**National Museums as 'Emporia of Pleasure':
Marketing and Exhibition in Canadian Federal Museums**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines some of the critical literature emerging from the New Museology in an effort to analyze the impact of marketing in the Canadian national museum. The process of marketing in national museum exhibitions is analyzed through two case studies in the National Capital Region: The National Gallery of Canada's Emily, a survey of the work of Emily Carr, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Lace-Up, an exhibition devoted to ice skating. Structuralist Marxist theorist Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation is used as a theoretical model to demonstrate that national museum marketing constructs viewers as subjects of the state. My emphasis on marketing draws on but also extends recent critical approaches to the study of the museum or New Museology. This study argues that marketing (including advertising and promotional merchandise) is an important concern for the national museum: as such, the marketing apparatus affects the ways in which the museum defines its mission and the visitor's experience of the museum. Marketing procedures such as modes of advertising, exhibition pamphlets, retailing, website application and museum membership are discussed in detail to elucidate the power that marketing maintains within the Canadian national museum.

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Introduction

In the summer of 2006, the National Gallery of Canada mounted an exhibition entitled, Emily,¹ a reflection of the life and work of the Canadian artist, Emily Carr. As the catalogue for Emily indicates, the gallery attendee was meant to view the artist, Emily Carr through the lens of exhibition history and, more broadly, changing art historical discourse in Canada. This included the recreation of Marius Barbeau's 1927 exhibition at the beginning of the exhibition that eventually led to the last staged rooms of the show that reveal reflections of Emily Carr and the scholarly rhetoric that surrounds the artist as Canadian icon.

This "blockbuster exhibition" was a critical success for the National Gallery, thanks in part to the innovative and introspective curatorial position. However, the success of Emily can also be attributed to the marketing team of the National Gallery. This marketing panel included the creative input of Alain Boisvert and Hélène Donaldson. Their marketing strategy with its promotion of Carr as an enigmatic genius, while effective in attracting visitors, ironically differed substantially from the thesis adopted by Emily's curators.

During the summer of 2006, the Ottawa public was bombarded with billboards, newspaper ads and radio spots that introduced Emily through a series of photographs isolating the artist's face in a ghost-like grainy black and white photograph. Direct text, written in an imperative voice, complemented the visuals: "See Emily As Never Before. Hear Emily Laugh. Feel Emily's Anger." As the marketing team admits, the inspiration

¹ See Exhibition Catalogue, Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon (Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Calgary: National Gallery of Canada and The Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006).

for the aesthetic of the ads was The Blair Witch Project, an independent mock-documentary horror film of the late 1990s. At the same time, other promotional devices and souvenirs for sale at the Gallery stressed the exhibition as an unproblematic celebration of nationhood. This focus on evocative mystery, constructed celebrity and nationalism sharply contrasts the curator's vision and, as such, points to conflicting narratives.

The impact of marketing schema in Canada's national museums is not exclusive to the National Gallery. From January of 2006 to January 2007, the Museum of Civilization presented Lace Up, an exhibition showcasing Canada's devotion to skating. Major themes of the exhibition included: the origins of skating in Europe and New France; the impact of communications and transportation advances on skating in Canada; the organization of clubs and national associations for the three sports of figure skating, speed skating and hockey; indoor skating rinks and winter carnivals; Canada at the Winter Olympics; and the general world of Canadian skating.² Bianca Gendreau, curator of Lace Up, believes that skating is integral to Canadian life. She asserts, "Skating is an activity that, in some way, touches on the life of every Canadian."³ While this assertion proffers a stereotype of Canadian identity through figure skating and hockey as essentialist characteristics of Canadianness, the marketing campaign directly advertises the exhibition to the tourist segment of the population during the busiest time of the canal skating season. In this way, the exhibit becomes a structured commercial entity meant to entice the tourist and/or general population to enjoy the typically Canadian pastime of

² Bianca Gendreau, "About the Exhibition." Lace Up, Aug. 8 2006, The Museum of Civilization, 18 Feb. 2007 <<http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/patins/patins01e.html>>.

³ Gendreau <<http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/patins/patins01e.html>>.

skating through the museum space. The museum space, in turn, becomes the extension of a commercial activity (skating on the Rideau Canal in Ottawa).

This thesis will draw on some of the critical literature emerging from the New Museology in an effort to examine the impact of the marketing in the Canadian national museum. The process of marketing in national museum exhibitions will be analyzed through two case study exhibitions in the National Capital Region: The National Gallery's Emily exhibition and the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Lace-Up. Drawing on structuralist Marxist theorist Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation, I will argue that museum marketing constructs viewers as subjects of the state. My emphasis on marketing draws on but also challenges recent approaches to the museum (known generally as New Museology).

