Diversity.' Furthermore, I show that nations are branding themselves in a way that is coded for the audience. Tourism strategies such as collecting and digital interfaces that promote participation result in an experience that personalizes the nation, which in turn contributes to its capacity of being internalized. The *branded display complex* suggests that in the competitive global exchange such as a world's fair, pavilions must rely on systems of differentiation, which alter how we come to engage with, and know, the nation on display.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, world's fairs¹ have been significant events where nations have used displays to brand themselves in a global context. The first world's fair held in Asia in the twenty-first century was held in Aichi, Japan from March 25 – September 25, 2005 with an attendance of 22 million visitors.² Despite the popularity of the event, and the participation of the federal government in the design of a pavilion, much of the Canadian public had no idea that *Expo 2005* even occurred.³ Once a headline event, world's fairs are no longer the primary way through which people encounter the world. Yet the scale and popularity of contemporary universal expositions indicate that they are neither small anomalies nor shadows from the nineteenth century, but important events that are deserving of continuous investigation. They are in fact complex sites of exchange, where political, social, economic, and cultural identities are defined.

¹ The terms “world's fair”, “universal exposition”, “international exhibition” and “expo” will be used interchangeably in the thesis, a common practice in discourse and studies surrounding world's fairs. For example, see Robert Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Exhibitions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai 1851-2000* (London: Papadakis, 2011).

² The world exposition in 2005 was the first to be held in Asia in the twenty-first century and was officially sanctioned as 1st Category by the *International Bureau of Exhibitions (IBE)*, which is the governing body of world's fairs based in Paris. These types of sanctioned expos occur every five years, last for six months, incorporate a theme that is considered to be universal, are large in scale, and involve participation of foreign countries. For attendance numbers, see “Aichi 2005”, *Expo Museum*, accessed May 5, 2011, <http://expomuseum.com/2005/>.

³ A search through *ProQuest* revealed that while there was coverage of the fair in major Canadian papers such as *The Globe and Mail*, there were few front-page news stories, and little discussion of how successful the pavilion was at attracting Canadian visitors. In addition, through informal discussions surrounding my topic very few people were aware that the event had taken place.

Consequently, world's fairs in general, and national pavilions in particular, present the perfect opportunity to explore such formations.

I take an exploratory approach to examine the form, content, and context of the images displayed in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi to see how the nation is presented through the visual display. As a result of my close examination of the contents of the pavilion, I found that the pavilion design was the result of a complex process of negotiated representation, in the way that the pavilion display reflected various expectations: from the planners of the Aichi expo, to the Canadian federal government, and the attending public. First, the Japan Association for the 2005 World Exposition developed both the main theme and the architectural guidelines, which would influence the final design of the pavilion. Second, the International Exposition Directorates (IED) in the Department of Canadian Heritage reflected government policies through an exercise of nation branding, relying heavily on the iconography of landscape. Finally, the pavilion sought to satisfy the expectations of the audience, who for the most part were there to be entertained. My case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi demonstrates how universal expositions function as a lens through which to examine global cultural exchange, and how this in turn influences choices as to what will be displayed and how a nation brand is transmitted.

In examining this process of negotiated representation, I develop a framework that I term the *branded display complex*. Central to my framework is a

close examination of context. In particular, I examine two sources of influence on the Canadian pavilion at Aichi. First, is what I term the *context of production*, which involves an exploration of factors that influenced the production of the pavilion, such as the federal government and audience. The government planners and the audience are both important elements in the *branded display complex*, as they mitigate not only what is displayed, but also how it is consumed. Here, I draw upon nation branding and tourism discourse to show how a particular image of Canada was projected. I argue that the Canadian pavilion relied heavily on the iconography of landscape to brand Canada as well as to create a tourist experience for the Expo participant.

Second, is what I term *context of access*, which involves an exploration of how the pavilion is accessed and focuses on the pavilion's design and display didactics. In particular I show how the design of the pavilion relied heavily on participatory and immersive digital interfaces as a way to engage the audience in the branded nation on display. These digital experiences functioned as important exhibitionary devices that engaged the visitor through participation. This question of production and access makes a key contribution to existing approaches in nation branding by presenting a multi-faceted critical framework that brings literature on tourism and critical museology to an understanding of how nations brand themselves in a global network. The *branded display complex* is a framework that I develop to examine the Canadian pavilion at Aichi,

particularly how the visual display functions in world's fairs as an agent of nation branding.

To date, much of the emphasis on world's fair scholarship has centered on questions of empire and modernity, and has focused on universal expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These fairs were used to assert, affirm and represent the dominance of empire. As Rydell argues, "World's fairs performed a hegemonic function precisely because they propagated the ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate and intellectual leaders and offered these ideas as the proper interpretation of social and political reality."⁴ The presentation of objects, industries, and ephemera represented that narrative and set up a way of understanding the nation. The displays of universal expositions were often predicated on an "othering" of countries through a Eurocentric lens.⁵ *Expo 2005* in Aichi can be understood as a challenge to this process, whereby the West was now put on display for an audience in the East.⁶ By hosting the event, organizers in Japan could not only control the theme and layout of the expo, but also position their country as a strong, independent, economically stable nation.

⁴ Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 3.

⁵ By "othering," I am referring to the process of display of non-western cultures in western cultural institutions, such as museums, which I will explore further in Chapter 2. This colonial lens of display has previously been discussed by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine eds. in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) and Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner eds. in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

⁶ *Expo 2005* was the second world's fair to be held in Japan. The first was Osaka in 1970. Other smaller events have taken place since the nineteenth century.

World's fairs are multi-faceted sites through which a nation projects not only itself. First, visitors too influence both the design and the final impact of the exposition; and my study emphasizes the importance of context in interpreting and discussing them. Second, the discourse surrounding universal expositions tends to focus on either the host country or foreign pavilion, and not the reciprocal relationship between them, while my case study positions universal expositions as complex sites of exchange worthy of a multi-faceted interpretive approach. A critical discussion of Canada's presence at contemporary world's fairs is an area ripe for exploration. This study, then, makes an important contribution to the field of Canadian Studies, as world's fairs are an important access point from which to examine how Canada has branded itself on a global stage. Further, my framework of the *branded display complex* considers tourist discourse, visual analysis, and the role of digital technologies to be central to an understanding of nation branding in a global framework.

World's Fairs as Global Events

I argue that while contemporary world's fairs compete with other global events, they remain important subjects of study in their own right, because they demonstrate how nations seek to brand themselves through visual representations. Therefore, my case study makes important contributions to critical discussions in museums, world's fairs, and cultural studies. World's fairs of the nineteenth century had the advantage of being the main international

cultural event, and so could command global attention. Writing on the impact of universal expositions, Paul Greenhalgh observes that “on both a high and popular level, they are ranked amongst the most important events held in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; they remain unsurpassed in their scale, opulence and confidence.”⁷

Today, there is a plethora of transnational events competing for attention, such as the Olympics and art biennales. Arguably, the Olympics have become the largest global event in which nations vie for supremacy, and media coverage of the Olympics has increased exponentially.⁸ Broadcast internationally and widely accessible through television, excellence in sports as demonstrated at the Olympics now directly contributes to the global identity of a nation. While other events lack the same scale of media exposure, the established art biennales of Venice and Gwangju also continue to expand each year. Under the premise of showcasing the best in contemporary art, here excellence in visual culture is the contributing factor to a nation’s image. For example, South Korea’s Gwangju Biennale, the first art biennale in Asia, was founded in 1995 in recognition of the 1980 civil uprisings. Its inaugural theme was “Beyond Borders,” and focused on a

⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 1.

⁸ For a discussion of the Olympics and national identity see: Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young, eds. *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics, and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*. (New York: SUNY Press, 2006). For a discussion about Asia, modernity, and the recent Olympics hosted in China see: Xin Xu, “Modernizing China in the Olympic spotlight: China’s National Identity and the 2008 Beijing Olympiad.” *The Sociological Review* 54, no. 52 (2006): 90-107. For an interesting comparative study in how nation and ethnicity have been staged at the Olympics see: Jackie Hogan, “Staging The Nation Gendered and Ethnicized Discourses of National Identity in Olympic Opening Ceremonies.” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 27, no. 2 (2003): 100-123.

message of global citizenship and the role of art in transcending political boundaries.⁹

International events such as the Olympics and biennales function within a global climate that has simultaneously widened and narrowed social, cultural, and political dynamics. King, Hall and Appadurai, for instance, all note that globalization is a complex process.¹⁰ Giddens describes it as a process of pulling, pushing, and squeezing. On one hand, globalization involves a “pulling away” of power from local communities and nations into a global arena. At the same time, there is a “pushing downwards,” which contributes to a desire for more local autonomy; and a “squeezing sideways,” resulting in the creation of new economic and cultural zones across pre-existing ones.¹¹ In short, “globalization is the reason for the revival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world.”¹²

In many ways globalization can contribute to the celebration of difference. Writing about values in heritage conservation Mason and de la Torre suggest, “The supposed tendency of globalization and its technologies to deterritorialize

⁹ For information on each of The Gwangju Biennales, see the official site, accessed December 21, 2012, <http://www.gwangjubiennale.org/eng/gb/intro/>.

¹⁰ See Anthony King, ed., *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). Stuart Hall presents an interesting study of the relationship between the West and the “other” in systems of globalization; see Stuart Hall, “The Local and Global: Globalization and Ethnicity,” in *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System*, 19-40; and Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997). Arjun Appadurai offers a useful discussion on the dimensions of “cultural flow” in the system of globalization, outlining five elements: ethnoscaples, technoscaples, financescaples, mediascaples, and ideoscaples. See his “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, no. 2-3 (1990): 295-310.

¹¹ Anthony Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 30-33.

¹² Ibid, 31.

culture and make attachments to local space, objects and territory less important is met with opposite efforts to seek greater attachments to place.”¹³ In other words, while world’s fairs aren’t premised on sport or fine art, they do form part of a global exhibition landscape that condenses nations, even as they enforce the presentation of difference. In fact, at world’s fairs such as Aichi, the differentiation of nations is a key aspect of how visitors experience these sites. By extending the discussion of universal expositions past their historical role to an examination of how they function today, I show their importance on the international stage as sites where nations brand themselves through display.

My interest in world’s fairs began after I visited the architectural remnants of *Expo ’67*. As a child, my family took many trips to Montreal. I remember being struck by the compact concrete residential units of *Habitat*. Two of the lasting legacies of *Expo ’67* are *La Ronde*, a midway built on Ile Sainte-Hélène, and *Biodome*, which was originally the site of the United States pavilion and was later repurposed in 1995 as the *Biosphere*, an environmental science museum. Both sites are popular destinations for field trips, where the echoes of *Expo ’67* are still felt through the architectural remains. Many years later in graduate school, I took a course on Victorian England. My final research project focused on Canada at *The Great Exhibition of 1851*. I explored the complex narratives of empire and colony in the Canadian section through the objects on display. Whereas my

¹³ Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre “Heritage Conservation and Values in Globalizing Societies,” in *World Culture Report 2000: Cultural Diversity Conflict and Pluralism* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2000), 7.

memories of *Expo '67* are rooted in the travel experience, my research into *The Great Exhibition of 1851* revealed the complex process of nation branding that underscores world's fair design. These two aspects, tourism and nation branding, and how they influence display now combine to inform my current study of *Expo 2005*. That year, I travelled to Aichi, Japan, to visit my first world's fair in person. I chose it for study, partly because it was held in Asia, but also because it was a complex visual display intended to resonate with a variety of audiences.

Canadian pavilion, Aichi, Japan

The theme of *Expo 2005* in Aichi was “Nature’s Wisdom.” In turn, each of the pavilions reflected its own sub-theme that was explored through displays and programming. The sub-theme for the Canadian pavilion, presented by the IED and voted on by Parliament, was *Wisdom of Diversity*. The pavilion was organized into three zones: *Biosphere*, *Ethnosphere*, and *Cyber Salon*. Each area featured images of people and landscape presented through immersive technologies, such as large-format videos and virtual games. I use the term “immersive” in this study to describe the ways in which the display engaged the multiple senses of the visitor, how the visitor physically engaged with the exhibition, and how the various displays spatially situated the visitor in the Canadian pavilion.¹⁴

¹⁴ For an in-depth discussion of immersive practices, as these relate to contemporary museum practices, see Chapter 2. For a discussion of the various forms of immersive display, from virtual environments to physical spaces, see Ed Lantz, “A Survey of Large-Scale Immersive Displays,”

The pavilion began with the first zone, the *Biosphere*. This area had a giant panoramic screen of moving images that centred on a visual depiction of landscape, set to lights and music. The second area, the *Ethnosphere*, included a video that introduced six individuals, each representing a different region of Canada. Both areas were interspersed with images of rural and urban landscapes. The last area was the *Cyber Salon*, where the visitor could fully interact with landscape through playing a virtual game and by collecting souvenirs. The pavilion started with the myth of the barren Canadian wilderness and finished with the presentation of Canada as a technologized landscape, into which the visitors could insert themselves. The display reflected wider shifts in exhibition design, moving away from object-centred displays towards ones emphasizing hands-on, experiential environments.

The digital presentation and choice of images, which included maple leaves, *Anne of Green Gables*, and the aurora borealis, also pointed to a coded set of images that resonated strongly with its predominantly Japanese audience. There was, then, a complicated process of cultural exchange at play in the pavilion, between branding Canada globally and constructing a narrative appropriate for a foreign audience. As a result, images presented in the pavilion, such as the aurora borealis extend beyond their original meaning, to suggest other narratives that reflect the context in which they were displayed. This marks

a key focus of this study, which will be explored in subsequent chapters. Thus, what occurred in the Canadian pavilion was a complex exchange of meaning through the contextualization of images, which is part of the *branded display complex*.

To its credit, the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005* used an inclusive language of diversity, emphasized green sensitivity, and used a presentation format that was exciting and engaging. However, despite new display experiences, such as immersive videos and computer games, and the incorporation of personal stories and docents, it still relied on recognizable and expected images to represent Canada. For example, the iconography of landscape was used to brand Canada as a diverse nation of landscape and people, and was also presented as a tourist commodity, which fed into the expectations of the audience. At one extreme, large-scale videos inserted the viewer spatially into Canada; at the other, the video games and souvenir collecting personalized the experience. This duality of execution was an important aspect of the pavilion, for to be successful in transmitting a nation brand, it had to engage the audience.

Interrogating an Object: The Case Study

I have chosen a case study approach, as it enables me to fully explore, investigate and interrogate the specific objects in a pavilion and the manner in which they were displayed. In his discussion of case study research methods, Gillham observes that there are multiple components to a case: “As unit of

human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw.”¹⁵ This emphasis that Gillham places on context for an understanding of the case is a core component of case study research.

Another important contribution to case study research comes from the extensive work of Robert Yin. One approach in particular, the descriptive case study—“a complete description of a phenomenon within its context”¹⁶ — is pertinent to my exploratory study, wherein *Expo 2005* is the phenomenon, and the Canadian pavilion the object explored in context. Yin also identifies a multitude of sources that can be drawn upon for case study: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artefacts.¹⁷ Of these, I consulted archival documents of the federal planners, surveys of marketing firms, media, video, photography, and collected objects. At the same time, as Flyvbjerg notes, a strong case study must also be contained within research boundaries.¹⁸

Research Approach: Visual and Document Analysis

¹⁵ Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London: Continuum, 2001), 1-2.

¹⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Applications of Case Study Research* (London: Sage, 1993), 5.

¹⁷ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design, and Methods*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 85-95.

¹⁸ Bent Flyvbjerg, “Case Study,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th ed., Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 301-316.

In my case study, I position the Canadian pavilion as an object to be visually interpreted, and investigate it as both a visual object in its own right and a way to show how visual objects prompt further exploration beyond themselves. Belton, for example, argues for a move away from an art appreciation rooted solely in the canon towards one of visual literacy, in which all aspects of a work are read and critiqued.¹⁹ A visual culture approach encompasses all the images and creative products that surround us, from monumental paintings to kitsch souvenirs and postcards. These images in turn can deepen understanding through form, content and context, all of which are inextricably linked.²⁰

Form can be understood as those components of a work of art that create the representation of an object; that is, the shape, colour and line denoting a red maple leaf, for example. Content considers what these components might signify; that is, the appearance of a maple leaf in autumn, which in turn suggests passage of seasons. Context can be understood in the ways an object's meaning is further affected by factors such as authorship, presentation and location; that is, in the context of a Canadian pavilion, a maple leaf can be understood to also represent Canada. While each of these dimensions is explored in my study, it is the role of context that dominates my visual analysis, not only the images presented in the

¹⁹ Robert J. Belton, *Sights of Resistance: Approaches to Canadian Visual Culture* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 2001), 11.

²⁰ Erwin Panofsky makes an important contribution to this approach in his studies of iconology, which I explore in Chapter 2.

various parts of the pavilion, but also the context in which they were made, viewed and accessed.

Baxandall argues that all objects are bound by the constructions around them, and identifies three key factors, each of which adds a level of meaning and interpretation to the object:

First, there are the ideas, values, and purposes of the culture from which the object comes [the source]. Second, there are the ideas, values, and, certainly, purposes of the arrangers of the exhibition. These are likely to be laden with theory and otherwise contaminated by a concept of culture that the viewer does not necessarily possess or share [the exhibition planner]. Third, there is the viewer himself, with all his own cultural baggage of un-systematic ideas, values and, yet again, highly specific purposes [the visitor].²¹

Within one object, then, are multiple, and often competing narratives, resulting in a multi-layered complex relationship among origin, mediator, and destination. In relation to my study, this is a crucial element in understanding the competing demands at play in the pavilion, which affect the manner in which objects are displayed. The Canadian pavilion is not only a text to be read, it is a text that communicates. It is not just a one-way process, but also the result of an exchange among the government planners, the display, and the visitor.

In examining the display of the Canadian pavilion, I draw on two sets of information: the first, obtained through an examination of archival government documents related to the Canadian pavilion; the second, a visual examination of

²¹ Michael Baxandall, "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, 34.

the pavilion and its remnants in the form of videos, photographs, and souvenirs. As I show, the planning, audit and final reports created by the IED demonstrate how federal policy was injected into the planning of the Canadian pavilion.²² Other material, such as surveys conducted on behalf of the IED, demonstrates the government's awareness of the need to plan a pavilion that would also fulfill the needs of the audience.²³ Unfortunately, additional correspondence between the IED and other government agencies is currently unavailable due to a backlog in archiving expo files and the recent closure of IED by the federal government,²⁴ both the result of a large sweep and closure of many federal programs under the current Harper Conservative government. IED's closure presents challenges not only to what will happen to its files, but also to the form Canada's participation will take at future expos, as a commitment to attend the next world's fair (in 2015) has not yet been made.²⁵ Further, it points to the timely nature of this case study, which contributes directly to research and critical engagement on the topic of Canada's presence at universal expositions.

²² Other government documents, such as the Department of Canadian Heritage's "National Flag Day Program" and the Library of Canada's documents on multiculturalism will also be explored to demonstrate how wider federal initiatives were reflected in the final design of the Canadian pavilion.

²³ Leger Marketing and Ipsos Reid, respectively, were commissioned to produce two marketing reports in preparation for Canada's participation at *Expo 2005*. These will be explored in Chapter 4.

²⁴ In May 2012, the following statement was posted on the IED website: "The Government of Canada is determined to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of its programs and operations, while returning to fiscal balance to further support jobs and growth. As part of Budget 2012, the International Expositions Program was cancelled at the end of March 2012." Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, International Expositions Directorate, official site, accessed June 8, 2012, <http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1290704641469/1290704949171>.

²⁵ The Canadian government has yet to commit participation for the next first category world's fair, to be held in Milan, Italy in 2015.

Examining a pavilion's visual material provides a way to explore how that pavilion functioned in reality, which I position in relationship to the official intent as evidenced in archival documents. Photographs, videos and plans of *Expo 2005's* Canada pavilion have been located from three sources. First is the official images made available by the government and design partners.²⁶ Second is material I collected during my site visit to the pavilion: postcards, holographic trading cards, and photographs documenting the exhibition space. Third is what I term *social media remnants*, comprised of material found on the Internet in the form of *You Tube* videos, blog posts and *Flickr* accounts that, combined, create a visual record of the pavilion; despite their fragmentary nature, they speak to the Expo experience, as snippets of pavilions are remembered, shared and reconstructed.

Visual material can be analyzed through several methodological approaches. A common method for popular media is quantitative content analysis. This approach relies on a fixed hypothesis composed of defined variables, and tends to be comparative in approach; it would be appropriate only if this study were looking at a cross section of world's fairs over time to examine

²⁶ As part of my research I contacted Lunny Group, Lambert International, Immersion Studios, and PW Labs for information about their role in designing the Canadian pavilion. However, many of the designers involved in the *Expo 2005* project were now at other companies, making much of the design material difficult to obtain, such as the storyboards. They did provide a few still images of the display that were helpful for this study. Furthermore, the majority of the digital files pertaining to *Expo 2005* held in the archives of the Department of Canadian Heritage were faulty and no longer accessible.

how often particular images were depicted.²⁷ However, because it relies on a single fixed point of access, this study uses a wide range of sources allowing for multiple access points. Rather than a content analysis, images undergo a qualitative visual analysis, which can take into consideration their form, content, and context. As a qualitative analysis also allows for triangulation, it provides greater opportunity for personal reflection, description, and exploration of the meaning of the pavilion's objects. Qualitative research is, as Denzin and Lincoln observe,

a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.²⁸

Their emphasis on interpretation, and how meaning is created and understood, is integral to the visual analysis of this case study.

Rose has written extensively on the topic of using visual materials for research, and offers a useful conceptualization for thinking through visual material:

²⁷ While content analysis has been used qualitatively in case studies—see, for example, Florian Kohlbacher, "The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 7, no. 1. (January 2006): 1-30—its use here is still too limiting, in that it emphasizes a systematic, rule-based analysis.

²⁸ Denzin and Lincoln, as cited in Florian Kohlbacher, "The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 7, no. 1. (January 2006), 3.

An image may have its own *visual effects*; these effects, through ways of *seeing* mobilized by the image, are crucial in the production and reproduction of visions and *social difference*; but these effects always intersect with the *social context of its viewing* and the *visualities its spectators bring* to viewing. [italics in the original]²⁹

This approach to analysing visual material expands the process of examining the representation, meaning and interpretation of objects, and further positions the importance of context and audience in the discussion of these objects. A core aspect of my case study, then, involves how different objects can be understood by different groups of people. This focus in turn marks a key point of departure from other studies of expositions, in that I investigate the pavilion's images as complex representations, modified by the context in which they are created, accessed and circulated. While an exploration of the government's planning documents will help to situate the intent of the pavilion, it is the visual residue that is paramount in the overall investigation of the pavilion.

While visual documents are an increasingly important source for primary research across disciplines, they also pose many challenges. For example, photographs are an extremely useful method of documenting an event. However, photography is not a neutral medium, as each photo represents a choice the photographer made from numerous potential points of view. This is particularly important to note, as I shot many of the photos used to support and illustrate my

²⁹ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching With Visual Materials*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage, 2011), 15.

research.³⁰ However, because most of the presentation in the pavilion was virtual, photographs allowed me to capture the information in a tangible form.

Another challenge in the use of visual material relates to digitized formats. While digital preservation projects make hard-to-access materials more accessible, they also raise questions of how long the technology used will be valid. As a result, the complicated nature of archiving digital material has been at the centre of much discussion among art galleries, archives and museums; researchers too have argued about the limitations of digital storage. As Rothenberg puts it, digital files quickly become “hostage to their encoding;”³¹ for when the only copy exists in digital format, and that format becomes obsolete, the information is as good as lost. Since the bulk of the display was virtual, few objects remain from the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005*, and so it is imperative its video images be archived. However, already some of the government’s digital files are no longer readable.³² For these reasons, both official and collected materials are vital to the memory as well as our understanding of a contemporary expo. The trend of pavilions at world’s fairs to create transient, impermanent exhibitions composed of video and new media poses challenges for how world’s

³⁰ The challenges and uses of photography in research is a far-reaching topic. For an important study in the field, see John Collier and Malcom Collier, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as Research Method* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).

³¹ Jeff Rothenberg, *Avoiding Technical Quicksand: Finding a Viable Technical Foundation for Digital Preservation*, pub77, (Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources, 1999).

³² Up until the point of the closure of the IED, I was in continuous contact with senior staff such as Barbara Helm. They too have investigated the digital files in-house and been unable to access or open them.

fairs can be critically studied in the future, and how representations of the nation become reduced to an on/off switch of digital technology.

Chapter Overview

For this case study, I investigate how images of Canada were presented, accessed, and could be interpreted in the pavilion at Aichi. In *Chapter 2*, I present an analytical framework, which takes inspiration from the iconographical work of Erwin Panofsky and visual semiotics. I frame my study in two ways. The first is what I term the *context of production*; it explores nation branding and tourism as key factors of influence on the design of the pavilion. Second is what I term *context of access*; it involves an interrogation into how world's fairs and museums function as sites of cultural exchange. In both cases, I focus on the means by which displays construct narrative, as well as how contemporary approaches to museums reflect a movement towards experiential displays.

Chapter 3 explores the development of the *branded display complex* for Canada at two world's fairs: *The Great Exhibition of 1851* in London, and *Expo '67* in Montreal. These fairs have had a significant impact on both the history of international expositions in general and Canada's participation in particular. As I demonstrate, they established a framework that has structured the nature of Canada's expo representations ever since: the role of government involvement, an emphasis on landscape, and the development of display didactics, which rely on technology.

Chapter 4 critically interrogates the planning and structure of the Canadian pavilion. I have positioned it within the wider theme of *Expo 2005*, which affected design decisions such as building architecture and layout of the grounds. Furthermore I explore how participatory experiences and technology framed the display of the Canadian pavilion and contributed to the dissemination of a nation brand.

In Chapter 5, I focus on two examples: multiculturalism and landscape to demonstrate how the government planners relied on tropes of Canadian identity in the Canadian pavilion. In addition, I critically examine the transmission of these elements as a process of fractured display where competing narratives affected how objects were understood.

Chapter 6 explores how the pavilion relied on tourist imagery and narratives to appeal to the audience in context. I do this by focusing on the inclusion of images of the aurora borealis, Anne of Green Gables, and souvenirs. As I show, these elements directly appealed to the audience and contributed to the pavilion's success at making the experience individualized, personal and thus memorable.

My case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi presents a holistic approach to investigating an exhibition: from the planning stage, through display, to the exchange of meaning. It demonstrates how a multi-faceted interpretive approach provides for a more critically engaged assessment of visual culture and universal expositions, and situates them as integral to studies in

contemporary cultural analysis. The Canadian pavilion itself demonstrates a process of negotiated narration between the intentions of government planners and the expectations of entertainment on the part of its audience. The result is a highly controlled way of seeing and knowing a nation: through a complex process of government and audience interaction which forms the basis for the *branded display complex*.

Chapter 2

Framework for Analysis: *Contexts of Production and Access*

This case study takes a multi-faceted approach. It begins with the question of context and the ways it contributes, changes, and alters how we understand the Canadian pavilion at Aichi. As a framework for my examination of the pavilion, context produces two related points of inquiry. The first is what I term *context of production*, which in turn involves an exploration of two factors of influence on the pavilion. Nation branding, as a way to view world's fairs as a function of agents of government policy, and tourism, a lens through which to examine how the pavilion functions for the audience. The second is what I term *context of access*. Here, I explore the pavilion through discourses of critical museum studies; and interrogate the display practices of contemporary museums, which rely on immersive environments to create a reciprocal process of exchange between visitor and display.

I: Situating Context: Panofsky and Iconography

A starting point for my approach in this study is the work of Erwin Panofsky. His writings on iconology have helped to situate my investigation of context and the means by which objects signify narratives beyond themselves. A key part of Panofsky's approach is his assertion that meaning is multi-layered, and context is an essential factor in understanding the meaning of a work of art. As Preziosi has remarked, Panofsky is "guided by an assumption that every image

‘contained’ a certain amount of hidden or ‘symbolic’ matter that could be elicited by a close reading of the image and some knowledge of the referential context of a work.”³³ Panofsky distinguishes between primary meaning, which is comprised of factual and expressional meaning, and secondary meaning, comprised of customs/cultural traditions. As he describes, “We deal with the work of art as a symptom of something else which expresses itself in a countless variety of other symptoms, and we interpret its compositional and iconographical features as more particularized evidence of this ‘something else.’”³⁴ This is a central tenet of this study; emphasis is placed not only on the object in question, but how it comes to represent meaning beyond itself.

Panofsky’s most important contribution to the field of art history is his three-pronged approach for visual analysis, which he introduced in his seminal text, *Studies in Iconology*. The first level, *primary subject matter* or *pre-iconographical*, involves an observation/description of the forms one sees, i.e. their *natural meaning* through colour, shape, line etc. The second level, *iconographical*, is predicated on a clear understanding of the first step, and involves an investigation of accepted symbols/meanings of objects, i.e. their *conventional meaning* in terms of their broad cultural context and meaning. The third level, *intrinsic meaning* or *iconological*, involves an exploration of the

³³ Donald Preziosi, “Introduction to Mechanisms of Meaning,” in his *The Art of Art History: Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 218. See also Richard Howells and Joaquim Negreiros, *Visual Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 2012).

³⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 8.

context in which a work was produced—who made it, why they made it, and under what conditions—and places further emphasis on research and interpretation. At this level, Panofsky notes, one identifies “those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion, unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.”³⁵ This is accomplished by taking into account factors such as the motivation of the author and the interpretation of symbols within a social and historical context.

Panofsky first used this three-pronged approach to interpret Renaissance works of art. For example, a well-known work of art, Jan Van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait* of 1434, was the subject of one analysis. At the *pre-iconographical* level, the painting depicts a couple standing in a room. There is a mirror on the back wall, a chandelier hanging from the ceiling and a dog at their feet. The man is wearing a long coat, with one arm raised and is standing by a window. The woman is wearing a long green dress, with one arm on her stomach, and the other holding the man’s hand, and she is standing next to a bed. At the *iconographical* level Panofsky argues that Renaissance works of art were laden with hidden symbolism.³⁶ In the Van Eyck portrait the dog may suggest fidelity, the man by the window his role as husband/provider, the woman by the bed her

³⁵ Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 7.

³⁶ For example, Renaissance works of art adhered to a coded set of symbols that contributed to the meaning such as white lilies symbolizing the Virgin Mary. See George Wells Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

role as wife/mother. At the final *iconological* level, Panofsky demands we look even deeper into the context of how the painting came to be produced through the influences of artist and patron. For example, Panofsky claims that the artist's signature on the wall is more than a simple signing of his work, but is witness to the marriage contract. While some of these interpretations have been challenged³⁷, Panofsky's multi-faceted approach has been crucial in the development of critical visual analysis, and goes well beyond an application to Renaissance works of art. For example, in contemporary society corporate logos are used to sell products. From an *iconographical* perspective, the "swoosh" symbol on a product is immediately understood to be the symbol of *Nike*, a performance sports brand. This relationship between images and branding will be discussed further in my study.

Panofsky's approach emphasizes interpretation and context and is inextricably linked to form and content as part of the process of visual investigation. This helps to situate how I approach the objects on display in the pavilion at Aichi. While Panofsky's writings represent an important contribution to visual analysis, they have also been widely critiqued. Bal and Bryson offer a

³⁷ Many scholars have debated the event that is taking place in the painting. Edwin Hall argues that it marks an engagement; see his *The Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994). Margaret Carroll argues that it depicts the legal transfer of title from husband to wife; see her *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens and Their Contemporaries* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), Margaret Koster argues that it is a memorial portrait; see her "The Arnolfini Double Portrait: A Simple Solution," *Apollo* (September 1, 2003): 3-14. Others, such as Jan Baptist Bedaux question the relevance of disguised symbolism altogether; see "The Reality of Symbols: The Question of Disguised Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16, no. 1 (1986): 5-28.

provocative analysis of Panofsky's approach, of particular interest for this study is their problematizing of context. They argue that context, often used to delimit interpretation, is a context in and of itself and "can always be extended; it is subject to the same process of mobility that is at work in the semiosis of the text or artwork that context is supposed to delimit and control."³⁸ In other words, context merits interpretation, but if it is indefinite, how does one sufficiently limit it for a study of visual interpretation? Bann pushes this point even further, by arguing that the process of interpretation is completed only by the "atrophy of the individual subject's desire to know."³⁹

Another critique is directed at the narrow focus of Panofsky's examples, which Moxey attributes to a "humanist bias." He argues that Panofsky's approach relies too heavily on Renaissance works, which, by championing works of history painting or allegory over other genres such as landscape, overemphasizes hierarchies of artists and the canon of art history.⁴⁰ However, Moxey's observation isn't entirely accurate, as it fails to place the interpreter in the context in which he/she is engaged. Panofsky himself acknowledged his own bias, that he was exploring a specific set of works of art, not all of them. In fact,

³⁸ Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Context and Senders," in *The Art of Art History: Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed., Donald Preziosi ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 248.

³⁹ Stephen Bann, "Meaning/Interpretation," in Preziosi, *The Art of Art History: Critical Anthology*, 256.

⁴⁰ Keith Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of Iconology and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art," *New Literary History*, Vol 17, no.2 (Winter, 1986): 269-70. See also Christine Hansenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36 (Spring 1978): 289-301.

his later writings extend his theory to modern works and even new technologies such as film.⁴¹

Yet another critique of Panofsky's approach is that it is historically and temporally rooted, thus failing to consider the development of a work over time.

As Moxey claims:

The focus of the intention of the work of art assigns it a terminal role in the life of culture, a location representing a synthesis of the ideas current in the culture of the patron or patrons who commissioned it. It ignores the life of the work of art after it has entered a social context.⁴²

It is a valid observation, as one must examine and ponder not only the context in which a work was produced, but the context in which it continues to function.

As Holly remarks:

Collectively, [Panofsky's] three levels teach us how to read images. They initiate us, by an almost ritualistic process, in the secrets of a historical visual order. Images are culturally determined, and if we wish to 'recreate' the dynamics of a work, we must uncover its context of discovery; we must familiarize ourselves with the subjects, on a variety of levels, about which the images are 'speaking.'⁴³

Such an approach encourages multi-faceted investigations of visual objects; and

while Panofsky used his method primarily to investigate works of the

Renaissance, I have found it a useful tool for the study of cultural events such as world exhibitions.

⁴¹ Erwin Panofsky, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," in *Three Essays on Style*, Irving Lavin ed. (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1995), 91-126. This essay, first written in 1936, applies many of his questions regarding style and context to moving pictures. I will explore this discussion further in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁴² Moxey, "Panofsky's Concept of Iconology and the Problem of Interpretation in the History of Art," 271.

⁴³ Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 184.

I argue that there is a connection between Renaissance artworks (the focus of much of Panofsky's work) and world's fair pavilions. Much of Renaissance painting was intended to create a frame around a viewpoint of the world. Artists relied on such devices as perspective to help position the viewer's gaze within a work. Similarly, a pavilion at a world's fair frames an event for viewing; but here, instead of being a passive observer of a painting on a wall, viewers insert themselves both visually and physically in the temporal space before them. The symbols prevalent in historical works exist anew in the pavilion, but as digitized images representing ideas beyond themselves. Therefore, Panofsky's approach provides a useful starting point for a visual analysis that emphasizes a contextual interpretation.

I draw inspiration from Panofsky because his work marks a significant departure in the analysis of art. While many early writers, such as Wölfflin,⁴⁴ took a formalist approach to art history, Panofsky's contextualist art history goes beyond form to emphasize the importance of intertextuality, and the role of context in visual analysis. This element of intertextuality is further developed in post-structuralist theory, such as that advanced by Derrida.⁴⁵ While this study does in some respects attempt to deconstruct the various components of the Canadian pavilion, and is influenced by the notion in deconstruction that there is

⁴⁴ Wölfflin, among many others, championed a formalist art historical approach in which questions of form were of primary concern. His seminal text, *Principles of Art History*, first published in 1915, set up a series of binary comparison for a formal analysis of Renaissance and Baroque forms, and is still widely used today.

⁴⁵ See Jacques Derrida, trans. Gayatri Spivak, *Of Grammatology*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

not one central ‘truth’ but many truths, it does so in a way that emphasizes the importance of signs/symbols in certain cultural contexts. A central tenet in my case study is the matter of how an object (such as a maple leaf) might be interpreted in different cultural contexts (in the case of my study, Canada, and Japan). Therefore, I find Panofsky’s discussion of iconography/icononolgy and, Barthes’ discussion of denotation/connotation to be useful starting points for my exploration of symbols in the pavilion display.

Beyond Panofsky: Visual Culture and Semiotics

Panofsky’s iconographical analysis has influenced many contemporary approaches in visual culture. A key source for contemporary applications of Panofsky’s works can be found in the work of W.J.T Mitchell. He argues that there has been a *pictorial turn*, or renewed interest in pictures.⁴⁶ While we live in a society dominated by visual images, we have yet to fully comprehend their social, cultural, and political implications. In other words, we are largely visually illiterate. In his writings, Mitchell discusses the complex nature of the image itself, in that it can be defined as a graphic, optical, perceptual, mental, or verbal image.⁴⁷ The very act of observation is a complex process, he writes,

Vision is (as we say) a ‘cultural construction’, that is learned and cultivated, not simply given by nature; that therefore it might have a history related in some yet-to-be-determined way with the history of arts,

⁴⁶ Mitchell describes a pictorial turn as the “post linguistic, post semiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visibility, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.” See W.J.T Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 16.

⁴⁷ W.J.T Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 10.

technologies, media and social practices of display and spectatorship; and (finally) that it is deeply involved with human societies, with the ethics and politics, aesthetics and epistemology of seeing and being seen.⁴⁸

As I will show in the subsequent chapters, the discussion of a visual image is complex, as it must take into consideration the design of the music, lights, videos, and objects in a pavilion, so as to present multiple ways of seeing. Therefore, when the Canadian pavilion is thought of as an image and site of communication/vision it must be understood as multilayered.

Panofsky's work also shares a certain sensibility with semiotics. A wide field of study, semiotics was applied early to the study of literature. Its extensive range of approaches is predicated on an understanding of signs and the social and cultural processes by which they are communicated. Many authors have drawn parallels between the work of Panofsky and its relationship to semiotics because, as Damisch remarks,

Iconography seems to justify the introduction into art studies of a problematics of the sign, while imposing the idea that an image is not intended solely for perception, and contemplation, but demands a real effort of reading, even of interpretation.⁴⁹

But whereas iconography raises questions around the representation of an image, semiotics pushes the investigation even further by questioning the mechanisms of the signifying process. Van Leeuwen, however, argues that the work of Panofsky can in fact be applied to contemporary visual analysis, noting

⁴⁸ W.J.T Mitchell, *What do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 337-338.