New Museology is a blanket term used to describe a range of academic research appearing approximately over the past two decades that aims to critique the museum as a key cultural contemporary institution. In undertaking that broader goal, the New Museology also endeavours to analyze the ways in which exhibitions and their audiences are structured. According to Peter Vergo, the New Museology is born out of a state of widespread dissatisfaction with museology, a category solely concerned with museum methods opposed to the purposes of the museum itself.⁴ Simply put, the New Museology aims to analyze the museum's power within the public sphere thereby challenging the reader to view the museum space not as a neutral entity, but as a political apparatus of power.

Tony Bennett situates the origin of the modernist museum in state's control of public taste and culture during the nineteenth century. This influential critique traces the

⁴ Peter Vergo, Introduction, The New Museology, (London: Reaktion Books, 1989).

origin of museum display in an effort to show the ways in which the exhibition contributes to social control. Using the example of The Crystal Palace at the 1851 World's Fair in Britain, Bennett describes the beginnings of modernist display that was used for the World's Fair and later translated to museum environments. Simply, the state used these displays to establish national identity formation. As described by Bennett, the theme of progress at the world's fair reinforced public pride and thus created devote citizenry within Britain. The citizen was subject to a state dogma (patriotic pride) and was therefore complicitly integrated into state ideology "rather than cowed into submission before it."⁵ Hence, the authority of the state was marked within the walls of the exhibition as the authoritative curatorial voice and, in turn, the author of public taste and culture as well as national identity. Citizens were meant to believe that they were independently and objectively observing museum display. Bennett observes,

To identify with power, to see it as, if not directly theirs, then indirectly so, a force regulated and channeled by society's ruling groups but for the good of all: this was the rhetoric of power embodied in the exhibitionary complex- a power made manifest not in its ability to inflict pain but by its ability to organize and coordinate an order of things and to produce a place for the people in relation to that order.⁶

Through Bennett's initial study of nineteenth century display space, we are able to see that the museum lends itself to the state as an authoritative voice, a function that can still be seen in museum systems of today's climate. Visibly, this reading of the museum and its power is important as it demonstrates the ways in which display systems within museums and galleries maintain an authoritative voice.

⁵ Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum : History, Theory, Politics. (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 89.

⁶ Bennett 90.

Bennett's social commentary is echoed by some of his contemporaries. Carol Duncan is also concerned with the museum as an apparatus of power. In "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," Duncan summarizes the pedagogical power the museum, as cultural icon, maintains within the community and society as a whole. She states,

To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its highest, most authoritative truths. It also means the power to define and rank people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's common heritage- in its very identity.⁷

Like Bennett, Duncan is concerned with the ultimate authority the museum has over its public, a citizenry that can accept an exhibition as a declaration or truth, or, in the case of nationalism, a public that can assume a national identity formed out of state controlled ideology. More concisely, the museum functions as an authoritative voice that chooses the objects of display that are important to a culture within society. This authoritative voice also dictates the ways in which the promotion and communication of a culture's common ideological heritage is to be manifested within the museum's pedagogy.

In the same vein, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill addresses the apparatus of power within museums. In Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture, Hooper-Greenhill underlines the museum's autocratic power: "Museums have the power to affect lives by opening up or closing down subjectivities, attitudes and feelings towards the self and others."⁸ In this, we see that the exhibition space maintains a construct of social culture that creates a community ideology. In other words, the museum forms culture and public taste. To further add to her discussion, she points to the problems within the post modern

⁷ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 101-102.

⁸ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture. (London and New York: Routledge, 2000) 16.

era of museum studies: the reworking of cultural authority within the museum space. She concludes that challenging the authority of museum officials is integral to change academic and curatorial perspectives. As Hooper-Greenhill admits, the challenge for museums is the reworking of authority so that there is a better understanding of the social and cultural changes occurring today (recognition of other narratives within history). She also advocates that museum officials begin to observe and promote different narratives reflecting their diverse audiences.

While these pivotal texts inform a discussion of power within the museum, they neglect to address one of the key ways that the museum wields power and establishes viewer subjectivity: through marketing. While there are cursory references made to marketing within academic New Museology material, discussions of marketing, for the most part, are limited to in-house manuals or instructive pamphlets for museum professionals. Nevertheless, this thesis will assess some of the manual type publications to trace the process of marketing process.

Neil Kotler and Philip Kotler's publication, Museum Strategy and Marketing provides a practical manual on the uses of marketing in museums. Their examination shows the inherent commerciality within the institution including both public and private museum spaces. This manual includes instructions on writing museum missions, the need to assess the market and consumer of the art gallery or museum as well as the ways in which to adapt exhibitions to a mass population. This further elucidates the business processes of advertising and marketing of the art gallery sphere and can be helpful to explain the ways in which marketing functions within the museum arena. In her study, Fiona McLean also provides a thorough analysis of institutional marketing in her

publication, Marketing and the Museum. She assesses the challenges of marketing in the museum sphere, concluding, "...marketing is merely an orientation within a museum which sets out to achieve the museum's mission using a variety of practical tools."⁹

Importantly, while these manuals represent a common administrative bend, academic literature is beginning to appear within the New Museology that assesses marketing's impact on the functions of the museum. Academic research is being established to trace the influence of marketing. The marketing machine is now a topic of discussion. Slowly, marketing is starting to be assessed as an important aspect of the museum's power apparatus due to the fact that museums in the twenty-first century use marketing as a tool to attract visitors. Marketing is now an important part of the museum as it is responsible for its survival.