⁴⁹ Hubert Damisch, "Semiotics and Iconography," in *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, Theo Van Leeuwen and Cary Jewitt eds. (London: Sage, 2001), 236.

that the intertextuality inherent in iconography is not unlike that in semiotics. He also observes a correlation between the work of Panofsky and semiotician Barthes, in that that they both have identified similar points of inquiry: questions of representation and questions of hidden meaning.⁵⁰

The work of Roland Barthes provides an important connection to the work of Panofsky, in that Barthes positions semiotics within an analysis of visual culture. His *Mythologies* is a seminal text in the field of visual semiotics. Through a series of essays, he explores the process of *mythologisation*, and how socially constructed narratives of the ruling class are naturalized within popular culture. The process begins with the image itself, which Barthes refers to as *denotation*, or representation (sign) of the object. Next comes *connotation*, the meaning that an object signifies. *Denotation* and *connotation* of the object then converge through the process of *mythologisation* to create a myth that in turn refers to a broader ideological narrative. Aiello provides a useful explanation of these last two terms: “Whereas connotation is the ideological meaning that is *attached* to a specific sign, myth relates to ideological concepts that are *evoked* by a certain sign [italics in the original].”⁵¹ *Myths* are not arbitrary, Barthes continues, but created with intention. They perpetuate the dominant ideologies of the ruling class and are asserted through cultural forms, such as media.

⁵⁰ Theo Van Leeuwen and Cary Jewitt, *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, 92.

⁵¹ Giorgia Aiello, “Theoretical Advances in Critical Visual Analysis: Perception, Ideology, Mythologies, and Social Semiotics,” *Journal of Visual Literacy* 26, no.2 (Spring 2006): 95.

One of Barthes well-known examples is his discussion of a *Paris-Match* cover:

I am at the barber's, and a copy of *Paris-Match* is offered to me. On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour. All this is the *meaning* of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. I am therefore again faced with a greater semiological system: there is a signifier, itself already formed with a previous system (*a black soldier is giving the French salute*); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally, there is a presence of the signified through the signifier. [Italics in the original]⁵²

From a *denotative* point of view, the cover represents a black soldier giving salute.

From a *connotative* point of view, the cover embodies French and military colonial dominance. The combination of the two creates a wider *myth*, one that celebrates France as a strong nation of equal race, whose military contributes to the success of the nation.

Barthes' discussion of myth development has many similarities in common with Panofsky's three levels of interpretation. The first, *denotation*, corresponds with Panofsky's *pre-iconographical* level. The second, *connotation*, corresponds with Panofsky's *iconographical* level and the exploration of a symbol's meaning. Lastly, Barthes concept of *myth* corresponds with Panofsky's *iconological* stage. An important difference between them resides in Barthes'

⁵² Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 1972), 1957, 115

contention that meaning is context specific, which extends past Panofsky's fixed symbolism.

For example, in his later work, Barthes interrogates the meaning of photographs, both in their capacity to depict real events and in how viewers bring their own points of view to bear. In *Camera Lucida*, he explores the relationship between the visible meaning of a photograph (*studium*) and its personalized meaning (*punctum*), which is entirely dependent on the individual.⁵³ Issues of subjectivity and meaning are further developed in *Empire of Signs*, where he explores *denotation/connotation* in Japanese culture and discovers that the process of sign making and authorship is not the same as what he experienced in European contexts of production.⁵⁴ In many ways, his exploration of Japan isn't so much about Japan itself, but the way Barthes, as an outsider, read and investigated culturally specific creative forms such as *ikebana* and *bunraku*.

Throughout his explorations of visual culture, Barthes is consciously aware of two truths: that interpretation is context dependent, and that it is culturally specific. This extension is integral to how I approach context in this case study. Not only the *context of production* but also the *context of access* must be considered when exploring the process of meaning exchange in a pavilion.

⁵³ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, 1st American ed. trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981)

⁵⁴ Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, 1st American ed. trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982)

Both Panofsky and Barthes provide starting points for understanding the role of context in my case study. Panofsky argues that because social, political, and cultural conditions all affect production these must be critically investigated. While a study of historical works can focus solely on the artist, contemporary works, such as the planning of a world's fair, must address the influence of multiple authors. In his exploration of sign systems, Barthes claims that context is further dependent on the perception of a viewer who is rooted in a cultural system where images are created to confirm the dominance of the ruling class, which is particularly relevant when considering the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, where government planners were tasked with distilling federal objectives into the display.

II: Context of Production: Nation Branding and Tourism

Of the many factors that influenced the context of production for the Canadian pavilion, I have chosen two within which to frame my study: nation branding and tourism. Tourism strategies, such as interactive experiences, provided the hook by which the nation brand (presented through a complex system of images) was transcribed into the minds of pavilion visitors. Consequently, the competitive terrain of foreign pavilions at universal expositions becomes part of a mediated version of a nation's heritage, distilled by state planners into a nation brand that is packaged in the guise of a tourist

experience. Together, nation branding and tourism are integral to any proper understanding of the *context of production* of a universal exposition.

World's Fairs and Nation Branding

While the focus of world's fairs has been to define the host nation, they also provide a key opportunity for participating countries to construct an image of the nation, both at home and abroad, which is part of the process of nation branding. In fact, connections can be found between the contemporary uses of a nation brand and early discourses in the rise of nationalism.⁵⁵ Take, for example, the writings of Benedict Anderson, and his discussion of the imagined political community: "In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community, and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."⁵⁶ This definition, while addressing the issue of nations and nationalism, also relates to issues in the development of international exhibitions, which are in essence representations, fabrications and ultimately imaginings of what a nation is perceived to be by a select group of people. Handler, writing of issues related to cultural identity in Quebec, notes,

⁵⁵ Many have written on the theory of nationalism. Gellner, for example argues for a two-pronged approach to nationalism: cultural and voluntaristic. For him, culture is a system of ideas, signs and associations that affect ways of behaving and communication, wherein "nations are artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities." See Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 7. Hobsbawm pushes further the idea of nation as a collection of artefacts by exploring the relationship between invented traditions and nation-state collective identities. See E.J. Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Another useful source that documents the ongoing debates in nationalism is the *Nationalism Project*, ed. G.E Zeulow, accessed April 16, 2013, <http://www.nationalismproject.org>.

⁵⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 5.

“to meet the challenge of an outsider’s denial of national existence, nationalists must claim and specify the nation’s possessions.” He goes on to say, “they must delineate and if possible secure a bounded territory, and they must construct an account of the unique culture and history that attaches to and emanates from the people who occupy it.”⁵⁷ Within this framework, then, international exhibitions can be examined in terms of how they are used to construct and maintain the ideals of a nation-state.

In contemporary society, a nation brand employs the devices championed by the advertising and marketing industry to differentiate between nations in terms of country-as-product. Dinnie defines a nation brand as “the unique, multidimensional blend of elements that provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation and relevance for all of its target audiences.”⁵⁸ Anholt, who has written extensively on the topic, suggests that, just as a company seeks to brand itself, countries are increasingly convinced of the need to brand themselves. He argues that a complex system of signs created through the efforts of marketing, culture, government and other interests combine to create a malleable image for a given country, to gain attention on the global stage and

⁵⁷ Richard Handler, “On Having Culture: Nationalism and the Preservation of Quebec’s Patrimoine,” in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 211.

⁵⁸ Keith Dinnie, *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008), 15. Ying Fan further differentiates a nation brand from the process of nation branding, which he defines as a planned, controlled approach to brand development in his “Branding the Nation: What is Being Branded?” *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12, no.1 (2006): 5-14.

participate in a globalized economy.⁵⁹ As opposed to erasing boundaries and merging national identities, globalization now prompts countries to appear significantly different from each other, both nationally and internationally.⁶⁰

One of the most effective ways to contribute to improved foreign relations is to “sell” an image of one’s country that can be efficiently packaged, presented and consumed. Scholars such as Fenton-Cooper have argued that cultural diplomacy in foreign affairs has played a key role in projecting a distinct identity abroad.⁶¹ World’s fairs can be understood as tools of cultural diplomacy as they are sites where the nation brand is projected. In order to differentiate nations in a global climate, many of the pavilions at world’s fairs rest on safe, expected images. As Wallis argues:

In order to establish their status within the international community, individual nations are compelled to dramatize conventionalized versions of their national images, asserting past glories and amplifying stereotypical differences.⁶²

⁵⁹ Simon Anholt, “Nation Branding,” accessed February 5, 2009, <http://www.simonanholt.com>; see also, his *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities, Regions*. (New York: Palgrave, 2007). See also, John O’Shaughnessy, “Treating the Nation as Brand: Some Neglected Issues” *Journal of MacroMarketing*, 20, no.1 (2000): 56-64.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Zala Volcic and Mark Andrejevic, “Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism,” *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 598-618. They explore how nation branding is used in the areas of policy and governance in the era of globalization, and how nation branding functions both within a national and international framework. Van Ham pushes this further by arguing that the emotional resonance of countries is paramount in a globalized economy, and that in turn, strong brands ensure competitiveness in economics, politics, and trade. See: Peter Van Ham, “The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2001): 2-6.

⁶¹ Andrew Fenton Cooper. *Canadian Culture: International Dimensions* (Waterloo: Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism, 1985).

⁶² Brian Wallis, “Selling Nations: International Exhibitions and Cultural Diplomacy,” in *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourse, Spectacles*, ed. Daniel Schmidt and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 271. For an interesting discussion of the relationship between museums and international relations, see Christine Sylvester, *Art/Museums: International Relations Where we Least Expect It* (London: Paradigm Publishers, 2009).

In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi this reliance on difference and stereotypes is evident in the meta-narratives of Canada, such as its national identity being bound to landscape. While universal expositions function as agents of nation branding and cultural diplomacy, they also function as large transient exhibitions deliberately organized to attract large numbers of visitors. This poses a challenge for the display of foreign pavilions at world's fairs since they are simultaneously trying to project a national identity within a global context, and compete for visitors.

Branding Canada

In Canada, nation branding has been a key challenge for a country not easily connected through language, race, and ethnicity. Scholars in critical Canadian studies, such as Nimijean, argue that the rise of "Brand Canada" has dominated public policy and federal discourse from the late twentieth century into the twenty-first century under Liberal leadership. As he notes:

The federal government seeks to brand Canada and the *Canadian Way* to create a clear image, in the minds of citizens, of the value of Canadian citizenship, and to promote attachment to the country in challenging times: globalization, retrenchment of social policies and the welfare state, regional pressures, and economic dislocations caused by free trade, all of which threaten social cohesion.⁶³

As this quote helps to illustrate, the move to brand Canada serves a wider purpose of situating the country positively in the minds of citizens at a time

⁶³ Richard Nimijean, "Articulating the Canadian Way: Canada™ and the Political Manipulation of Canadian Identity," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no.1 (2005): 28.

when social cohesion is challenged in light of regional, national, and global pressures.⁶⁴

An important part of branding a nation is related to not only selecting an image but determining how it is projected. Potter, in his study of Canadian public diplomacy points to several key shifts in how nations manage international relations, concluding that nations must foster relationships with wider public opinion, not just government to government relations, and that a strong image is central to fostering economic, political and other exchanges. "Image counts for a lot in contemporary world politics," Potter continues, "influencing foreign public opinion is critical to national success because, in the absence of substantial military or economic weight, most countries are the image or 'words' they project abroad."⁶⁵ He calls for a sustained and focused effort on the part of the Canadian government in considering how it projects itself abroad. Scholarly work on branding Canada firmly recognizes the Canadian government as central to nation branding. My case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi provides an opportunity to interrogate, and examine how the federal government attempts to project a nation brand through the visual display at universal expositions.

Popular Culture and the Nation Brand

⁶⁴ See also Richard Nimijean, "Brand Canada: The Brand State and the Decline of the Liberal Party," *Inroads* 19 (2006): 84-93.

⁶⁵ Evan Potter, "Canada and the New Public Diplomacy," *International Journal*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Winter, 2002/2003), 44.

The manner in which the brand image is projected is important to consider. World's fairs are part of popular culture; it is therefore crucial to interrogate how nation brands function in popular branding initiatives. In the push to brand nations, visual culture plays a central role. I draw on Hastings' argument regarding the importance of popular culture in the promotion of a nation's brand. Hastings, in her study of Canadian advertising in the period before WWI, argues that parliamentary speeches and intellectual treatises were secondary to aspects experienced in daily lives, such as visual culture. Advances in print technology since 1870, as well as in mass circulation, have allowed Canada to create a collective representation of itself, through images of its natural phenomena, politicians, and historical events, as a way to sell everyday consumer products. Such images in turn have created a collective way of thinking about Canada, primarily through the lens of English Canadian conquest.⁶⁶ Other studies by MacGregor and Seiler have explored how national rhetoric is infused in the *Molson Canadian* "I am Canadian" advertisements.⁶⁷ In these contemporary advertisements for beer, stereotyping and humour are used to present a particular brand of Canada that emphasizes landscape as part of the collective consciousness.

⁶⁶ Paula Hastings, "Branding Canada: Consumer Culture and the Development of Popular Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century*, Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick eds. (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 134-158.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of identity and the Molson 'I am Canadian' beer advertisements see: Robert MacGregor, "I am Canadian: National Identity in Beer Commercials," *Journal of Popular Culture* 37:2, (November 2003): 276-286, and Robert Seiler, "Selling Patriotism/ Selling Beer: The Case of 'I am Canadian!' Commercial," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32:1 (2002): 45-66.

These discussions of popular cultural advertising and branding help to situate my critical examination of how the nation is branded in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi. The approach to branding in this pavilion relied on easily recognized tropes such as landscape. The display in the pavilion placed emphasis on “conceptualizing” landscape rather than “locating” it. The panoramic screens, colours, music, and images that were used coalesced to encourage an emotive response in the viewer about Canada, an evocation of land rather than a specific point on the Canadian map. In the pavilion, locations and climates of Canada merged one after the other. The focus was not on differentiating Newfoundland from British Columbia but on signifying through images a place, which is Canada. Many of the decisions for exhibition design at universal expositions are based on the use of images that are easily recognizable. For this reason, pavilions often rest on safe, expected images. This reliance on recognizable tropes when branding Canada will be developed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

In terms of this case study, I take the view that world’s fairs, as visual popular culture formations, are important sites in which to examine how a nation brand is transmitted. I contribute to the body of work on nation branding by demonstrating that world’s fairs are valuable sites in which to examine the process, projection, and consumption of nation brands on the global stage. My framework of the *branded display complex* makes a significant contribution to discourses of nation branding. It emphasizes the importance of visual analysis by focusing on questions of display and immersive technologies, which function to

insert the viewer in a particular experience of the nation on display, in the case of the Canadian pavilion, one that has been planned by the federal government.

While universal expositions function as agents of nation branding and cultural diplomacy, they also function as large transient exhibitions deliberately organized to attract large numbers of visitors. In this way, they closely resemble the large blockbuster exhibitions put on by museums: transient in nature, heavily marketed, and commanding high visitor turnout. The blockbuster exhibition is in direct opposition to the historical foundations of the museum as palace and temple, by turning it into a temporal amusement space.⁶⁸ Because these transient exhibitions focus on audience appeal, they are tied to the larger process of cultural tourism.

Many recent studies have explored this shift. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes that “museums are experiencing a crisis of identity as they compete with other attractions within a tourism economy that privileges experience, immediacy, and what the industry calls adventure.”⁶⁹ Scholars such as Danto, MacDonald and Rymer bemoan the increased Disneyfication of museums, wherein exhibitions

⁶⁸ For an in-depth discussion on the pros and cons of blockbuster exhibitions, see Albert Elsen, “Assessing the Pros and Cons,” *Art in America* (June 1986): 24-31; Richard Spear, “Editorial: Art History and the Blockbuster Exhibition,” *Art Bulletin* 68 (September 1986): 349-50; and S.J. Freedberg, Gervase Jackson-Stops and Richard Spear, “Discussion: On Art History and the Blockbuster Exhibition,” *Art Bulletin* 69 (June 1987): 295-97. See also Victoria Alexander, “Pictures at an Exhibition: Conflicting Pressures in Museums and the Display of Art” *American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 4 (January 1996): 797-839

⁶⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 7.

become mediated, interactive environments with a specific goal to entertainment.⁷⁰

If we think of a universal exposition as a site of mass spectacle, then the audience in context is clearly an important element to consider. The Canadian pavilion functioned simultaneously as a site for the government to present a brand of Canada globally, and one through which the visitor travels in order to be entertained. One way to situate the role of visitors and their relationship to universal expositions is to think of them as tourists, and the pavilions as sites of travel.

World's Fairs as Tourist Destination

At universal expositions, the countries on display become destinations in themselves where visitors 'travel' throughout the exhibits. An important part of any visitor experience to an expo concerns the manner in which that expo compresses all of the geographies and boundaries of nation-states into one space. Like Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days*, world's fairs create an experience in which the world can be consumed in a day, in a moment, in a snapshot. Thus, much of the design and planning around expos deals with creating a sense of travel, more specifically the fictitious experience of going many places, when in fact you have gone nowhere.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of the move towards museums into the realm of spectacle, see Arthur C. Danto, "Degas in Vegas," *The Nation* 269 (March 1999): 25-8, George F. MacDonald, "Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective," *Muse* 6 (Spring/April 1988): 27-31, and Russ Rymer, "Back to the Future: Disney Reinvents the Company Town," *Harper's* (October 1996): 65-78

Universal expositions function as tourist sites on several levels: the visitor must travel to the expo site; they travel through the expo grounds; and they experience simulated travel experiences as they visit each foreign pavilion. A successful display is able to present a tourist experience that engages the visitor and contributes to the transmission of that nation's brand. Conversely, a brand is neither successful nor viable if no one is there to receive it. Positioning universal expositions as a site of travel, then, is key to understanding how they function, and in turn is an important influence on the *context of production*.

Tourism as a field of study is interdisciplinary in its research methodology, influenced not only by cultural and social theory, but the economic and political histories of various groups. A seminal text in tourism discourse is Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist*. The basis of MacCannell's argument is that since tourism is a product of modernity, the tourist therefore can be used as a model of study for the modern individual.⁷¹ In the course of his book, MacCannell outlines a hierarchy among tourists themselves, each wanting to be the ideal tourist. He writes,

The touristic critique of tourism is based on a desire to go beyond the other "mere" tourists to a more profound appreciation of society and culture, and it is by no means limited to intellectual statements. All tourists desire this deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel.⁷²

⁷¹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), 1.

⁷² Ibid, 10.

The challenge of defining what constitutes a tourist has been central to many debates, for instance Wang's supply-demand model. In attempting to define both the means and motivation for different tourists, Wang differentiates between tourist and traveller. The dichotomy of tourist/traveller provides an interesting way of thinking through the process of travel. Tourists are often positioned negatively, as those who enter a distant space, take an invasive approach, and immediately change the locale by virtue of their presence. In contrast, a traveller is seen as one who adopts a more passive approach to travel, creates less of an impact, and tries harder to integrate himself or herself as part of the locale.⁷³

Within this dichotomy of tourist and traveller, Maxine Feifer adds a third concept, the *post-tourist*. Feifer argues that unlike the other forms of tourists, the *post-tourist* is more aware that he/she is in fact a tourist,

The post-tourist knows that he is a tourist: not a time traveller when he goes somewhere historic; not an instant noble savage when he stays on a tropical beach; not an invisible observer when he visits a native compound. Resolutely 'realistic,' he cannot evade his condition of outsider.⁷⁴

Post-tourists therefore, have more awareness of their activities and their presence in the destinations they visit. Even when visiting a place of staged authenticity, they can still enjoy the merits of travelling and the need to "get away from it

⁷³ See MacCannell. This question of tourist/traveller has been the topic of much debate in tourism studies, for an early discussion see: Erik Cohen, "Who is a Tourist?: A Conceptual Clarification," *The Sociological Review* 22, no. 4 (1974): 527-555. For a discussion in relation to contemporary travel identities see: Camile C. O'Reilly, "Tourist or traveller? Narrating backpacker identity," *Discourse, Communication and Tourism* (2005): 150-169.

⁷⁴ Maxine Feifer, *Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present* (New York: Stein and Day, 1986), 271.

all.”⁷⁵ I would go so far as to argue that staged authenticity by nature demands a certain element of the suspension of belief in travels on the part of the tourist. Consequently, the *post-tourist* is an important element in my case study, as every detail of a world’s fair has been staged precisely for consumption purposes through a plethora of multiple destinations. The result is an experience where one has travelled everywhere and nowhere at the same time.

Another way to consider the traveller’s experience is through his or her own identity. In this way, tourism becomes a process in which the “self” is not only augmented but also defined through interaction and engagement with the “other.” Take, for example, the act of sewing a nation’s flag to your backpack in advance of a trip, as a way to claim your nationality. In his research on travel and culture, Clifford discusses the example of the Moe family, who travelled and presented what were accepted as authentic Hawaiian songs. Clifford observed that while the authenticity of the family was lessened, because they spent so little time in the land they were meant to represent, they were also more connected to their country of origin as a result of having travelled.⁷⁶ Clifford argues that when studying travel, one must look at cultures, not only in terms of how people act at home, but how they act when abroad. In terms of my case study, the Canadian pavilion provided not only a way for its Japanese audience to visit Canada, it also

⁷⁵ This is a colloquial phrase that is often overheard and used in public discussions and marketing of tourism.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of travel and movement, see James Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 17-46.

contributed to Canada's ability to define itself abroad. In this process, the nation brand is strengthened by distance.

Perception is paramount in the ways in which a destination is understood. David Crouch and Nina Lübbren consider the reciprocal relationship between tourism and visual culture as follows:

An image can evoke a particular association or category of place in a powerful synecdochal and iconic way. That is, the image can conjure up an entire site, region and structure of experience by representing only a fragment, and the image can also address viewers directly by virtue of a mimetic visual language.⁷⁷

This relationship of visual markers is an important consideration in any discussion of tourism, and I will discuss this further in Chapter 6. The visual aspect of a tourist's experience also relates back to Panofsky's iconological approach. Just as symbols communicate meaning in a work of art, so too does a visual referent contribute to how a place is understood. Similarly, for a tourist site to "exist," it must be consumed. Pushed even further in relation to world's fairs, the consumption of a pavilion contributes to the dissemination of its corresponding nation brand. The act of consumption, then, is important to both tourism and nation branding for, once consumed, the pavilion, and by connection the brand, becomes part of one's experience and memory.

⁷⁷ David Crouch and Nina Lübbren, eds., *Visual Culture and Tourism* (New York: Berg, 2003) 5.

III: Context of Access: Thinking Through Display

While nation branding and tourism are key influences in creating the *context of production* of a world's fair, the way in which the display is structured is another key component in determining the success of a pavilion. The *context of access*, then, marks the second point of inquiry for my case study, as I interrogate how displays in general reflect/subvert narratives of the museum, as well as how contemporary display practices are engaging a wider audience through the use of immersive experiences, such as interactive technology. World's fairs, with their beginnings in the nineteenth century, developed in tandem with public museums, functioning as sites where hegemonic power could be asserted through objects and displays. For these reasons, critical museum discourse is an important lens through which to situate an understanding of universal expositions.

Many authors have pointed out the implicit relationship between museums and nation building.⁷⁸ Since museums both define and maintain difference, they are a natural extension of the nation-state, as well as integral components in that nation's identity. As Prösler argues,

Museums played a part in defining the nature of the nation; it was a space in which national culture and history were constructed, expressing the difference between one nation and all the others. In the form of a 'national

⁷⁸ See David Boswell and Jessica Evans, eds., *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Richard Lumley, *Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display* (Routledge, New York, 1988); and Martin Prösler, "Museums and Globalisation," in *Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, eds., Gordon Fyfe and Gordon Fyfe, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 21-44.

museum' a museum could embody 'common' culture and history, symbolizing at a political level the unity of a nation.⁷⁹

Early museum collections began as cabinets of curiosities displayed privately by the very wealthy. The first public art museum, the Capitoline Museums, stemmed from Pope Sixtus IV's gift to the citizens of Rome in 1471. However, it was not until the 18th century that collections became truly accessible in the public realm. Museums exist to set up and magnify how a particular nation wants itself to be seen and, in doing so, become sites not only of cultural exchanges but of meaning-making. National identity and museums have always been linked, from the building of early papal collections, through Napoleon's collecting during his military exploits and Hitler's creation of a museum for the new German Empire, to recent developments in the Middle East, such as the looting of the Iraq National Museum in 2003.⁸⁰ Museums have long provided a way of asserting and claiming national prowess as they present the heritage and power of that nation through its collected objects. World's fairs function in much the same way. From the beginning, they have been used to assert national identities and organize the world through the classification of objects.

Museums and Knowledge: Exhibitionary Complex

⁷⁹ Martin Prösler, "Museums and Globalisation," 34.

⁸⁰ The relationship between museums, collecting and empire is imbedded in the very fabric of the history of museums. See, for example, Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?: Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003); John McAleer and Sarah Longair, eds., *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2012); and Lawrence Rothfield, *The Rape of Mesopotamia: Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Display is a key part of knowledge exchange in a museum. A seminal text in critical museum studies is Tony Bennett's *Birth of the Museum* and his discussion of the *exhibitionary complex*. As museums became more accessible to the public, they expanded the ways in which the power of the ruling class could be asserted through their displays. Bennett draws parallels with Foucault's discussion of prison and asylums, only instead of a private space; museums take the disciplinary knowledge into the public realm. Thus, the museum, through its object lessons in power, transforms its visitors into both subjects and objects of knowledge.⁸¹

Through the provisions of object lessons in power – the power to command and arrange things and bodies for public display – they sought to allow the people, and *en masse* rather than individually, to know rather than be known, to become the subjects rather than the objects of knowledge. Yet, ideally, they sought also to allow the people to know and thence to regulate themselves; to become in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorizing its gaze as principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation.⁸²

Related to the *exhibitionary complex* are what Bennett terms technologies of vision. Objects in museums were first categorized in a strict system of order, such that all culture was subject to surveillance and control. Furthermore, the *exhibitionary complex* is predicated on situating knowledge and order in the museum in order to reflect the power of the nation.

⁸¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

⁸² Ibid, 63.

Duncan and Wallach have observed that large national museums were constructed so as to embody the power and permanence of a palace and temple, its artworks and spaces arranged in a mediated way. For them, visiting a museum is a ritualistic event:

The museum itself—the installations, the layout of rooms, and the sequence of collections—creates an experience that resembles traditional religious experiences. By performing the ritual of walking through the museum, the visitor is prompted to enact and thereby to internalize the values and beliefs written into the architectural script.⁸³

Walking through a large museum, then, is very controlled; although visitors can choose different points of entry, they are presented with a fixed narrative. Their discussion can also be linked to an understanding of how universal expositions plan the architecture of their fairs and organize access points throughout the grounds.

But while Bennett's discussion is important—it helps to frame how the *exhibitionary complex* affected world's fairs and museums as sites of cultural production and communication—it also has limitations. In particular, it establishes a relationship in which the public is put into one category, despite the fact that there are many audiences at play in a museum. It also assumes that all audiences respond to the *exhibitionary complex* in the same way, that there is one central gaze.

⁸³ Carol Duncan and Ann Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3 (December 1980): 416. For a good discussion of recent architecture and design developments in the museum, see Suzanne MacLeod, ed., *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Other authors argue that museums are not binary, one-sided relationships but sites of exchange between the public and institution. For example, Clifford's study of ethnographic displays in museums demonstrates that museums are *contact zones* of cross-cultural and, at times, reciprocal encounters.⁸⁴ He argues that museums and their collections should be considered sites of collaboration and exchange.⁸⁵ While a world's fair is meant to legitimize power, it also provides opportunities for nations to insert themselves into a global narrative. Thus, they operate within multiple gazes, in turn affecting how objects are displayed and interpreted.

Historically, world's fairs have reflected Bennett's *exhibitionary complex*, particularly in the displays of foreign countries; for example, Africa, Asia and India were typically organized into bazaars and exoticized displays that fed into a Eurocentric imagination. Mitchell has explored the dynamics between orientalism and the *exhibitionary complex*, whereby universal expositions would position the Oriental "other" in contrast to the perceived progress and modernity of the West.⁸⁶ Similarly, Edward Said suggests that orientalism was used as a lens, through which the West's self-perception positioned the East as "other." He calls this a process of *imaginative geography*, arguing that concepts of Occident and

⁸⁴ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁸⁵ See, for example, Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. (New York: Routledge, 2001).

⁸⁶ Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 31, no.2 (1989): 217-36. See also Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).

Orient are the products of people, and therefore the results of a social not a natural construct.⁸⁷

Early presentations of Japan at world's fairs presented it as an exotic land of kimonos and geishas.⁸⁸ Trade companies whose view of Japan was as an exotic commodity often organized the country's participation. At *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, Japan was only marginally represented in a few objects, organised by the British East India Company as part of a larger display merging several countries into one category: Oriental. However, as scholars like Snodgrass observe, these very display practices gave countries the opportunity to challenge orientalism. In her study of Japan at the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago, Snodgrass argues that such events can be viewed constructively as a challenge to orientalism as a one-way process, where Asia is understood only through the lens of Western conceptions.

Japan's project at this exposition was essentially to challenge its assigned place in this arrangement, distancing itself from the Western stereotype of Asian nations as colonial and undeveloped, and realigning itself among the sovereign nations of the international community.⁸⁹

In light of this, it is imperative to note a shift between the display and the displayed in the development of contemporary world's fairs. Increasingly, in recent world fairs, it is the West that is put on display. At Aichi, Asia was the

⁸⁷ Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," in *Orientalism: A Reader*, ed. A.L. Macfie (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 345-366. See also *Orientalism*, 346- 47.

⁸⁸ See Ellen P. Conant, "Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions 1862-1910," in *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, ed. Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe (London: London Humphries Publishers Ltd, 1991), 79.

⁸⁹ Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbia Exposition*, 16.

object and source of knowledge, and the foreign pavilions were displayed for the benefit of an Eastern audience. What occurred is a process of cultural exchange, with the objects and their display, the points of contact.

Problematizing Display

When one views a display, what may appear as random and spontaneous, is often highly mediated and planned. As MacDonald and Fyfe argue, museums “are never just spaces for the playing out of wider social relationships: a museum is a process as well as a structure, it is a creative agency, as well as a ‘contested terrain.’”⁹⁰ Exhibitions are constructed with specific lines of site, access routes and ways in which the narrative is to be presented and understood. In fact, many authors—for example, Greenberg, Ferguson and Nairne—argue that exhibitions are the main exchange system in the political economy of art. They maintain that the didactics and design of displays must be critically explored in order to understand how objects come to be imbedded with complex social, cultural, and political meaning.⁹¹

Design, layout and placement are not part of a neutral terrain but a powerful arena, one in which cultural meaning is created and defined. As Ferguson argues, all “exhibitionary procedures, labels, didactics, advertising, catalogues, hanging systems, media in their modernist sense, lighting, wall colours, security devices, posters, handouts etc. combine as aspects of the

⁹⁰ MacDonald and Fyfe, *Theorizing Museums*, 4.

⁹¹ Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking About Exhibitions*, (London: Routledge, 1996), 2.

exhibition's active recitation," adding that "[t]hey emphasize, de-emphasize, and re-emphasize braided narratives with purposes—fictions of persuasion, docudramas of influence. All are contributive to the ways in which art is more or less understood."⁹² When visiting an exhibition the viewer, rather than entering an unmediated experience is entering a display that has been completely planned for their visit. A world's fair both represents a nation, and positions people within it. The entire process—getting tickets, walking the prescribed footpaths, visiting the pavilions through designated areas—all contribute to a specific way of experiencing and knowing the nation.

Recent museological discourse has examined the contextualization of objects, as, for example, Coombes, Jessup, Karp and Phillips have done within the paradigm of display, ethnography and colonialism.⁹³ Their work draws attention to an inherent paradox within museums: they are created to serve as a function of the state, yet claim to be a neutral ground. And while a museum aims to create a sense of national unity, it often does so by neutralizing or omitting cultures represented within it. The museum, through layout and display, intentionally sets up a particular way of seeing. "Museums turn cultural materials into art objects," says Alpers. "The products of other cultures are made into something we

⁹² Bruce W. Ferguson, "Exhibition Rhetorics; Material Speech and Utter Sense," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, 181.

⁹³ See Annie E. Coombes, *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Ruth B. Phillips, *Museum Pieces: Towards the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); and Lynda Jessup, with Shannon Bagg, eds., *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery* (Hull, PQ: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002).

can look at. It is to ourselves, then, that we are representing things in museums.”⁹⁴ This concept of “other” has been at the core of much philosophical discourse, such as the master–slave dialectic in Hegel’s work.⁹⁵ At its core is the belief that to know and define oneself is to set that knowledge in relation to another. In reality, a museum display situates the viewer both as subject and object of knowledge.

The process of cross-cultural communication is a complex one as display practices of museums in the West have relied heavily on a Eurocentric view of history. One example that challenges traditional communication processes in a museum context is the performance by Guillermo Gomez and Coco Fusco, documented in the film *The Couple in a Cage: A Guatinaui Odyssey, 1993*.⁹⁶ The artists travelled throughout the United States and Europe in a cage, as “savages” from a foreign land. Because their cage was located in a museum, it added legitimacy to the performance.

There is an assumed authority when something is presented in a museum or gallery. Simply because it is on display, the object is presumed to have merit, that it should be there, and that its presence is valid. I think of this process as the *glass box effect*. *The Couple in a Cage* performance benefited from being

⁹⁴ Svetlana Alpers, “The Museum as a Way of Seeing,” in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 32.

⁹⁵ G.W.F Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. Miller (London: Oxford University Press, 1979). See also Howard P. Kainz, *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit: Not Missing the Trees for the Forest* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008).

⁹⁶ See Paul Allatson, “Coco Fusco, Guillermo Gómez-Peña, and ‘American’ Cannibal Reveries,” in *Latino Dreams: Transcultural Traffic and the U.S. National Imaginary*. (New York: Rodopi Press, 2002), 253–306.

associated with historical display practices, by which other cultures were put on display to claim colonial power and assert racialized stereotypes. Sometimes this transference takes place, through the physical body, such as the famous case of Sara “Saartjie” Baartman;⁹⁷ other times through physical objects, such as First Nations potlatch items.⁹⁸

The Couple in a Cage questioned, in a direct way, this process of cultural communication by putting the museum visitor on display; indeed, the use of authoritative voice over local voice⁹⁹ was a key factor in the performance. Even when the performers could be paid to tell their own stories, the true power of voice was that of the museum guide, who would answer their questions and “interpret” for the caged savages. The issue of who does the documentation, then, is a very important part of collections. As cultural labeling and stereotyping often begins at this stage, it deserves to be scrutinized. *The Couple in a Cage* challenged this idea of “we versus the ‘other’.” In the documentary, the majority of visitors believe they are the ones doing the looking; not realizing it is the artists who are in fact studying them. Even as *The Couple in a Cage* brings up important

⁹⁷ Baartman, also known as the Hottentot Venus, was used as a spectacle in the early nineteenth century. Her treatment, and exhibition of herself speaks to the long colonialist relationship of representations in museums of other cultures, in particular the desire, fascination and fear of the African female body. See Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁹⁸ A potlatch is important ceremony for First Nations. It was outlawed by the Canadian government in 1884, as part of an amendment to the Indian Act, and was a key part of the process of forced assimilation. Many of the potlatch objects were unlawfully taken, and ended up in private and public collections in Canada. See Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁹⁹ Tony Bennett provides a good discussion of the role of authoritative versus local voice in the museum and the relationship between people and museums; see his *Birth of the Museum*, 109-127.

questions about imperialist display practices, it raises others about how museums function as sites of knowledge by virtue of legitimizing what is on display.

But it is not only the manner in which objects are displayed; it is how they are used to navigate the terrain of contested narratives. Scholars in critical museum studies must interrogate whose memory is being presented, and why, as well as who decides which aspects of memory are viable and which are not.

Memory is both a recollection of the past and a positioning of oneself within it.¹⁰⁰

As Engel has observed, the very idea of memory is an act of self-promotion, in that the more memory is communicated, the more it becomes story, and the greater its effect.¹⁰¹ Memory, therefore, holds power; and the ways by which it is codified through museums must be considered. For, as Kavanagh states,

In many ways, museums are a meeting ground for official and formal versions of the past called histories, offered through exhibitions, and the individual or collective accounts of reflective personal experience called memories, encountered during the visit or prompted because of it.¹⁰²

Museums are the arena in which histories and memories are both created and maintained. Although Kavanagh is discussing museums, his comments are just as relevant to universal expositions. In these international forums nations decide which aspects they will magnify and which they will disregard, as they seek to reflect the objectives of the government planners.

¹⁰⁰ See Edmund E. Jacobitti, "Introduction," in his *Composing Useful Pasts: History as Contemporary Politics* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000); and Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000), 127-150.

¹⁰¹ Susan Engel, *Context is Everything: The Nature of Memory* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1999).

¹⁰² Gaynor Kavanagh, ed., *Making Histories In Museums* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 1.

One example that highlights the contested nature of how best to represent a difficult past and the volatile nature of memory is the 1995 *Enola Gay* controversy at the National Air and Space Museum at the Smithsonian Institution. In 1945, the *Enola Gay* was the first aircraft to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. For the 50th anniversary of the bombing, the Smithsonian was planning an exhibition, and the fuselage of the plane would be put on display. However, many veterans groups spoke out against doing so, believing the exhibit was too heavily focused on the Japanese casualties. After much public debate and pressure, the exhibit was cancelled and the Director of the Air and Space Museum resigned.¹⁰³ The fuselage is now on display at Dulles International Airport, with little discussion of the controversy provided in the accompanying text.

The *Enola Gay* case led to many public and scholarly discussions about memory and history and their crystallization in museums. Zoldberg explored how commemoration in a public forum causes problems when narratives compete with the official version.¹⁰⁴ There is also the tension between the personalized, experienced memory of the event, and the collective memory presented in the forum of an exhibition. In his exploration of the Pearl Harbour

¹⁰³ Martin Harwitt was director of the Air and Space museum, and wrote a book on his experience; see his *An Exhibit Denied: Lobbying the History of Enola Gay* (New York: Copernicus, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ Vera Zoldberg, "Museums as Contested Sites of Remembrance: The *Enola Gay* Affair," in Fyfe and Macdonald eds., *Theorizing Museums*, 70. See also Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996); and Charles T. O'Reilly and William A. Rooney. *The Enola Gay and the Smithsonian Institution* (Jefferson, SC: McFarland, 2004)

Monument and the cancelled exhibit at the Smithsonian, White examines the complex process of producing nationalist narratives. The relationship between Japan and the United States is the product of a complex, difficult history and is further complicated by the fact that the events of WWII exist as living memory for those who experienced it and are still alive.

Thus, a contested narrative, in the format of an exhibition, creates tension between fulfilling the competing needs of museum (site of learning, object/text based, disembodied voice of curator) and memorial site (emotion/remembering, personalized voice of citizen/subject). As Pierre Nora has noted, “there are lieux de memoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de memoire, real environments of memory.”¹⁰⁵ The examples of *The Couple in a Cage* and the *Enola Gay*, then, demonstrate the complicated nature of display in museums, the challenges of how to represent a collective identity, and the demands of the audience.

Making the Public Personal: Immersive Display Practices in the Museum

As I have outlined earlier, Bennett and others observe that while early public museums were for the public, they were not of the public; instead, they functioned as ways to confirm and reaffirm the power of the ruling classes. However, recent scholarship in museology points to a growing shift in display practices, such that the focus on experiential learning relationships disrupt the

¹⁰⁵ Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in his *Realms of History: The Construction of the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 7.

binary of power between museum and viewer. This move towards more inclusive display practices points to wider questioning of the function and use of museums in contemporary society. According to Cain, there has been a shift in thinking about the museum, from a site of hegemony towards one of negotiation. It is now a laboratory, a place of experimentation and exchange where meanings are necessarily in flux.¹⁰⁶ Others, such as Witcomb, go further, noting that museums are constantly affected by their contexts and that, in turn, visitors should be seen as active participants.¹⁰⁷

Hooper-Greenhill explores the growth of the museum from the cabinet of curiosity, related to private knowledge and collections, to repositories where objects were classified according to strict taxonomies, and disciplinary museums, where they were used to confirm power and assert dominance. In each instance, there was a separation of knowledge between the private (curator, collector), and the public (viewer). In contemporary museums, Hooper-Greenhill argues that the relationship between museum and public is changing in several ways: in the architectural script (lobbies are more open, gift shops, cafes etc.), in the bearers of knowledge (curators have become facilitators, the role of educators in

¹⁰⁶ Victoria Cain presents an interesting overview of recent literature exploring the role of museums; see her "Exhibitionary Complexity: Reconsidering Museums' Cultural Authority," *American Quarterly* 60, no.4, (December 2008): 1143-1151. See also Lara Kriegel, "After the Exhibitionary Complex: Museum Histories and the Future of the Victorian Past," *Victorian Studies* 48, no.4 (February 2006): 681-704. For an exploration in an American context, see Timothy W. Luke, *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Andrea Witcomb, *Re-Imaging the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum*. (New York: Routledge: 2003); and Michelle Henning, *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory* (Berkshire, England: Open University Press, 2006).

museums), and in access to collections (open storage, community exhibitions, and participatory experiences).¹⁰⁸ As a result, the visitor is now positioned in an active role in museum.

The age of the passive visitor has passed, to be superseded by the age of the active and discriminating “consumer” or “client.” The terminology is significant. “Visitors” are present in a space by permission; they enter an alien space, akin to someone else’s home. The museum or art gallery has in the past been very much the territory of the professional staff, with the “public” allowed in on sufferance, if their behavior was appropriate. Now the “client” demands active rights and expects good service. A “client” has a contract for the delivery of goods or services, and is in a negotiated situation where he or she has an equal position of power.¹⁰⁹

This positioning of the visitor as consumer–client is an important concept to consider in relation to my case study of *Expo 2005* at Aichi, as the demands of the audience were reflected in the planning stages, and in the final design of the Canadian pavilion that incorporated immersive experiences. Ultimately, it is through audience interest in the exhibit that activates the display and contributes to the dissemination of a nation brand.

For Molyneaux, the museum often presents objects as static and fixed, when it should incorporate multiple viewpoints and experiences.¹¹⁰ Simon calls for a shift in how we position museums and their publics towards participatory spaces, arguing that museums must view the community as co-creator, and

¹⁰⁸ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 211.

¹¹⁰ See Peter G. Stone and Brian L. Molyneaux, eds., *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Gail Anderson, ed., *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2004); Ivan Karp et al., eds., *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/ Global Transformations* (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); and Andrew McClellan, ed., *Art and Its Publics: Museum Studies at the Millennium* (Wiley-Blackwell: 2003).

become an active participant, not just a reflection of its content.¹¹¹ In claiming that museums can in fact be a space in which nations can be re-evaluated, Karp and Lavine offer three approaches for moving forward: involve the public more, expand the focus globally, and included a well articulated exhibition design.¹¹²

One of the ways that museums have moved in a new direction is through their growing reliance on immersive environments and digital technologies. Increasingly, exhibitions, and in particular universal expositions, are moving away from object-centered displays to those that emphasize the sensory experience of digital technologies.¹¹³ Traditionally, vision has been the only part of the visitor's senses that is engaged, as objects are usually arranged in ways that do not permit physical interaction. The act of viewing, then, becomes one of regulation, in that it orders, defines, and represents the world around us. As a result, notes Henrietta Riegel, museums too often limit the opportunity for shared space among visitor, curator and object.

Not only can visitors not touch most objects, they are also encouraged to remain mentally detached. Only their vision touches the objects. It is the visitor who is in motion, and the objects, and by implication the relationships they embody, are all curiously lifeless.¹¹⁴

In becoming static, objects create a frozen, fixed version of the culture they represent. These days, exhibitions, such as the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, use

¹¹¹ Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum2.0, 2010).

¹¹² Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures*.

¹¹³ See Ross Parry, ed., *Museums in a Digital Age* (Toronto: Routledge, 2010).

¹¹⁴ Henrietta Riegel, "Into the Heart of Irony: Ethnographic Exhibitions and the Politics of Difference," in Fyfe and Gordon eds., 86. Riegel's study of an exhibition of First Nations work at the Royal Ontario Museum questions not only how narrative is constructed in exhibitions, but also how the viewer "reads" and accesses the exhibit.

digital media, immersive environments and tactile experiences to create an experience that engages multiple senses. The use of new technologies has drastically changed the ways in which visitors access and understand the objects on display. This reliance on immersive technologies is an important part of the *branded display complex* at contemporary world's fairs. My study draws attention to the ways in which digital technologies are being used as key exhibitionary devices in branding nations.

A seminal work in the discourse surrounding digital technology is Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." He argues that the aura surrounding the unique, genuine work of art has been lost through mechanical reproduction: "One might subsume the eliminated element in the term 'aura,' and go on to say: that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art. This is a symptomatic process whose significance points beyond the realm of art." Benjamin goes on to argue that "[o]ne might generalize by saying: the technique of reproduction detached the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence."¹⁵ Benjamin's argument is applicable to not only simulated, re-created works of art, but also the growing tendency of museums to use interactive displays and multimedia in their exhibitions, and to create on-line archives of their collections.

¹⁵ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in his *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 221.

The use of artifice and simulacra is not necessarily at the expense of the object. Rather, the object/image relationship is repositioned in digital technology displays. As Sherrington claims, “our pleasure in the artifice of simulated worlds is due, it seems to me, not so much to the fact that the simulation replaces the referent, as due to the fact that we can see that it is artifice, and can marvel at the power of imitation.”¹¹⁶ This is relevant to the way of seeing in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, because immersive video screens, robot guides, and virtual games do not try to capture reality, but rather present a way in which it can be consumed: through the viewer and through its replication. In using multimedia elements in exhibitions, such as videos, the viewer can navigate virtual environments; it also allows for a multiplicity of views instead of a traditional object-oriented display where the gaze is fixed on objects alone.¹¹⁷

Technology: Display Device and Nation Brand

The use of digital technologies in museums also relates back to my earlier discussion on nation branding. In Canada, geography and communication technologies are inextricably linked, its vast geography necessitating increasingly advanced communication technologies.¹¹⁸ Communications and technology have

¹¹⁶ Shelly Errington, “Myth and Structure at Disney World,” in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Views from the Outside, a Centennial Commemoration of Erwin Panofsky 1892-1965*, ed. Irving Lavin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 85.

¹¹⁷ Margot Lovejoy, *Postmodern Currents: Art and Artists in the Age of Electronic Media*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997), 187.

¹¹⁸ See: Jody Berland, *North of Empire: Essays on the Cultural Technologies of Space* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). Maurice Charland, “Technological Nationalism,” *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 10 no.1-2 (1986): 196-220. The advancement of technology in Canada has also been inextricably linked with the federal government. Many government commissions

played an important role in the development of a collective identity in Canada, as they connect citizens in what Anderson terms the *imagined community*.¹¹⁹

Another way in which to think about the relationship between technology and nation branding in the wider global context of a world's fair is in terms of how it relates to the context of where and for whom the exhibition has been planned (to wit, a Japanese audience). In their study of technology and culture, Morley and Robbins explore how contemporary cultural identities are impacted by the role of communication media, which has the ability to connect fragmented audiences. They argue that *techno-orientalism* has positioned Japan as a leader in the global world, calling into question the centrality of the West as locus of modernity. They further raise "the scandalous and unthinkable possibility... that the West may now have to 'learn from Japan' – that is, to 'Orientalise' itself in order to become economically competitive with the emerging economies of a 'Confucian-zone' in the twenty-first century."¹²⁰ In other words, *techno-orientalism* challenges the assumption that only forms articulated in the West can measure modernity.¹²¹ World's fairs may originally have been aimed at presenting progress and modernity in terms of how they were understood to be

have led to the establishment of specific communication technologies. For example, the Aird Commission of 1929 examined public broadcasting in Canada, and argued for the importance of Canadian content and Canadian owned broadcasting. This report, conducted by John Grierson, contributed to the creation of CBC Radio in 1936, followed by CBC Television in 1952, and formed the basis for the National Film Act in 1939.

¹¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

¹²⁰ David Morley and Ken Robbins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London: Routledge, 1995), 160.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 160.

associated with Western industrialized nations; now, Japan and the East are the models of progress and modernity.

Japan has become synonymous with technologies of the future – with screens, networks, cybernetics, robotics, artificial intelligence, and simulation... If the future is technological, and if technology has become 'japanised' then the syllogism would suggest that the future is now Japanese too.¹²²

This is particularly significant in the context of *Expo 2005*. Here is a clear reversal, the West being consumed by the East. This shift of contemporary universal expositions to Asia (Aichi in 2005, Shanghai in 2010) is noteworthy. Not only does it impact how the Canadian pavilion is designed, it repositions the lens of politics, trade and the economy from West to East. *Techno-orientalism*, when applied to an understanding of *Expo 2005*, locates Japan at the centre of progress. The emphasis placed on digital technologies, then, can be seen as not only a part of contemporary exhibitionary practices, but as using an exhibitory "language" that is transferable to the audience in context. I explore this further in Chapter 4 in relation to my examination of the display practices in the Canadian pavilion where the use of digital technology served as a tool of cultural exchange.

I began this chapter by investigating two influences on the *context of production* at world's fairs: nation branding as an extension of government influence on planning, and tourism as an extension of audience expectations of a pavilion. Questions concerning *context of access* are my second point of inquiry. In particular, displays can move away from a binary involvement with an

¹²² Ibid, 168.

exhibition, to ones that involve the viewer through participatory experiences.

World's fairs reflect a model in which the nation brand is presented through a tourist package that relies heavily on interactive displays. This framework reflects the cross-disciplinary nature of my case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi.

In Chapter 3, I will explore the historiography of Canada at world's fairs, as a starting point for examining the intersections of nation branding, technologies of display, and landscape.

Chapter 3

Situating Canada at World's Fairs

Through the presentations of objects and interactive experiences, displays at universal expositions are important for establishing a nationalized public. In Canada, the government has been involved in world's fairs since the nineteenth century, ensuring that these global events contribute to the dissemination of its national brand. In order to interrogate the social context of the display of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, it is helpful to explore the history of Canada's role in earlier universal expositions. In this chapter, I examine the participation of Canada at two universal expositions: *The Great Exhibition of 1851* in London, England, and *Expo '67* in Montreal, Canada. I have selected them for three key reasons.

First, these fairs represent key moments in the development of Canada as an independent nation, and are thus important sites to interrogate the role of the government in planning Canada's participation at universal expositions. As a country, in the mid-nineteenth century, Canada had not yet entered Confederation; so the Canadian display at *The Great Exhibition of 1851* emphasized its colonial identity as a supplier of raw materials for trade. In contrast, *Expo '67* was at the centre of the federal government's Centennial celebrations that sought to affirm Canada as a politically, economically, and culturally independent nation.

Second, these fairs demonstrate a shift in display practices. *The Great Exhibition of 1851* was part of what Bennett called the *exhibitionary complex* of the nineteenth century, which I explored in Chapter 2. As Bennett argues, museums organized and structured material culture into *object lessons* in power, where objects functioned to reaffirm and legitimize the power of the ruling classes. *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, then, can be understood as a site of complex display, where nations could demonstrate their power through commodities. On the other hand, *Expo '67* represented a shift away from a focus solely on objects toward displays emphasizing multi-sensorial experiences, such as video presentations. In these displays the viewers also became, through their participation, objects of display and active agents in the recitation of national identity.

Finally, Canada's participation in both the 1851 and 1967 world's fairs demonstrates how the *branded display complex* of Canada is crystallized through representations of landscape. Particularly in 1851, the Canadian landscape was positioned as both a colonial commodity and a site of Eurocentric travel imagery. Conversely, in 1967, Canada's landscape was positioned as both a commodity and the iconographical symbol of an independent nation. The participation of Canada in 1851 and 1967 created a system that firmly placed government at the centre of planning. Affected by the context in which it was presented, landscape took on various incarnations, each contributing to a nation brand of Canada.

I: Government Hegemony and Universal Expositions

The massive scale of world's fairs provides key opportunities for countries like Canada to showcase themselves on a global stage. While the nineteenth century gave rise to world's fairs, it was also a key period in the social, cultural, and political development of Canada as a nation.

The rise in exhibitions in Canada in this period coincided not only with the development of museums, but also with political state formation in Canada.¹²³ Consequently, the Canadian government has been involved in the planning and development of its pavilions from the very beginning of Canada's participation in universal expositions. In her study of exhibitions in this period, Heaman states, "the story that Canada told to visitors at the international exhibitions was a story narrated by its government. These displays initiated an enduring faith that the country has a national identity that the government can authoritatively decipher and set down."¹²⁴ This relationship between the Canadian government and universal expositions is particularly noteworthy since the governments of other countries, including the United States, do not mandate participation.¹²⁵ In both *The Great Exhibition of 1851* and *Expo '67*, the Canadian government oversaw the

¹²³ E.A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For a seminal study of the role of large scale exhibitions on the urban culture of Canada in the nineteenth century see: Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of late Victorian Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

¹²⁴ Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 142.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the United States in world's fairs, see Robert W. Rydell et al. *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000); and Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

project from the outset. The result was a fixed way of presenting the nation, heavily mitigated by government priorities and goals. This federal involvement has permeated Canada's participation at all subsequent world's fairs, including Expo 2005.

Nascent Formation: Government and The Great Exhibition of 1851

This process of government-narrated branding began with the first universal exposition. The *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* was held in the purpose-built Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, England, from May 1 to October 11, 1851.¹²⁶ With an attendance of six million paid entrances, *The Great Exhibition* was the “fair of all fairs,” its scope and breadth an immense undertaking for its time, and it garnered global attention.¹²⁷ *The Great Exhibition* centered on establishing a meta-narrative of Britain as the dominant imperial power, but it also provided an opportunity for foreign countries to present themselves on an international stage.

At the time of *The Great Exhibition*, Canada was in the process of its own independent nation making. The mid-nineteenth century was the period of the Great Migration in Canada that saw immigrants, many of whom were British, settling across Canada. This increase in population contributed in turn to the

¹²⁶ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 1.

¹²⁷ The Great Exhibition has been the subject of many academic studies. See, for example, Michael Leapman, *The World for a Shilling: How The Great Exhibition of 1851 Shaped a Nation* (London: Headline Review, 2011); and John Tallis, *History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, J.G. Strutt, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For a collection of images and archival documents, see Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Great Exhibition*, accessed November 23, 2012, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/page/g/great-exhibition/>

growth of business. While concerns over economics and politics, both national and localized, were growing, the majority of government rulings were made by a governor of the colony, whose decisions were linked more closely with British imperial aims than with localized concerns. In 1839, after assessing the Rebellion of 1837, Lord Durham released the *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Two of its key recommendations were for responsible government and the union of Lower and Upper Canada. The Act of Union came first in 1840, followed by responsible government in 1847. These events contributed to the strengthening of self-government, and paved the way for the unification of Canada as an autonomous nation-state, culminating with Confederation in 1867.¹²⁸ Thus, Canada's participation in *The Great Exhibition* coincided with its repositioning between Canada-as-colony and Canada-as-independent nation.

In 1850, a formal request that Canada participate in *The Great Exhibition* was sent from Lord Earl Grey to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of the Province of Canada. In Canada, the government saw the exhibition as an opportunity to showcase its vast natural resources to promote trade, as well as providing the chance to brand the country as a strong nation in the minds of the public. A commission of fourteen men was quickly appointed to organize the Canadian

¹²⁸ For a discussion of Canada in the nineteenth century, see J.M Careless, *The Union of the Canadas* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); and Raymond Blake et al., *Narrating a Nation: Canadian History Pre-Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw- Hill, 2010).

section, with the goal of fully representing the natural resources and industry of Canada in Britain.¹²⁹

The Canadian section received a lot of positive feedback and was one of the most successful foreign displays at *The Great Exhibition*. Here, Canada was located at the right hand of Britain, which was interpreted by many to mean that Canada was a favoured colony.¹³⁰ As Fred Cumberland wrote in a letter to the Legislative Assembly of Canada, “The Canadian section has attracted and continues to command high consideration and attention, and promises to achieve for Canadian industry and resources a standing and character in Great Britain never before attained.”¹³¹ In their notes, the commissioners discussed the increased sense of nationhood and their country’s ability to actively compete for trade. However, Britain also wanted to maintain control over its colonial wealth. After the success of the Canadian pavilion, the Royal Society of Arts sent a correspondence to Canada’s Government House stating its intent to create a Colonial Committee that would control and oversee trade in line with British interests. This correspondence between Britain and Canada suggests not only the success of the Canadian section in promoting trade, but Britain’s desire to maintain its interests and wealth by controlling colonial trade.¹³²

¹²⁹ *First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Conduct the Representation of Canada, at the Great Exhibition of all Nations, in London, in the Appendix to the Tenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session, 1851, Appendix (K.K.K.), 14.*

¹³⁰ This was a topic of discussion in much of the popular press at the time, such as the *Globe*.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² The mandate included the following guidelines: 1/ To make known to the mercantile and general public of Britain the principle products of each of the colonies and the facilities for

The success of the pavilion contributed to a growing collective consciousness favouring the autonomy of Canada. Media in Canada, such as the *Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe*, both celebrated Canada's success and reflected growing anti-American sentiments. As John Leeming, one of the commissioners, observed:

I am sure that we will beat the Americans, both in our display and the prizes we shall draw. From their general puffing, much more was expected from them, and it is not much wonder though odd that after all their great bragging they do not occupy one half the space allotted to them. As a nation they will not come up to the third class Power.¹³³

The responses in the press reflected not only Canada's dominance as a trading partner but wider conversations over annexation by the United States, and asserted Canada's autonomy in North America.

Canada's participation at *The Great Exhibition* was the first large-scale international event for Canada in the years preceding Confederation, and formed part of the growing national self-consciousness. Stuart Murray, in his discussion of Canadian participation in the 1851 and 1855 fairs, notes that Canada's involvement in these early fairs represents the transition from colony to nation:

The central conundrum inherent within the mid-nineteenth century representations of Canada was the tension and ambivalence created by the

obtaining them. 2/ To point out to the Colonists any of those products, which may be advantageously imported to England. 3/ To afford such information as a Colony may require in regards to Implements, Machinery, Chemical or other processes necessary to the prosecution of its special branches of industry. See Henry Y. Hind, *Canadian Journal: A Repertory of Industry, Science and Art* (Toronto: Council of the Canadian Institute, 1878), 14

¹³³ John Leeming "Canada at Great Exhibition," *The Globe*, (May 17, 1851). It is interesting to note that many Canadian newspapers focused not on the Canadian section itself, but how it was superior to the United States. See also "The World's Fair – Paucity of American Exhibitors," *The Globe*, (June 5, 1851).

overlapping of a nascent national formation onto the existing structure of colonial relations.¹³⁴

While *The Great Exhibition* provided an opportunity for the planners to brand Canada, they did so within a context of colonial relationships to Britain. This paradox in the display is discussed in the third part of this chapter.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 ushered in a plethora of world's fairs that dominated much of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, by the mid-twentieth century, the Great World Wars had impacted the scope of universal expositions. More often than not, pavilions focused on military superiority, such as the posturing of the German and Soviet Union pavilions at the *Paris World's Fair of 1937*. While New York held a world's fair in 1940, it wasn't until *Brussels '58* that another fair was held in Europe. In many respects, it was *Expo '67* in Montreal that ushered in modern universal expositions. While *The Great Exhibition of 1851* set in motion world's fairs, *Expo '67* reasserted their importance in the twentieth century as important sites for asserting national identity.

Nation Formed: Government and Expo '67

The year 1967 marked a period of optimism in Canada or, as the popular historian Pierre Berton termed it, "the last good year."¹³⁵ It was a time in the political, social, and cultural history of Canada in which there was a confidence in

¹³⁴ Stuart Murray, "Canadian Participation and National Representation at the 1851 London Great Exhibition and the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle," in *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 63 (May 1999): 2-22.

¹³⁵ Pierre Berton, *The Last Good Year: 1967* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1997).

nationhood.¹³⁶ A key reason for this was the cross-Canada government-planned celebrations for the centennial of Confederation. These celebrations took two key forms. The first was related to the building of infrastructure, such as the National Arts Centre. The second was related to festivals and programs, such as the *Confederation Train*, replete with a train-horn that blew *Oh Canada* and the *Voyageur Canoe Pageant*.¹³⁷

Arguably, of all the planned centennial events, *Expo '67* had the farthest-reaching impact. The *1967 International and Universal Exposition* ran from April 28 to October 27, 1967. It occupied the Île Sainte-Hélène and Île Notre-Dame in Montreal, and had an attendance of over 50 million, making it one of the highest turnouts in world's fair history.¹³⁸ The central theme of *Expo '67* was *Man and His World*, with a number of sub-themes, such as *Man the Producer*. It was the first world's fair to be held in Canada, and served an important role in the branding of a national and global identity for Canada.

As with all of Canada's participation in universal expositions, the government was involved from the beginning. The success of *Expo '67* was the direct result of the municipal, federal, and provincial government's cooperation.

¹³⁶ While the complex political backdrop of 1960s Canada merits its own study, I explore it broadly here to explain that the Canadian federal government has long been at the centre of planning the country's representation at world's fairs.

¹³⁷ For a government record of Centennial events, see *Festival Canada: A Report...* (Ottawa: n.p., 15 November, 1966), *Prepared by the Performing Arts Division, Centennial Commission*. For a contemporary reflection on the programming, see Dean Misao, "The Centennial Voyageur Canoe Pageant as Historical Re-enactment," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40 no.3 (2006), 43-67.

¹³⁸ Originally, the Soviet Union had defeated Canada for the bid to host *Expo '67*, but backed out over several issues. After lobbying both the Canadian Government and IBE, Montreal was then awarded the opportunity. See *CBC Archives*, *Expo '67*, (accessed July 7, 2010). <http://archives.cbc.ca/society/celebrations/topics/100/>

An Act of Parliament had created the Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition (CCWE) on December 20, 1962, specifically for the planning, holding, organizing, and administering of *Expo '67*.¹³⁹ The commissioner-general, deputy-general, and 14 directors comprising the CCWE were directly appointed by the Government. The ambassador and Commissioner of Expo was Pierre Dupuy, who had worked for the Department of External Affairs for over 42 years. Notwithstanding the determination of others, such as Montreal mayor Jean Drapeau, Dupuy's vision and pragmatism were crucial to Expo's success. His determination to expand Île Sainte-Hélène has been forever crystallized by a *Heritage Minute*, ensuring that *Expo '67* remains part of the national collective identity.¹⁴⁰

The mood around the planning of *Expo '67* was one of heightened national pride, optimism, and celebration for a nation that was now an independent, economic and political player on the global stage. As Prime Minister Pearson remarked at the opening ceremonies, "Expo offers perhaps the most striking proof ever assembled in one place that the future well-being of the whole world community of man also depends on achieving the unity of peace within the vast diversity of national policies."¹⁴¹ Pearson's statement clearly situates the role of

¹³⁹ Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition, *Information Manual for Expo '67* (Ottawa: April 28, 1967).

¹⁴⁰ Heritage Minutes are 60-second shorts that highlight moments in Canadian history. One of the goals of the project is to increase awareness of the past and to motivate the Canadian public to learn more about history. The project has been the topic of many studies, See for example: Elspeth Cameron, "Heritage Minutes: Culture and Myth," *Canadian Studies at Home and Abroad*. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, (1995): 13-24.

¹⁴¹ Lester B. Pearson, *Notes for the Prime Minister's Remarks at the Opening of Expo '67 in Montreal* (Ottawa: Office of the Prime Minister, 1967).

the federal government in Expo's success and ability to bring a diverse public together. In fact, as Miedema notes, *Expo '67* closely reflected the philosophy and policy of the Pearson liberals:

Caught in the political and cultural turmoil of the 1960s, the celebrations vividly reflected in symbol and ritual the federal state's nation-building effort to reinterpret Canada to Canadians. They threw into bold relief the effort to move Canadians away from what was seen to have been a divisive and exclusive understanding of themselves and their country and towards a pluralistic vision perceived to be more inclusive and supportive of national identity. That effort involved a strong emphasis on citizen participation – an attempt to strengthen commitment and loyalty to the country by getting every citizen involved in public life.¹⁴²

As this quote aptly describes, at *Expo '67* a focus of the federal government's policy in branding Canada was linked with pluralistic ideals. Geographic regions, religion, and ethnicities were presented through displays that celebrated diversity as the core achievement of a modern Canada.

However, the cohesive, pluralistic version of Canada presented at *Expo '67* was set against the backdrop of many political challenges. As Lownsbrough has argued, these included the Vietnam anti-war protests at the United States pavilion, and the famed speech on July 24, 1967 by French Prime Minister Charles De Gaulle, ending with the infamous "Vive le Québec libre?"¹⁴³ In fact, De Gaulle's entire visit to Montreal was laden with symbolic rituals: his arrival on the *Colbert*,

¹⁴² Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 65.

¹⁴³ John Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be: Expo '67 and Its Time* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2012), 181. For television coverage of the speech, see Norman dePoe, "Vivre le Québec Libre," *CBC Newsmagazine* (July 14, 1967); and Bruce Rogers, "Standing up to de Gaulle," (CBC News Report, July 15, 1967). For a further discussion of the anti-Vietnam war protests and the "peaceniks" at Expo 67, see Alan Yates, "Anti-Vietnam Protesters in U.S. pavilion at Expo 67" (CBC Radio News Special, April 28 1967).

a French cruiser, travelling the same route as Jacques Cartier, and docking at Wolfe's Cove, a site linked to the contested narrative of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Both visit and speech ignited the crowds in Montreal, and fuelled debates in relation to Quebec sovereignty everywhere else.

Despite the political, social, and cultural debates bubbling just under the surface, *Expo '67* is seen as a success in the way it contributed to a collective national consciousness. Its impact on Canadian society was immense and was widely discussed both during Expo and afterwards. As the *Montreal Gazette* noted, "The visitor, particularly the Canadian visitor, didn't just see Expo, he was changed by Expo. Even the people who were unable to visit the site have felt this stirring of national spirit."¹⁴⁴ Throughout *Expo '67* a collective identity was constructed in which Canadians were supposed to both see and situate themselves. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, this was achieved through participatory experiences and in positioning landscape as the locus of Canadian identity. The role of government in planning world's fairs also speaks to a context of production where choices of the display are heavily influenced by government priorities. As I outlined earlier, this is part of the *branded display complex* of Canada at world's fairs.

¹⁴⁴ "Expo '67," *Montreal Gazette*, (November 25, 1967).

II: Display at Universal Expositions: Cabinet of Curiosity to Digital Technologies

World's fairs displays are the result of the aims of the government and the public, and the display techniques used at universal expositions mirror developments in museums. *The Great Exhibition* had its roots in the *wunderkammers* of the 16th century, private collections of objects in which the world was contained, and ordered. This gave way to the *exhibitionary complex* of public museums, where the classification of objects functioned as lessons in power that in turn asserted the hegemony of rule.¹⁴⁵ At *The Great Exhibition*, the planners organized the foreign displays around Britain, as befitting the dominant, colonial power. By the time of *Expo '67*, there was more of an acknowledgement that the public was pluralistic and diverse. In this way, new technologies of display contributed to a shift from fixed objects toward experiential, immersive experiences where meaning was more fluid. This section uses the examples of the 1851 and 1967 world's fairs to investigate the changing approach in displays from a cabinet of curiosity to a technological environment. The manner of display is a key part of how the *branded display complex* is communicated.

Ordering the World Through Objects: The Great Exhibition of 1851

The Great Exhibition was carefully planned to celebrate the notion of empire, and to situate the locus of progress and modernity within Britain.

Although Britain invited other countries to exhibit, its true objective was to

¹⁴⁵ This was coined by Tony Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*. I discuss his work, and its connection to my study and my framework of the branded display complex in Chapter 2.

promote, confirm, and display its imperial dominance. One of the ways it did so was through architecture, a key part of the ritualized experience in a museum.

The central feature of *The Great Exhibition* was the Crystal Palace (figure 3.1), a monument to industry and modernity. Built of glass by Joseph Paxton and with the latest design techniques, it occupied almost 19 acres when completed.¹⁴⁶ An awe-inspiring structure, it set the tone for the exhibition and cemented the dominant narrative of Britain as the locus of power.

Figure 3.1. Crystal Palace, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, London.

However, it was not only the building itself, but also the way in which the organizers laid out the displays. Half of the space of the Crystal Palace was allotted to Britain and its colonies, with the other half dedicated to foreign

¹⁴⁶ Charles Harvard Gibbs-Smith, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Commemorative Album* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1950), 8.

countries. The result, as Richards describes, was an “exhibition layout [that] essentially balkanized the rest of the world, projecting a kind of geopolitical map of a world half occupied by Britain, half occupied by a collection of principalities vying for leftover space.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, the layout of the Crystal Palace and the design of each of the pavilions were structured in a way that enforced Britain’s power.

Another way that Britain positioned the world in relationship to itself was through how objects were organized for display. Although the visitor could walk freely from exhibit to exhibit, each was constructed so that it reiterated the imperial supremacy of Britain (figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. Interior, Crystal Palace, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, London.

The organizers established a classification system, which ensured that Britain and its colonies would have a clearly organized and defined space in

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 1990), 25.

contrast to the foreign section. Four general categories were created by Prince Albert and Lyon Playfair: Raw Materials and Produce, Machinery, Manufactures, and Fine Art. Although one of the four categories was geared towards fine art, the focus of *The Great Exhibition* was clearly directed towards commodities and manufacturing processes.¹⁴⁸

The manner in which the objects were described, ordered, and arranged established a systematic ordering of Britain and its colonies. As Auerbach observes, the systematization of objects served as a means of domesticating the latter:

The collation of information about Britain's colonies, which were the sources for many of the raw materials exhibited, had the additional effect of servicing the empire by establishing a cultural technology of rule based on language and terminology.¹⁴⁹

In other words, it reflected the *exhibitionary complex* prevalent in the nineteenth century, where displays functioned as object lessons in power and, in turn, transcribed a national rule on the citizen-public.

Thus, the *Great Exhibition* asserted Britain's dominance over other countries, and helped to sell an image of empire to its citizens. As Richards notes, it "had at its root a single conception: that all human life and cultural endeavour could be fully represented by exhibiting manufactured articles."¹⁵⁰ The exhibition, with its focus on manufactured objects, promoted the idea that

¹⁴⁸ See *First Report of the Commissioners*, (Session, 1851, Appendix K.K.K),

¹⁴⁹ Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 99.

¹⁵⁰ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 17.

industry and commodities could measure achievement; for if commodities were at the centre, then Britain through its classification of objects could be assured it was positioned at the core.

This systematic ordering of objects had a significant impact on how colonies such as Canada presented themselves at *The Great Exhibition*. The commissioners of the Canadian section were acutely aware of the role placed on commodities. From the early stages of planning, trade was a central concern. In preparation for *The Great Exhibition*, various provincial exhibitions were held throughout Canada, specifically encouraging entries that would be seen to benefit trade. For instance, in the call for entries for Quebec's Provincial Fair, Leeming described the guidelines as follows:

All articles admitted for competition should exhibit one or more of the following qualifications: increased usefulness, improved form and arrangement in articles of utility, superior skill in workmanship, new use of materials, beauty and design in form and colour, with reference to utility. Cheapness relative to excellence in production. The object must be bona fide produced or manufactured in Canada, and as far as possible of materials from Canada. ¹⁵¹

Leeming's emphasis was on objects that would best represent Canada as a colonial supplier of raw materials. At the end of each provincial exhibition, prizes were given out and arrangements were made to ship the winning displays to England, at the expense of the Canadian government. Once at the Crystal Palace, they were re-organized to reflect the classification parameters set up by the British planners.

¹⁵¹ John Leeming, App. L

Of *The Great Exhibition's* four general categories, Canada focused its contribution on raw materials, essential to manufacturing and industry. By exhibiting natural resources such as minerals and wood, Canada aimed to demonstrate its wealth as a colony and, by extension, boost and promote trade. Even though Britain was a leading colonial power it was also increasingly dependent on its colonies for raw materials. Due to its abundance of natural resources, Canada had proven to be a very important colony to Britain, something the planners were clearly aware of in their choice of display. To be successful in branding on an international stage, you must reflect the needs and desires of your audience. I revisit this point later, in connection with the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, where specific decisions in pavilion design and display were made that would best reflect the demands of the audience.

One prominent display involved several glass cases filled with minerals and lining all four sides of the pavilion (figure 3.3). William Logan, founder and head of the Geographical Survey of Canada and one of the Royal Commissioners for the London exhibition, had made an extensive survey of Canada's mineral wealth, resulting in the first *Canadian Geological Survey*.¹⁵² The survey's results encouraged trade with Canada, but also garnered support for future scientific explorations. As Zeller notes, "The consumption of iron was a social barometer by

¹⁵² Logan's survey was heavily praised: "Of all the British colonies, Canada is that whose exhibition is the most interesting and the most complete; and we may even say that it is superior, as far as the Mineral Kingdom is concerned, to all countries that have forwarded their products to the exhibition." See "Reports by the Juries for Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations," in Hind, *Canadian Journal*, 90.

which to compare the relative height of civilization among nations.”¹⁵³ Logan’s survey, then, not only presented Canada as a key source of mineral wealth, but also helped to position it as a progressive, modern nation; and by extension, the objects displayed in the Canadian pavilion asserted the colonial power of Britain.

Figure 3.3. Canadian pavilion, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, London

Moving Towards Interactive Experiences in Display: Expo '67

While *The Great Exhibition* was premised on showing the success of a modern nation through its organized objects of materials and industry, the approach of *Expo '67* was more fluid. Commodities were exhibited alongside new displays that emphasized technology and immersive experiences; and the wide-ranging and varied displays reflected the pluralistic objectives of the government

¹⁵³ Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 81.

planners. For the purpose of my study, I focus on the use of film and technology at Expo '67 as strategies that were used in the display, which functioned to involve the visitor in an experience with the nation. This use of immersive technologies, I argue, is central to an understanding of the *branded display complex*.

An important part of *Expo '67* was its pedagogical capacity. The fair constructed a narrative of Canada for Canadians, and it was through participation in the event that this could be fully realized. Mackey refers to these moments of citizen interaction as *pilgrimages of patriotism*, noting “[they] combine the ritual of participation in patriotic performance, with the pedagogical practice of learning about the nation, its relationship to the world, and one’s role as citizen and national subject.”¹⁵⁴ While the object lessons of power from the nineteenth century were still active at *Expo '67*, other types of displays, such as immersive film experiences, incorporated the visitor into the very fabric of the event. Thus, active participation throughout Expo played an integral part in the creation of a citizen-public, as well as the ways in which it could be accessed and understood.

One of the ways the *pilgrimage of patriotism* was achieved at *Expo '67* was through displays, where visitors would situate themselves in the experience of Expo. This was achieved throughout the fair in the widespread use of digital technologies, such as immersive video experiences. Michener goes so far as to say

¹⁵⁴ Eva Mackey, *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: Routledge, 1999), 59.

that while the event may have been a world's fair, it could just as easily have been the site of an experimental film festival for all the new technologies that were being displayed.¹⁵⁵ The majority of pavilions displayed film technologies through multi-screen, immersive environments where, Fulford notes, "[t]he real revolution was not in making films, but in watching them."¹⁵⁶ In this way, *Expo '67* was a testing ground for new film technologies, which moved the display environment from that of a passive viewer of an object to that of an engaged citizen experiencing nation through their body. As I demonstrate, this use of digital technologies as a means to involve the viewer physically and visually in the pavilion would later be repeated in other world's fairs such as *Expo 2005*, and is an important part of how the *branded display complex* is conveyed.

Two films that introduced these new modes of viewing were Robert Barclay's *Canada '67*, and Graeme Fergusons' *Polar Life*. Showcased in the *Man the Explorer* pavilion, the 18-minute *Polar Life* emphasized the immense geography and natural beauty of Northern countries, including Canada, by showcasing features such as the aurora borealis (figure 3.4). It was presented in an auditorium that was divided into four sections, with 150 seats in each section. The sections were on a turntable that revolved while 11 projectors projected the

¹⁵⁵ Wendy Michener, "Where's It All Happening This Year? In Film, Baby," *Macleans*, (June 1963), 93.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Fulford, *Remember Expo: A Pictorial Record* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 59. See also Helen Davies, *The Politics of Participation: Learning from Canada's Centennial Year*, (Toronto: MASS LBP, 2010).

film onto 11 stationary screens.¹⁵⁷ It was after this experience with this new sort of cinema that Ferguson teamed up with Roman Kroitor, Robert Kerr, and William D. Shaw to develop IMAX film technology, which premiered at *Expo '70* in Osaka, Japan.¹⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, a key feature of early IMAX films was expansive wide-angle shots, reminiscent of those in *Polar Life* and other films at *Expo '67*.

Figure 3.4. Film Still, *Polar Life*, Expo 1967, Montreal, Canada.