Emma Barker, for example, comments on blockbuster exhibition shows and the innate commerciality and commoditization that occur on all levels within the museum. Thus, marketing is analyzed at the forefront of understanding the ways in which a blockbuster exhibition is staged (an all too familiar process of national museums today). In "Exhibiting the Canon: the Blockbuster Show," she defines the "blockbuster" as a highly publicized art exhibition that draws in thousands of people (much like the world's fairs of yesterday). Blockbusters are usually shown in two or three venues.¹⁰ Barker admits that many blockbuster exhibitions are criticized for their lack of academic content, catering to a vast public to make the most profit. She states, "we must address concern about the commercialization that the blockbuster exhibition represents; this includes the commoditization of art through the sale of souvenirs and the possibility that the demands

⁹ Fiona McLean, Marketing the Museum (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 40.

¹⁰ Emma Barker, "Exhibiting the Canon: the Blockbuster Show," Contemporary Cultures of Display, ed. Emma Barker (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999) 132.

of the business sponsor may take precedence over the host institution's own goals."¹¹ She also admits that the innate commerciality of the blockbuster is also fundamental to the museum's survival in today's profit-minded institution. She points to the fact that the lack of funding in the United States and Britain has required museums to supplement their income by managing exhibitions like the blockbuster as a business enterprise. Furthermore, the sponsors of these exhibitions are attracted by good publicity and this can be problematic when the sponsor has a questionable reputation (a controversial source of arts sponsorship in the States is Philip Morris, the tobacco company).¹² Barker concludes that while sponsorship is influential, marketing campaigns for blockbusters are the most instructive in representing the exhibition's content. Often, publicity for a show promotes the "once in a lifetime aspect." Hence, the attendee is attracted by the marketing campaign, much the same as an attendee to a theme park or shopping complex. "The exhibition itself constitutes a product to be sold."¹³ Further, as Barker admits, the blockbuster stresses souvenir sales and commodities that are inspired by the exhibition itself. In terms of curatorial voice, the blockbuster can compromise any critical understandings of art as the museum officials "fear antagonizing their business sponsors or other donors."¹⁴ Clearly, Barker's telling example of the commercial blockbuster aptly shows the influence of marketing in the museum and demonstrates the power of commercial gain within the gallery setting.

In a recent study, Nick Prior also analyzes the influence of commercialism and marketing in the museum. In "Having One's Tate and Eating It," Prior points to the fact

¹¹ Barker 127.

¹² Barker 131.

¹³ Barker 132.

¹⁴ Barker 133.

that within the postmodern arena, museums are forced to establish commerce as a driving force within their culture. His study examines a shopping mall installed in the Richelieu wing of the Louvre in 1993. Leonardo's Mona Lisa, the most widely recognized work in the Louvre's collection, was used as an advertisement to promote the mall which read "51 stores at her feet."¹⁵ With this construction and promotion, the experiences of art and consumerism are seamlessly united. As Prior points out, more and more museums are treating their buildings as commercial spaces in order to entice ever greater numbers of visitors. According to Prior, "The implication is clear: if culture is 'show business' then the art museum (or rather the museum 'experience') is one stage where the business of culture is unfolding in ever more concentrated ways."¹⁶ Museum marketing campaigns and souvenir sales contribute to the meaning of an exhibition. In the museum, all displayed objects become culturally significant. The art object as visual media is placed in a category with other mainstream media such as advertising (as stated above). Therefore, advertising and souvenir objects are powerful mediators of the art object to the viewing public.

This thesis, which will be informed by the literature cited above, will look at marketing as an important marker of museum power. Moreover, emphasis will be placed on the ways in which marketing permeates all systems of power within the museum (the curatorial voice, educational departments, sponsorship, and academic learning and resources). Marketing can also be responsible for the dissemination of information that

¹⁵ Nick Prior, "Having One's Tate and Eating It: Transformations of the Museum in a Hypermodern Era," Art and Its Publics: Museum Studies at the Millennium, ed. Andrew McClellan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 55.

¹⁶ Prior 55.

articulates a national identity through national institutions (a concern also to be addressed).

In addition, my thesis will draw on the work of Structuralist Marxist theorist Louis Althusser.¹⁷ Althusser's discussion of the ideological state apparatus is readily applicable to the museum, particularly national museums. While the museum appears at the surface to be a neutral entity, I argue that the museum can be seen instructively as an Ideological State Apparatus.