Another film that employed innovative film technologies was Barclay's *Canada '67* (figure 3.5), commissioned for the Telephone pavilion and produced by the Disney Corporation. It is an example of the *Circle Vision-360* technique, “in which films were shot on 35mm film with nine cameras mounted pointing straight up into mirrors angled at 45 degrees. In this configuration they capture

¹⁵⁷ Lownsbrough, *The Best Place to Be*, 135.

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion of IMAX, see Denise Dissar, “The Birth of Imax,” IEEE Canada website, accessed June 15, 2011. http://www.ieee.ca/millennium/imax/imax_birth.html.

an entire 360 degree field of view.”¹⁵⁹ For the aerial shots in the film, special cameras were constructed and attached to planes, providing expansive birds-eye views of Canada. For the viewer, surrounded by screens on all sides, the result was a completely immersive experience.¹⁶⁰ In addition, the room was designed with specific entry and exit points, to control the timing of the film, and the visitors who stood in the centre of the room.

Figure 3.5. *Canada '67* as seen from above, circular screen with audience in centre. *Expo 1967*, Montreal, Canada.

Films like *Canada '67* positioned the viewer at the centre of knowledge and nationhood. As with *Polar Life*, the use of panoramic screen shots of the

¹⁵⁹ “Digital Circle Vision 360,” MediaMind Digital, accessed July 20, 2012, <http://www.mediaminddigital.com/circlevision.html>.

¹⁶⁰ For a discussion of the various Canadian films at Expo '67, see this collaborative research project with researchers from across Canada: *Expo '67 Expanded Cinema*, accessed July 26, 2012 <http://www.yorku.ca/filmexpo/film.html#canada67>.

Canadian landscape, the large screens, and the standing audience coalesced to visually and spatially insert the visitor in the experience of the pavilion. Large-scale videos and immersive viewing experiences, which are important display devices of the *branded display complex*, would find their way into subsequent world's fairs, such as *Expo 2005*.

III: Picturing Landscape in Universal Expositions

In this chapter, I have examined the role of the Canadian government in Canada's participation at world's fairs, and the systems of display. In this section, I take up the question of which objects and images were presented in the Canadian pavilion at *The Great Exhibition of 1851* and *Expo '67*. A shared element in these world's fairs was their reliance on representations of landscape. In 1851, landscape was positioned as both a commercial resource of a colony and a site of Eurocentric travel imagery. In 1967, landscape was positioned as a commercial industry of an independent nation, and a symbol of collective Canadian identity. Thus, representations of landscape are a core component of what I term the *branded display complex*, a recurring element that Canadian government planners have used repeatedly at world's fairs to brand the nation and which, as I demonstrate in Chapters 5 and 6, was equally true at *Expo 2005*.

Landscape as Traded Commodity: The Great Exhibition of 1851

As I have argued, *The Great Exhibition* marks an important moment in the development of Canada as a nation. In 1851, Canada was in the midst of

positioning its colonial and autonomous identities on the global stage. The attempt resulted in a display that was muddled among colonial empire, self-governance, and audience expectations, not unlike the process of negotiated representation that so often happens at world's fairs, which must accommodate the expectations of planners, government and audience. In the Canadian pavilion at *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, this tension can be seen in the objects displayed, as well as the context in which they were presented. The result was a representation of landscape that served multiple interests: as a source of raw material for trade, thus cementing Canada's role as an important colonial trading partner, and as a source of tourist imagery through which audience preconceptions were layered.

One of the largest displays in the Canadian pavilion involved wood, presented as both raw material and in manufactured goods. Canada's dominance in the lumber trade was asserted with the massive *Canadian Timber Trophy* (figure 3.6). The wood was exhibited in planks, demonstrating the potential for manufacture and trade. But because Britain was becoming increasingly dependent on its colonies for raw materials, such as timber, *The Canadian Timber Trophy* served as an outsized reminder of Canada's importance.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ The dependency of Britain on Canada for timber was noted repeatedly in the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, with large sections devoted to stories about lumberjacks and lengthy details on the merits of the various types of woods available from Canada. Britain's need for Canadian timber began during the Napoleonic wars, when Britain's access to the supply of wood along the Baltic Sea was closed. The demand for wood from Canada was so high that by 1849, wood comprised 42% of all exports from the Province of Canada. In 1849, \$400,000 worth of forest products were exported to Britain, and in 1865 the figure rose to \$9,000,000. See J.M. Bliss,

Figure 3.6. Canadian Timber Trophy, Canadian pavilion, the *Great Exhibition of 1851*, London.

In addition to the *Canadian Timber Trophy*, manufactured products, such as ornamentally carved furniture and textiles, were also exhibited. By exhibiting both raw materials and manufactured articles, Canada aimed to show its potential at both ends of the manufacturing process. It was not only capable of providing vast natural resources, but could also produce and manufacture objects. Alas, although the quality of the furniture and textiles was excellent, they were often overlooked in newspapers and publications such as the multi-volume *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*.¹⁶² Britain's decided focus on

ed., *Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); and J.M. Bumstead, ed., *Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations* (Georgetown, ON: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972).

¹⁶² *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*, Robert Ellis ed. (London: The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, 1851).

raw materials suggests that its intent was to acquire raw materials from its colonies, then produce only those commodities that the colonies would want to own, thus ensuring that economy and trade would always flow back to Britain.

While raw materials, such as wood, were on display to show Canada's role in trade, the Canadian pavilion also included objects that fed straight into British visitors' preconceptions of how they imagined Canada, such as snowshoes, sleighs and furs. This process of presenting symbols and creating narrations would become a key element for nations at subsequent world's fairs, which I explore further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Travel literature was an important part of Victorian culture. As immigrants from Britain arrived in Canada, the accounts of how they lived contributed to how their family and friends envisioned and understood where they lived. A well-known work from this period is George Heriot's *Travels through the Canadas*, 1807. Heriot lived in Canada from 1792 to 1816, and his work documents his observations of the social and cultural life of Canada. A trained water-colourist, Heriot included aquatint plates that showed the Canadian landscape to the reader. Travel writing by women, such as Catherine Parr Traill, who immigrated to Canada in 1832, was also popular in nineteenth century England. In 1836 Traill wrote *The Backwoods of Canada*, which was based on her first few years' experience as a settler in the Canadian landscape.

These travel accounts, based on personal experience, presented a particular way of knowing and seeing Canada. As Vibert points out, their

descriptions, particularly those relating to the fur trade, have contributed to a European romanticism of the New World in general, and Native peoples in particular.¹⁶³ Landscape and adventure always figured heavily and, no surprise, many of the objects displayed in the Canadian pavilion of *The Great Exhibition* fed into these imaginings. For example, canoes were displayed prominently; one hung above the middle of the room, another was placed above the *Canadian Timber Trophy* (figures 3.3 and 3.6). There were also many travel narratives accompanying the objects on display. According to one description, “previously to it being forwarded to England it made a voyage in the spring of last year of upwards of 3,000 miles, with a crew of 20 men. It forms the homes of the hardy and daring voyagers during their transit to and from the Far West.”¹⁶⁴ In addition, a vast array of furs, saddles, and objects described as “native curios” (moccasins, snowshoes) were set up around the perimeter that further positioned Canada as a *terre sauvage*. Taken together, they reinforced an image of Canada unmistakably bound to the idea of an expansive wilderness.

The narrative of a wild unpopulated Canada created tensions in the planner’s efforts to brand the country as a strong nation. For example, the entire centre was filled with sleighs and furs, such as McLean and Wright’s sleigh from Montreal (figure 3.7). By including a variety of sleighs, Canada aimed to exhibit

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Vibert “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” in Catherine Hall ed., *Cultures of Empire: A Reader, Colonizers in Britain and the Empire of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 282. A seminal text that explores the colonial lens of travel writing is Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁶⁴ Canadian section, *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue*

something that would be seen as authentically Canadian. The sleighs fed into British imaginations about Canada, further supported by lengthy descriptions of the “national pastime” in the official catalogues.¹⁶⁵

Figure 3.7. Sleigh, Canadian Section, *Great Exhibition*, 1851, London.

While the inclusion of sleighs presented a narrative of Canada associated with travel and leisure, it also contradicted its position in trade. An awkward juxtaposition was created between the sleighs and the bounty of agriculture presented as barrels of grains and vegetables. Canada’s capacity as an agricultural producer was met with mixed response at *The Great Exhibition*, most accounts claiming that Canada could not possibly produce enough quantity to compete

¹⁶⁵ The *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* includes various descriptions of the activity; for example, “Sleighbg forms the chief and most highly relished amusement of the Canadians during winter. Seated in one of these light and elegant carriages wrapped in the warmest furs, ornamented with the gayest colours and tempted above by a sky that equals that of Italy in brilliancy, the Canadian thoroughly enjoys himself,” 968.

internationally because of its climate.¹⁶⁶ Very likely, the inclusion of so many sleighs was all the confirmation many nations needed that Canada was in fact covered with snow for the better part of the year. These are but a few of the examples of competing narratives to be found in the Canadian pavilion. On one side, raw materials positioned Canada as an important economic source for Britain, and a modern nation capable of competing in trade. On the other, objects like sleighs positioned it as a quaint colony covered in snow and a travel destination.

The juxtaposition of objects in the Canadian pavilion of *The Great Exhibition* resulted in many contradictory messages, such as uncivilized/civilized and quaint/modern. This was further reinforced by descriptions of the Canadian section, as evidenced in Gibbs-Smith's commemorative album,

The manufactured articles sent to the Exhibition from Canada showed that the inhabitants in general, pay more attention to the useful than to the ornamental; and it was somewhat curious to see the mixture of the works of a savage population with the clearest evidence of British civilization.¹⁶⁷

Canada was in the difficult position of trying to determine its own national identity while still a colony of Britain. This tension, between Canada as a colony and Canada as a nation, is best summarized in the layout of the Canadian section (figure 3.3). Note how the canoe, raised in the centre, is dominated by a massive British flag visually asserting British imperial power over Canada.

¹⁶⁶ Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 958.

¹⁶⁷ Gibbs-Smith, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 73.

Landscape and Identity: Expo '67

In contrast to the nascent formation of an autonomous Canada at *The Great Exhibition*, the displays at *Expo '67* showed a confident, independent nation. While landscape was still being used as a commodity, Canada was no longer a colony vying for space in a British controlled imperial market. At *Expo '67*, both raw materials and the capacity for manufacturing showcased Canada as an independent global trader of goods. In the planning of *Expo '67*, the estimated breakdown of visitors was 41.5% Canada, 57% United States, and only 1.5% foreign.¹⁶⁸ Landscape thus performed another function, to brand Canada in the minds of its own citizens through a decidedly North American emphasis.

The main Canadian section (figure 3.8) occupied over 11 acres on the Île Notre-Dame, with over 124 exhibitions that were aimed to “show how the nation has developed, the factors that shape the lives of Canadians, and what Canadians are like.”¹⁶⁹ At the centre of the Canadian section stood *Katimavik*, a large inverted pyramid surrounded by other exhibition areas under the themes of the *Land of Canada, the People of Canada, the Growth of Canada, the Challenges to Canadians, and Canada and the World*.¹⁷⁰ In this area, the exhibitions and

¹⁶⁸ Canadian Corporation for the World Exhibition, *Information Manual*.

¹⁶⁹ *Official Guide: Expo '67* (Montreal, PQ: Maclean-Hunter Editions, 1967), 88.

¹⁷⁰ For a full description of the Canadian pavilion, see the *Official Guide: Expo '67*.

presentations focused on Canada's geographic diversity, natural resources, history, citizens and the future.¹⁷¹

Figure 3.8. Overview of Canadian Section, *Expo 1967*, Montreal, Canada.

At *Expo '67*, the emphasis on commodities shifted from Canada being positioned as solely a producer of raw materials in 1851, to a leading manufacturer and developer. As the *Information Manual* describes,

In her centennial year, Canada celebrates not only accession to nationhood, but what has also been a century of unprecedented economic expansion. During this period, Canada has made the transition from a country producing primary products to a highly industrialized nation whose exports provide 1/5 of her income.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ For an overview of Expo 67, with images of each of the pavilions, see "Expo 67: Man and His World," official website, accessed July 7, 2010, http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/expo/0533020201_e.html

¹⁷² *National pavilion and Information Services Manual: Expo 67* ([Ottawa]: Department of Public Relations, April 15, 1966), n.p.

Descriptions, such as those in the official guidebooks and other information material, positioned Canada as a fully formed modern nation, capable of competing on the global stage.

At Expo '67, Canada devoted a large exhibition area to raw materials. The sub-theme, *Man the Producer* was one of the largest areas, occupying over 7 ½ acres (figure 3.9). This section was comprised of three connected areas, each showcasing the abundance of Canada's raw materials. The first highlighted the variety of natural resources through both multi-screen videos and objects that explored the processing of these resources. The second examined technological progress. The last explored the various ways in which technological advances were used.¹⁷³ Thus, the exhibition showcased not only farming methods but the challenges posed by modern farming, as well as collaborations among scientists, engineers and farmers in the development of agriculture. The rationale for this emphasis on agriculture was to present Canada as both a lead supplier and a producer of agricultural products. As one of the many *Information Service Manuals* notes, "It is planned to present an agricultural exhibit greater than any ever seen at a universal exhibition. Through it, Canada will endeavour to enhance its worldwide reputation as a leading agricultural nation."¹⁷⁴ What the displays in

¹⁷³ Much emphasis was placed on Canada's capacity as a global player in agriculture and other raw materials. As the *Information Service Manuals* notes, "It is planned to present an agricultural exhibit greater than any ever seen at a universal exhibition. Through it, Canada will endeavour to enhance its world-wide reputation as a leading agricultural nation." Information Services, *Expo 67*, (April 15, 1966), not paginated.

¹⁷⁴ *National pavilion and Information Services Manual*.

Man the Producer demonstrated, then, was a Canada as the lead in the production, manufacturing, and development of agricultural products, thus positioning the country as a strong independent nation.

Figure 3.9. Architectural Plan, *Man the Producer*, Expo 1967, Montreal, Canada .

In addition to the focus on agriculture, Canada's industry was presented through specialized pavilions that emphasized the manufacturing of natural resources. The *Pulp and Paper pavilion* (figure 3.10) was comprised of a stylized forest where visitors could watch a variety of films on the paper industry that emphasized the important role pulp and paper had in the Canadian economy. Like *The Great Exhibition*, Canada was quick to point out its dominance in wood materials. Canada, celebrating its 100th anniversary was no longer a mere colonial supplier of wood, but a leading distributor in wood and wood products. As the

Expo manual notes, “With more than 170 species of trees, Canada’s forests are a vital asset to the country’s continuing economic growth. In the production of pulp and paper alone, Canada is a world leader. In fact, trees are a crop of Canada.”¹⁷⁵

Figure 3.10. *Pulp and Paper pavilion, Expo 1967, Montreal, Canada*

Located just next to the *Pulp and Paper pavilion* was the *Steel pavilion* (see figure 3.11), a large triangular building with a re-created steel mill and a large theatre where visitors could watch the development and process of refining iron ore. The pavilion was the result of a collaborative effort among The Algoma Steel Company Ltd., Dominion Foundries and Steel Ltd., Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Ltd., and the Steel Company of Canada Ltd.¹⁷⁶ This pavilion had a

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ *Official Guide: Expo 67*, 201.

very different emphasis from the Canadian section of *The Great Exhibition*, where the focus was on raw, unrefined minerals. In the *Steel pavilion*, Canada was positioning itself as a leading global player in the processing of raw materials. Other displays devoted to Canada's mineral wealth included a mining exhibit and a uranium exhibit.

Figure 3.11. *Steel pavilion, Expo 1967, Montreal, Canada.*

The pavilion also displayed a large geological map, designed to show the location of mineral deposits across each of the provinces, and was comprised actual of geological specimens. The same map can be linked back to *The Great Exhibition of 1851* and William Logan's *Geological Survey of Canada*. In addition, various specialized and industrial conferences were held throughout *Expo '67*, which not

only drew additional visitors but here too presented Canada at the forefront of both manufacturing and research.

While manufacturing and trade were confirmed through the display of materials, *Expo '67* also represents a moment in national consciousness, as images of the Canadian landscape played a central role in the *pilgrimage of patriotism*.¹⁷⁷ A plethora of displays helped to situate the public within the expo experience and a celebration of nation. One example is the *People Tree* (figure 3.12), comprised of 1,500 photographs of Canadians on autumnal coloured squares stylized as a maple tree. As the maple leaf represents one of the strongest symbols of iconography for Canada, it was widely used throughout the grounds.

Figure 3.12. *People Tree* in background showing detail of Canadian flag, *Expo 1967*, Montreal, Canada.

¹⁷⁷ This is a concept explored by Eva Mackey, I discussed this work earlier in this Chapter, see p.83.

Another important symbol that was used extensively throughout Expo '67 to promote a collective identity was the recently adopted Canadian flag. Discussions surrounding a national flag for Canada had begun in 1925, and led to the creation of a parliamentary committee in 1946 that received over 2,600 submissions from an open call. However, it wasn't until 1964, when Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson reignited conversations around the flag in the House of Commons, that the Canadian flag was officially selected and adopted. As Granatstein observes, these renewed discussions were prompted by many factors, including the Suez Crisis of 1956, where there had been confusion in Egypt in differentiating between Canadian and British troops as each carried the same flag. In addition, there were growing debates around the question of Quebec sovereignty, as well as discussions over whether to create unifying symbols for Canada's upcoming centennial.¹⁷⁸

Under Pearson, a committee was formed, submissions were called for, and consultations were held with individuals, such as heraldry experts, Beddoe and Duguid, MP Matheson, and Dr. Stanley, Dean of Arts at the Royal Military College. The adoption of a flag spurred many debates over not only design, but also questions related to Canada's past and its relations with Britain. Many felt the Red Ensign should continue to be used. However, after much discussion, the final design was approved by the House of Commons on December 15, 1964, and

¹⁷⁸ J.L. Granatstein, "A New Nationalism? Symbol vs Reality," in *Canada 1957-1967: The Years of Uncertainty and Innovation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), pp 198-217.

officially proclaimed by the Queen on February 15, 1965: a red maple leaf, set against a white background, with a red border on either side. The single leaf design has many layers of symbolism for Canada, having been used as an emblem in various incarnations, such as on Olympic athletes, while red and white had been proclaimed the official colours in 1921.¹⁷⁹ At the unveiling, Pearson spoke:

This ceremony today is not a break with history but a new stage in Canada's forward march from a group of separate and scattered and dependent colonies, to a great and sovereign Confederation stretching from sea to sea and from our Southern border to the North Pole.¹⁸⁰

This excerpt acknowledged the detractors, by pointing out that the new flag did not break with Canada's past colonial identity, rather, it represented a moving forward. His speech also clearly identifies the scope of geography comprising Canada, in which Quebec formed an integral part.

A nation's flag is a core part of its collective identity as a nation, and contributes to the visual branding and affiliation with a country. The Pearson Liberal government acutely understood the importance of symbols in the identity of a nation. In a meeting in Charlottetown to discuss the upcoming Centennial celebrations, Pearson noted that:

First among our national goals, the prerequisite to all others, economic, social, or cultural, is national unity. This does not mean and cannot mean

¹⁷⁹ "Birth of the Canadian Flag," Canadian Heritage website, accessed November 15, 2012, <http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/sc-cs/df3-eng.cfm>. See also "The Great Canadian Flag Debate," CBC Digital Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Excerpt of speech, Lester B Pearson, Pearson, Lester B. *Text of the address by the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, on the occasion of the inauguration of the flag of Canada*. (Ottawa: Office of the Prime Minister, 1965).

uniformity. It does mean Canadian identity, with the symbols and even more the spirit and pride to foster such identity.¹⁸¹

Pearson's remark about national unity and the role of symbols situates the Centennial celebrations within federal government policy, and *Expo '67* was an important part of that aim. The inclusion of the Canadian flag throughout the grounds in Montreal, therefore, speaks to both the government's and the expo committee's awareness of how visual symbols are integral to the formation of a shared, collective, national consciousness. *Expo '67* marked the first large scale display of the new flag; its importance would later be reiterated by the Chretien Liberals, who were already in office during the planning stages for *Expo 2005*.

In this chapter, I explored how a fixed system of representation was developed for Canada in world's fairs, one that firmly linked displays to government agendas, used digital immersive experiences, and positioned landscape as a key device in the process. These aspects are integral to how I frame the *branded display complex*. Considered together, the Canadian displays of 1851 and 1967 created a simulacrum that compounded geography and history into one visit. This, as I demonstrate in subsequent chapters, was repeated at *Expo 2005*. At universal expositions, there is no chronological trajectory, no attempt at situating political, historical, and economic developments in a sequence. For that reason, each nation had to compress, condense, and converge the various facets of its identity into a single geographical space.

¹⁸¹ Pearson at the 1964 meeting in Charlottetown, as cited in Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*, 69.

The result was a contained, mediated experience for visitors, during which they entered into a controlled process of engagement with the Canadian landscape and, by extension, the Canadian nation. The subsequent chapters will examine the planning and meaning making process of the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005*, where the core elements of the *branded display complex* used in earlier world's fairs such as landscape and digital technologies were incorporated into a contemporary multi-layered sensorial experience.

Chapter 4

Setting the Stage for Branding: Layout, Participation and Technology at Aichi

World's fairs are complex sites where foreign pavilions are compressed together into one shared space, each country using the opportunity to brand itself in a global context. With their merging into a single location, political, social, and geographical boundaries can be reimagined. The manner in which the expo grounds are laid out, and the ways in which pavilions construct their displays, are fruitful areas of inquiry into how the varying interests of expo planners and audience affect the transmission of a nation's brand.

I examine the Canadian pavilion to see how these elements contribute to the development of a *branded display complex*. It is worth restating that the *branded display complex*, introduced in previous chapters, is a framework that I have developed as a result of my examination of the Canadian pavilion. It is the result of navigating the demands of various contexts, including federal agendas and audience expectations. It takes into consideration how exhibitionary devices (such as technology, and participatory experiences) are combined with tropes (such as landscape) to create a brand of Canada, which is evident in the displays at world's fairs. Drawing on the works of Panofsky and Barthes, laid out in Chapter 2, I approach the visual environment of a world's fair as an object that must be critically examined to reveal how its arrangement elicits particular meanings and codes.

In this chapter, I focus on the layout of the expo grounds, and how the display in the Canadian pavilion relied on interactive technologies. Through an examination of expo layouts in general, and the Canadian pavilion in particular, I argue that while display technologies such as immersive video environments and tactile digital interfaces allow for greater participation on the part of the audience, they are essentially a continuation of display practices of past world's fairs where a fixed narrative is presented, one that relies on a taxonomy of ordering the world on display. As my case study demonstrates, world's fairs are important sites for critically examining the process of nation branding in a global context, and for a foreign audience.

I: Locating the Canadian pavilion at Aichi: An Exercise in Foreign Relations

Before I examine the layout and design of the pavilion it is important to situate it in relation to the federal government, as it was the result of focused government planning. As I have shown, since the *Great Exhibition* of 1851, Canada has been a major participant in world's fairs. In recent years the International Expositions Directorate (IED) of the Department of Canadian Heritage has been responsible for Canada's participation. The department justifies Canada's involvement in international exhibitions as follows:

The Government of Canada is clearly committed to advancing Canada's place in the world. Canada must, therefore, pursue effective strategies to promote its interests and project its values globally. International expositions are unique forums where Canadians share the stage with the world's best and showcase to the world what the Canadian model of society can achieve. The federal

government's commitment to financially support and participate in international expositions will lead to significant benefits and legacies for Canadians.¹⁸²

This establishes a connection between government participation in world's fairs and foreign policy; furthermore it positions the federal government at the core of branding efforts in a global context. World's fairs function as part of soft diplomacy where foreign relations and the branding of a nation are facilitated by displayed objects that serve to represent the particular country.

The IED conducted extensive planning in preparation for Canada's participation at *Expo 2005*, including planning reports, summative evaluations and market studies conducted by *Ipsos Reid* in Canada and *Leger Marketing* in Japan.¹⁸³ The official government records reveal that the planning of the pavilion navigated the demands of the government by inserting government policy into the very fabric of the pavilion, while balancing the needs of the audience, who were coming with specific expectations of what they were going to see. A central requirement that was referenced throughout the planning documents was that all

¹⁸² Department of Canadian Heritage, "International Expositions," *ibid.*

¹⁸³ My analysis of the government involvement in planning is based on four key documents. The first is *The Wisdom and Diversity: Planning and Theme Document For Canada's Participation in the 2005 World Exposition, Aichi, Japan*, 2003. The document compiled by the IED is an important source of information as it includes the government plans, objectives, as well as early consulting and surveys on the pavilion theme. A counterpoint is the *Summative Evaluation of Canada's Participation in the 2005 Aichi, Japan World Exposition*, 2007. The report, issued after the end of expo, presents an overview of the assessment and, in particular, includes a performance evaluation, interviews with expo staff, and exit surveys that are important for seeing how the pavilion was understood after expo closed. In addition, the IED commissioned two market studies to help in the planning of the pavilion: "Quantitative and Qualitative Research on Perception and Awareness of the Potential Japanese Audience at the Canadian pavilion at the 2005 World Exposition," 2003, was conducted by Leger Marketing in Japan, and "Qualitative Research: Canadian pavilion focus groups research findings," 2004, was undertaken by Ipsos Reid in Canada.

aspects of the pavilion design had to be “consistent with current Government of Canada goals and priorities.”¹⁸⁴ The listed priorities for *Expo 2005* were extensive:

Speaking out for values of pluralism/ Reflecting Canada’s world-class experience, expertise and potential in creativity, innovation, learning and intercultural harmony/ Addressing environmental issues/ Engaging Canadians in the discussion about the role that Canada will play in the world and strengthening partnerships between government and citizens/ Enabling opportunities for Aboriginal peoples, youth and immigrants.¹⁸⁵

These priorities were filled with references to wider federal government rhetoric on multiculturalism, environment, foreign trade, and citizen engagement.

Instead of being specific to the expo project, they could be applied to any event in which the Liberal government was involved.

The planning for *Expo 2005* was set against a political backdrop of the leadership race for the Liberal party, where Paul Martin emerged as the leader to replace Jean Chretien after he stepped down as Prime Minister in December, 2003.¹⁸⁶ The early stages of development of the Canadian pavilion formed part of a wider Liberal foreign policy agenda under the Chretien government.

While much of Chretien’s time in office was focused on domestic concerns, such as Quebec, Keating and other scholars argue that foreign policy initiatives under his government were also of concern, and that the Chretien Liberals placed an emphasis on trade, projection of Canadian values, support of

¹⁸⁴ *Planning and Theme Document*, 10

¹⁸⁵ *Planning and Theme Document*, 9.

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion of the Martin/Chretien Liberals see: Brooke Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada, 1984-2008* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), and Stephen Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

international institutions, and concern for global issues such as poverty.¹⁸⁷ For example, in 1995 *Team Canada* was dedicated to opening up trade markets in Asia and in particular, China. Moreover, the prime minister shaped foreign policy not only through direct involvement but also through appointments. The Department of Canadian Heritage, which oversees Canada's participation in world's fairs, saw three ministers in the time leading up to and during *Expo 2005*.¹⁸⁸ In addition, the position of commissioner of the Canadian pavilion, held by Norman Moyer, came about through federal appointment. What this clearly points to is that all aspects of the planning, management, and presentation of the pavilion were tied to government interests. As I demonstrate [in] my study, the Canadian pavilion reflected the Liberal foreign policy agenda in the way that it projected Canadian values in the exhibition with an emphasis on environmental stewardship, and a pluralistic society.

World's Fairs as Foreign Relations

While Expo 2005 provided an opportunity for the federal planners to brand Canada in relation to government priorities, it also marked an opportunity to build foreign relations, particularly with Japan. The focus on the relationship between Canada and Japan was referenced many times in the planning

¹⁸⁷ Tom Keating, "A Passive Internationalist: Jean Chretien and Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Review of Constitutional Studies/ Special Issue: The Chretien Legacy* (Edmonton: Alberta Law Review and Centre for Constitutional Studies, Volume 9, 1and@, 2004), 117.

¹⁸⁸ The following individuals held the position of Minister of Canadian Heritage: Sheila Copps (July 1996 – December 2003), Helene Schrerrer (December 2003 – July 2004), Liza Frulla (July 2004 – February 2006).

documents. Early estimates noted that 95% of the visitors were expected to come from Japan;¹⁸⁹ and this was officially confirmed when *Expo 2005* opened. In fact, a variety of media outlets, including the *Japan Times*, called it “mainly a local affair.”¹⁹⁰ Therefore, expectations of audience played heavily into the design decisions for the pavilion, but on a larger scale the Canadian pavilion provided the opportunity to foster foreign relationships with Japan.

Canada has had a long and complex relationship with Japan, ranging from historically tenuous to one now centred on trade, business, and tourism.¹⁹¹ Some of Canada’s first connections with Japan were through missionaries, whose stories of castles and geishas stirred the Canadian imagination.¹⁹² Conversely, many of Canada’s early policies were predicated on conceptions of fear, racism, as well as political ties to the United States. For example, the enactment of the *War Measures Act* in Canada after the bombing of *Pearl Harbour* resulted in the confiscation of Japanese Canadians’ property, their forcible relocation to work camps, and even deportation.¹⁹³ Since the end of World War II, however,

¹⁸⁹ *Planning Document*, 5.

¹⁹⁰ Justine Bornstein, “Expo Turnout a Record, But Mainly a local Affair,” *Japan Times* (June 22, 2005)

¹⁹¹ See John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa. *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) and John D. Meehan, *The Dominion and the Rising Sun: Canada Encounters Japan 1929-1941*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

¹⁹² Many early accounts date to the Meiji period (1868-1912). See also, Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).

¹⁹³ See Kazuko Tsurumi, “Japanese Canadians: The Wartime Experience” eds. Schultz and Miwa, 17-28, and Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981)

Canada's world-view has included Japan, as a member of Pacific Nations and a trade partner.¹⁹⁴

The staging of popular culture events is one of the ways in which Canada-Asia relations can be developed. For instance, Potter has argued that events such as the "Think Canada" campaign and world's fairs point to targeted efforts on the part of the federal government in developing foreign relationships with Japan.¹⁹⁵

My study of the pavilion at Aichi situates universal expositions as key sites where communication between countries is played out through the visual displays.

There has been a long trajectory of building Canada-Japan relations in the arena of a world's fair. For example, *Expo '67* in Montreal provided a key opportunity for Canada to market itself to foreign countries; and Japanese tourists represented some of the highest foreign visitor numbers.¹⁹⁶ *Expo '70*, the first universal exposition to be held in Japan, also improved foreign relations with Canada. Pierre Trudeau's first visit to Japan as prime minister was in response to an invitation from organizers to visit *Expo '70* in Osaka, and was a highly publicized event, due in no small part to Trudeaumania.¹⁹⁷ While the public 'face' of his visit was the Expo, its underpinnings were grounded in expanding

¹⁹⁴ Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy eds. *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008). See also: Tsuyoshi Kawasaki, "Strangers no Longer: The Identity Shift in the Canada-Japan Relationship," *International Journal/Canada and Asia* vol64.4 (Autumn 2009): 879-890.

¹⁹⁵ Evan Potter, *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's Soft Power Through Public Diplomacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁶ Donaghy and Roy eds., 5-6. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, tourism has long been used in Canada to build foreign relations, where Canada has been promoted vigorously through government sponsored campaigns.

¹⁹⁷ Greg Donaghy, "Smiling Diplomacy Redux: Trudeau's engagement with Japan 1968-1976" in Donaghy and Roy eds., 191.

economic and foreign policy with Japan, which has been a part of Canadian foreign affairs ever since.¹⁹⁸

In this way, world's fairs have played an important role in developing a mutually beneficial relationship between Canada and Japan¹⁹⁹; and *Expo 2005* is a part of that trajectory, as Canada's early commitment to participate signalled its support of Japan on the global stage. The result was a highly visible, accessible pavilion that contributed to the transmission of a Canadian brand to the visiting expo public.

II: World's Fairs as Social Spaces: Global Loop, Pulsing, and the Organization of Visitors

It is beneficial to start by examining the layout of *Expo 2005*, in order to comprehend how the Canadian pavilion operates within the wider framework of the expo experience. Universal expositions are organized with fixed access points that provide a particular way of understanding, accessing, and viewing the nations on display. As Rydell has observed, world's fairs are "symbolic universes"²⁰⁰ in that they compress geography and recreate social, cultural, and political relationships among nations. Therefore, it is critical to examine the

¹⁹⁸ Kitron notes that by 2006 there were over 40 governmental and non-governmental consultative schemes between Japan and Canada. See: John Kirtron, "North Pacific Neighbours in a New World: Canada-Japan Relations, 1984 -2006," in Donaghy and Roy, *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, 211.

¹⁹⁹ Masako Iino, "Projecting Canada in Japan: Reflections on the Japanese Association for Canadian Studies: 1979-2004," in Donaghy and Roy, *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, 244-250.

²⁰⁰ Rydell, *World of Fairs: The century of Progress Exhibitions*

layout and manner in which the grounds are navigated to see how the construction of both space and display contributes to the experience of this expo.

In earlier chapters, I referenced Bennett's discussion of the *exhibitionary complex* in relation to world's fairs. In this chapter, I draw on his discussion of "civic seeing," which he defines as a process "where the civic lessons embodied in those arrangements are to be seen, understood, and performed by the museum's visitors."²⁰¹ I do so to situate how Aichi was structured to ensure that narratives were accessed in a particular way that affirmed the political and economic power of the host nation, and provided the opportunity for foreign pavilions to brand themselves on a global stage. Visitors at expo were both participants in the wider objectives of the host country in asserting its global presence, while at the same time subject to the national narratives of each of the foreign pavilions.

Global Loop, Controlling Space at Aichi

The theme of *Expo 2005, Nature's Wisdom*, was meant to reflect a global perspective on questions related to environmental sustainability and to foster intercultural exchange.²⁰² The theme influenced much of the layout of expo: the pavilions, and their use of sustainable building materials, the access paths, which were designed to minimize impact on the landscape, and the food and recycle

²⁰¹ Tony Bennett, "Civic Seeing: Museums and the Organization of Vision," in S. Macdonald ed. *A Companion to Museum Studies* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 263.

²⁰² There were three sub-themes presented at Expo: *Nature's Matrix*, *Art of Life*, and *Development of Eco-Communities*. Japan Association for the 2005 World Exposition, *Official Guidebook* (Japan: 2005), 2.

stations that used recyclable packaging.²⁰³ These were all ways the *Expo 2005* theme was embedded in the very architectural fabric of the visitor's experience.

The Aichi exposition grounds were located in the eastern part of Nagoya City, and incorporated two areas: Nagakute, a large site that housed the majority of the national and corporate pavilions, and the adjacent smaller Seto site (figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Overview of expo grounds, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

As these expo grounds were a considerable distance from Nagoya, many visitors accessed the site by taking the *Linimo*, Japan's first magnetically levitated maglev

²⁰³ The pavilions reflected the importance of sustainability in design in a variety of different ways. The *Japan pavilion* in the Nagakute site had a large bamboo screen that was built to maximize energy and ran on renewable power sources. One of the largest features in this area was the *Bio-Lung*, which was a breathing green wall in the centre of expo, and served as a backdrop for the central meeting and performance space. Other pavilions, such as the *Global House*, emphasized the theme through displays and hands-on learning experiences.

railway.²⁰⁴ This created a sense of travel from the moment visitors began their expo journey; they were on a high-tech mode of transportation on their way to visit the world on display. This situated experimental technologies as central to the design of *Expo 2005*, and, as I will later demonstrate, to the design of the Canadian pavilion.

Once a visitor arrived at the main Expo grounds, the layout was structured around the *Global Loop* (figure 4.2), the main, raised walkway that undulated in form to echo the pre-existing terrain.

Figure 4. 2. *Global Loop, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.*

²⁰⁴ Japan Association for the 2005 World Exposition “Let’s Experience State of the Art Technologies,” *Official Handy Book* (Japan: 2005), 13.

With stairs extending down into different areas of the Expo site, such as the *Global Commons*, which housed foreign pavilions, the *Global Loop* structured the visitor experience.²⁰⁵ It functioned as both rest area and connector to pavilions. It also offered a particular view of the Expo grounds. Walking along this raised area, the visitor had a 360-degree, bird's eye view of the foreign pavilions: the world on display.

This architectural pathway can be understood to function in a similar fashion to the access paths in a survey museum. As I discussed in Chapter 2, authors such as Duncan and Wallach have argued that the architectural space of a survey museum sets up a particular way of knowing, accessing, and viewing the objects on display.²⁰⁶ The fixed access points of *the Global Loop* created a ritualized mode of access, whereby the site cast the visitor as both subject and object of knowledge. On the *Global Loop*, visitors were presented with a view of pavilions below them vying for attention, where nations were presented as spectacles and sites of consumption. The visitors not only toured the expo grounds, but also by so doing, I argue, put their participation on display as citizens of a global world.

The importance of architecture and layout has been the subject of several

²⁰⁵ The *Global Loop* was the main walkway connecting the grounds of expo. It also incorporated canopy-like structures that provided areas of shade, benches for seating and recycle stations. See: *Official Guidebook*, 6. For videos of the *Global Loop* see: Expo 2005, "Expo 2005 Memories Advertisement," accessed May 1, 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxezQdPgOTQ> and "Promo Expo 2005," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NisPqVDWp_4&feature=related

²⁰⁶ It is worth revisiting my earlier discussion in Chapter 2, in terms of the relationship of architecture in museums to meaning making and object lessons. Authors such as Duncan and Wallach observe that visiting a museum is a ritualistic event where the visitor internalizes a particular set of values that are presented not only by what is displayed but also by the very act of walking through the building. Duncan and Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," 416.

studies specific to world's fairs.²⁰⁷ In a recent study, Huhtamo examines the moving walkway at the 1904 world's fair, which he calls an example of "mobile visualities," in how it set up a particular way of not only accessing pavilions, but also viewing them.²⁰⁸ The *Global Loop* at Aichi can be understood as an example of this, as it structured both the movement, and view of the entire expo grounds. Yet, an examination of how the layout of *Expo 2005* elicits meanings and codes must go beyond just an examination of the *Global Loop* to an in-depth critical exploration of the grounds. To do so, I present a case study of one of the sites, the Canadian pavilion, to offer a more detailed understanding of not only how the *Global Loop* functioned, but also how the architecture of a world's fair is integral to the experience of the visitor, and a vital component of the way in which each nation brands itself.

Situating and Building the Canadian pavilion at Aichi

Pavilion location at world's fairs is essential to drawing in visitors, which in turn is essential to widespread marketing of the brand. Richards has argued that universal expositions create a geopolitical map of the world, with the host

²⁰⁷ Many have focused on how colonial empire was presented and justified at the fair through display and layout. See for example, Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world's fairs*. Vol. 12. Univeristy of California Press, 1992.

²⁰⁸ Erkii Huhtamo "(Un)Walking at the Fair: About Mobile Visualities at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900. *Journal of Visual Culture* 12 (2013): 61-88.

country dominating and others vying for space.²⁰⁹ Locations of pavilions at world's fairs are thus symbolic representations of wider foreign relations amongst countries. Just like a real estate transaction, location is paramount.

The Canadian government has a long history of involvement in world's fairs, and is often one of the first countries to commit as a participant; this typically gives them an advantage in choosing where the pavilion will be located. The same was true at *Expo 2005*, where the pavilion was given a prominent spot in *Global Commons 2* (figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. Birds-Eye View of Canadian pavilion, *Global Commons 2*, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan

This prime location provided the pavilion with clearly visible sight lines across

²⁰⁹ This was most evident in *The Great Exhibition of 1851* in London England where Britain was placed at the centre, with other countries placed around them. I discuss this in Chapter 3. Richards, 25.

the expo grounds, was easily accessible from the *Global Loop*, and physically accessible amongst the foreign pavilions in the *Global Commons 2* (which in turn had wider implications for foreign relations.)

Building design was an important aspect of how pavilions presented themselves and developed their brand at *Expo 2005*. Since the beginning of world's fairs, architecture has been an important way in which to differentiate between nations and contribute to visitor engagement.²¹⁰ Design then functions as a billboard that advertises each pavilion, such that a strong exterior building design results in better media coverage, which in turn prompts increased interest and higher attendance. So while architectural design is important in terms of international recognition, it also contributes to the transmission of the nation brand.

Canadian government planners were well aware of the importance of the building exterior in attracting visitors, as evidenced in the planning documents:

The pavilion exterior façade should stand out as recognizably Canadian, conveying an impression of Canada's creativity, innovation, and diversity, which compels passers-by to stop and want to enter. This impression should be equally appealing and withstand climatic stress both day and night, throughout the six-month expo.²¹¹

However, whether any of this was achieved is questionable, as the pavilion was constructed under fixed parameters that did not allow for a particularly

²¹⁰ See Andrew Garn ed. *Exit to Tomorrow: History of the Future, World's Fair Architecture, Design, Fashion 1933-2005*, (Rizzoli: 2007). For an interesting discussion of the architectural remnants of world's fairs see Claire Cottrell, "The Bizarre Architectural Remains of World's Fairs," *Flavorwire*, (December 3, 2012).

²¹¹ "3.8.2, Façade and Queue Area: Attracting and Holding Attention," in *Planning and Theme Document*, 24.

innovative design. Reflecting the theme of *Nature's Wisdom*, the foreign pavilions were deliberately non-permanent, and designed so that building materials could be easily repurposed. Designer emphasis was on showcasing green building practices, such as the use of recycled materials (waste lumber and plastics), and built with minimal impact on the surrounding environment.

The foreign pavilions followed a strict modular framework that was structured on a series of cubes: 18 metres x 18 metres x 9 metres.²¹² The Canadian pavilion followed this model, which resulted in an uninteresting, blocky, rectangle. Along the exterior walls of the pavilion ran a blue banner with maple leaves in green, red, and yellow (figure 4.4). At the front, by the main entrance, was a large, metal, red stylized maple leaf that projected from the outside wall and was one of the few material objects that would remain after the expo had ended.²¹³

Given the constraints on building design, it proved difficult to present an innovative exterior. Further, the final choice of a banner with maple leaves left much to be desired, as it too offered little in the way of architectural innovation. However, the sculptural maple leaf at the front of the pavilion did provide some visual interest. Not only did it help delineate the entrance, it served as a photo backdrop for special events such as *Canada Day*. Thus, even though the overall

²¹² *Planning and Theme Document*, 6.

²¹³ The stylized maple leaf is now in Kariya, Japan. Other remnants of the pavilion were also repurposed: a grizzly bear sculpture now stands in Kasugai City Hall, and the timber was used by the architect in other building projects. See: "2.1.1: Canadian pavilion – Dismantling" in *Summative Evaluation*

effect of the exterior left much to be desired, the pavilion was in a prominent location off the *Global Loop*. And as I will demonstrate, the participatory experiences outside and inside that pavilion thoroughly engaged visitors in spite of an unremarkable exterior façade.

Figure 4.4. Exterior of Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

Organization of Visitors at the Canadian Pavilion

Since there are so many pavilions to visit at a world's fair, the typical pace is one of a slow jog in an attempt to try and view all the exhibits. A core challenge in any foreign pavilion, then, is to make the experience sufficiently entertaining to attract visitors and keep their attention long enough to convey a nation brand. In the government's *Planning and Theme Document* for the Canadian pavilion, the challenge of attracting, communicating, and appealing to the audience became a key focus in the development of the pavilion's design:

- i) Attracting Expo visitors in a competitive environment where each pavilion is competing for visitors in particular with pavilions that have ‘new and expensive show stopping technologies.’
- ii) Communicating the theme of the pavilion in a succinct way when visitors exit within twenty minutes of arrival, without stopping to read any text, in their eagerness to move on to the next pavilion, and
- iii) To appeal to a Japanese audience and to involve Canadians in the Expo 2005 experience.²¹⁴

Similarly, the Canadian pavilion’s interior incorporated elements that encouraged a communal shared experience, and did so by focusing on participatory experiences and recognizable images. In this chapter, I focus on the method and devices used for display. In Chapters 5 and 6, I focus on the specific images and objects.

Contemporary world’s fairs serve as important sites in which to examine and interrogate the interaction, inclusion, and immersion of the audience in the fabric of an exhibition. As I have shown in Chapter 2, there has been a steady shift in museum display towards immersive, participatory, and tactile experiences. In fact, a key element of new museology is the understanding that museums are social spaces with multiple audiences, viewpoints, and narratives at play.²¹⁵ An important part of these discussions positions the visitor as an active agent.

²¹⁴ “3.11: Summary Overview: Tying it All Together,” *Planning and Theme Document*, 29. Contracted partners such as Lunny and Lambert, C2 Plus International, and Parallel World Labs were commissioned to execute the design based on government directives.

²¹⁵ I explore this issue in Chapter 2 by examining several authors including the work of Hooper-Greenhill who argues for the positioning of visitors as active participants and Riegel who points towards the need for touch and other senses to enter the displays of museums.

Participation in *Expo 2005* was seen not only as a means of interacting with the exhibits, but participating on a global level, as referenced in both the federal planning documents and the rhetoric of the Japan Association for the 2005 World Exposition:

Expo 2005 focuses not only on the participation of countries of the world, international organizations, local governments and companies, but also on active roles played by 'global citizens.'...Through their participation in Expo, citizens are challenging new experiments of 'participation' and 'experiments,' which would set a pattern for world expositions of the 21st century.²¹⁶

By attending *Expo 2005*, then, a visitor would not only engage with foreign pavilions, but also involve themselves in a larger model for global interaction, and cultural exchange.

In the Canadian context, this emphasis on participation was key to the mandate of the Department of Canadian Heritage. In her recent study of cultural participation and the government, Murray argues that participation has been a central concern of the Department since its inception in 1993, its programs aimed at fostering social capital and cultural diversity.²¹⁷ As participation offers a way for people to become engaged citizens, heritage programs were created to promote tolerance of social difference. This is closely related to cultural rights and citizenship, and as Foote observes, "cultural citizenship, therefore, refers to the points where cultural expression forms part of one's role as citizen such as

²¹⁶ *Official Guidebook*, 6-7.

²¹⁷ Catherine Murray, "Cultural Participation: A Fuzzy Cultural Policy Paradigm," in *Accounting for Culture: Thinking Through Cultural Citizenship*, eds. Caroline Andrew, Monica Gattinger, Sharon Jeannotte, Will Straw eds. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2005), 32-56.

identity, belonging, diversity, advocacy and different arenas of participation.”²¹⁸ It is worth restating that the Canadian pavilion at Aichi was the result of government planning under the auspices of the Department of Canadian Heritage. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that the Department’s focus on programming that encouraged active participation, as a way to engage with the nation was evident in the organization of the Canadian participation in *Expo 2005*. Participation was encouraged through not only bilateral partnerships with visitors in Japan and Canada, but also in the very way the pavilion was organized and structured.

Pavilion interior and the “Pulsing” of Visitors

Collective experiences were integral to how pavilions controlled the flow of visitors at *Expo 2005*, where large numbers of visitors needed to be managed while ensuring the pavilion’s brand was communicated clearly. In the Canadian pavilion, visitor pace was managed through a technique known as “pulsing.” According to government planning documents, pulsing is a three-part, 20-minute experience. It begins with a welcome and orientation area, is followed by an audio-visual presentation that “immerses visitor in main message,” and finishes with the information/exit area “where the visitor can explore in more detail what s/he has seen and pick up souvenir/reference material.”²¹⁹ For the pavilion at *Expo 2005* pulsing was incorporated into the layout of three exhibition zones:

²¹⁸ John. A Foote, “The Changing Environments of Cultural Policy and Citizenship in Canada,” in Andrew et al, 91.

²¹⁹ “Endnotes 17,” *Planning and Theme Document*, x.

Biosphere, Ethnosphere, Cyber Salon. The *Official Expo Catalogue* provides a useful description of the pavilion:

The theme of the Canadian pavilion is ‘*Wisdom of Diversity*,’ under which it will introduce the country’s marvels by way of three concentric spheres linked by a winding path – a *Geosphere* showing the country’s land, water, air and climate, a *Biosphere* presenting its living legacy of micro-microorganisms, plants, animals and humans, and an *Ethnosphere* shedding light on the relationships culturally diverse Canadians have both with nature and with each other.²²⁰

These exhibition zones are clearly marked in the blueprints of the pavilion (figure 4.5), which helps to demonstrate how the pulsing technique was presented.

Figure 4.5. Blueprint of Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

As evidenced in the schematic, the main exhibition area was organized in a series of curved exhibition zones. The first zone was the *Geosphere/Biosphere*,

²²⁰ *Official Guidebook*, 30.

which curved back into the second zone, the *Ethnosphere* and then finished in the third and final zone, the *Cyber Salon*. The pavilion planners' intention was for the visitor's experience to unfold in a concentric narrative, with the *Geosphere/Biosphere* supplying the setting and characters, and the *Ethnosphere* the story.²²¹ Visitors thus took on a performative role, that of agents contributing to an extended script. As their presence animated the interior, their participation personalized the experience and resulted in the successful transmission of a nation brand.

The use of pulsing in the Canadian pavilion can also be situated in wider critical discussions of how layouts are managed in museums and architectural sites. A useful framework for understanding the layout is space syntax, which is a set of analytical tools first used to interrogate architecture of buildings and cities. If we approach a world's fair as a constructed, visual space with multiple components, then space syntax provides an important point of access in interrogating the complex layout of world's fairs. Authors such as Hillier, Tortzi, Choi, and Hung have studied the application of space syntax in a museum context,²²² and their findings are particularly relevant to my case study of *Expo 2005*. A core argument in space syntax is that space is both a background to human activity and an integral part of it. In examining how layout affects the

²²¹ *Planning and Theme Document*, 11

²²² Bill Hillier and Kali Tzortzi, "Space Syntax: The Language of Museum Space," in S. Macdonald ed., 282-301; YK Choi, "The Morphology of Exploration and Encounter in Museum Layouts," *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 26 (1999): 241-250, H. Huang "The spatialization of Knowledge and Social Relationships," *Proceedings of the Third International Space Syntax Symposium* (2001):43.1-43.14

experience of the visitor, Hillier and Tzortzi conclude that one must interrogate and examine how visual fields (what they term *isovists*) intersect with one and other. Another way to think of these fields is as sightlines: what is seen, how it is seen, and how it affects the way you move through a space.

Using space syntax theory, pulsing can be understood in relation to Choi's discussion of "deterministic" space, where movement is forced through a set of fixed choices, and Huang's exploration of "organizational" and "congregational" aspects of space organization. The layout of the Canadian pavilion used a series of visual and aural markers (light, sounds, space dimensions) to direct visitors through the space. Each zone was further divided into sections, some of which would encourage moments of shared collective experience (viewing of videos), while others prompted more individualistic interactions (computer games, souvenirs). Space syntax then represents a fruitful point of inquiry for understanding the use of pulsing in the Canadian pavilion, while providing the groundwork for further research into the architectural constructions and layout of world's fairs overall.

It is useful to outline in detail what was displayed to illustrate how the space was organized to reflect the pulsing technique. The Canadian pavilion began with the engagement of guides and Mounties in the waiting line outside, which then led into the first zone of the interior, *the Biosphere*. Here, pulsing occurred in both the construction of the narrow room that controlled the flow of traffic in one direction, and the time allotted to view the first of several landscape

videos projected on large screens (figure 4.6). The end of the video in this first zone signalled the visitor to move towards the next zone, the *Ethnosphere*. While this zone was larger, it too used music, lights, sound, and video to situate the viewer. Here, the video focused on people and technological inventions set against a Canadian landscape (figure 4.7). The final zone, the *Cyber Salon*, functioned as the information and exit area of the pulsing experience. Here, the space was wider, the lights brighter, and the visitor had more freedom to move around. Instead, tactile experiences were provided through the collection of free souvenirs, as well as through touch screen computers that enabled visitors to take a virtual journey across Canada.

Figure 4.6. Interior of the Biosphere, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

Figure 4.7. Screen Detail, *Ethnosphere*, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

The layout of the Canadian pavilion demonstrates that expo planners were very much aware of the need to attract, retain, and engage pavilion visitors. From the very outset, it was clearly intended that this would be done through communal, participatory experiences, aimed at providing a global audience with an experience of Canada as nation. This combination of participatory experiences rooted in technology is part of the *branded display complex*, the concept that I develop and use as a frame to examine how Canada uses world's fairs as an exercise in nation branding.

III: Technology and Object Lessons

While a pulsing layout was successful in controlling the flow of people in the exhibition, it was the method of display that contributed to the crystallization of Canada's brand. An important aspect discussed in the government documents centred on the method of communication. As the section on "Audience

Knowledge and Interests” states, “To communicate effectively with the Japanese audience in Japan, the local culture and interests needed to be respected in the presentation style (eg. animation, interaction technologies).”²²³ Thus it is evident, from its initial planning stages that both the subject matter of the pavilion and the delivery of that subject matter would be strongly influenced by the presumed expectations of the audience.

In the Canadian pavilion, as well as in the other foreign pavilions, a multi-lingual audience further complicated communication and access. The collective voice of the government as presented by the IED planners that were attempting to present a narrative of the nation could not depend on language alone. Standard didactic exhibition devices that are heavily dependent on language, such as labels and texts, could not be the main source for presenting exhibition themes. For this reason, the core exhibitionary device chosen, one that could bypass linguistic barriers, was digital technology.

Two examples serve to bookend the experience of the Canadian pavilion and demonstrate how this technology was used. First, pavilion guides known as *teku-jins* engaged the visitor through both video and digital photography. Second, in the final zone of the pavilion, the participatory experience was crystallized by the introduction of a computer game that allowed the visitor to take a virtual, role-playing journey through Canada.

Technology as the ‘Hook’ of Display

²²³ “3.5.5: Audience Knowledge and Interests,” *Planning and Theme Document*, 16-17.

Technology was ever-present throughout the displays at *Expo 2005*. Yet the use of technology, in art production and as a method of display, is oft contested. As I discussed in Chapter 2, there has been a shift from object-focused displays to those emphasizing simulated, digitized experiences. While some, such as Benjamin, argue that technology can lead to a loss of aura; others note that technology can offer new forms of experience. Similarly, many studies exploring the use of new media in museums set up material objects and technological interfaces as binary opposites. However, authors such as Hogdsen and Poulter take the view that new technologies support pre-existing collections, such that the object remains the centre of interest.²²⁴ Still others, such as Conn, question the museum's dependence on objects altogether.²²⁵

Witcomb, in a study examining the impact of multimedia in museums, explores the discourse between the material world and virtual world, arguing that,

The material world carries weight – aura, evidence, the passage of time, and the signs of power through accumulation, authority, knowledge, and privilege. Multimedia, on the other hand, is perceived as ‘the other’ of all of these – immediate, surface, temporary, modern, popular, and democratic.²²⁶

²²⁴ Much of the discourse surrounding new media in the museum context is a tool to support objects on display. See for example: Carl Hogdsen and Emma K Poulter “The Real Other? Museum Object in Digital Contact Networks” *Journal of Material Culture* 17 (2012): 265-286, Bart Vandenabeele “New’ Media, Art, and Intercultural Communication,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* vol.38.4 (Winter 2004): 1-9

²²⁵ Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2010).

²²⁶ Witcomb, “Materiality of Virtual Technologies: A New Approach to Thinking about the Impact of Multimedia in Museums” in *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage: A Critical Discourse*, Fiona Cameron and Sarah Kenderdine eds. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007), 355.

In other words, the use of digital technology allows for the opportunity to redefine space, objects, and experience in the museum. By extension, the use of new technology in world's fairs is a continuation of display practices, not a fracture of them. Henning argues that long before the advent of computers, museum spaces would attempt to immerse the audience through artificially constructed settings.²²⁷ My study suggests that the use of the immersive film environments in the Canadian pavilion, topped off by the final experience of the virtual cyber game, is simply one part of a long trajectory of display practices seeking to involve, engage, and relate to the visitor.²²⁸

In fact, world's fairs have always been a testing ground for new technologies. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, film was an integral part of the displays at *Expo '67*. In her discussion of long-distance transmission, Plotnick argues that both distance and user-generated media served as part of the spectacle of a world's fair.²²⁹ The interaction of the body with technological objects at universal expositions, she observes, creates the "fantasy of a globalized technological touch."²³⁰ In the context of the Canadian pavilion, this is particularly applicable to my discussion of the *teku-jin* and *cyber explorer game*

²²⁷ Michelle Henning, "New Media," in Macdonald, 302-318.

²²⁸ Mary Anne Moser, ed with Douglas MacLeod. *Immersed in Technology: Art and Virtual Environments*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996.

²²⁹ Rachel Plotnick, "Touch of a Button: Long-Distance Transmission, Communication, and Control at World's Fairs," *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 30:1, (2013): 52-68

²³⁰ Ibid, 55.

presented in the Canadian pavilion because it demonstrates how they are part of a pattern in which new display technologies have been presented at world's fairs.

Tom Gunning pushes the use of technology even further by arguing that it has always been central to the "object lessons" of a world's fair.²³¹ For Gunning, world's fairs are a prime example of an *imago mundi*, or the world pictured and displayed. By producing a feeling of dazzlement and shock, technology engages the visitor. As Gunning observes, technological devices are central to the creation of a "technological virtual spectator voyage."²³²

Different forms of media create different responses in the viewer or, as McLuhan famously stated, "the medium is the message." His seminal work, *Understanding Media*, discusses how different forms of media have different impacts on the viewer.²³³ Similarly, each form of technology used in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi allowed the visitor to interact with Canada as a nation. The immersive film environment in the *Biosphere* and *Ethnosphere* relied on panoramic screens, music, and light, which visually enmeshed the viewer collectively in the space and by extension to the nation. The interactive games in the *Cyber Salon* provided personal experiences through which the visitor[s] could undertake their simulated journey in Canada.

²³¹ Tim Gunning, "The World as Object Lesson: Cinema Audiences, Visual Culture and the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904," *Film History*, Vol. 6, No. 4, (Winter, 1994): 422-444

²³² Ibid, 431.

²³³ Marshall McLuhan *Understanding Media*, revised edition (MIT Press, 1994)

One aspect that resurfaced time and again in both planning and market studies was the need for the pavilion to be a site of ‘edutainment.’ The IED wanted to present a nation brand that aligned with government interests but would also be accessible and entertaining for visitors. The report by *Leger Marketing* outlined the perceived expectations of the audience through such key words as fun, entertaining, educative, and interactive. In short, a successful pavilion needed to involve the viewer. It should not speak ‘at’, but rather speak ‘to’ and ‘with’ its audience.

One of the ways the Canadian pavilion achieved these goals was by creating an experience in which the visitor would be fully immersed in each display through technologically rich, interactive experiences. While branding was no less important, it had to be presented in such a way that the audience would be entertained. A complicated process of cultural exchange was clearly at play, between branding Canada globally and constructing a display that would still appeal to its audience.

Equally important is how this reliance on technology situated the nation within a wider global context. As I explored in Chapter 2, technology is often used to measure the progress of a nation, and is an important tool of communication. It is also worth revisiting the concept of techno-orientalism as explored by authors such as Morley and Robbins (2004). They argue that techno-orientalism is one of the ways in which power relations between East and West have been destabilized. In a society increasingly dependent on technology,

countries that display technological innovation, such as Japan, take precedence and challenge a Eurocentric base of control and power. Their work is important to my discussion as it presents a wider lens through which to examine the use of technology in the pavilion.

The inclusion of various forms of technology, such as panoramic films, computer games, and robots not only served to brand Canada, but also can be situated within an attempt to display the nation's capacity for technological innovations for an audience that is seen to be at the lead of technological developments. Taking all of this into consideration, the use of technology in the Canadian pavilion goes well beyond display practices and participatory engagement: it functions as an important structuring device in which the Canadian nation is positioned, situated, and accessed.

Animating the Exterior Façade: Bodies on Display

The experience with technology in the Canadian pavilion began before one entered the doors to the pavilion. At Aichi, queues to pavilions could get very long, so the waiting process became part of the experience itself. One of the features of the Canadian pavilion was the Canadian guide,²³⁴ who took on a variety of roles: acting as liaison in the VIP areas, providing information about Canada, assisting with queues, and as *teku-jins*. A *teku-jin* is a combination of the

²³⁴ For Aichi, an open competition for guides was held in Canada. Those selected to be guides were trained through a joint partnership between the International Expositions Directorate (IED) and the Centre for Intercultural Learning, which is a division of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, Centre for Intercultural Learning: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Japan Expo 2005," *Magazine Intercultures* 1 vol.2 (2005).

Japanese “loan” word *tekunorji* (technology),²³⁵ which is often used colloquially as *teku*, and *jin*, the Japanese word for person. So a *teku-jin* is literally a “tech person.” In the Canadian pavilion, *teku-jins* were guides with computers attached to their backs (figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8. *Teku-jin* Guides, Exterior, Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.

It is worth quoting one of the guides, Sotaro Yamaguchi, at length as he aptly describes their function:

Essentially the *teku-jin* is a computer screen with a laptop in the back that runs an interactive show that can only be run using a remote control. To

²³⁵ A “loan word” is a foreign word incorporated in the Japanese language. See: *Planning and Theme Document* (2003).

alleviate boredom in line-ups, the hosting staff carries these on their backs, like a backpack...With the remote control, people can access the six 'storytellers' and experience a preview of the show via the computer screen on top of our heads. People can also take pictures using a web cam, which is sent to the Canadian Pavilion website, and can be viewed at a later date.²³⁶

As this illustrates, the *teku-jins* were important intermediaries between the queues and the pavilion experience. They were used to advertise the pavilion and animated the experience of waiting in line by providing guests with the opportunity to both meet a Canadian and have their pictures taken. In the Canadian pavilion, the *teku-jins* not only served a practical function of providing information, they also represented Canada physically by their bodies, as well as virtually through the screens attached to their backs.

Pavilion hosts have long been part of the world's fair experience, and their presence results in a reciprocal relationship with the host country: the pavilion guides experience a cultural exchange by living and working in another country, and the visitors to the pavilion have the opportunity to interact with citizens from other countries. Pavilion guides perform an important function in how the "other" is put on display at contemporary world's fairs. This follows a long pattern of displays of bodies at historical universal expositions where an "exotic" body was put on display as a symbol of difference and used to justify empire.²³⁷

²³⁶ Sotaro Yamaguchi as cited in Vivian Thomas, "High-Tech Canada Represented in Japan," *Brock Press* (Monday May 23, 2005). The device weighted 13 kilograms and was worn in shifts of 45 minute each.

²³⁷ Bodies on display were a key part of early universal expositions such as 1851. This practice also figured heavily in circus culture, sideshows, and museums, which I discussed in Chapter 2. See

At Aichi, the Canadian pavilion hosts used their bodies as a vehicle for a technological display. The choice of a robot-human hybrid in the Canadian pavilion is made clear when considered in relation to the cultural expectations of the audience, as well as the wider expo experience where robots and technology were used throughout many pavilion displays.²³⁸ For example, *Robot Project: We live in the Robot Age* focused entirely on robots in daily life (figure 4.9). Other pavilions, such as Toyota's, focused on prototypes that could be used for travel.²³⁹ Overall, the majority of the Japanese pavilions featuring robots positioned them as humanistic, helpful, and positive contributions to daily life.

Japan has a long history of robot design, with a particular emphasis on humanoid robots such as *karakuri ningyo* (mechanical dolls) - one of the most popular being the *chahakobi ningyo* (tea serving doll),²⁴⁰ - and diagrams dating from the late eighteenth century. Robots also found their way into popular culture with Japanese manga and anime. *Tetsuwan Atomu* (*Astro Boy*), for

also: Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

²³⁸ Japan Association for the 2005 World Exposition, "Robot Project: We live in the Robot Age," *The 2005 World Exposition, Aichi, Japan*. See also: Geoffrey York, "We, Robots," *Globe and Mail* (March 31, 2005); James Hadfield "We are the Robots," *Japan Times Online* (April 15, 2005)

²³⁹ The central area in this pavilion was comprised of a large performance space, which began with an introduction by a female robot (*Actroid*). This was followed by robot-musicians playing songs, such as the *Saints Come Marching In*. In the pavilion, robots moved like humans, further blurring the lines between people and machine. *Official Guidebook*, 126-127; Japan Toyota Group, "Welcome to the Performance Show," brochure (Japan: 2005).

²⁴⁰ Tea serving dolls are activated when a cup of tea is placed on the tray held by the doll, which then activates the doll to move towards a guest. When the cup is taken, the doll waits until the cup is finished and placed back on the tray and then turns back to the "master." See "Japan's Playful Robot Partners on Exhibit at Expo 2005: Aichi," *Japanese Art and Culture Kateigaho: International Edition*, accessed March 20, 2012, http://int.kateigaho.com/2006/06/2005_spring_issue.html.

example, was first published in 1952 and later made into a Japanese television series.²⁴¹ In fact, *Astro Boy* is so entrenched in Japanese popular culture that references can be found in unexpected places, for example, the theme music from the television series is played to signal the doors are closing on the Tokyo subway network.²⁴²

Figure 4.9. Interior, *Robot Project, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan*.

²⁴¹It was very popular, which led to other adaptations, including an English version that is well known in North America. For a discussion of *Astro Boy* see: Frederik L. *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution*, (Stone Bridge Press, 2007); Guoping, Ma Leilei Zeng, "Rethinking Astro Boy: A Classic Piece of Science Popularization Culture," *Science Popularization* 3 (2009): 13.

²⁴² I observed this on my subway rides in Tokyo. This was one of the many references to *manga* and *anime* in daily experience in Japan. The relationship of robots in Japanese society has been the subject of many studies. See for example: Cosima Wanger, "The Japanese Way of Robotics: Interacting 'naturally' with Robots as a National Character?" The 18th IEEE International Symposium (2009): 510-515; Karl F. MacDorman, Sandosh K. Vasudevan, Chin-Chang Ho, "Does Japan Really Have Robot Mania?, Comparing Attitudes by Implicit and Explicit Measures," *AI and Society* 23, no.4 (2009): 485-510.

A common theme of robots in Japanese comics is that they display humanoid characteristics and focus on helping humans. In contrast, Western popular culture is inherently wary where robots and artificial intelligence are concerned. Such wariness is particularly evident in films. In *Metropolis* (1927) the robot double Maria is used for deceit and destruction. In *The Matrix* (1999), reality turns out to be a cyberspace created by machines that use human bodies to create energy.²⁴³ In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, the *teku-jins* were not fully humanoid robots like *Astro Boy*, but rather wore a technological intervention imposed on the body to blur the lines between machine and human.

This addition to the active body of a host can be understood as a type of anthropic robot.²⁴⁴ While the merging of the human body with electronics can be viewed as a paradigm shift,²⁴⁵ theorists such as Poli argue that this is merely a continuation. She relates contemporary devices to early technological apparatuses, such as eyeglasses, and wearable machines, such as watches.²⁴⁶ In

²⁴³ For a discussion of robots in cinema see: H.M. Geduld, "Celluandroid: The Robot in Cinema," *The Humanist* 35 (1975): 40. For a discussion Maria and the female body represented in film see: Mary Ann Doane, "Technophilia: Technology, Representation, and the Feminine," *Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science* (1990): 163-176. For a recent study on the Matrix see: Russell Kilbourn, "Re-writing Reality: Reading the Matrix," *The Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 9, no. 2 (2000): 43-54. For a good historical overview of robots as presented in films see: Tim Dirks, "Robots in Film: A Complete Illustrated History of Robots in Film," *FilmSite*, accessed February 20, 2012, <http://www.filmsite.org/robotsinfilmm.html>.

²⁴⁴ See Marco Somalvico, "Bodies and Robots," in Leopoldina Fortunati, James Katz, Raimonda Ricci eds. *Mediating the Human Body: Technology, Communication, Fashion*. (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: New Jersey, 2003), 31-38.

²⁴⁵ For a critique on the growing dependency on technological innovations see: Edward Tenner, *Why Things Bite Back: Technology and the Revenge of Unintended Consequences*, (Vintage: 1997). See also: Chris Shilling, *The Body in Culture, Technology and Society*, (Sage, 2004).

²⁴⁶ See Anna Poli, "The Equipped Body: Wearable Computers and Intelligent Fabrics," in Fortunati et al., *Mediating the Human Body: Technology, Communication, and Fashion*, 169-176.

the case of *Expo 2005*, the apparatus worn by the *teku-jins* can be seen as a technological extension of the body, where the body “is no longer a monad in search of a place, word, or gesture, but a terminal that is never switched off.”²⁴⁷

The *teku-jins* in the Canadian pavilion reflected not the menacing role of human-robot hybrids, but rather the positive role of humanoid robots in Japanese society. They not only helped to guide visitors, they provided a personalized experience by giving those visitors an opportunity to meet a Canadian with whom they could have their picture taken and uploaded on the Internet. In the Canadian pavilion, technology influenced every aspect of the display, especially where the individual was connected to the nation through technology and the body.

Cybersalon: Gaming with the Nation

Reliance on technology is a key part of the *branded display complex*. At *Expo 2005*, it was used to construct the experience of the Canadian pavilion, as well as reflected the audience’s frame of reference, thus ensuring the pavilion would be visited. In the absence of written didactics, technology was the text that ran throughout the various levels of display. The audience’s engagement with technology was fully realized in the final zone, the *Cyber Salon*.

While the visitor may have been visually immersed in the first two exhibition zones, it was in the final zone that the exhibit could be touched and

²⁴⁷ Patrizia Calefato “Wearing Communication: Home, Space, Travel,” in *Fortunati et al., Mediating the Human Body: Technology, Communication, and Fashion*, 163-168

engaged with on a physical level. In the Canadian pavilion, the *Cyber Salon* was the final phase of the technique. It was also the final object lesson in the pavilion, where the experience of Canada was made memorable through a combined digital-tactile experience. After having spent the two previous zones looking at image-scapes of Canada, the *Cyber Salon* engaged visitors with *cyber-explorer* pods, which were stations set up with individual computer touch-screens (figure 4.10). These pods involved an interactive gaming experience where the visitor could virtually tour Canada.

Figure 4.10. *Cyber Salon*, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

To start the journey on the *cyber explorer* pods, the visitor had to pick a virtual guide (figure 4.11), which gave them the opportunity to personalize their gaming experience through the choice of an avatar, which serves as the user's

online identity. As Meadows suggests, an avatar, “is a literary device. It’s a protagonist that is used for used for interactive narratives.”²⁴⁸ In online gaming environments such as *Second Life*, one can design one’s own avatar.²⁴⁹ In the *cyber-explorer* pods, the visitor’s avatar was selected from one of the six “storytellers” previously introduced in the *Ethnosphere*; I will explore these further in Chapter 5.

After selecting an avatar, visitors used the *cyber-explorer* pod to navigate a metaverse; in other words, each would undertake an individualized virtual journey across a variety of Canadian locales including both cities and landmarks such as the CN tower (figure 4.12). While the user was allowed some choice, the game was ultimately a mediated experience with an underlying script. It was for all intents and purposes a commercial designed to brand Canada in the mind of a Japanese visitor.

²⁴⁸ Mark S. Meadows, *I, Avatar: The Culture and Consequences of Having a Second Life*, (Toronto: Pearson, 2007), 13.

²⁴⁹ Avatars began to enter the virtual gaming world around 1985 with games such as *Quest of the Avatar*. Robbie Cooper, in *Alter Ego: Avatars and their Creators* (London: Chris Boot, 2007) completed a photographic series on avatars, and their “real” users. It is a useful source for exploring the varied incarnations of avatars. In the book, Tracy Spaight compiled an extensive glossary of virtual reality terminology that is a good introduction on gaming vocabulary. For an interesting study on how “identities” are managed in online forums see: John R. Suler, “Identity Management in Cyberspace,” *Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* 4, no. 4 (2002): 455-459; and Ralph Schroeder ed., *The Social Life of Avatars: Presence and Interaction in Shared Virtual Environments* (New York: Springer, 2002).

Figure 4.11. Detail of screen, showing avatar selection, *Cyber Salon*, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

Figure 4.12. Detail, cyber explorer game, *Cyber Salon*, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

In the *Cyber Salon*, use of technology formed the basis for display and served as an example of techno-orientalism in practice (given the importance of gaming in Japanese popular culture.) In the 1980s, Nintendo revolutionized gaming culture, shifting much of the axis of game development to Japan.²⁵⁰ In a recent study, Kohler examines the influence of Japanese gaming in a global market, and argues that gaming has not only affirmed Japan's technological dominance but also done much for its nation branding.²⁵¹ He also discusses the ubiquitous presence of role-playing games (RPG) among Japanese gamers, which typically involve the gamer taking on the role of a character who journeys through a variety of scenarios and must perform a variety of tasks.²⁵² An important feature of an RPG is the element of choice in structuring the narrative, as the gamer decides when and where to travel in the game. While the goal may be the same for all users, each journey is individualized according to the gamer's preferences. The video in the Canadian pavilion's *cyber explorer* pod used the

²⁵⁰ Gaming is a core part of Japanese popular culture. In Japan there are even professional gamers tasked with competing in national competitions or playing games for others. Jessie Cameron Herz, *Joystick Nation: How Videogames ate our Quarters, Won our Hearts, and Rewired our Minds*, (Little, Brown and Co.: New York, 1997).

²⁵¹ Chris Kohler, *Power-up: How Japanese Video Games Gave the World an Extra Life*, (BradyGames: London, 2004). See also: Rolan Kelts, *Japanamerica: How Japanese Pop Culture has Invaded the US*, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2006).

²⁵² Matt Barton, *Dungeons and desktops: The history of Computer Role-playing Games*, (AK Peters: Abington, 2008). For an interesting study about the ways that RPG presents a fixed, designed experience see: Kurt Squire, "From content to context: Videogames as designed experience," *Educational researcher* 35, no. 8 (2006): 19-29. These games have also been the topic of much scholarly debate in fields of education. See for example: Michele D. Dickey, "Engaging by design: How Engagement Strategies in Popular Computer and Video Games can inform Instructional Design," *Educational Technology Research and Development* 53, no. 2 (2005): 67-83; Marcus D Childress and Ray Braswell. "Using Massively Multiplayer Online Role-playing Games for Online Learning," *Distance Education* 27, no. 2 (2006): 187-196.

RPG format, which ensured that it was easily accessible and understood by the audience.

The inclusion of not only the *cyber explorer* section but also a tactile video game was a purposeful, planned choice on the part of the federal planners of the Canadian pavilion to align their nation brand with that of the host country. The interactive video game essentially turned the world of Canada into an ordered taxonomy that could be organized and accessed by touch.

While technology can lead to a dematerialization of experience, it also allows for the opportunity to reanimate space, objects and experience in the museum. In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, the inclusion of the *cyber-explorer* pods in the *Cyber Salon* provided another way for the visitor to interact with the pavilion. By creating an experience that was tactile and involved an element of choice, it contributed to a personalized experience for its visitors, which in turn encouraged them to remember both their visit and the nation that had been on display.

This is an integral component to the *branded display complex*, through emphasizing participation and tactile experiences it makes a pavilion more memorable and, in turn, the brand of a nation more salient. While the technique of pulsing, and use of immersive environments helped to attract and maintain attention of the visitors, other elements such as the pavilion theme, and the objects on display are worthy of further investigation. The next two chapters will

examine the process of meaning making in the pavilion by conducting a visual analysis of the objects on display.

Chapter 5

Projecting Canada: Multiculturalism and Landscape

World's fairs are important tools through which a nation's brand is showcased to the world. They are therefore important sites in which to examine how particular brands are positioned, selected and presented, and why the government engages with these forums of display. The Canadian Government actively supports world's fairs as an extension of nation branding and as a way to project "Canadian values" to the public both at home and abroad.

In this chapter I focus on representations of multiculturalism and landscape to demonstrate how repeated images are used as part of the *branded display complex*. As I have discussed earlier, the *branded display complex* is a term that I use to frame an understanding of exhibitionary practices in world's fairs. An important element of this is a reliance on recognizable, trope imagery. I explore two examples in the Canadian pavilion: the inclusion of people that branded Canada as a multicultural nation where everyone lives in harmony, and images of landscape that attempted to brand Canada as a vast territory of clean resources. This resulted in what I term fractured display, because the nation brand projected by the government is not always clearly transmitted when we consider the audience in context. I argue that while the emphasis placed on greening technologies and the maple leaf in the pavilion were well situated to

brand Canada and were transmittable in a global context, multiculturalism as a brand was less clear.

I: Fractured Display: The Trope of Multiculturalism

Attempts to brand Canada at Aichi were met with mixed results. The use of multiculturalism as a brand for Canada was an example of what I term “fractured display,” where the demands of federal planners were not always consistent with the expectations of the audience. This suggests that the *branded display complex* in a pavilion is a complex, multilayered process of negotiated representation between government mandates and the publics that it is targeting. Multiculturalism as a core brand of Canada was incorporated into the pavilion through the pavilion theme, and in the inclusion of images of Canadian citizens that were meant to embody a diverse nation. This selection was also purposeful in that certain individuals were selected as a means to effectively make the message relatable to the audience in context; this was met with mixed results.