Althusser, expanding upon Karl Marx's theories of the repressive state apparatus and state power, proposed the model of the ideological state apparatus which functions as authoritarian power over the public domain. According to Althusser, Marx conceived the State as a repressive State Apparatus. "The State is a 'machine' of repression, which enables the ruling classes (in the nineteenth century the bourgeois class and the 'class' of big landowners) to ensure their domination..."¹⁸ Among the repressive state entities are the government, police, courts, prisons and army.¹⁹ Althusser builds on Marx's model by proposing that there is another series of entities wielding power: the ideological state apparatus.²⁰ The ideological state apparatus functions primarily at the level of ideology.²¹ Ideological State Apparatuses include churches, schools (public and private), cultural institutions (literature, the arts, and sports), communications (the press, radio and television) and trade unions, and the family among others. I propose here that the

¹⁷ Structural Marxism was a challenge to established practice in the social sciences of anthropology, psychology, and linguistics. This revision of Marxism was first disseminated by theorist Louis Althusser in the period after World War II. See Lewis S. William, Louis Althusser and the Traditions of French Marxism, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005).

¹⁸ Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," trans. Ben Brewster, Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971) 137.

¹⁹ Althusser 137.

²⁰ Althusser 144.

²¹ Althusser 145.

museum is also an ideological state apparatus. Althusser explains that “Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic.”²² Simply stated, ideology is the body of doctrine, myth, or belief that guides an individual. However, the ways in which ideology functions within the state is much more complicated. As theorist Paul Ricoeur argues, Althusser takes Marxist theory as seen in Lenin’s State and Revolution, and addresses the fact that the state is not “merely a structure of coercion.”²³ Ricoeur concentrates on the two entities of state power that are distinguished (the repressive and ideological state apparatus) and concludes that, “we have to join two ideas: a state functions not only by power but also by ideology, and it does so for the sake of its own reproduction.”²⁴

As Ricoeur explains, Althusser’s ideology “is a system. It is a system of representation and it has a historic role...it plays a role in the historical process. It is part of the process of overdetermination.”²⁵ Theorist Steven B. Smith argues that Althusser’s concept of overdetermination, taken from Freud, decentres the subject from previous Marxist theory that defines ideology as a state of false consciousness. He states that, “Althusser’s attempt to remove the human subject from the centre of social inquiry has the added backing of Freudian psychoanalysis, according to which the ego, far from being a unified center of an autonomous self, is in reality “decentered” from the subject, lost in the impenetrable stream of the unconscious.”²⁶ Theorist Robert Paul Resch points

²² Althusser 145.

²³ Paul Ricoeur, “Althusser’s Theory of Ideology,” Althusser: A Critical Reader, ed. Gregory Elliott (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1994) 51.

²⁴ Ricoeur 52.

²⁵ Ricoeur 53.

²⁶ Steven B. Smith, Reading Althusser: An Essay on Structural Marxism (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984) 73.

out that in this state of the decentered subject, Althusser, “reaffirms the idea that the production of knowledge takes place in abstraction.”²⁷ Althusser’s reinterpretation of Marxist theory here proposes that “Ideology is a state of consciousness inscribed in material practice and existing within specific institutions and rituals for the reproduction of capitalist social relations.”²⁸

Althusser upholds that the subjects of ideological practices and rituals experience ideology as a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.²⁹ It makes up an illusion of what society believes to be real. In other words, society accepts an allusion to reality through an imaginary form, which is known as ideology. As theorist Paul Ricoeur argues, “ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material.”³⁰ Another layer to add to Althusser’s definition of Ideology is that “ideology reflects in the form of an imaginary relation something which is already an existing relation, that is, the relation of human beings to their world. It is lived as imaginary.”³¹ The Ideological State Apparatus, a product of the state, is attended by those who believe that they are freely able to discern meaning. They can be either aware or unaware of any authoritative ideology but the imaginary structure of ideological practice is a lived experience that is reinforced by the ideological apparatus in which the individual exists. To argue that the individual “is caught in an ideology is not sufficient; it does not change the situation.”³² The individual

²⁷ Robert Paul Resch, *Althusser and the Renewal of Marxist Social Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992) 160.

²⁸ Julian Holland and Gary Wihl, “Marxist Theory and Criticism: 2. Structuralist Marxism,” *The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism*, 2005, Mar. 18 2007 <http://litguide.press.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/view.cgi?section_id=130302#nr130302#nr130302alth>.

²⁹ Althusser 162.

³⁰ Resch 160.

³¹ Ricoeur 55.

³² Ricoeur 50.

subject is part of ideological world, regardless of whether he or she is aware of the overdetermination of the ideological state. Theorist Frederic Jameson defines Althusser's process of ideology "as a representational structure which allows the individual subject to conceive or imagine his or her lived relationship to transpersonal realities such as the social structure or the collective logic of History."³³ Resch's concise explanation of Althusserian ideology is also helpful here. He states,

In contrast to Science, ideology performs a ubiquitous social function, one that must be fulfilled in every society, including a socialist society, since in all societies men and women must be formed, transformed, and equipped to respond to their conditions of existence. This process of socialization requires a system of ideas, beliefs, and values by which men and women experience their world as a coherent whole and find their place within it as subjects.³⁴

In terms of the material addressed in this thesis, the pilgrimage to the museum site is a material engagement with ideology- that is an imaginary relationship made manifest. Ideology is experienced by visiting the museum site or virtually visiting through the web site. It then becomes a material journey through the museum's ideological message. In the national museum, the individual is placed seamlessly into the state ideological system. The individual turned Subject is the recipient of ideological indoctrination. This process, known to Althusser as *interpellation*, is integral to understanding the museum environment and to discovering the impact marketing maintains within this interpellation process.

Althusser defines "interpellation" as a hailing or calling that transforms individuals into social subjects. "Ideology hails or interpellates individuals as subjects.

³³ Frederic Jameson, The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 30.

³⁴ Resch 206.

...ideology has always-already interpellated individuals as subjects.”³⁵ Ideology hails us, or to use Althusser’s term, “interpellates individuals as subjects.”³⁶ Ideology encompasses our whole existence. Even those individuals that believe they are outside ideology are, in fact, within it. “What really takes place in ideology seems therefore to take place outside it.”³⁷ Althusser surmises, “ideology has always-already *interpellated* individuals as subjects, which amounts to making it clear that individuals are always-already *interpellated* by ideology as subjects... individuals are always-already subjects.”³⁸ In other words, the individual is born into the ideological considerations of their country. As Resch explains, “...we are born, and we are marked by the interpellation process even as we emerge from the womb.”³⁹ We are products of the practices and rituals of our ideology as we exist as subjects of two distinct categories, “(1) we are subjects with a free will and (2) subjected beings stripped of all freedom.”⁴⁰ The subjects can believe that they are not products of the ideological message of their environment, when in fact they are already *interpellated* into the ideological framework of society. Conversely, they can also be aware of the interpellation of the ideological practice but remain apart from ideological construction. This structure ensures that there is an “absolute guarantee that the subjects recognize what they are and behave accordingly.”⁴¹ The national museum provides a key example of the state *interpellating* the individual. As this thesis argues, that process of interpellation is particularly evident in national museum marketing campaigns, advertising and web-sites.

³⁵ Althusser 175.

³⁶ Althusser 175.

³⁷ Althusser 175.

³⁸ Althusser 176.

³⁹ Resch 210.

⁴⁰ Resch 210.

⁴¹ Resch 210.

Undoubtedly, the museum itself is a powerful ideological interpellator, but the overlooked process of ideological hailing is the marketing process within the museum. While we can agree that the individual is born into the ideological implications of societal ritual and experience, we can also conclude that another layer of interpellation occurs with the dissemination of marketing materials on site at the museum as well as outside of the museum. In other words, the individual is not only interpellated by the ideology of the museum's message, but also by the marketing campaign that defines the exhibitions within the museum walls. I argue that the individual is always, already interpellated by marketing concerns. This is true even though the individual believes that the marketing campaign is outside of the museum's ideological concerns. In fact, marketing indisputably is interpellating the individual. This is another layer of ideological interpellation that functions within the museum sphere. There are always ideological considerations being presented and reiterated within the walls of the museums and outside in the forms of marketing campaign and marketing material. It is not always overtly presented within the museum, as we shall see, but concealed. What is important here is that national ideology is always overtly and inadvertently expressed through national institutions.

I argue in this thesis that the national museum functions as an Ideological State Apparatus in which visitors are interpellated as subjects of the Canadian state. As I will demonstrate, promotional material and marketing strategy in Emily and Lace Up, interpellate their audiences as Canadians.

In addition, this thesis will also draw on practical methods for information gathering. Empirical data collected will include exit polls, my own exposure to marketing

campaigns as well as interviews with staff members (marketing members within Emily and Lace Up). I also draw upon academic resources and marketing materials (pamphlets and press kits) provided by the institutions to complement the information collected through the empirical data (attendance figures, budget costs, demographics of attendees) and the interview process (The interviews of marketing representatives I conducted from the Museum of Civilization and the National Gallery).

In Chapter One, I delve into the history of marketing within the museums. I define what marketing is as well as its place within the museum and specifically Canadian national institutions. Advertising, gift shops, and memberships will be shown to all be facets of marketing strategy. I argue that the marketing process affects all avenues within the museum environment.

In Chapter Two, I analyze the Museum of Civilization's Lace Up. I use theoretical research and interviews to assess the importance tourism marketing maintains within the exhibition. National stereotypes and the making of national identity will be clearly addressed. I will also show the power of outside tourism on the exhibition and analyze the marketing strategy of the Museum of Civilization.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the case study of the National Gallery's exhibition Emily. As in the preceding chapter, I use theoretical research to assess the importance and success of *Emily*. Drawing on exit polls and an interview with a marketing representative, I outline the National Gallery's marketing strategy for the exhibition to ascertain the clear marketing strategy and curatorial vision. I analyze the power of the blockbuster exhibition and examine the impact of the commercial venture within the exhibit.