Multiculturalism as Canadian Brand

It is important to discuss how multiculturalism has become a key part of the federal government’s branding efforts before I explore how it was represented in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi. Multiculturalism is a key part of government policy and contributes to the ways in which Canada brands itself globally; not only to citizens and potential immigrants but as part of a wider nation brand in

political, economic, and social arenas. Creating unity in diversity was a key underpinning of the Canadian *Multiculturalism Act, 1988*.²⁵³ A key part of the federal government's application of multiculturalism is that it is a process of sustained difference, which is based on a set of ideals managed through policy. This has resulted in a lot of criticism.²⁵⁴ One common criticism explored by authors such as Mackey is that multiculturalism is essentially the result of "necessary others." In order to emphasize a strong Anglo-Canadian identity there needs to be differentiated cultures, as this contrast helps to re-affirm identity, difference and power.²⁵⁵

Another challenge to multiculturalism as part of official policy is that it not only emphasizes difference, but also racial purity, which provide little allowance for multi-race definitions. Writers, such as Bannerji, have critiqued the use of multicultural discourse as it relates to the notion of diversity. "The concept

²⁵³ Canada. Library of Parliament – PIRS, Michael Dewing, Canadian Multiculturalism PRB 09-20E (2009) provides a working definition of multiculturalism in relation to government: As fact, 'multiculturalism' in Canada refers to the presence and persistence of diverse racial and ethnic minorities who define themselves as different and who wish to remain so. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada's cultural diversity. Multiculturalism at the policy level is structured around the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial and municipal domains. Finally, multiculturalism is the process by which racial and ethnic minorities compete to obtain support from central authorities for the achievement of certain goals and aspirations."

²⁵⁴ As I explored in Chapter 2, there has been much critical debate on the issue of nationalism within the Canadian context (see Berger, Berton, Kilbourne). Because Canadian society can't be bound by a shared ethnicity or language, other factors have been used to define the Canadian nation, such as the concept of multiculturalism. Will Kymlicka makes a significant distinction between what he terms immigrant groups and national minorities, see his seminal study, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). For another key study in discussions of multiculturalism see: John Porter, *Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

²⁵⁵ Mackey, *The House of Difference: Politics and National Identity in Canada*, 8-10.

of diversity allows for an emptying of social relations and suggests a concreteness of cultural description,” Bannerji continues, “This obscures any understanding of difference as a construction of power.”²⁵⁶ As Bannerji argues, the concept of diversity becomes a “value free, neutral term of difference,” removing it from larger debates around gender, race and class. What I focus on in my case study however is not on the multitudinal definitions of multiculturalism, or how it is applied in government policy, but rather how multiculturalism as a concept is promoted to the public.

Multiculturalism as a product to be marketed has been the topic of many key studies.²⁵⁷ Of importance to my study is the work of Kymlicka who addresses the challenges of branding pluralism in the international arena. He questions why the “Canadian model” of pluralism is so widely marketed abroad when it is often a source of confusion and debate in Canada. He outlines several key reasons for the emphasis: that the model of Canadian pluralism projected abroad helps to maintain the reputation of Canada as a broker in international conflicts, and that it encourages a view of Canada that in turn helps to encourage visitors, immigrants, and economic partnerships.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2000), 36.

²⁵⁷ See for example, Katharyne Mitchell, “Multiculturalism, or the United Colors of Capitalism?,” *Antipode* 25, no. 4 (1993): 263-294.

²⁵⁸ Will Kymlicka, “Marketing Canadian pluralism in the international arena,” *International Journal* 59, no. 4 (2004): 829-852. He argues that the “Canadian model” is not easily exportable when one examines its historical roots, which are influenced by timing, ethnic makeup, and geography.

Ultimately, in the terrain of global exchange, multiculturalism gives Canada a competitive edge in creating a unique country brand, and the outside validation can contribute to the way in which multiculturalism is understood within Canada. He further observes that the most widely projected component of the “Canadian model” of pluralism is the approach to immigration integration, which stands in contrast to assimilationist policies. As I demonstrate in my discussion of the videos in Canadian pavilion in *Expo 2005*, this is the aspect of Canadian multiculturalism that was emphasized: that Canada is a nation of many languages and ethnicities that live socially and equitably with each other. In the Canadian pavilion the choice of people included in the videos reaffirmed a particular way of viewing race in Canada, where people are symbols used to articulate a cohesive nation. While this is not the lived reality for many, world’s fairs are ultimately about constructing worlds resting on fixed ideals of nationhood.

The concept of a cultural mosaic as a tool of nation branding has a long history, and can be linked back to early marketing strategies conceived by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). For example, John Murray Gibbon worked as a publicity agent for the CPR and organized a number of festivals that showcased the diversity of Canada, which of course, could be accessed by purchasing a ticket for the train. In this guise, diversity was used as a way to promote tourism on the

railroad.²⁵⁹ What authors such as Daniel Francis have noted is that these early tourist initiatives that promoted a multicultural Canada were seldom triggered by a concern for a diverse society, since there remained many racialized policies towards immigrants. Instead, diversity as a concept was mitigated by economic concerns.²⁶⁰

In this chapter I pick up these arguments that critique how multiculturalism has been used as a brand for Canada. As my case study illustrates, the government ignored an opportunity to create a forum for critical discussion on diversity in Canada. The federal planners of the pavilion could have, for example, interrogated the central role that Asians played in the building of the railroad, the racialized head taxes imposed on immigrants, and the internment of Japanese during WWII in a way that could have contributed to a critical engagement with nation. Instead, as I demonstrate, the display in the pavilion relied on easily consumable images, in an attempt to present the Canadian brand of multiculturalism in a neutral, accessible way.

Pavilion Theme: Negotiating Government Policy and Audience Expectations

Multiculturalism was one of the core thematic elements of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi. The challenge of fulfilling government mandates and satisfying

²⁵⁹ Stuart Henderson, "‘While there is Still Time’: J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39, no. 1 (2005): 139-174. Gibbon was also a prolific writer who wrote an influential book, the *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*, 1938, which helped to popularize the concept of a Canadian society based on a mosaic of cultures and identities.

²⁶⁰ Francis, "Come to Canada: Selling Canada to Tourists," in Francis (2011), 124-171. For a good overview of racialized policies and immigration see: Kelley Ninette, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1998).

audience expectations began with the selection of the theme, *Wisdom of Diversity*, which, as evidenced by the planning documents, had a different meaning for the government, Canadians, and the Japanese.

While the central theme for *Expo Aichi* was *Nature's Wisdom*, each pavilion also developed a separate and related sub-theme that formed the basis of the interior pavilion display. The theme for the Canadian pavilion was *Wisdom of Diversity* and was the result of consultations with federal government, NGOs, as well as public, and private sectors.²⁶¹ Cabinet approved it on March 25, 2003, with the theme *Wisdom of Diversity* officially described:

Canada's geography is a unique, vast and splendidly varied panorama of places and people. However, Canada's uniqueness is greater than the simple fact that its nature and people are diverse. Canada's uniqueness is in the way it has chosen to develop as a community with values and principles, which accommodate, respect, protect and promote environmental and cultural diversity. Canada's vision is that deliberately fostering diversity nurtures resilience, adaptability and survival of life, itself, but also nurtures inter-cultural harmony, creativity, innovation and an enhanced quality of life for future generations. By acting locally and thinking globally, Canadians are discovering that diversity in nature strengthens the *Biosphere* and diversity in language and culture enriches the *Ethnosphere*.²⁶²

The concept of diversity was interpreted in many different ways, in people, culture, and landscape. The confusion over the theme began with its translation into Japanese. The more formal translation of wisdom (*aichi*) was used instead of

²⁶¹ Interviewees included experts in Canada-Japan relations such as tourism, trade, academia and cultural sectors, JET alumni, former commissioner generals of Expos, expats, senior government officials, Suzuki Foundation, ethno-cultural community leaders. *Planning and Theme Document*, 10-11.

²⁶² *Planning and Theme Document*, 11

the widely used translation of wisdom (*chie*),²⁶³ which contributed to the theme not being fully understood. In the Canadian pavilion the narrative of pluralism, which was a key part of the government's interpretation of diversity, was overshadowed by the Japanese perceptions that emphasized diversity in landscape.

This was clearly evident in the market studies commissioned by the government. The results of the report prepared by Leger Marketing indicated that 90% of Japanese respondents were aware of expo, but the understanding of the Canadian pavilion theme was weak. In relation to *Wisdom of Diversity*: 35% were interested in cultural and ethnic diversity, 72% in nature and 50% in the environment.²⁶⁴ In addition, the study further pointed out that multiculturalism was not seen as significant to the Japanese audience, who come from a mainly homogenous culture. While multiculturalism is an important part of the policies of the federal government of Canada, it carries a very different resonance in a global context.

The Ipsos Reid market studies also demonstrated confusion over the public understanding of the theme among Canadians.²⁶⁵ Many Canadian respondents were not clear what the Canadian pavilion theme meant. What the confusion over the pavilion theme demonstrates is that the transmission of

²⁶³ Bourque, *Quantitative and Qualitative Research on Perception and Awareness of the Potential Japanese Audience at the Canadian Pavilion at the 2005 World Exposition*, 37.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ While Leger Marketing focused on Japanese opinions, the Ipsos Reid market studies focused on Canadian perspectives. They conducted six, 1.5-hour focus group research in Montreal and Vancouver with youth, adults and Japanese Canadians.

government policy into the pavilion design was a complicated process. Visitors were not going with an expectation to receive a lesson on government policy, but to be entertained. The final display walked a precarious terrain of “projecting Canadian values,” as determined by the IED planners in a format that was accessible and engaging to a foreign audience.

Placing People in the pavilion: The six “storytellers”

While the abstract theme of the pavilion met with confusion, the transmission of multiculturalism as a brand was facilitated through the selection of six Canadian citizens who served as a personal, direct example of pluralism in practice as they each represented different areas of Canada, languages, and races.²⁶⁶ Labelled “storytellers” in the Canadian pavilion, they were first introduced in the *Ethnosphere* videos where they were set against the Canadian landscape (figure 5.1). They were then later included as avatars in the *cyber explorer* virtual game (figure 5.2), and included on small keepsake cards. Including individuals as a means to represent the concept of multiculturalism would have made it less abstract for the audience in question.

²⁶⁶ The six people chosen for the pavilion videos and cyber game were: Jean Lemire (Quebec): screenwriter/biologist, Idil Mussa, (Ontario): TV Ontario, Kirt Ejesiak, (Nunavut): Uqsiq communications, Randal Gossen, (Calgary): industry, Grace Fan (Vancouver): urban planner and the most popular figure, Jennifer Toulmin (Prince Edward Island): Actress/*Anne of Green Gables*.

Figure 5.1. Screen Detail, *Ethnosphere*, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

Figure 5.2. Cyber explore game, detail with “storytellers” used both for the avatar, and also depicted in frames along wall. Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.

The attempt to personalize the nation through interaction and experience connects back to my earlier discussion in Chapter 4 of the importance placed on participatory experiences. In their work on world's fairs Smits and Jansen posit that a key aspect of how the nation is positioned in contemporary world's fairs is dependent on creating personal interactions of a national experience.²⁶⁷ The storytellers in the pavilion were, on the one hand, used to represent the federal brand of multiculturalism, while on the other represented individuals that the audience could relate to in a more personalized manner. The inclusion of the storytellers sets them up as characters in a story that is being told through the display. They are the supporting cast to Canada.

In the pavilion, multiculturalism was presented as a means to frame the nation as a cohesive, shared space of many races and languages, where diversity was celebrated in people and land. My examination suggests that in the Canadian pavilion the choice of individuals used to animate the videos in the *Ethnosphere*, the game in the *Cyber Salon*, and in collectable cards reaffirmed a particular way of viewing race in Canada, where the storytellers suggest a cohesive nation without conflict. Through a close analysis of the selection of the storytellers, it becomes apparent that multiculturalism was packaged and presented to suit a brand within a fixed context.

²⁶⁷ Katherine Smits and Alix Jansen, "Staging the nation at expos and world's fairs," *National Identities*, 14:2, (2012): 173-188

Of the six individuals selected for the videos, two were a direct reflection of the audience's projections of Canada: Grace Fan, an Asian immigrant living in British Columbia and *Anne of Green Gables* from PEI. Focusing on British Columbia creates a narrative that situates Canada as not only a nation of immigrants, but also a nation that is open and accepting to Asian immigrants. The emphasis placed on *Anne of Green Gables* and Prince Edward Island was a purposeful effort that fed into Japanese tourist expectations of Canada. The role that tourism and *Anne of Green Gables* played in the branding of the pavilion will be examined in Chapter 6. What the selection of storytellers suggests is that the organizers, while attempting to reflect federal narratives, were acutely aware of making choices that would ensure the brand was easily communicated to its intended audience.

The storytellers presented in the pavilion videos later re-appeared in the *Cyber Salon*. They were used as avatars in the cyber explorer game, which I explored in Chapter 4, and were included on what I describe as "trading cards." Each was the size of a business card, and featured one of the six storytellers set against a corresponding landscape²⁶⁸ (figure 5.3).

²⁶⁸ Their portraits were set against an image/place that had been seen in the pavilion videos: Jean Lemire/sailing ship, Idil Mussa/downtown Toronto with CN Tower, Kirt Ejesiak/ polar bears, Randal Gossen/wind turbines, Grace Fan/downtown Vancouver, and Jennifer Toulmin/ lighthouse with red dunes of Prince Edward Island.

Figure 5.3. Front of holographic trading card, set of 6. Each card representing one of the six “storytellers” set against a corresponding landscape. Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.

On the obverse side of the card was a holographic image. Viewed from one angle, the hologram revealed an image of maple leaves floating against an *aurora borealis* background with the pavilion website. When the card is viewed from another direction, a second image appeared with the phrase, “Experience Canada” appearing in Japanese, English, and French (figure 5.4). The excerpt on the back of the card is telling as it emphasizes not just visiting the pavilion, but encourages the visitor to “experience” Canada.

Figure 5.4. Back of holographic trading card, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

This embeds the visitor as an active participant in the pavilion. By including the storytellers who had been introduced in the *Ethnosphere* and who served as the basis for avatars in the *cyber explorer* pods, the cards were a way in which to transfer the theme of diversity into a souvenir format, and allowed the visitor to possess an image of the Canadians on display. The selection of cards connects back to my earlier discussion in Chapter 4 of displaying the “other” in world’s fairs. Here, I explore the format of the cards as it reveals much about how the pavilion attempted to disseminate the brand of multiculturalism.

The inclusion of trading cards in the Canadian pavilion was a curious choice, as they don't resemble typical souvenirs such as postcards or collectable kitsch items, such as magnets or souvenirs.²⁶⁹ However, if we consider the trading cards in relation to a Japanese audience then the choice was purposeful. The trading cards can be understood in relation to the custom of business card

²⁶⁹ The question of tourism and souvenirs is the focus of Chapter 6.

exchanges and gaming culture in Japan. This is important as it demonstrates that the transmission of multiculturalism as brand was repackaged in a format that encouraged its consumption and reflected the audience's collecting practices.

Meishi (business cards) are an integral part of Japanese society and have been widely used since the Edo period. *Meishi* are not only used for business transactions, but function like an introduction card that is shared and printed by most Japanese. As Hawkins observes,

Business cards in Japan are exchanged like germs, that is to say they are very common...Japan is perhaps the most famous for business cards, as it's the only place in the world that has turned the simple concept of passing information into a methodical practice requiring rehearsal time.²⁷⁰

Not only is receiving cards important, but so is the manner in which they are stored (not in a back pocket, but in a nice case) and are given (two fingers holding at bottom with card facing towards person).²⁷¹ *Meishi* are an important way to identify oneself in Japanese society, a sign of respect, and an important cultural custom. The trading cards in the Canadian pavilion, given their size, and the fact that they are representing the six "storytellers" thus reflect the function of *meishi* for the Japanese visitor. In a sense, the cards perform the same function as a real life meeting: where one meets another individual and then is presented with their card. The same happened in the pavilion, after engaging with the

²⁷⁰ David Hawkins, "Japanese Business Cards," accessed September 10, 2011, <http://www.cultural-japan.com/>.

²⁷¹ Discussions of business cards (*meishi*) as cultural practice in Japan can be found on many expat blogs and other social media sites. There are also several interesting non-fiction travelogues on travellers' experiences with customs in Japan, see for example: Shifra Horn, *Shalom Japan: A Sabra's Five Years in the Land of the Rising Sun* (New York: Kensington: 1997); and Will Ferguson, *Hitching Rides with Buddha: A Journey Across Japan* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998)

storytellers visually in the *Ethnosphere* and cyber game, they then have an opportunity to collect the *meishi* of the person they have just “met.”

Another possible source of influence for the inclusion of trading cards in the Canadian pavilion is their relationship to gaming culture. As I have shown in Chapter 4, gaming culture was an important part of how the Canadian pavilion structured its space to appeal to the audience. The inclusion of holographic images on the cards is reminiscent of popular card games such as *Pokémon*, which was created by Satoshi Tajiri in 1996 for Nintendo and became a global phenomenon.²⁷² *Pokémon* (*Poketto Monsuta* or *Pocket Monsters*) centres on a fictional world in which the primary task is to collect insects. Players become *Pokémon* trainers where they work at creating a *Pokedex* (collecting all the species in an encyclopaedia of information), and train the *Pokémon* they have caught to compete against other teams.

One of the spin-offs from the popular computer game is a trading card game that begins with six cards. In the game, players have competitions with other gamers to win cards. Some of the most prized trading cards are those with holographic images of *Pokémon* characters.²⁷³ Therefore if we consider this in

²⁷² *Pokémon* quickly rose in popularity with a plethora of films, soundtracks, and merchandising. See: Kent, Steven. *The Ultimate History of Video Games: from Pong to Pokemon and Beyond... the Story behind the Craze that Touched our Lives and Changed the World*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2010). For an interesting study on the economics of the *Pokemon* craze see: Rama Katkar and David Lucking-Reiley, “Public versus Secret Reserve Prices in Ebay Auctions: Results from a *Pokémon* field experiment,” *National Bureau of Economic Research*, (2001); and Sidne Ward and John M. Clark, “Bidding behaviour in on-line auctions: An examination of the eBay *Pokémon* card market.” *International Journal of Electronic Commerce* 6 (2002): 139-156.

²⁷³ Official *Pokémon* site, <http://www.pokemon.com/>

relation to the trading cards in the Canadian pavilion there are many similarities: there are 6 trading cards, they include holograms, and they represent people that are very recognizable to the audience. The choice of including trading cards in the Canadian pavilion was clearly influenced by the cultural point of reference for the visitor. The cards not only put multiculturalism as a concept into a tangible form, they were also presented in a format that encouraged their collection, which in turn contributed to the transmission of the Canadian brand to a globalized public.

II: Greening Canada: Reading the Maple Leaf

While the attempt to use multiculturalism as a brand in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi was complicated in a global context, the choice of landscape comes as no surprise. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 3, Canada has used landscape as part of its expo design dating back to the *Great Exhibition* of 1851. What we see however is a shift in how landscape is presented, not as a colonial commodity as was typical of world's fairs in the nineteenth century, but rather as a site that emphasized environmental stewardship. I focus on the images of nature projected in the videos in the *Ethnosphere* to demonstrate how the pavilion reflected the *branded display complex* by relying on a trope of Canada that equates the nation with landscape. In the Canadian pavilion the videos focused heavily on images of vast landscapes, wildlife, and green technologies such as wind turbines. I extend my critical examination further than simply

equating landscape with Canada, but rather I interrogate the specific images at play. Through the example of the maple leaf I show how the choices made in the pavilion not only reflected nature as a means to brand Canada, but did so in a way that appealed to the audience in context by focusing on the relationship between aesthetics, the natural world, and environmental stewardship.

Landscape as Cultural Object

I situate my discussion of landscape by positioning it as a social and cultural construct, which has been explored in the work of Cosgrove, Daniels, W.J.T Mitchell and others.²⁷⁴ The concept of cultural landscape is particularly useful in terms of this case study. According to Sauer, “a cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and cultural landscape is the result.”²⁷⁵ Landscape, then, is a created place, subject to the uses, values and memories we associate with it. The idea that landscape is in essence a malleable product that is impacted by cultural demands is central to my argument, as the projections of vast

²⁷⁴ Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels eds. *The Iconography of Landscape*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1988), W.J.T Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). See also: Tony Hiss, *The Experience of Place* (New York: Knopf, 1991), Lucy Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentre Society* (New York: The New Press, 1997), Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); and Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

²⁷⁵ Carl O. Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape,” in *Land and Life: A Selection From the Writings of Carl Sauer*, ed. John Leighly (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963), 315-350. Other scientists such as Droste and Plachter point out the forced division of culture and nature imposed by economic, political and other factors. For Droste and Plachter, central to understanding of cultural landscape is that it reflects the interaction between people and nature.

landscapes in the pavilion are more than referencing place, they are presenting a particular way of branding the nation in a global context.

Landscape has long been a defining element in Canada's identity as a nation. As Innis and others have argued, natural resources fuelled the energies of early explorers, while animals (such as the beaver) prompted expansion through fur trade.²⁷⁶ The vast geography of Canada was a key point of discussions in the creation of the *British North American Act, 1867*. Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister and one of the Fathers of Confederation, argued the need for a transnational railway. He felt the future of the Dominion depended on uniting a geographically diverse nation.²⁷⁷ This connection "from sea to sea" paved the way for the development of industry, manufacturing, settlement and tourism, with landscape the key to its collective identity.

My discussion of landscape in the pavilion is situated in an understanding that visual representations are crucial to how landscape has come to serve as a nation brand for Canada. Authors such as Schama and Crowley argue that one of

²⁷⁶ Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

²⁷⁷ The railroad was one of the key factors for British Columbia and the Maritimes to join Confederation. For a cultural history of the railroad, see Pierre Berton, *The Last Spike: The Great Railway, 1881-1885* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2001). For a critical discussion on the relationship between colonial expansion and the railway, see James Blaine Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: the Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); and Daniel Francis, "Making Tracks: The Myth of the CPR," in his *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 15-28. For a discussion of the relationship of the railroad to tourism and development of national parks, see C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

the ways to assert a claim is through visual depictions.²⁷⁸ Landscape, as it relates to art history, is not only a genre through which one executes skill as an artist, but a way of asserting control over the land. Early topographical depictions of Canada by artists such as Richard Short were part of a larger output from the British military. Early conceptions of Canada were largely based on imperialist approaches to the land, where nature could be owned, and managed through a colonial framework of expansion and resource extraction.

The colonial approach to building the nation has been the subject of many texts in critical Canadian studies. For example, Thobani investigates a process called *humanitas nullius*, whereby the imposition of reserves essentially erased the individual identity of First Nations and lumped them into one category: Indian.²⁷⁹ Related to *humanitas nullius* is *terra nullius*, which refers to land that no one owns, has no connection to a sovereign state, and thus can be acquired when occupied.²⁸⁰ This approach to ownership was central to how landscape was positioned in historical world's fairs.

Greening the pavilion: Projecting Place

²⁷⁸ John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745-1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); and Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: First Vintage Books, 1995).

²⁷⁹ Suneria Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nature in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007). See also Mackey, Bannerji.

²⁸⁰ For further discussion of *terra nullius* in the context of Canada, see Boyce Richardson, *People of Terra Nullius: Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada*, (Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993); and Michal Asch, "From *Terra Nullius* to Affirmation: Reconciling Aboriginal Rights with the Canadian Constitution," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 17 (2002): 23. For an interesting study on the relationship between *terra nullius* and visual images, see Jonathan Bordo, "The *Terra Nullius* of Wilderness-Colonialist Landscape Art (Canada and Australia) and the So-Called Claim to American Exception," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 15 (1997): 13-36.

As I have shown in earlier chapters, from the onset of Canadian participation at universal expositions the role of landscape has been a vital part in the experience of the pavilion itself, from the *Timber Trophy* at the *Great Exhibition* in 1851, to the *People Tree* at *Expo '67*. However, what changed in the pavilion in Japan was a shift away from thinking about the environment of Canada as a commodity for trade, to one of reflection with an emphasis placed on environmental stewardship. While progress and modernity still form much of the discourse surrounding world expositions, many authors have argued that there is a growing shift towards an emphasis on global citizenship and environmental awareness. As Nadis argues in his study of how nature was presented at *Aichi* 2005,

As the collapse of colonialism has been followed by the slower collapse of a colonialist attitude towards nature, heavy-handed displays of technological might, industrial abundance, and national ingenuity have given way to the less dramatic themes of environmentalism and global cooperation.²⁸¹

This is very pertinent in relation to how landscape was positioned at Aichi. As I have shown in Chapter 3 the very architecture of the grounds was built using green building technologies to minimize the impact on the landscape. This is a far cry from the monumental structures built in earlier world's fairs. Even the theme of Expo 2005, *Nature's Wisdom* took an anthropomorphic approach to

²⁸¹ Fred Nadis, "Nature at Aichi World's Expo 2005," *The Society for the History of Technology*, vol.48. Number 3 (July 2007): 575-581.

landscape.²⁸² Nature was described with character traits, such as wisdom, and was embodied as a site of exchange and dialogue.²⁸³

I contend that in the Canadian pavilion there was a demonstrative shift away from a focus on natural resources to one in which nature is seen as a site of contemplation. This reflects not only the wider expo theme at Aichi, and the pavilion theme but I argue that this can also be seen as a strategic way of branding Canada. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, the exhibition was organized so that each zone was visited in sequence, which was part of the “pulsing” technique used by the planners of the pavilion. The exhibition began with scenes of panoramic landscapes in the *Biosphere* and moved to images of people and industry in the *Ethnosphere*. While these first two areas did not include any tactile experiences in the display, the viewer simultaneously saw landscape projected on the screens, while being virtually immersed in those landscapes through devices such as sound, music and lights. The focus placed on landscape in the Canadian pavilion served many interests: the theme of expo, the goal of federal planners, and the expectations of visitors that formed a complex web of nation branding at the fair.

²⁸² Anthropomorphism as a concept relates to the application of human characteristics/traits to non-human entities. This is a common device used in the creative arts, such as the rabbit in *Alice in Wonderland*, as well as in visual, and theatre arts. See: J.M Bernstein “Aporia of the Sensible: Art, Objecthood, and Anthropomorphism,” in *Interpreting Visual Culture: Explorations in the Hermeneutics of the Vision*, ed. Ian Heywood (New York: Routledge, 1998), 218-237 and Robert S Phillips, *Aspects of Alice: Lewis Carroll's Dreamchild as seen Through the Critics' Looking-glasses* (Vintage Books, 1997)

²⁸³ Even the mascots of expo, *Kiccoro* and *Morizo* were abstracted references to nature as the ‘forest child’ and ‘forest grandfather’ thus engaging again with the theme of wisdom in the transfer of knowledge of the grandfather/child relationship.

It is important to once more examine the layout of the *Biosphere* and *Ethnosphere* to see how the space facilitated an engagement with the images on display. Upon entering the Canadian pavilion visitors were ushered into the first zone, the *Biosphere*, which was structured as a long corridor where visitors all faced in one direction. The entire space was dark, save for the images projected on a massive wall-length, floor to ceiling screen in which images of the Canadian landscape set to music and light were projected.

Due to the large crowds at *Expo 2005*, visitors were packed shoulder to shoulder; however the size of the screen gave the impression of an open, but intimate space. It was not only the size of the screen that had an impact on the visual resonance in this first zone, but the screen's surface. It was not rigid and taught, but was rather tactile and soft, even wrinkled in some areas where the light would emphasize the texture (figure 5.5). This had the effect of further personalizing the cinematic experience; the visitor was not looking at a projection of landscape on a smooth screen, but rather a screen that was embodied with movement and texture, a living organism. Through videos, music, lights, and movement the visitor was visually and spatially immersed in the pavilion.

Figure 5.5. *Screen detail showing tactile surface, Biosphere, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan*

The projection did not present a linear storyline. Images were interspersed and intertwined across the screen with nature as the central protagonist. Spanning the length of the screen were images of landscape and animals, at times flowing across the surface in multiple directions, while at other moments repeated in defined blocked out areas. A wide array of animals, such as birds, polar bears, caribou, and seals flew, jumped and ran virtually across the immense screens. Layered under and over them were scenes of Canada's landscape, ranging from snow falling, autumn leaves, mountainscapes, seascapes, sunsets, and cities (figure 5.6). All of this worked to reinforce the wide-ranging diversity of the geography in Canada.

Figure 5.6. Detail, showing images of landscape on superimposed screens with overlay images projected on top., *Biosphere*, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

After the video ended in the *Biosphere*, lighting signalled visitors to continue to a darkened corridor into the second stage of the narrative, the *Ethnosphere*. In this second zone of the pavilion, there was a large room that provided visitors with more space where they could sit or stand on the floor. Again the focus was a large screen, but here the screen was semi-translucent; during moments in the projection the silhouettes of the people in the *Biosphere* were visible. This had the effect of providing another way in which people were

projected, inserted, and incorporated into the landscape as their bodies were cast as shadows across the video (figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7. Screen Detail in *Ethnosphere*, which is semi-transparent to reveal the silhouettes of visitors in the *Biosphere*, Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan

While the images presented in the *Biosphere* focused on the natural geography of Canada, the *Ethnosphere* presented Canadian citizens and achievements projected onto the landscape. The video also referenced science and industry, such as the *Canadarm*. This suggests that while emphasizing nature, there remained a concerted effort to insert a dialogue of modernity and technology on the part of the pavilion planners, which has been part of world's fair rhetoric since 1851 when scientific advances were used as a social barometer

of nations.²⁸⁴ In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi images of wind-turbines were repeated several times in the video. The capacity to design, develop and install wind turbines can be viewed as a marker of a modern nation that has the financial means to implement wide environmental measures, thus again asserting the role of progress and modernity in development of a nation.

While images such as wind turbines point to ways in which industry can harness nature, the dominant narrative that reflected the wider expo theme of *Nature's Wisdom*, and the pavilion theme of *Wisdom of Diversity*, was not about the development of nature, but rather an appreciation of it. While the inclusion of technological achievements attempted to situate Canada not as a nation of “logs and rocks”²⁸⁵ but as a nation of advanced science and technologies there remained an emphasis on repeated images of the natural environment of Canada. This suggests the continued reliance of the Canadian government when planning events such as world’s fairs on expected, repeated and recognizable images of Canada that form part of the *branded display complex*.

Branding Canada – the maple leaf

There was one image in particular that was repeated throughout the pavilion. The maple leaf was represented in a multitude of ways: as sculpture on the outside of the building, on trading cards, and in the culminating scene in the

²⁸⁴ See: Cameron. I have discussed the role of science and technology at world’s fairs in Chapter 2.

²⁸⁵ I have discussed the “logs and rocks” aspect of Canadian foreign policy in Chapter 3 in relation to Fenton-Cooper’s argument of how Canada projects itself abroad with an emphasis on nature and natural resources.

Ethnosphere video. While I explore why the maple leaf is used to brand Canada, I also interrogate how it was displayed, and how it simultaneously fulfilled the branding objectives of the federal planners and was relatable to the audience.

The maple leaf, in particular the red maple leaf is one of the key symbols of Canada. It is the symbol used on the Canadian flag, on currency, and on military uniforms.²⁸⁶ It is worth reiterating that early universal expositions relied on images of trees and wood products as a way to emphasize Canada's natural resources and to position the nation as a key contributor in global markets. While wood continues to be a key economic product of Canada as evidenced in the recent debates over trade in softwood lumber with the United States,²⁸⁷ the maple tree at Aichi was presented not as commodity, but as a part of a shared, contemplative experience that both reflected Canadian identity and Japanese cultural associations with the maple leaf in autumn.

The proliferation of the maple leaf in the pavilion was a clear reflection of Canadian government policy. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the Canadian flag was widely distributed at *Expo '67* as a key symbolic device to assert the presence of a strong, modern, independent nation. February 15th, 1996, was declared National Flag Day in recognition of the same day in 1965 when the flag first rose over

²⁸⁶ For an overview of the many "official" uses of the maple leaf see: Department of Canadian Heritage, "Maple Leaf," accessed October 15, 2011, <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pgm/ceem-cced/symb/03-eng.cfm>.

²⁸⁷ These debates demonstrate the complex political and economic role of wood in Canada. For a discussion of the Softwood Lumber agreement see: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Softwood Lumber Agreement," accessed November 1, 2011, http://www.international.gc.ca/controls-controles/softwood-bois_oeuvre/other-autres/agreement-accord.aspx?view=d.

Parliament Hill in Ottawa. This announcement was made under Chretien's Liberal government, which would later be involved in the planning of *Expo Aichi*. In discussing the symbolic importance of the national flag Jean Chretien states,

Our Maple Leaf flag is a symbol that unites Canadians. Associated with the values of freedom, peace, justice and tolerance, Canada's flag honours Canadians of all origins who have helped build one of the best countries in the world. Our flag represents a country, which has demonstrated throughout its history that it can grow by recognizing and respecting its diversity.²⁸⁸

This quote demonstrates that the flag with the image of the maple leaf is a branding device for Canada that is strongly situated in government policy agendas such as diversity and unity. Symbols are an important way in which a nation is branded; the Canadian maple leaf, and flag have been central to the branding of Canada. Therefore, it is no surprise that the Department of Canadian Heritage, which planned the Canadian pavilion under the Chretien Liberal government, would have incorporated the maple leaf throughout the pavilion.

As a symbol of Canadian identity the maple tree has not only been ensconced through official symbols, such as the Canadian flag, but also through visual culture. Arguably, the artists who have made the most indelible connection between landscape, art, and Canadian identity are the members of the Group of Seven.²⁸⁹ Many of their paintings emphasized the change of seasons. For

²⁸⁸ John Chretien as cited in Joan Bryden, "Prime Minister Declares February 15th National Flag Day," *Southam New Media*, February 14, 1996.

²⁸⁹ See for example: John O'Brian and Peter White, eds., *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity and Contemporary Art* (Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); and *The Group of Seven Project, 1920-1985*, accessed November 7, 2012, <http://oaag.org/groupofseven/update/english.html>

example, A.Y. Jackson's, *Red Maple*, 1914 (figure 5.8) depicts the maple tree in its autumn glory, ablaze in red.

Figure 5.8. A.Y. Jackson, *The Red Maple*, 1914, oil on canvas

While many of the works of the *Group of Seven* have been critiqued for representing a landscape devoid of human presence, their works were key to establishing a 'school' of painting in Canada that attempted to depict the Canadian landscape, not as a derivative of a pastoral British Arcadia, but one that was aiming to capture the wild vitality of landscape in Canada.²⁹⁰ As Colgate

²⁹⁰ For an overview of the work of the Group of Seven see C. Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1995). For an early study on the how the Group of Seven were branded see: Douglas Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 2 (1978): 69-78. For a case study of how their work presents a particular lens through which parts of Canada are viewed see: Lynda Jessup, "The Group of Seven and the Tourist Landscape in Western Canada, or the more things change" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2002): 144-179.

remarks, “their paintings awakened the national consciousness on canvas.”²⁹¹

Despite criticism of their approach, and their limited focus on specific regions in Canada their works continue to form part of the national consciousness in how the landscape is understood.

The Canadian public became familiar with their work not only through exhibitions, but also through films created by the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) that helped to contribute to their mythos as the painters of Canada. For example, Jackson was the subject of an early NFB production by Radford Crawley, “Canadian Landscape,” 1941. The film begins with a winter scene, cuts into images of the Canadian Shield with Jackson painting *en plein air* and then follows him back to the studio. As the narrator of the film remarks, “He [Jackson] has produced his own essence of Canada, vast, rigorous, limitless.”²⁹²

The timing of this film is noteworthy as the NFB was created with John Grierson at the helm in 1939. Grierson was a big proponent of documentary film, and the role it could play in engaging citizens in their country. The focus of much of the early filmmaking was on recruitment and encouraging support for the war effort with films such as *Churchill’s Island*, 1941.²⁹³ *Canadian Landscape*, which focused not on war, but on one of the members of the Group of Seven was produced at a time when much public emphasis was being placed on Canadian

²⁹¹ William Colgate, *The Arts in Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1965), 72.

²⁹² Radford Crawley, *Canadian Landscape* (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1941)

²⁹³ For a discussion of documentary and the National Film Board of Canada see: Zoe Druick *Projecting Canada: Government Policy and Documentary Film at the National Film Board*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).

identity and nationalism. “I try to emphasize the things I want, and ignore the things I don’t want,” as Jackson remarks in the film, “...you have to reduce it [the landscape] to some sense of order.” This excerpt by Jackson aptly captures the way in which landscape was seen, as a malleable product that could be used to fulfill a variety of aesthetic and nationalistic pursuits. The film also demonstrates the power of visual culture in disseminating symbols to the public, and how it can be used to define and celebrate Canadian identity through core narratives such as landscape.

The Passage of Seasons – Ethnosphere Video

The Canadian pavilion at Aichi followed a long history in which the maple leaf has been used to brand Canada; it also relied heavily on the role of visual culture, and film technologies to create an experience where the visitor was directly engaged with nature. One of the most effective visuals in the pavilion was the culminating scene in the *Ethnosphere* (figure 5.9) The final projection in this area was a large maple tree that filled the entire screen; the leaves of the tree changed colours to simulate an autumn tree where leaves were then virtually shed along the floor and across the bodies of visitors. This section was very intimate as viewers were seated in a very dark space, all clustered together. This evoked a sensation of being in a public theatre, as well as a private experience.

5.9. Final image of maple tree, Ethnosphere, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

An important aspect of a visual analysis is not only what images are selected, but also the manner in which they are presented. The final image of the maple tree in the *Ethnosphere* was a purposeful choice; it wasn't just a tree, but a maple tree shown in the process of shedding its colourful leaves in autumn. The maple leaf, particularly one in the fall clearly represents the change of seasons, thus evoking another image of Canada, the passage into winter. This physical state of the tree thus not only references maples leaves, but also the identity of Canada as a northern nation.²⁹⁴ The symbolic presentation of the nation in the shedding maple tree became a quiet, contemplative experience that

²⁹⁴ This question of branding Canada as a northern nation will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to tourism and the aurora borealis.

emphasized a personal connection to the landscape, and by connection, Canada. The proliferation of maple leaves in the Canadian pavilion thus follows a long history of aesthetic representations of landscape as a means to project a Canadian brand to the public.