Marketing, up until now, has been overlooked as a powerful influence within the cultural world of the museum. It affects every aspect of the museum itself and yet, quite often, museum professionals and academics overlook the impact of commerce within the cultural sphere. This thesis argues that marketing needs to be considered as an important component of the museum. Further, marketing can change the meaning of the exhibition space. It can affect curatorial vision and the experience of the visitor. When souvenirs become the commodity of an exhibition, marketing can sometimes even overshadow the actual objects on display. Clearly, within the postmodern epoch, marketing is the voice of the museum and, in the case of the national museum, marketing can become an ideological tool that defines national identity.

Chapter One:
Marketing, Advertising Campaigns and Demographics in Canadian National Museums

Publicity is effective precisely because it feeds upon the real. Clothes, food, cars, cosmetics, baths, sunshine are real things to be enjoyed in themselves. Publicity begins by working on a natural appetite for pleasure. But it cannot offer the real object of pleasure and there is no convincing substitute for pleasure in that pleasure's own terms.

John Berger, Ways of Seeing

Today, marketing strategies and advertising are crucial concerns for all museums.

Publicity is needed to maintain popularity for the museum, an institution that is perpetually competing with private enterprises and spectacles such as malls and hockey arenas. Within that broader consumerist milieu, marketing practices are interwoven into all aspects of the museum enterprise: advertising, exhibition pamphlet and catalogue dissemination, retailing, website applications and museum membership. In this chapter, I wish to demonstrate the ways in which marketing plays a critical, if not underestimated role, in the advancement of the museum's mission and message. I will argue that marketing is central to the museum's construction of national identity and that marketing practices and promotion define the museum's communication of nationalism. This chapter will clearly define marketing and marketing practice within the museum as well as provide case studies which directly reference National Museums in Canada.

I will begin the chapter with a discussion of concise marketing definitions as well as an overview of various characterizations of museum and art gallery visitors in Canada. Museum elitism and the so-called "Disneyfication" of the museum sphere through commercial promotion will also be discussed. Through the elucidation of marketing practice and promotion as seen in case study examples, it will become clear to the reader that marketing is part of a powerful apparatus in defining nationalism. This is distinctly

articulated through advertising, souvenir distribution, and website dissemination. While this thesis focuses on explicit marketing practice, what I also want to imply is that marketing practice reaches most divisions of the museum and is therefore an influential purveyor of Canadian nationalism.

I will close this chapter by discussing the construction of Canadian identity. This section will prepare the reader for the next chapters which will provide pertinent case studies of the National Gallery of Canada and the Museum of Civilization. This segment will further the credence of museum marketing practice as a mediator of nationalism through the exhibition sphere.

What is Marketing?

Marketing encompasses a vast array of processes and practices that allow for the promotion of a product or service with the intent of either selling that product or enticing the consumer to use a specified service. While the practice of marketing in the museum world will be defined, it is also important to outline marketing as an evolutionary process with its roots in the corporate and commercialized world. Marketing, although used in the application of non-profit organizations, is most definitely, at its center, a process concerned with the selling and promotion of an item for consumption. Because the museum sphere is not a corporate venue, it is important to analyze the ways in which marketing is defined in the commercial world as well as summarize marketing practice both in the corporate world and museum world. Before we define the departments and practical practices of marketing in the museum, it is helpful to further define marketing in a theoretical and practical context. A generic definition of marketing offered by Neil

Kotler and Philip Kotler in their substantial publication manual for museum professionals, Museum Strategy and Marketing. Designing Missions, Building audiences, and Generating Revenue and Resources is an advantageous starting point. According to the Kotlers,

Marketing, is at its core an exchange process between those who seek a product or service and those who can supply that product or service. It is formally defined as 'a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating, offering and exchanging products of value with others.'¹

This definition aptly summarizes the exchange process that must occur when marketing practice is set into motion. In other words, the client or consumer seeks the product or service and the marketers give it to them. Within this definition there is also a substructure that the authors outline. In short, at least two parties need to be involved in the marketing process (each offering something of value to the other). An example of this in the commercial world would be the way in which the consumer wants the product and then pays for the product and the distributor benefits through revenue. The parties must each be capable of delivering their half of the exchange while they are both free to accept or reject an offering.² Finally, "each party believes it is appropriate and desirable to deal with the other party."³ The Kotlers extend this definition to both commercial and non-profit marketing which broadens the scope of marketing process. They state that within this organization model whether we find a business producing consumer goods or a law firm offering legal services, or an art gallery or museum offering exhibitions or education, the same result should occur: the institution should be able to meet the needs

¹ Neil Kotler and Philip Kotler, Museum Strategy and Marketing. Designing Missions, Building Audiences, Generating Revenue and Resources (San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1998) 59.

² Kotler and Kotler 59.

³ Kotler and Kotler 59.

of the consumer (the client or visitor).⁴ They conclude that marketing, with a few specifications made within the art gallery format, should and can be linked with the museum's overall mission.⁵ In other words, the Kotler's marketing manual argues that the commercial marketing process can be adapted to the museum where a marketing message can incorporate the mission of museum. Ultimately, the Kotlers argue for the marketing-led process as opposed to a product based market-led process in marketing the museum. Put simply, marketing should reflect the mission of the museum and advertise the way in which museum professionals present exhibitions instead of using a product-based campaign where supply and demand can potentially alter the message of the exhibition. Therefore, the authors believe that it is possible to stress a marketing message without solely appropriating a commercial agenda. However, in this model there is still a reliance on the service (visiting the museum) as well as the product (admission to the property and sale of souvenirs) which reflects the influence of corporate marketing. What is important in this example is that marketing, at its base, relies on commercialism as instituted in the corporate model. Therefore, marketing will always be influenced by private sector practice.

While the Kotlers' definition is broad in its scope in that the authors define the relationship between the consumer and the products, marketing theorist Fiona McLean's example of marketing is a bit more focused. McLean integrates the notion of product exchange with marketing the mission of the museum. She uses the definition of marketing theorist, Peter Lewis, to reflect the concerns of marketing in the museum. Lewis states, "Marketing is the management process which confirms the mission of a

⁴ Kotler and Kotler 60.

⁵ Kotler and Kotler 60.

museum or gallery and is then responsible for the efficient identification, anticipation and satisfaction of its users.”⁶ With this definition we can see that the museum marketing practice stresses its collection as the product which draws the visitor to the gallery space. “The museum is resigned to the stasis of the collection, and somehow the public should be interested in it, and wish to visit.”⁷ While the author stresses the collection, the practice of marketing in the museum sphere is related to commercial concerns. Museum marketing, adopted out of the need to raise vital funding for institutions faced with decreased financial aid⁸ often subscribes to a sales based marketing schema opposed to production based. In other words, personal selling (souvenirs in the gift shops, and dining in the museum restaurant), advertising (print ads, commercial spots on television and radio, brochures, catalogue distribution) or sales promotion (attendance sales, tourism trade) are stressed in order to bring in large crowds to fund the institutions. These practical marketing practices become the basis for the museum marketing apparatus.

Under the umbrella of the marketing department of a museum institution, we find promotions, sales, print and commercial advertising, web-site advertising, tourism, and gift shop and restaurant revenues. While the categories heretofore listed are directly related to sales (revenue and attendance), it is important that the other current of the marketing apparatus, namely its focus on the collection, is reflected in the direct marketing of the mission of the museum. Marketing in the museum, although born out of the private sector strategy, is also about advertising the mission of the museum in its commercial advertising. So, while sales are stressed, the mission of the museum is also

⁶ Philip Lewis, quoted in Fiona McLean, *Marketing the Museum* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 47.

⁷ Fiona McLean, *Marketing the Museum* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 40.

⁸ McLean 37.

marketed as a message within the marketing campaigns for exhibitions. These processes can not only directly generate revenue for the museum but can also provide the prospective visitor of the museum with a marketing-led advertising campaign which “[links] the purpose of the museum to the potential users of the museum.”⁹

At this point, the complexities of the marketing umbrella are expressed. To directly define the marketing apparatus within the museum, it is important to both define the marketing-led process and the market-led marketing practice that can both function in the marketing divisions of the museum. In other words, the market-led marketing strategy is the method by which the marketer finds out what people want and gives it to them. This is a commercial method, based on private sector marketing that privileges the product (a consumer good to be bought). McLean argues that this process is “inappropriate when the purpose is of a social nature.”¹⁰ On the other hand, McLean points out that the marketing-led process links the mission of the museum to potential visitors of the museum. According to McLean, the museum cannot cater to the public by the example of for profit “market-led” organizations but needs to adapt its marketing campaign to a not-for-profit process.¹¹ To understand the marketing apparatus, one must understand that marketing “acts as the medium of communication between the producer satisfying the need, and the consumer whose need has been expressed (or has been anticipated).”¹² However, recent trends suggest that it is becoming more and more evident that the museum or art museum is still trying to market itself directly as a commercial entity out of the need to raise funding in the institution.

⁹ McLean 41.

¹⁰ McLean 41.

¹¹ McLean 41.

¹² McLean 43.

How does the museum avoid the product based approach and satisfy the museum visitor? McLean argues that “marketing is ‘commercialization’ only when the goal is to commercialize, or where the goal is not clearly pursued and becomes distorted.”¹³ She also concludes that “rather than put revenue performance before the needs of visitors, in the long term, revenue performance will depend on marketing responding to the needs of the visitors.”¹⁴ This is not necessarily a practical approach when dealing with retailing, web-site dissemination or tourism advertising as these categories deal with selling the experience in a fashion so as to entice the visitor to attend an exhibition. According to McLean, ideally the marketer must then use the marketing apparatus to inform the museum visitors of what the museum has to offer in order to achieve the overall goal of the museum. However, it is not always possible to institute a marketing-led advertising campaign. This is particularly true in the face of large scale exhibitions.¹⁵

It becomes apparent that there is debate about the ways in which the marketing apparatus should function within the museum. Both the Kotlers and McLean directly speak to the marketing-led application as the best process to follow in the case of museum marketing. However, it can be argued that whether or not this process is in fact possible, the key observation here is that marketing directly mediates the ways in which the viewer understands the exhibition and the museum itself, otherwise the debate would not exist. In other words, both the Kotlers and McLean are concerned with the ways in which marketing campaigns are led within the museum sphere as the effect of these campaigns directly impacts the way the message of the exhibition is expressed. Therefore, the marketing apparatus is a powerful messenger of exhibition meaning, and,

¹³ McLean 45.