While the inclusion of the maple tree reflects a purposeful effort to brand Canada, maple trees also figure heavily in Japanese culture. In Japan the change of seasons is marked by social events such as *momijigari*, which is a wide spread social activity of maple leaf viewing in Japan.²⁹⁵ *Momijigari* is a social practice that emphasizes the fleeting beauty of nature, where an appreciation of nature forms part of daily life experiences.²⁹⁶

Representations of *momijigari* are widespread in Japanese art and literature. An important kabuki play, *Momijigari*, 1887 by Kawatake Mokuami is set during an autumn maple leaf-viewing excursion on Mount Togakushi. A key element of the stage décor is a large maple tree occupying centre stage.²⁹⁷ When

²⁹⁵ For a discussion of this practice see: Alan Cummins and Richard Emmert, "Viewing the Autumn Foliage/Momijigari" in *Kabuki Plays on Stage. Volume 4: Restoration and Reform, 1872-1905*, eds. James Brandon and Samuel Leiter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 302-325. For a blog discussion of momijigari see "Momijigari," accessed September 15, 2012, <http://www.jpn-miyabi.com/Vol.7/momijigari-e.html> For a tourism site dedicated to this practice see Club Tourism Yokoso Japan, "This Years 7 Best Leaf Viewing Spots," accessed September 15, 2012, <http://www.yokoso-japan.jp/en/feature06.html>.

²⁹⁶ Yuriko Saito, "The Japanese Appreciation of Nature," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 25, no.3 (Summer 1985): 239-251

²⁹⁷ In this play the warrior Taira Koremochi and his men are out hunting when they encounter what appears to be a beautiful princess in midst of banquet. She invites them to join, Koremochi declines as he is trying to find a demon that has been terrorizing the mountain. The lady performs a dance, when Koremochi who has been drinking dozes off. The god of mountain appears to him in a dream and informs him that the lady is the demon for whom he has been searching. Koremochi has a magic sword given to him by the deity and he pursues the woman who appears in her true guise, the play culminates in a scene of dance-combat. Shiro Okamoto

we look to Japanese artwork, we can find images of the maple leaf on many decorative objects such as lacquer ware and woodblock prints. Images of maple trees emphasizing the change of seasons can be found in countless *ukiyo-e* prints, which presented images of the floating world, which were widely disseminated in the Edo period²⁹⁸ (figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10. Utagawa Hiroshige I, *Red Maple Trees at the Tsûtenkyô Bridge*, from the series *Famous Views of Kyoto*, Edo, c.1834, woodblock.

In the Canadian pavilion the maple leaf both appears as an image of a floating world, and occupies centre stage, like a theatrical performance. The proliferation of the maple leaf in the Canadian pavilion is a clear example of the fluidity of

trans by Samuel Leiter, *The Man Who Saved Kabuki: Fabion Bowers and Theatre Censorship in Occupied Japan*. (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2001)

²⁹⁸ The Edo period spans an important period in the history of Japan from 1603-1868. *Ukiyo-e* prints were meant to embody images of the floating world. These prints were widely exported and are often associated with the development of modern art in the West, with works by artists such as Hiroshige's, *One Hundred Views of Edo* widely available. For an comprehensive list of Japanese woodblock prints see: Amy Reigle Newland, *The Hotei Encyclopedia Of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Hotei Publishing: 2006)

some of the choices made in the exhibition, where select images functioned to reflect government rhetoric and national identity, while simultaneously reflecting the cultural and social context of the Japanese audience.

Another way in which to situate a reading of the choice of maple leaf as brand in the pavilion is looking at the wider global context. The timing of the *Expo 2005* was significant if we take in consideration wider conversations over the environment, particularly in relation to the Kyoto Protocol.²⁹⁹ The Canadian pavilion at Aichi represented a global opportunity for Canada to brand itself as environmentally conscious both in the minds of a Japanese audience, and also in relation to other foreign pavilions. The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty that attempted to set binding obligations for the reduction of greenhouse gases. Canada signed the protocol in 2002, bringing it into effect February 16, 2005.

Therefore, if we position the Canadian pavilion within wider global discussions of branding, the association of Canada with clean landscapes and environmental stewardship can be seen as purposeful, as Canada's participation at Aichi provided one of the first opportunities to directly brand itself to the Japanese public after the protocol was ratified. In particular, if we consider the focus placed on maple trees throughout the pavilion, it served to position Canada not as a nation contributing to greenhouse gas emissions in relation to

²⁹⁹ Sebastian Oberthür, and Hermann E. Ott. *The Kyoto Protocol: international climate policy for the 21st century* (Springer Verlag, 1999), Michael Grubb, Christiaan Vrolijk, Duncan Brack, and Tim Forsyth. *The Kyoto Protocol: a guide and assessment*. (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1999).

deforestation, but as a country that was an active participant in preserving the environment.³⁰⁰ In the Canadian pavilion the maple tree served as a very strong brand for the nation: it referenced a symbol of Canada used widely on official government images such as the flag, it reflected aesthetic concerns, and it positioned Canada within a wider global brand of green sensitivity.

The Canadian pavilion created a simulacra of experiences in which the visitor journeyed throughout the nation being introduced to the diversity in landscape and people. Elements such as trading cards, and recognizable people were used to facilitate the transmission of multiculturalism as a brand, while images of landscape positioned Canada within the wider context of Japanese culture and environmental stewardship. An important element in the *branded display complex* is not only the reliance on recognizable images that support a federal narrative, but also reflecting the expectations of the audience. At Aichi, the Canadian pavilion planners achieved this by relying on presentation strategies that would be understood by the audience in question. This process of negotiated representation is a core component to the *branded display complex* at

³⁰⁰ Greenhouse gases were an important part of discussions around the Kyoto protocol. For a discussion of this issue see for example, Donald Leckie, Mark D. Gillis, and Mike A. Wulder. "Deforestation estimation for Canada under the Kyoto Protocol: A design study." *Canadian Journal of Remote Sensing* 28, no. 5 (2002): 672-678; and Mark Jaccard, Nic Rivers, and Matt Horne. "The Morning After Optimal Greenhouse Gas Policies for Canada's Kyoto Obligations and Beyond." In *CD Howe Institute Commentary*. 2004. In addition, Wood continues to be a key economic product of Canada as evidenced in the recent debates over trade in softwood lumber with the United States. These debates demonstrate the complex political and economic role of wood in Canada. For a discussion of the Softwood Lumber agreement see: Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, "Softwood Lumber Agreement," accessed November 11, 2012, http://www.international.gc.ca/controls-controles/softwood-bois_oeuvre/other-autres/agreement-accord.aspx?view=d.

world's fairs. A brand can only be effective if it is recognized and sought after in some way. The next chapter will explore how the pavilion relied on tourist narratives to further engage the audience, which in turn allowed for the continued transmission of a nation brand.

Chapter 6

Selling Canada to Japan: Tourist Images and Collected Objects

World's fairs are ephemeral events, designed to last for a set period of time. At *Expo 2005*, many of the pavilions were built to be non-permanent and the displays relied on digital technologies. As a result, there were few tangible elements that could recreate the experience of the event.³⁰¹ Given that a key goal of world's fairs is to brand those nations on display, it is important that pavilions incorporate elements that encourage visitors to remember the event long after it has ended. In this chapter, I argue that recognizable tourist images are an important part of the *branded display complex*. By representing the nation in a way that feeds into visitor expectations, they ensure the pavilion will be remembered. I examine three examples from the Canadian pavilion at Aichi: images of the aurora borealis, *Anne of Green Gables*, and souvenirs. I use these to demonstrate how certain selections in the pavilion were heavily mitigated by audience expectations, particularly in relation to tourist imagery of Canada.

I: Tourism and Place: Signifying Canada

³⁰¹ As I discussed in earlier chapters, the digital display of the Canadian pavilion has all been but lost due to challenges in managing archives, and in the transferring of digital files. Only a few fragments of videos remain through static photographs and visitors' personal videos of the event. Further, in Chapter 4 I noted how the bulk of the expo grounds were meant to be dismantled at the end of the event, with few objects remaining at the original site.

A key aspect in the process of nation branding is what Jaffe, Nebanzahl, and others refer to as the “country of origin effect.”³⁰² In branding, objects and symbols can be used to signify the place they represent and, in so doing, play a key part in how nations come to be known on the global stage. The “country of origin effect” is created and maintained through a continuous repetition of values, assertions, and ideas.

Tourism imagery plays an important role in how a nation comes to be known in a global context. In Chapter 2 I situated part of my analysis in literature relating to tourism and popular culture. Here, I continue that discussion by drawing again on the work of MacCannell, in particular his discussion of site sacralization, and Urry’s exploration of sign-markers in relation to tourist destinations.

As MacCannell has observed, a tourist locale is the product of tourist promoters, as well as the tourists who ratify it by their presence. He identifies a five-phase process, which he calls site sacralization. First is the *naming* phase, which involves authentication of the site. This is followed by the *framing and elevation* phase, during which the locale is put on display and accessed through either the site’s protection (e.g. fences) and/or its enhancement (signage). It is closely linked to the third phase, that of *enshrinement*. Next comes the

³⁰² Eugene Jaffe, Israel D. Nebanzahl, *National Image and Competitive Advantage: the Theory and practice of country-or-origin effect*, (Denmark: Copenhagen Business School, 2001). For an interesting case study see: Giuseppe Bertoli, Riccardo Resciniti, *International Marketing and the Country of Origin Effect: The Global Impact of 'Made in Italy'* (Edward Elgar: United Kingdom, 2013). I have also explored debates around nation branding as concept in Chapter 2.

mechanical reproduction phase, essential to its designation as a site for tourists. During the final phase, *social reproduction*, the site becomes a part of cultural understanding and is widely recognized as a tourist destination.³⁰³ During the process of sacralization, he notes, visual elements are vital, in that “[t]he actual act of communion between tourist and attraction is less important than the image or the idea of society that the collective act generates.”³⁰⁴ For MacCannell, the visitor’s first interaction with a tourist destination is often not with the actual site but with its representation. The same is true of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, as it is essentially a simulation of a place constructed to reflect an audience’s expectations.

John Urry further develops the theory of site sacralization by interrogating the ways in which tourists see and interact with destinations. He identifies three markers that help define the *tourist gaze*: those the tourist brings to the location, those present in the location itself, and those the tourist promoters have fabricated. The reason, he states, is that, “particularly as tourists, we see objects which are constituted as signs. They stand for something else. When we gaze as tourists, what we see are various signs or tourist clichés.”³⁰⁵ For example, when tourists visit the Halifax Harbour, they see it not as an industrial function of the city, but as a combination of shops, restaurants, and other vendors providing a

³⁰³ For a full discussion of the various stages of site sacralization as outlined see MacCannell, 43-45.

³⁰⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 15.

³⁰⁵ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 129.

picturesque backdrop. The reason is that when tourists travel, markers present in brochures and other travel information have already cued them; as a result, their viewing of the site is already partially selected and mediated. In drawing on the work of MacCannell and Urry, I demonstrate how the Canadian pavilion at Aichi relied heavily on tourist images to brand Canada according to its audience's expectations.

Audience as Tourist at World's Fairs

In his discussion of displays at *Expo 2010* in Shanghai, Winter questions why nations rely so heavily on expected tourist tropes.³⁰⁶ He calls this process “auto-exoticism,” whereby postcolonial countries tend to articulate a sense of identity pre-ascribed by others. He is quick to point out, however, that this tendency is not without agency, as countries willingly reproduce expected images as a means to differentiate themselves within the global forum of a world's fair.

Along these lines, I contend that the Canadian pavilion at Aichi reflects a highly astute set of decisions on the part of its planners. As I have shown in earlier chapters, much of the discourse on world's fairs examines how colonial nations were put on display in the vein of empire, whereby the East was put on display for the West. What happened at Aichi was a role-reversal, whereby the West sought out familiar tropes to brand themselves in the minds of Japanese visitors.

³⁰⁶ Winter, “Auto-exoticism: Cultural Display at the Shanghai Expo,” *Journal of Material Culture*, 18:1 (2013): 69-90

Equally important is the wider context of visitors experience at world's fairs and their memory of the event. One study that raises a number of interesting questions was undertaken by Anderson and Gosselin. They examined visitors' memories of *Expo '67* forty years after the event.³⁰⁷ They found that many memories were tied to active experiences (things they saw and did), and were also very personalized based on the individual's frame of reference. As a result, they argue, three factors contribute to the long-term memory of a world's fair: technological innovations, otherness, and mundane episodes. I find their work a useful source of inquiry, as each of these elements was included in the pavilion displays.

However, one limitation with their work is the lack of a critical discussion of souvenirs. These are one of the most important ways through which the message of a pavilion is transmitted and it's through which the tourist experience is made complete. Gordon posits that souvenirs are important objects that help to contain an ephemeral experience.³⁰⁸ Others, such as Rydell have made a connection between the development of souvenirs as product and world's fairs in

³⁰⁷ David Anderson and Vivianne Gosselin, "Private and Public Memories of Expo 67: a Case Study of Recollections of Montreal's World's Fair, 40 years after the event," *Museum and Society* 6, vol. 1 (March 2008): 1-21. For other studies on visitor's memory at world's fairs see: D. Anderson and H. Shimizu, "Factors Shaping Vividness of Memory Episodes: Visitors' long-term Memories of the 1970 Japan World Exposition", *Memory* 15 vol. 2 (2007): 177-191, and David Anderson, "Visitors' Long-term Memories of World Expositions," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 40 vol. 4 (2003): 401-420.

³⁰⁸ Beverly Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 3 vol.20 (winter 1986): 135-146

his discussion of early postcards.³⁰⁹ My research builds on this by examining souvenirs produced in relation to a specific pavilion and how souvenirs are central to any study that interrogates the role of universal expositions in a global exchange.

II: Place and Imagination: The Aurora Borealis

A recurring image in the Canadian pavilion was the aurora borealis. It was projected repeatedly on the large panoramic screens in both the *Biosphere* and *Ethnosphere* (figure 6.1), as well as reproduced on souvenirs (figure 6.2). In relation to the wider expo theme of *Nature's Wisdom*, the northern lights reflected the magnitude of nature. Their inclusion and repetition also positioned Canada as a "Northern" territory, while reflecting Japanese perceptions of Canada in relation to tourism. Further, I situate the aurora borealis within wider aesthetic discussions of the sublime, boreal romanticism, and Japanese aesthetics.³¹⁰ This visual connection is important as it helps to situate the aurora borealis more widely as a place of imagination that heavily reflects tourist perceptions of place.

³⁰⁹ Rydell, Robert W. "Souvenirs of Imperialism: World's Fair Postcards." *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*. Washington, DC (1998): 47-63.

³¹⁰ For my discussion of wabi-sabi I draw on the work of Andrew Juniper, *Wabi Sabi: The Japanese Art of Impermanence*, (Tuttle Publishing: Boston: 2003); Leonard Koren *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets and Philosophers*, (Stone Bridge Press: Berkeley, 1994); and Michele Marra, *Modern Japanese Aesthetics*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).

Figure 6.1. Aurora Borealis screen project detail, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan

Figure 6.2. Postcard with aurora borealis image, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan

Claiming the North

The aurora borealis, the scientific phenomena that results in an enigmatic light show in the northern sky, has long been a topic of historical debate, travelogues and artistic imagination.³¹¹ Fara explores the wide range of scientific, political, military and cultural claims about the aurora borealis that have spanned centuries. In her study, she argues that early disputes over interpretation and scientific supremacy were heavily mitigated by wider nationalistic concerns over possession and ownership. The naming of these spectacles is also part of the debate, because “naming is, of course, a declaration of ownership.”³¹² Thus, the inclusion and repetition of the aurora borealis in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi not only laid a geographical claim, but also used it as a branding device.

The North, and by extension the northern lights, has been central to Canadian national identity from the beginning. Whether used as a symbol, concept, or metaphor, The North is inextricably tied to Canada’s national consciousness, and explored as such by a great many authors.³¹³ As Berger observes, “detached observers and patriotic spokesman alike have fixed upon the

³¹¹ The German term, *nordlicht* (northern lights) was first introduced in the 17th century, however French philosopher Pierre Gassendi coined the term of *aurora borealis* (northern dawn) in 1621, whereas Anders Celsius of Sweden insisted on using the vernacular term of northern lights. See for example, J. Morton Briggs, “Aurora and Enlightenment: 18th Century Explanations of the Aurora Borealis,” *Isis* 58 (1967): 491-503.

³¹² A key part of the debate concerned who best could interpret and decipher the scientific nature of the lights, however, these early scientific and cultural debates rarely involved indigenous people. See Patricia Fara, “Northern Possession: Laying Claim to the *Aurora borealis*,” *History Workshop Journal*, no.42 (1996): 37-57.

³¹³ Renee Hulan, *Northern Experience and The Myths of Canadian Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Francis.

northern character of Canada as one of the chief attributes of her nationality.”³¹⁴

In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, the northern lights were used to represent boundless territory and an expansive wilderness, a core element in the pavilion’s *branded display complex*. At Aichi, the aurorae situate the North as the answer to Frye’s proverbial question: “*Where is Here?*”³¹⁵

Picturing the Aurora Borealis

Literature, music and art have played an important role in linking the North to the Canadian imagination and, eventually, national consciousness. Early examples such as Curwood’s *Back To God’s Country*, which was turned into a film by producer Ernest Shipman in 1919, and Flaherty’s much contested film, *Nanook of the North*, 1922 have done much to romanticize the North in people’s imagination.³¹⁶ A well-known poem by Robert Service aptly captures the fascination with the North:

There are strange things done in the midnight sun
By the men who moil for gold;
The Arctic trails have their secret tales
That would make your blood run cold;
The Northern Lights have seen queer sights,
But the queerest they ever did see

³¹⁴ Berger, 13. I have explored debates around North and Canadian identity in Chapter 2.

³¹⁵ Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, reprint 1995).

³¹⁶ *Nanook of the North* was presented as a documentary, but was in fact a heavily staged film created by Flaherty to present a static view of Inuit culture, one he saw as disappearing and needed to be documented and saved. This approach of the salvage paradigm is problematic as it gives little allowance for change and transition. For a discussion of *Nanook of the North* in relation to visual sovereignty see: Michelle Raheja, “Reading Nanook’s Smile: Visual Sovereignty, Indigenous Revisions of Ethnography, and Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner),” *American Quarterly* 59, no.4 (December 2007): 1159-1185. See also Katherine Monk, *Weird Sex and Snowshoes* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2001)

Was that night on the marge of Lake Lebarge
I cremated Sam McGee.³¹⁷

In *The Cremation of Sam McGee*, Service tells the story of a prospector who freezes to death in the Yukon, which is told from the perspective of the man who buries him.

In works like these, the North is often depicted as apolitical and without agency, completely ignoring such power struggles as the forced relocation of Inuit as part of the High Arctic Relocation Program, the erasure of names through the imposition of disc numbers, and ongoing debates over Arctic sovereignty and the Northwest Passage.³¹⁸ Despite a steady rise in contemporary creative works that challenge a fixed, romanticized narrative of the North, such as the work of Inuk director Zacharias Kunuk, and contemporary artists such as Shuvina Ashoona, reflections from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries remain overly influential in establishing a descriptive, emotive response to the scientific phenomenon of the northern lights. These early descriptions helped fuel the popular imagination of a “mysterious north,” positioning Canada as a northern nation peopled with a strong, proud northern race.³¹⁹ Including images of the

³¹⁷ Robert Service, *Cremation of Sam McGee in Songs of A Sourdough*, (1907) in Project Gutenberg, accessed March 12, 2013, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/25546>.

³¹⁸ See: Frank Tester and Peter Kulychyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes) Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), and Peter Pigott, *From Far and Wide: A Complete History of Canada's Arctic Sovereignty* (Dundurn: 2011)

³¹⁹ I discussed the challenges of north as concept in Chapter 2, in the way that it can compress all of Canada into one entity, and how it has been used as a mode of differentiation from the United States. Canada First was a nationalist movement founded in 1868, and through their associations and writings attempted to foster a strong national identity for Canada. One aspect of this nationalist identity was tied to Canada as a northern country, and by association a stronger, hardy race. See: Francis, 153-159.

aurora borealis in the Canadian pavilion follows a pattern of this form of representation.

Aesthetics and the Aurora Borealis

The presentation of the aurora borealis in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi reiterated the concept of the arctic sublime and boreal romanticism.³²⁰ According to Phillip Shaw, the sublime occurs “in broad terms, whenever experience slips out of conventional understanding, whenever the power of an object or event is such that words fail and points of comparison disappear, then we resort to the feeling of the sublime.”³²¹ In nature, it is what a person might feel standing in front of a giant mountain. In art, the sublime is what a viewer feels when completely encompassed by the scale and immersive colours of a Mark Rothko painting.³²²

The aurora borealis in the *Biosphere* of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi was certainly sublime, as the scale of the video overwhelmed the space in which it was shown and encouraged a personal, emotive response. The viewer entered a narrow, dark passageway, isolated in the partial darkness yet surrounded by fellow visitors. Ahead and above were images of the northern lights; viewers

³²⁰ See for example: Knoepfelmache, *Victorian Imagination* (California: University of California Press, 1994), Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), Russell Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: the Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818-1970* (Washington: Washington University Press, 2007)

³²¹ Philip Shaw, *The Sublime*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 2.

³²² Rothko was associated with the Abstract Expressionists, in particular colour field painting. These artists often created large-scale works that had the effect of engulfing the physical, mental, and visual space of the viewer. For a recent study on the role of space, colour, and abstract work see: Michael Auping ed. *Declaring Space: Mark Rothko, Barnett Newmann Lucio Fontana, Yves Klein*, (New York: Prestel, 2007)

literally had the northern lights cast across their bodies, as they stood in front of the large panoramic screens. The inclusion of the aurora borealis not only forms part of an association with landscape that is rooted in the *branded display complex* and Western aesthetics, but also in relation to Japanese popular culture.

Japanese Popular Culture and the Aurora Borealis

An important concept in Japanese aesthetics is *wabi sabi*. While this concept is not easily defined, at its core are notions of impermanence, beauty, and the intangible. Its application is most often linked to discussions of the Japanese tea ceremony or cherry-blossom viewing, which emphasize temporality and transience. As Juniper explains, “it is an expression of the beauty that lies in the brief transition between the coming and going of life, both the joy and melancholy that make up our lot as humans.”³²³ For Dunn, *wabi* is “a cultivated aesthetic that finds beauty in simplicity and an impoverished rusticity,” and *sabi* is “a slightly bleak quality suggesting age, deterioration, and the passage of time.”³²⁴ Therefore, a Japanese viewer could perceive the aurora borealis as a manifestation of *wabi sabi*. The colours of the northern lights are awe-inspiring as they dance across the sky, yet the moment is fleeting and passes quickly. Another way to contextualize the experience is through the concept of *yugen*. As Mara

³²³ Andrew Juniper, *Wabi Sabi: The Japanese Art of Impermanence*, (Tuttle Publishing: Boston: 2003)

³²⁴ Dunn, 7-8. Leonard Koren provides another useful definition: “wabi-sabi is a beauty of things imperfect, impermanent, and incomplete. It is a beauty of things modest and humble. It is a beauty of things unconventional,” in *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets and Philosophers*, (Stone Bridge Press: Berkeley, 1994), 7.

explains, *yugen* “describes the profound, remote, and mysterious, those things which cannot easily be grasped or expressed in words.”³²⁵ The aurora borealis was not only a strong visual image, its social and aesthetic connotations were easily translated for a foreign audience.

While the aurora borealis has cultural resonance in terms of *wabi-sabi* and *yugen*, it is also grounded in tourism; in fact, aurora tourism is not only specifically marketed to Japanese visitors, it is an important industry for Canada.³²⁶ As discussed earlier, site-sacralization involves building narratives around a tourist destination. Campaigns featuring the aurora borealis typically link it to adventure, contemplation, and folktales.

To the Japanese, the northern lights are believed to have special powers. One popular belief is that if a Japanese couple conceives a child under the northern lights, that child will be lucky in life. While scholars such as Akasofu accord this belief to popular culture narratives such as the television series *Northern Exposure*,³²⁷ this has not stopped Canada from recounting it on tourism

³²⁵ Michele Marra, *Modern Japanese Aesthetics*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 51.

³²⁶ In 2000 aurora borealis tourism brought in approximately 20\$ million in revenue to the Northwest Territories, with estimates of 10,000 visitors from Japan. See: Tim Cohen, “Japanese tourists are drawn to the lights fantastic of the Northwest Territories,” Associated Press (May 2001).

³²⁷ Jerry Garrett, “The Cold Show in Fairbanks, Alaska,” *New York Times*, (March 2, 2007). The article discusses a popular episode of *Northern Exposure* that focuses on the mythos of the aurora borealis for the Japanese tourist. The screenwriter of the episode notes that he was inspired by a story in *Alaska Magazine*. The episode has since become one of the most watched from the series.

websites and as part of travel packages targeted specifically at Japanese tourists.³²⁸

Shigeo Mori, who markets tourist sites, explains why the northern lights are so popular with Japanese tourists: “This eagerness to see the lights stems from a philosophy that contemplates both sides of nature: its destructive power as well as its natural beauty. It’s more than a phenomenon for the Japanese people. It’s tradition, it’s history.”³²⁹ Thus, the inclusion of the northern lights in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi can be interpreted as a strategic decision on the part of the pavilion’s planners, seeing as it directly reflected Japanese expectations of Canada.

In their study of tourism in the Northwest Territories, Amoamo and Boyd explore the relationship between place and identity. “Tourists are important to national identity and imagery of place in countries,” they suggest, “and region is dependent on the commodification of landscape as a consumer item.”³³⁰ In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, images of the aurora borealis simultaneously reflected and represented a way of thinking about the nation. Yet, as Merritt argues, our conception of North is also affected by context,

³²⁸ Many tourism websites target Japanese visitors. See for example, Northern Light Tours, accessed March 10, 2013, <http://www.auroraborealisukon.com/auroratours/> and the Canadian Tourist Commission, “Northern Lights”, <http://caen.canada.travel/experience/northern-lights>.

³²⁹ Shigeo Mori as cited in Ida Torres, “Japanese Tourists Flock to Alaska to See Northern Lights,” *Japan Daily Press*, (February 22, 2013).

³³⁰ M. Amoamo and S. Boyd, S. “Shifting images: An Historical and Contemporary View of Tourism Development in the Northwest Territories of Canada,” *Tourism and Hospitality: Planning and Development* 2, no.1 (2005): 1-15.

On the one hand, Canada's nordicity... and things associated with nordicity, like hockey, Group of Seven paintings, and Bob and Doug MacKenzie, are badges of national identity. At the same time, travel agents do a lively business in February sending people south, and Canadian cities look like they were deserted for a southern California climate.³³¹

The Canadian North, as represented by the aurora borealis in the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, represents a site of contradiction. The very thing used to brand Canada is something many Canadians try to forget when they travel. However, the image of a vast northern landscape is one that has long been heavily marketed to the Japanese. Thus, the inclusion of the northern lights in the Canadian pavilion was a strategic decision on the part of the planners of the pavilion, directly related to Japanese tourist expectations.

III: Place and People: *Anne of Green Gables*

Another heavily laden tourist image included in the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005* was *Anne of Green Gables*. Anne was used as one of the storytellers in the *Ethnosphere* video (figure 6.3), as an avatar in the *cyber explorer* game, on trading cards, and as the main attraction on specially themed Anne days.

³³¹ John Merritt, as cited in Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 47.

Figure 6.3. Screen detail showing *Anne of Green Gables*, *Ethnosphere*, Expo 2005.

The choice of Anne was unusual; as she is a literary character, further blurring the lines among real images, edited images, and simulated environments. On the other hand, she was a purposeful choice. Not only is Anne a recognizable, tourist trope, she is particularly popular in Japan.

Anne and the Canadian Imagination

Anne of Green Gables was written by Lucy Maud Montgomery and published in 1908. In Canada, it is not only widely read, it has inspired television shows, films, and a large tourism industry in Prince Edward Island. The popular English version film adaptation by Kevin Sullivan in 1985 attracted over 6 million

viewers, making it one of the most popular dramas in CBC history.³³² The character of Anne is so entrenched in popular culture that changes to it can spark public outcry. For example, when a recent edition was published replacing red-haired Anne with a sexualized blond woman in a plaid shirt, many were outraged. The publisher argued that they were trying to expand the audience and to market to “young,” contemporary readers.³³³ So while the character and story of Anne is meant to be both individual and universal, she must definitely have red hair!

People and Place – Anne in the Landscape

An integral part of the *Anne of Green Gables* story is her link with nature, and there are many scenes in the novel that situate her relationship to the environment: her arrival at the train station and ride through the countryside, her life at Green Gables and the expansive farmland, the haunted woods, her near drowning in the boat. Detailed descriptions of both the landscape and Anne’s response to it abound. In one section, Montgomery poetically describes Anne’s experience of the seasons,

It was November—the month of crimson sunsets, parting birds, deep, sad hymns of the sea, passionate wind-songs in the pines.
Anne roamed through the pineland alleys in the park and, as she said,

³³² For a discussion of Sullivan’s production see: KL Poe, “Who’s Got the Power? Montgomery, Sullivan, and the Unsuspecting Viewer,” in *Making Avonlea: L.M. Montgomery and Popular Culture*, ed. Irene Gammel (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), 145-159.

³³³ For a discussion of the controversy of the blonde Anne see: CBC, “Anne of Green Gables: New Edition Controversial Cover,” accessed February 6, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/asithappens/features/2013/02/06/anne-of-green-gables-new-edition-controversial-cover/>

let that great sweeping wind blow the fogs out of her soul.³³⁴

In this passage, nature is woven into the fabric of the narrative, and Anne herself closely associated with a personal relationship to nature. Gammel and Epperly argue that Anne's appeal goes well beyond the story of an orphan girl who triumphs in the end; it is equally a love story with nature and a biography of settler society.³³⁵ That Anne occupies her newly adopted home through dedication, love, and language, not through exploit made her that much more appropriate for *Expo 2005*.

Throughout the book, Anne's life is situated, affected and engaged by the land around her, which Fiamenco links to the process of "imaginative possession." This concept suggests that through visual, oral, or verbal description one can become part of a place they visit. As Fiamenco continues,

Anne's intense love for the trees, brooks, and valleys around Green Gables – her certainty that she could name them into relationship with her, depicts the possibility of knowing a place through creative naming and loving cultivation.³³⁶

In the Canadian pavilion, landscape is positioned within this same process of imaginative geography. Its digital technologies immersed the visitor in the Canadian landscape, just as Anne situates herself in Prince Edward Island.

Anne of Green Gables and Japanese Tourism

³³⁴ L.M Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables*, Project Gutenberg, accessed June 15, 2012, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/45>

³³⁵ Irene Gammel ed. *Making Avonlea: L.M. Montgomery and Popular Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2002), Irene Gammel and Elizabeth Epperly, *L.M. Montgomery and Canadian Culture* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1999).

³³⁶ Janice Fiamengo, "Towards a Theory of the Popular Landscape in *Anne of Green Gables*," in Gammel, *Making Avonlea: L.M. Montgomery and Popular Culture*, 236.

While the choice of Anne reflected the wider expo theme, as well as emphasizing the relationship to nature, the inclusion of *Anne of Green Gables* also represented a concerted effort on the part of planners to reflect Japanese popular culture.

Anne of Green Gables / Agake No An was translated by Muraoko in 1952 at the end of Japan's occupation by the United States after World War II, and was quickly popular. Core elements of Anne's narrative - her being an orphan, her determination, her focus on education and love of nature - resonated with a Japanese audience, according to scholars such as Yoshiko Akamatsu.³³⁷ She notes that the character of Anne was in direct contrast to the ideal of the seen-but-not-heard child, such that "the talkative Anne became a new heroine symbolizing the democratic world after the war."³³⁸ In addition, literary translations were an integral part of the Japanese education system, since "learning about the West was one of the policies of the Japanese government, and learning from written texts was the first step of westernization in the educational system."³³⁹ Anne's strong female character, her need to study for entrance exams and desire to be a teacher resonated, and stories of Anne became the means by which many of the Japanese learned about the West.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Yoshiko Akamatsu, "Japanese Readings of *Anne of Green Gables*" in Gammel and Epperly, *L.M. Montgomery and Canadian Culture*

³³⁸ Ibid, 217.

³³⁹ Ibid, 202.

³⁴⁰ Ibid

In Japan, then, Anne is not merely a literary character, but is a part of *taisha bunka*, the mass culture shared by all Japanese.³⁴¹ While Japan's high literacy rate contributes to the mass distribution of translated works, images of Anne also crop up in so-called Anne social clubs.³⁴² And just as Canadians have Sullivan's television production, the Japanese created their own series, such as the popular Japanese anime version in 1979 (figure 6.4). In *AKage no An*, the opening scene shows Anne in a carriage with Mathew, replete with cherry blossoms, which would have a strong resonance for the Japanese as cherry blossom viewing is an important historical, social and cultural event in Japan.

Figure 6.4. *Akage no An*, screen shot-showing cherry blossoms, 1979.

³⁴¹ See: Daniele Allard, "Taisha Bunka and Anne Clubs in Japan," in Gammel, 295-309.

³⁴² In Japanese popular culture there are many references to Anne: tea clubs, craft clubs, social clubs. See: Tara Nogler, "Snapshot: My Life as Anne in Japan," and Jeanette Lynes, "Consumable Avonlea: The Commodification of the Green Gables Mythology," in Gammel, *Making Avonlea: L.M. Montgomery and Popular Culture*, 268-294

The mass appeal of *Anne of Green Gables* in Japan has resulted in a large tourist influx to Prince Edward Island, with special packages to maximize immersion into Anne's Land.³⁴³ "I was told by a provincial tourist official while I was on the island, P.E.I markets relaxation to Ontario, beaches and scenery and seafood to Quebec, and history and culture to New England," says Trillin. "To Japan, it markets Anne."³⁴⁴ With Prince Edward Island as a popular tourist destination, the selection of Anne as one of the archetypes in the Canadian pavilion was a purposeful one.

Tourist expectations and thoughts about place can often override the reality of the place itself; and *Anne of Green Gables* offers a particular way of seeing Prince Edward Island, that of a quaint space populated with quaint folk.³⁴⁵ As Epperly argues,

Montgomery's Romantic nature descriptions in the fiction often make rural Prince Edward Island sound exquisite, almost exotic. Early evening beaches or fields are orchestrations of colour and metaphor. To millions of

³⁴³ See: CBC Digital Archives, "Japanese adore *Anne of Green Gables*," accessed November 15, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/categories/arts-entertainment/literature/beyond-green-gables-the-life-of-lucy-maud-montgomery/the-japanese-maud-squad.html> For a film about the "Anne obsession" see: Takako Miyahira, *Looking for Anne*, (Zuno Films, 2009).

³⁴⁴ Calvin Trillin "Anne of Green Gables: What do the Japanese See in *Anne of Green Gables*?" in Gammel and Epperly, *L.M. Montgomery and Canadian Culture*, 217.

³⁴⁵ For a discussion of the role that folk plays in tourism initiatives see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). While McKay's study interrogates twentieth century Nova Scotia, much of the emphasis placed by tourism promoters on antimodernism and folk identities can also be applied to an understanding of tourism in PEI. For a discussion of managing the "image" of tourism in Prince Edward Island see: Clare Fawcett and Patricia Cormack, "Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites," *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, vol.3 (2001): 686-704

readers all over the world, Montgomery's pictures of Prince Edward Island are Prince Edward Island.³⁴⁶

As a result, tourists to Prince Edward Island arrive with a set of fixed expectations of what the place should look like. For example, Tourism PEI markets a "literary tourism package" based on Montgomery's books. There is also the L.M.

Montgomery Land Trust; one of its objectives is for land conservation to align with how landscape was described in her books.

The literary and tourist connection between Japan and Prince Edward Island is so strong that many reciprocal relationships have cropped up between the islands.³⁴⁷ Just as *Anne of Green Gables* sets up a particular way of seeing Prince Edwards Island, the Canadian pavilion at Aichi set up a particular way of experiencing Canada. Her inclusion demonstrated that tourist imagery is an important access point through which to brand a country in the minds of others, and forms a key part of the *branded display complex* in contemporary world's fairs.

IV: Making it Personal: Souvenirs

³⁴⁶ Elizabeth Epperly, "The Visual Imagination of L.M. Montgomery," in Gammel, 97. See also Shelagh Squire, "Ways of Seeing, Ways of Being: Literature, Place, and Tourism in L.M. Montgomery's Prince Edward Island" in Paul Simpson-Housley, Glen Norcliffe eds., *A Few Acres of Snow: Literary and Artistic Images of Canada* (Dundurn, 1992), 137-148.

³⁴⁷ For example, a land trust branch has been set up in Japan, a Japanese sugar house of Green Gables is displayed prominently in the Confederation Centre in Charlottetown, and most recently after the earthquake and tsunami in Japan in 2011 various fundraising initiatives were held in Prince Edward Island. One project involved the creation of paper cranes, which are significant symbols in Japanese culture. See: "Islanders Making 1,000 Paper Cranes for Japan," CBC News (March 18, 2011).

An important part of the tourist experience is the collection of souvenirs. While the various zones of the Canadian pavilion provided an opportunity to immerse the visitor in experiencing Canada as a place, they did not provide a tangible object that could be kept and used to remember the visit. The addition of collectable objects served to crystallize the Canadian pavilion as a simulacrum of travel.

Souvenirs at *Expo 2005* represented several destinations: an expo, a foreign pavilion, and the place that a pavilion simulated through display. In the Canadian pavilion, they took one of three forms: stamps for the expo passport, postcards, and holographic trading cards. As I discussed trading cards in Chapter 5, I focus here on the passports and postcards. Souvenirs of the Canadian pavilion were highly sought after, as evidenced by the crowds lining up for them (figure 6.5). While some represented the experience of the pavilion itself, others were a simulacrum of a visit to Canada. The selection of these images was not accidental, but intentionally included tourist tropes recognizable to the audience.

Figure 6.5. Crowds in the Cyber Salon lining up for souvenirs, Canadian pavilion, *Expo 2005*, Aichi, Japan.

Souvenir and tourist experience

One of the ways in which a traveller's journey is validated is through the collection of objects; they prove that you were there. In his discussion of tourism, MacCannell goes even further, arguing that the relationship between individuals and their products marks modern society's most significant relationships.³⁴⁸

Additional studies seek to categorize different types of souvenirs; for example, Celia Lury identifies three as traveller, tripper, and tourist.³⁴⁹ A souvenir is far

³⁴⁸ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 21.

³⁴⁹ A traveller object is a created object that is obtained as a direct result of travel, and is linked directly to the place, a handicraft for example. A tripper object is one that is attached to place, but rests on the final destination for it to have full function; an example of this is a vile of collected sand from a beach. The last type that Lury outlines is the tourist object, which is an object that may or not have been acquired on travel, but has a clear association to a place. For example, when acquiring a tourist object, such as a Dead Sea salt scrub, you may not have physically travelled to acquire it but you are nonetheless engaging in those experiences and locales associated with the

more than a purchased handicraft, collected memento or piece of manufactured kitsch. While souvenirs take many forms, and relate to their place of origin in varying capacities, what they all share is how the collector affects their meaning.

A souvenir is a powerful object that contributes to an individual's capacity to remember their experience and to share it with others. Stewart notes that no souvenir is complete in and of itself; it relies on the narrative of the possessor. "The souvenir reduces the public, the monumental, and the three-dimensional into the miniature, that which can be enveloped by the body," she says, "or into the two-dimensional representation, that which can be appropriated within the privatized view of the individual subject."³⁵⁰ The souvenir then is integral to how a visitor defines and remembers the experience. In my study, I support this position: souvenirs are instrumental in both completing the tourist experience (by having objects to collect) and serving to codify the nation brand through the object itself. An image that is used to represent a country must be understood by the audience viewing it. At *Expo 2005*, certain images simultaneously referenced a "place" that is Canada with the expectations of the "image" that is Canada for the Japanese audience.

Souvenirs and Japanese Popular Culture

product. Celia Lury "The Objects of Travel," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry (New York: Routledge, 1997), 76-77.

³⁵⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 138.

If we think of souvenirs as highly personalized objects, then we must also consider the context of audience. In the case of *Expo 2005*, the majority of visitors were Japanese, for whom souvenir collecting is an important part of travel culture. One important aspect of Japanese tourism is *meibutsu*, based on the belief that every place in Japan has a famous item.³⁵¹ “In order to be *meibutsu*, something has to be a special product; it has to require specific skill or knowledge for creating it that is possessed by people in a certain region,” Yutaka Mukai explains.³⁵² An important element of *meibutsu* is that it not only relate to a specific region, but that it be unique and difficult to copy.

Meibutsu are marketed heavily in tourism advertising and are important sign markers for tourists.³⁵³ A key part of *meibutsu* is that they can be collected as souvenirs as well as brought back in the form of *omiyage* (gifts) for friends.³⁵⁴ For instance, Miyajima, an island off the western coast of Japan, is well known for its

³⁵¹ The famous items are often related to food (umeboshi plums), but can also relate to handicraft objects (such as textiles in Kyoto). See Jerry Chi, Foster Chiang, Russell Gottfredson, Neeraj Maathur and Erica Sugai, “Meibutsu: The Economic and Cultural Significance of Traditional Japanese Products,” Knowledge@Wharton, (University of Pennsylvania: 2011): 1-6. For a discussion of food, travel, and *meibutsu* in Japan see: Iis P Tussyadiah, “A Gourmet Trip: One Direction of Domestic Tourism in Japan.” *Tourism Review International* 9, no. 3 (2006): 281-291; and Bridget Love “Mountain Vegetables and the Politics of Local Flavor in Japan,” *Japanese Foodways, Past and Present* (2011): 221-42.

³⁵² cited in Jerry Chi et al, 1. Mukai is a member of the Ise City Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

³⁵³ Graburn et al. present an interesting study on tourism in Japan where they explore nostalgia and the importance of aesthetics in marketing sites to middle-class tourists. See: Nelson Graburn, RW Butler, D. Pearce, “The past in the present in Japan: nostalgia and neo-traditionalism in contemporary Japanese domestic tourism.” *Change in tourism: people, places, processes*. (1995): 47-70. See also: Brian Moeran, “The language of Japanese tourism,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10, no. 1 (1983): 93-108.

³⁵⁴ For a discussion of food, travel, and *meibutsu* in Japan see: Iis P Tussyadiah, “A Gourmet Trip: One Direction of Domestic Tourism in Japan.” *Tourism Review International* 9, no. 3 (2006): 281-291; and Bridget Love “Mountain Vegetables and the Politics of Local Flavor in Japan,” *Japanese Foodways, Past and Present* (2011): 221-42.

temple and maple trees. An important *omiyage* from this location is *momiji manu*, a soft cake made with sweet bean paste in the shape of a maple leaf. Visually, they are very similar to Canadian sweet maple cookies.³⁵⁵ While part of acquiring *meibutsu* is actual physical travel to the location, there is a growing trend in what are called “antenna shops,” where *omiyage* from all over Japan can be purchased at a single location.³⁵⁶ Contemporary world’s fairs, such as *Expo 2005*, are not unlike a giant “antenna shop.” They compress global geography into one location where souvenirs can be collected from all over the world. The Canadian pavilion at Aichi differed from past world’s fairs, in that there was no souvenir shop at the end.³⁵⁷ I argue that this was a major limitation, given the importance of *omiyage* in Japan. The planners missed an opportunity to market *meibutsu* products, such as maple syrup, to the Japanese public. Instead, souvenirs were given away for free in the *Cyber Salon*.

Collecting Travel: Expo Passports

³⁵⁵ I observed these *omiyage* on my trip to Miyajima in 2005. They can be found throughout the island and are presented in beautifully packaged boxes. For further discussion of these confections see: Kanpai! Japan Travel Guide, “Momiji manju: the Maple Pastry from Miyajima, accessed April 10, 2013,

<http://www.kanpai-japan.com/japanese-society/momiji-manju-maple-miyajima.html>

³⁵⁶ I observed this throughout my travels in Japan. *Omiyage* can be bought not only at airports, but also in large city centres with stores focused only on these gifts. For a discussion of recent developments in antenna shops see: Kazumichi Shono, “Japanese Confectionaries Lure Tourist with new Antenna Shops,” *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asia News Network* (May 25, 2012), Mayumi Oshige, “Japan’s ‘antenna shops’ spread to Tokyo’s Traditional Districts,” *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asia News Network*, (March 17, 2013)

³⁵⁷ Canada had souvenir shops in world’s fairs before and after Aichi (2000 in Hannover, and 2010 in Shanghai). In interviews with pavilion manager Barbara Helm and Commissioner Norman Moyer they noted that the sales of souvenirs in Hannover 2000 were not strong so this affected the decision of retail for the pavilion in Aichi. Another factor was the limited space of pavilions at Aichi, as they had to follow strict space limitations.

The most important document required for international travel is a passport. To have a passport not only reveals one's nationality and identity, but signifies that the owner is going somewhere and may have been somewhere else.³⁵⁸ Stamps, and travel visas are collected signs unto themselves, temporally representing places that have been visited. It is worth reiterating that many authors in tourism, such as John Urry, write about the importance of tourist signs and markers as these relate to how a place is known, and imagined.³⁵⁹ One's passport and stamps, when interpreted in this way, become a central component in how a trip is documented, presented, and shared.

World's fairs have co-opted passports into the visitor's experience. First seen at *Expo '67*, expo passports have become an important way to document their journey through the expo. At *Expo 2005*, expo passports were purchased at souvenirs shops throughout the expo site. Once a passport was purchased, the visitor would collect stamps unique to each pavilion. The stamp issued in the Canadian pavilion was red with the text: "Aichi, Expo 2005," and included a red maple leaf referencing the sculpture on the building's exterior (figure 6.7). Not only was the expo passport one of the most important souvenirs by proving the

³⁵⁸ Passports have their root in early requests for travel. One of the earliest recorded was in 450 B.C. where an official serving the king of ancient Persia requested travel to Judah, where he was given a letter. These travel letters were widely used in the reign of King Louis XIV for members of the court. By the mid-nineteenth century passports steadily rose due to the increase in tourism as a result of the railroad, and became important personal documents as concerns over security rose in World War I. See: Martin Lloyd, *The Passport: The History of Man's most Travelled Document*, (The Sutton Publishing: Stroud, UK, 2003). For a discussion on the history of passports and their introduction in Canada see: "History of Passports," accessed July 15, 2012, <http://www.passport.gc.ca/pptc/hist.aspx?lang=eng>.

³⁵⁹ In Chapter 2 I discussed the way that sites are "marked," Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 1990; and "sacralized," MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 1989.

visitor had been there, the stamps recorded what they saw and experienced while they were there.

6. 7. Expo passport (inside with Canadian pavilion stamp and detail), Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.

The popularity and presence of expo passports at *Expo 2005* can also be understood in relation to cultural customs and travel practices in Japan. Historically, travel in Japan was focused on pilgrimage routes to important religious temples;³⁶⁰ and an important souvenir was the small book in which the traveller would receive a red stamp, with the name and date of the temple written in calligraphy by a monk. These temple books continue to be used today, and are

³⁶⁰ S. Fromanek, S. "Pilgrimage in the Edo Period," in S. Linhart and S. Fruhstuck eds. *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through its Leisure*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 165-94; Winfield, Pamela D. "Kyoto Pilgrimage Past and Present." *CrossCurrents* 59, no. 3 (2009): 349-357. For an interesting film on the 88 Temple Shikoku pilgrimage, which chronicles one of the most popular routes. See: Tommi Mendel, *Arukihenro: Walking Pilgrims*, 2006.

carried from site to site as markers and proof of the pilgrimage.

The collection of stamps is also part of popular travel in Japan, where stamps as validation of travel are given out not only for famous attractions, but also even at shopping malls.³⁶¹ In fact, a popular way of collecting stamps in Japan is at “stamp-rallies.” These events are often commercial in nature, with the goal of encouraging someone to visit all booths at a tradeshow, or all parts of an attraction.³⁶² Even the organizers of *Expo 2005* included a series of “stamp-rallies;” for instance, member states of the European Union organized a rally to encourage visitors to visit their pavilions and collect stamps for a chance to win airfare to Brussels.³⁶³ The popularity of expo passports was evidenced by incredibly long line-ups; and the use of passports at *Expo 2005* was particularly well suited to its primarily Japanese audience.

Collecting Place: Postcards

While most of the pavilions at *Expo 2005* issued stamps, pavilions could also provide other souvenirs. In the Canadian pavilion, free postcards were put out on a shelf in the *Cyber Salon*. Postcards are powerful products that both reflect and influence the tourist experience, as authors such as Pritchard and

³⁶¹ Leah Watkins, “Japanese Travel Culture: An investigation of the Links Between Early Japanese Pilgrimage and Modern Japanese Travel behaviour.” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 10, no. 2 (2008), 99. For a useful study on Japanese tourist practices see: Kaye Sung Chon and Tsutomu Inagaka, *Japanese Tourists: Socio-Economic, Marketing and Psychological Analysis* (Routledge: London, 2000).

³⁶² Consulate General of Japan in Atlanta, Robert Anderson, “Let’s Stamp Rally,” accessed April 9, 2103, <http://www.atlanta.us.emb-japan.go.jp/jettravel3.htm>.

³⁶³ Over 90,000 people participated in this stamp rally. Delegation to the European Union in Japan, “Euro Stamp Rally at Aichi Expo: Win a Trip To Europe, “ (2005), <http://www.euinJapan.jp/en/media/news/news2005/20050907/130000/>

Morgan argue:

Just like any cultural artefact, however, they are not merely a medium for the 'neutral' retention of images and are more than ephemera, temporarily viewed and just as quickly disposed of, picture postcards are narratives and ways of looking, a filter between the photographer's subject and the world: neither factual records nor innocent of value but legitimizers and arbiters of certain interpretations at the expense of others.³⁶⁴

Postcards then are important objects that contribute to the ways in which tourists see places. Their images are also the result of a highly mediated and controlled narrative of place. Because they are easily reproduced, acquired, and shared, they are effective tourist documents. Not only can they be used to interrogate how a place is constructed for the imagination of tourists, those tourists in turn can either save them as personal mementos or share the experience with others through the mail.

In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, there was a small area along the entrance to the *Cyber Salon* where visitors could obtain postcards. All of the places depicted on the postcards emphasized nature, from designed gardens, to provincial parks, to the natural phenomena of the aurora borealis³⁶⁵ (figures 6.2 and 6.8). On the back was an area to write a message, with the corresponding

³⁶⁴ Annette Pritchard and Nigel Morgan, "Mythic Geographies of Representation and Identity: Contemporary Postcards of Wales," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1:2, (2003): 111-130. In their study they examine the ways in which postcards construct a particular way of knowing, seeing and understanding. For a good case study on the ways in which images and text function in tourism advertisements see: Sabrina Francesconi "Images and Writing in Tourist brochures," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 9:4 (2011): 341-356

³⁶⁵ I collected five postcards with the following images: Van Dusen Botanical Garden in Vancouver, Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan, Duck Mountain Provincial park in Alberta, *aurora borealis* in Whitehorse, and the last one of the *aurora borealis* in Yellowknife

provincial logo, as well as a link to the Canadian pavilion website where the visitor could enter to win a holiday for two.

As the postcards were aimed at Japanese visitors, it is important to consider them in relation to marketing of tourist sites. Several studies have examined the ways in which foreign locations are marketed to Japanese tourists.³⁶⁶ Watkins argues that many tourism promotions focus on displaying foreign countries as an escape from the city, with an emphasis on nature and the *meisho* (cultural marker) of a destination.³⁶⁷ Postcard images reiterated and reinforced the *meisho*, such as landscape and the aurora borealis, which were presented through the pavilion videos and displays. The postcards not only crystallized the experience of the pavilion, but also reflected its *branded display complex* through images of landscape and nature.

³⁶⁶ See for example: Sukbin Cha, Ken W. McCleary, and Muzaffer Uysal, "Travel Motivations of Japanese Overseas Travelers: A factor-cluster Segmentation Approach," *Journal of Travel Research* 34, no. 1 (1995): 33-39; Zafar Ahmend and Franklin B. Krohn, "Understanding the Unique Consumer Behavior of Japanese tourists," *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 1, no. 3 (1993): 73-86; David Gilbert and Mikiko Terrata, "An Exploratory Study of Factors of Japanese Tourism Demand for the UK," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 13, no. 2 (2001): 70-78.

³⁶⁷ Watkins, 104. See also: B. Moeran, "The Language of Japanese Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 93-108.

6. 8. Postcards, Canadian pavilion, Expo 2005, Aichi, Japan.

Postcards in the Canadian pavilion functioned in multiple ways: as a collected souvenir of the pavilion, an advertisement for a particular tourist destination, and a way to prompt visitors to further explore Canada on the Internet. However, they were incomplete souvenirs. Whether they were kept or passed on, the website listed on the back literally directs the holder of the postcard to a website that is no longer valid, rendering Canada virtually placeless! In a way, this is fitting, as the postcards were representing a place never visited, but rather a place that was simulated throughout the displays in the Canadian pavilion.

At a world's fair, the visitor's experience is integral to its popularity and life. Visitors are necessary to animate the site of expo, but also to ensure its memory endures. The examples of *Anne of Green Gables*, aurora borealis and souvenirs contributed to the *branded display complex* of the Canadian pavilion by simultaneously referencing the nation, as well as relying on expected tourist imagery. However, a brand can only be effective if it is consumed, and to be consumed it must be recognized or desired in some way. This is particularly important in contemporary world's fairs, where there are few physical elements remaining. Therefore, a pavilion must not only encourage visits, it must provide opportunities to foster unique memories associated with it and by extension the nation. The effectiveness of the Canadian pavilion was based on its ability to both attract attention and hold it; one of the ways this was achieved was through the use of images referencing Japanese tourist expectations of Canada.

Conclusion

The fluidity of geographical boundaries and the distribution of economic, political, and social power are central to debates in our globalized world. Popular culture events that take place in this contemporary climate are some of the arenas in which cultures come into direct contact and global issues play out for citizens in a condensed space. As such, international events such as universal exhibitions are rich objects of study in which to examine how visual culture can be an agent of nation branding and communication between countries.

While world's fairs have their roots in Eurocentric imperial discourses of the nineteenth century they continue to represent fruitful arenas of critical inquiry in a contemporary framework. While these early world's fairs have garnered a lot of critical attention as sites in which to examine wider issues, such as colonial expansion, nation building, and industrialization, focus on contemporary fairs has been displaced by emphasis placed on other global events such as art biennales and the Olympics.

Yet, as I have shown, universal expositions are not vestiges of a by-gone era, but are active, engaged, and dynamic sites where one can examine how national identities are played out through visual culture. Moreover, as global power dynamics increasingly shift from a Western lens to an Asian one, the examination of global cultural events hosted in Asia allows us to examine how countries like Canada hope to position themselves in this shift. These events

provide not only opportunities to see how nations brand themselves in a global system, but how they do so within specific audience contexts.

This study makes an important contribution to critical studies on universal expositions by presenting a case study of *Expo 2005* in Aichi, Japan; the first world's fair to be held in Asia in the twenty-first century. It also contributes to research on the relationship between museums and their publics by examining the process of display in a world's fair that navigates the expectations of visitors within a tourist framework. Further, this study makes an important contribution to the field of critical Canadian Studies by examining the projection of Canada in a global context, and in particular its relationship with Japan.

For my study I focused on the Canadian pavilion at *Expo 2005* to show how a close examination of a world's fair provides an opportunity in which to critically examine the process of branding a nation through visual means. My framework draws on the theoretical work of Panofsky (1939) and Barthes (1972, 1982), who emphasize visual analysis and context. A key element in their work, and the approach I use for this study, is that interpretation is context dependent and culturally specific. My case study examines the Canadian pavilion as a visual text to be read, interrogated, and analysed. My study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi demonstrates how the display was the result of multiple demands: by the planners of the Aichi expo who sought to position Japan within a wider global framework, by the Canadian federal planners who wanted to project a distinct

Canadian identity abroad, and by the attending public who viewed the world's fair as a site of entertainment and spectacle.

Branded Display Complex

World's fairs provide an opportunity for nations to brand themselves in a global context. As the world is condensed into one location, nations project their brand to the host country, to the representatives of other national pavilions, and to the visitors to the expo grounds. To better analyze and understand how countries position themselves at a world's fair with a particular emphasis on their unique differences, I focus my discussion of the Canadian pavilion within a multidisciplinary framework that I have termed the *branded display complex*.

My framework makes a significant contribution in that it takes an interdisciplinary approach to questions of nation branding, one that emphasizes the important role of images and popular culture events in how nation brands function in a contemporary framework. I draw from critical museum literature such as the work of Bennett (1995), as well as critical nation branding discourse such as the work of Anholt (2007). In his seminal work on the history of museums, Bennett argued that the exhibitionary complex was a process in which displays in museums functioned as object lessons of state power for citizens. Anholt, whose has made important contributions to the concept of nation branding posits that countries increasingly rely on marketing strategies to

differentiate themselves in a global context, and that strong, unique nation brands are paramount to a nation's position in an international context.

My framework of the *branded display complex* involves a close observation of the repeated factors and techniques of display that a nation relies on to brand itself in a global context. By examining earlier world's fairs, such as the *Great Exhibition of 1851*, London, and *Expo '67*, Montreal, I demonstrated that Canada's *branded display complex* at universal expositions has included repeating and reinforcing recognizable tropes, such as the image of vast landscapes as a defining marker of Canadian identity. Another key component in the *branded display complex* is an emphasis on display technologies and audience participation. For example, in the representation of Canada at world's fairs, there has been a consistent development of and reliance on digital technologies to create immersive and participatory experiences for the visitor. This effort mirrors the development in museums, reflected in research in critical museology, which has positioned the viewer as central to the museum experience. The viewer is not a passive participant, but an active co-collaborator in the display and meaning making of exhibitions. I show that participation and immersive technologies are integral to the *branded display complex*. They demonstrate how systems of display that rely on technology such as panoramic screens and digital interfaces are key devices that work to insert the visitor within an experience of the nation.

At Aichi, the *branded display complex* was crystallized through the repetition of images that reflected Canadian meta-narratives of 'Great White

North,' 'Logs and Rocks,' and 'Unity through Diversity,' which were visualized through digital presentations on large panoramic videos and tactile computer interfaces. While the display relied on new technologies, the branding of Canada has changed little with a continued emphasis on recognizable tourist imagery. Rather than exploring complex questions of nation, or critically reflecting on national histories, such as government policy towards Asian immigration in the nineteenth century, the continued debates over Arctic sovereignty, or the nation's questionable environmental protection record, the pavilion instead reflected a neutral, a-historical nation where people live in harmony with the landscape and with each other. The *branded display complex* clearly demonstrates Canada's reliance on recognizable tropes that are used to brand the nation as a place without contested histories.

I argue further that what is presented at world's fairs is a nation brand that is coded for the audience to which it is projected. While world's fairs function as a site of nation branding, they are ultimately sites of spectacle and entertainment for the visitor. A nation brand can only be transmitted if there is a draw to the pavilion. To interrogate the context of audience I situate the pavilion within a wider examination of tourism, where visitors to the pavilions are imagined as tourists visiting the world on display. In the Canadian pavilion tourism strategies such as the reliance on recognizable sign-markers, the collection of souvenirs, and tactile experiences, provided the hook by which the nation brand could be

effectively transmitted to visitors. Ultimately, I argue, the nation became a packaged good, wrapped in a display that facilitated its consumption.

Central to the *branded display complex* is how it is the result of a reliance on recognizable images that support a federal narrative, as well as how the selected images reflect the expectations of the audience. This process of negotiated representation is a core component of the *branded display complex* at world's fairs. It is critical to interpret the Canadian pavilion at Aichi within the Japanese context for which it was designed. Canada has had a long and complex relationship with Japan, from early points of contact through missionaries, to one that is now centered on trade, business, and tourism. In the development of foreign relations, universal expositions have been important points of contact between countries.

Canada's participation in *Expo 2005* is thus one of the ways in which to strengthen its foreign relationship with Japan and other countries. This was evidenced in the federal planning documents and market studies of the International Expositions Directorate that repeatedly focused on relations with Japan. Pan-Asian and Pacific world studies are shifting the nexus from a Eurocentric model to one that emphasizes a larger framework that spans geographical boundaries. My study draws from the work of Morley and Robbins (1995, 2007), who use the concept of *techno-orientalism*, to discuss how Japan is positioned as a leader in the global world. *Techno-orientalism* calls into question the West as the locus of modernity and power. The authors argue that political

and economic focus is shifting towards the East with development such as technology. The case study at Aichi is an example of this process and contributes to a critical examination of Canada's relations with Asia.

Layout and Engaging Publics

An important aspect of my study is how the pavilion was structured to engage the public. In fact, the entire experience of a world's fair is a highly structured and mediated lesson where the world is put on display. At Aichi, the structuring of the expo grounds was realized through the *Global Loop*, which was a raised walkway that connected the pavilions to the wider expo experience. The pathway could be interpreted as a performative space where the visitor was placed at the centre of the expo experience, as citizen of a global world.

The theme for *Expo Aichi* was *Nature's Wisdom*, with the intent to promote global communication and environmental stewardship. For that reason much of the expo grounds, such as the *Global Loop*, were built with the intention of being dismantled at the end of Expo. This points to an area for future research into the architectural design and layout of world's fairs. While they function as ephemeral cities, they permanently impact the communities in which they are built through transportation and other infrastructure. The remnants of contemporary universal expositions, and their continued presence after the events have ended, are subjects ripe for further examination.

While the *Global Loop* structured access to the entire expo grounds, the

Canadian pavilion was organized through a technique that the federal planners called “pulsing.” As I discussed in Chapter 4, this was a structural design that controlled the flow and movement of visitors through the space. As I have shown, the exhibition area was comprised of three exhibition zones: the *Biosphere*, *Ethnosphere*, and *Cyber Salon*, which began with projections of videos on large panoramic screens and finished with a participatory activity. The display rooted the identity of Canada in landscape, which was presented through various forms of digital interfaces. By using visuals, sounds, and space dimensions the pavilion was laid out in a way that ensured it would be visited in a fixed sequence.

This was a very clever and astute way of planning the pavilion because it ensured that the entire pavilion was seen, as it was difficult to not complete the sequence once you started. It also contributed to a shared, memorable experience for the visitor: communally through the experience as a collective group and individually through the interaction with components such as the video screens. This created an experience of Canada-as-nation that was both universal and personal. The experience of a visitor at a world’s fair thus becomes a form of participatory citizenship. By visiting expo, an individual engages with image making of their own nation, and also acts as a tourist to the other countries on display.

It was not only “pulsing” that involved visitors with the experience of Canada as nation, but also the use of digital technologies, such as immersive cinematic experiences, robots, and tactile computer interfaces that encouraged visitor

participation. Physical engagement with the Canadian pavilion began in the line outside with the pavilion guides. Called *teku-jins*, they were hosts who wore computers attached to their backs. These human-hybrid robots engaged visitors through videos of the pavilion as well as real-time photographs that could be uploaded to the Internet. While the *teku-jins* were the introduction to the pavilion, the interactive games in the *Cyber Salon* were the last experience in the pavilion. In this final area computer games used a role-playing format where the visitor selected an avatar (based on Canadians shown in the pavilion videos) that served as their guide in a virtual gaming journey through Canadian landmarks.

Here, I showed that the choice of robots and computer games in the Canadian pavilion was a purposeful choice given the audience, which was predominantly Japanese. In having a world's fair in Japan, with pavilions using technologies to reflect Japanese popular culture, I argued that the Eurocentric roots of world's fairs were reversed. Now, foreign pavilions, such as Canada's, are put on exhibit for consumption by a predominantly Asian audience. Digital technologies were used as the language of display to communicate to the audience. My concept of the *branded display complex* is particularly relevant here as the use of technology and immersive digital environments is yet another example of an object lesson used in the pavilion to brand the nation for the visitor. Canada as nation becomes an object that can be ordered, situated, and accessed through a taxonomy of display, which is influenced by the country in which it hopes to project itself.

Branding Canada through Display

The Canadian government has been involved from the very beginning of Canada's participation at fairs, so federal narratives have always been central to the planning. Organized by the International Expositions Directorate, which is a department in Canadian Heritage, Canada's participation in these large-scale events is an opportunity to project federally mandated Canadian values in a global context. Thus, federal planners have to find a balance between branding the nation and creating a pavilion that has meaning to the audience in context. In my study I found that overall, the selection of images did fulfill the goals of planners in branding Canada, while also providing entertainment for the visitors. For example, there were numerous images that effectively branded Canada as a nation with expansive landscapes and green technologies, as well as images that strongly referenced tourist experiences.

However, there were also instances where this was not achieved. There were moments of disconnect between intention and reception, what I call "fractures of display." One example of this was how multiculturalism, used as a tool to brand Canada was represented in the Canadian pavilion through the pavilion theme (*Wisdom of Diversity*). As evidenced in the planning documents and summary reports, diversity in relationship to the agenda of the federal planners was rooted in ethnicity, whereas diversity as it was interpreted by the audience was rooted in the environment.

The inclusion of Canadians in the *Ethnosphere* video, as avatars in the *cyber-explorer* game, and on the trading cards can be interpreted as an attempt to present Canada as an ethnically cohesive, diverse nation. Furthermore, one of the ways that planners attempted to convey multiculturalism to the audience was by representing individuals that would be relatable to the audience, such as an Asian woman from Vancouver, thus putting pluralism in practice. Although multiculturalism has long been at the centre of branding efforts in Canada dating back to early marketing strategies by the railroad, the complex concept of multiculturalism at Aichi, as I have shown, was met with mixed results, as they were attempting to project ideals of cultural diversity to a mainly homogenous Japanese audience who came with a different understanding of what diversity meant. Instead of relying on ethnic tropes to represent the multicultural identity of Canada, the pavilion could have perhaps incorporated more concrete examples of the historical relationship of Canada with Asia in a manner that emphasized that diversity in Canada has had a long historical trajectory.

Central to the entire pavilion design was its emphasis on the environment, which also reflected the understanding of diversity on the part of the audience in relation to diversity of landscape. Images of the vast Canadian landscape were referenced throughout each of the pavilion zones: animals and landscape in the pavilion videos, virtual journeys on the computer interfaces, and as images presented on the souvenirs. One of the most prevalent images used in the pavilion, on the exterior wall, on the trading cards, and as the culminating scene

in the *Ethnosphere* video was a maple leaf. This inclusion was significant because unlike multiculturalism, which proved difficult to represent in a global context, landscape served simultaneously as a brand for Canada, and as an important cultural image for the Japanese visitor.

In my case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi I showed how it is important to examine not only the objects but also how they are displayed. Take for example, the manner in which images of the maple leaf were presented in the pavilion. The focus of the final video was not just a maple tree, but a maple tree in autumn shedding its leaves. This aesthetic image had resonance in the context of Canada in relation to the passage of seasons, and in visual culture such as the work of the Group of Seven. It also was well suited to a presentation in Japan because of its association with the custom of maple-leaf viewing (*momijigari*) and in the work of artists (particularly *ukiyo-e* prints).

Furthermore, the emphasis placed on landscape in the pavilion shifted away from constructing landscape as commodity, which was the focus of early universal expositions, to one that emphasized environmental sustainability by focusing on an appreciation and respect for nature. The participation of Canada at Aichi marked an opportunity for the country to project its eco-consciousness following the ratification of the Kyoto protocol. This was significant because it reflected wider global discussions that were taking place around environmental stewardship. This points to a possible direction for further research. Continued investigations might involve, for example, an examination of how landscape as

commodity has been positioned over the course of world's fair history, and how this in turn mirrors developments in environmental awareness.

Making a Brand Tangible: Souvenirs

As I demonstrated in Chapter 6, one of the challenges of world's fairs is that they are ephemeral events. As such they pose a difficulty in extending the longevity of a nation's brand since the visual displays are gone at the end of the event. One of the ways that the experience of Canada as nation was crystallized at Aichi, I argued, was through the use of souvenirs. They contribute to the long-term memory of universal expositions in the minds of visitors, and are some of the few remaining tactile objects from an otherwise transitory display of nation. In my discussion of souvenirs in the Canadian pavilion I draw on the work of critical tourism studies such as the concept of site sacrilization explored by MacCannell (1989) and sign markers explored by Urry (1990). Souvenirs are integral to the representation and memory of places. Through interaction and the act of collecting, the body becomes the vehicle for receiving and channelling nationalist narratives. Branding a nation through display is only successful if visitors not only tour a pavilion, but also remember and share their expo experiences with others as it facilitates the transmission of the nation brand.

In the Canadian pavilion at Aichi souvenirs such as passport stamps, postcards, and trading cards, as well as tourist imagery such as the aurora borealis, were instrumental in the transmission of the nation brand. The

souvenirs served multiple functions in the pavilion: they were tangible objects that could be used to remember a transitory experience; they re-iterated themes in the pavilion such as landscape and multiculturalism, and they reflected the collecting practices of the audience.

An important souvenir from world's fairs is an expo passport. This small booklet, for many visitors, comes to represent the simulated journey through countries on the expo grounds. The stamps unique to each pavilion serve as proof of the visit. Passports are not only part of expo experience, but reflect Japanese culture, where the collection of pilgrimage stamps from monasteries and stamp rallies remain popular. Furthermore, the stamps, as well as the postcards and trading cards available at Aichi, are an example of *meibutsu*, which in Japan are souvenirs closely attached to a place. Thus, souvenirs in the Canadian pavilion not only put the brand into tangible form but also were presented in a way that encouraged their collection by appealing to the Japanese visitor.

As context is central to my study it is important to emphasize that this selection represents a coded set of images that resonated strongly with the Japanese audience, thus ensuring that the brand was easily transmitted. Two of the images represented on the postcards and trading cards were the aurora borealis and Anne of Green Gables, which had both been shown in the pavilion videos. Their selection highlights the balancing act of branding Canada within a framework that is translatable to the audience in question.

The *aurora borealis* was a well-placed choice in the pavilion. Not only did its association with landscape and northern identity feed into the *branded display complex* of Canada, it was also an important tourist image for the thousands of Japanese who travelled to Canada to witness the natural phenomenon. The presentation of the *aurora borealis* in the pavilion videos emphasized the aesthetic qualities of the *aurora borealis*, which contributed to the emphasis placed on the contemplation, not domination, of nature that was presented through the pavilion. In addition, this aesthetic response to nature is an important part of Japanese culture, and figures heavily in the concept of *wabi-sabi*, which relates to the fleeting quality of natural beauty. Presented first in the videos, and later on souvenirs, the *aurora borealis* is an important place-marker for branding Canada to a Japanese audience.

Another image that I argue was purposefully selected with the intent to appeal to the tourist sensibilities of the audience was Anne of Green Gables. She is a very well known figure in Japanese popular culture and has prompted much tourism to the province of Prince Edward Island. As with the *aurora borealis*, she was presented first in the videos and then later as one of the trading card souvenirs. In the Canadian pavilion the display of nation was itself a simulacra, so in many ways Anne, who herself is a fictitious figure that interacts with landscape, was a purposeful choice. Her association with nature in the novels was well suited for a pavilion that was trying to emphasize stewardship of the

environment, and an astute marketing choice on the part of the federal planners who capitalized on her popularity with a Japanese audience.

Central to the *branded display complex* is not only the reliance on recognizable images that support a federal narrative, but also the navigation of the demands of the audience in context. The federal planners, while using the display to reflect government rhetoric and brand the nation, did so in a way that directly reflected the expectations of the audience by relying on images that they knew would be recognizable and popular. This process of negotiated representation is a core component of the *branded display complex* at world's fairs.

While I focus on a case study to demonstrate how the *branded display complex* functions, it is a useful and critical framework that can be used to examine other popular culture events. The reliance on recognizable images that are culturally specific and the use of immersive digital displays continues to be used by the Department of Canadian Heritage when participating in universal expositions. For example, the most recent world's fair in 2010 in Shanghai reveals the *branded display complex* of Canada at work. The Canadian pavilion used digital and interactive environments that represented landscape in ways that engaged the audience. There were also choices that reflected the Chinese audience, including a partnership with *Cirque to Soleil*, an interactive video that could be manipulated by riding a bike, and the selection of Mark Roswell as the

Canadian ambassador to the pavilion.³⁶⁸ These choices further demonstrate the emphasis that the federal planners of Canada's participation at world's fairs place on the cultural context in which the pavilion is viewed. The *branded display complex*, by questioning the context of production, such as nation branding and tourism, as well as the context of access in terms of critical museology, points to a cross-disciplinary approach and contributes to how we can critically interrogate the ways in which nation branding functions in contemporary popular culture formations.

Universal expositions are competitive environments. The Canadian pavilion at Aichi had to strategically present the displays so as to engage the audience. Branding Canada through the display could not happen if there was no one there to receive the message. While it can be argued that some of the government priorities were never fully realized in Aichi, such as the rhetoric of federal multiculturalism, the pavilion was successful in conveying the diversity of landscape to visitors and was one of the most popular foreign pavilions at *Expo Aichi*.

Two of the ways that Canada's involvement at Aichi was measured were in fiscal terms and in audience reception. The total expenditure on the pavilion

³⁶⁸ Circus training is an important part of Chinese culture, so too is the use of bicycles as an important source of transportation. Roswell was an interesting choice because he was the first non-public servant chosen to be the ambassador of the pavilion. He was chosen because in China he is known as Dashan, a famous celebrity in television and media. For a general discussion of the Canadian pavilion in Shanghai see: Department of Canadian Heritage, *Canada at Expo 2010 Shanghai: The Living City: inclusive, sustainable, creative*, accessed April 15, 2011. <http://www.expo2010canada.gc.ca/index-eng.cfm>

was \$35,245,642 with an attendance of 3.3 million, double earlier projections.³⁶⁹

These numbers indicate that the Canadian pavilion was successful in terms of attracting large numbers of visitors; moreover, the financial commitment suggests that the federal government sees their participation as an important part of foreign affairs. In reflecting on Canada's pavilion, the Department of Canadian Heritage notes:

Canadians may publicly disagree about this presentation. Some may praise it and others may criticize it for telling an incomplete story. But this public debate, too, can be part of Canada's message – that it is an evolving society, which has neither solved every problem, nor reached a consensus on every solution.³⁷⁰

As this statement helps to illustrate, the government was aware of the challenge of trying to brand the nation through display. What is missing in the statement is that the choices for the pavilion, as I have shown, relied heavily on government-mandated priorities. So the 'evolving society' is in fact heavily mitigated by federal agendas that do not provide room for debate in their selection of what images they project for Canada. Instead, displays rest on repeated, recognizable images that have been at the core of Canada's presentation at universal expositions since the nineteenth century.

It remains to be seen how Canada will brand itself at future world's fairs, if at all. Recent changes in the federal government further support the timeliness

³⁶⁹ \$17, 388,838 was spent on pavilion development with the rest for pavilion expenses and salaries. Reports show that the program came in within budget and met all financial target goals. See "2.21: Efficiency," Summative Evaluation of Canada's Participation in the 2005 Aichi, Japan World Exposition, (2007).

³⁷⁰ "3.11: Summary Overview, Tying it All Together," Planning and Theme Document, (2003), 30.

and need for this study on Canada in a global context. Significant cuts have been made to both Heritage and Canadian Studies programs. The International Exposition Directorate that oversees Canada's participation in universal expositions was closed in 2012 and no commitment has been made to participate in the next world's fair in Milan in 2015. It is unclear if the Canadian government will continue to participate in world's fairs as part of federal programming, if private companies will take on the task, or if there will be no future pavilions at all. In my opinion, the federal government should view participation in world's fairs as an important part of soft diplomacy, where the nation brand can be projected directly to global citizens, which in turn contributes to improved foreign relations.

Other organizations with a role in Canada's global presence have also had their funding drastically cut, including the International Association for Canadian Studies, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's "Understanding Canada-Canadian Studies program."³⁷¹ This will have a significant impact on what kind of research is undertaken on Canada's global presence. These shifts in government policy are further reasons why my study is significant because it contributes to the research and memory of Canada's involvement in world's fairs in a climate when federal support both for world's fairs and Canadian Studies in a global context is waning.

³⁷¹ The cut of this program led to a lot of public outcry in the media, particularly among scholars and Canadian artists. For an overview see: "Authors, academics urge federal government to replace 'Understanding Canada.'" *Globe and Mail* (June 20, 2012).

This case study of the Canadian pavilion at Aichi, through an exploration of cross-disciplinary literature, planning documents, and a visual analysis of the pavilion, has demonstrated that the pavilion at Aichi is a complex site that demands multiple ways of seeing. The *branded display complex* serves as a framework for examining Canada's participation, with its reliance on expected, trope imagery, use of immersive technologies, and awareness of target audience expectations. The choices made in the pavilion reflect a process of nation branding that intercuts the demands of the government planners with those of the audience. Through the use of digital technologies and evocative images of the Canadian landscape, the Canadian pavilion created an experience that was meant to differentiate Canada in a global cultural context. Ultimately, though, the Canadian pavilion created a digital façade, and a simulacrum of the nation that at any moment could be switched off and replaced by another technological interface.

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