¹⁴ McLean 45.

¹⁵ See the case study example of the Barnes Exhibit blockbuster exhibition.

as I will argue in subsequent chapters, the apparatus is responsible for providing powerful messages about the museum itself (in national institutions, marketing processes create an image of national identity).

To what demographics are the museum marketing teams directing their campaign to? At this juncture, it is beneficial to define the attendees of museum exhibitions in Canada in an effort to outline the demographic that museum marketers see as influential in providing revenue to museums. In March 2003, the Canadian Museums Association conducted a survey of Canadian museum visitors (carried out by TeleResearch inc.). The survey, Canadians and Their Museums: A Survey of Canadians and Their Views about the Country's Museums, summarized the responses of 2400 Canadians from coast to coast. Its purpose was "to determine the awareness that people have of Museums in their community, and to share their views about what these institutions reflect about this country's cultural and historical heritage."¹⁶

Some of the findings within the survey are of interest to the discussion of the museum as an entertainment entity. "70% of respondents go to Museums for the combined purposes of having an educational experience, as well as being entertained."¹⁷ "The Combined 'experience' is expressed by 81% of those visiting local Museums one to five times, and of 78% of those visiting more than five times."¹⁸ "Of those who had accessed a Museum web-site, 44% actually followed up with a visit to the Museum itself."¹⁹ This includes "74% of those under 18 years of age."²⁰ This web-site visit (and

¹⁶ The Canadian Museums Association, Canadians and their Museums: A Survey of Canadians and their views about the Country's Museums (Ottawa: TeleResearch Inc., 2003) 3.

¹⁷ The Canadian Museums Association 6.

¹⁸ The Canadian Museums Association 6.

¹⁹ The Canadian Museums Association 8.

potential website purchase) becomes a substitute for the museum experience until that time when the virtual attendee or consumer can patronize the institution. This shows the importance that is now placed on the virtual experience and the publicity and marketing strategy used to entice the visitor to spend money or visit the institution.

To further understand who the museum visitor is, we can look directly at the National Gallery of Canada's visitor profile which was compiled during the 2004-2005 calendar year. [Figure 1] This diagram defines the age of the visitors that visit the art gallery. The categories (by percentage out of 100) are as follows: 24 and under: 17%, 25-34 years old: 19%, 35-44 years old: 16%, 45-54 years old: 18%, 55-64 years old: 17%, 65+ years old: 13%. The average mean determined within this diagram is 44 years old. In this diagram, we see that the age group with the highest percentage of visits to the National Gallery is the 25-34 year old age group, and thus defines the parameters of the largest visiting body to the gallery. What is not clear here, are the spending habits and educational levels of the attendees, which is not indicated within the exit survey.

The Canada Council for the Arts further defines the museum demographic. In 2003, the Canada Arts Council retained Hill Strategies to conduct a thorough survey of museum attendees in Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces. "The report analyzes the attendance of Canadian at various types of museums, including: public art galleries; science, technology and natural history museums; general, human history and community museums; and commercial art galleries."²¹ In this survey, a breakdown of income groups and attendance rates is indicated. [Figure 2] Table 1 indicates that museum and art gallery attendance increase progressively with income. We

²⁰ The Canadian Museums Association 8.

²¹ Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces, Research Series on the Arts, Hill Strategies Research Inc., vol. 1, no. 3, (March, 2003) 2.

can see that in the any museum category that those reported in the less than \$20000 per annum group account for 21.8% of attendance population versus a 48.6% attendance indicated for those attendees with \$80000 per annum. There is also a correlation with education. Table 2 [Figure 3] demonstrates that Canadian museum attendance rates increase with education, with over half of Canadians who have completed at least a bachelor's degree (53%) visiting a museum during the survey year. This is nearly three times the attendance rate of those who have not completed high school. Finally, it is worth noting that those individuals that frequent the museum are also likely to volunteer within their communities, attend other art festivals or concerts and participate in sports.²²

The survey concludes that the crossover attendance of museum goers in festivals, volunteer activities and sports shows that arts marketers should target attendees of other types of events. The survey also concludes that "the high level of volunteer participation clearly indicates that volunteer development strategies should target museum and gallery visitors."²³ This points to a marketing-led process which seeks out attendees who would be interested by the mission of the museum that is marketed to them at art related or community based events. The visitor then wants to be motivated by the mission of the museum in order to visit exhibitions. Marketing is a clear avenue to motivate that individual to attend an exhibition.

While the results of the surveys indicate that the mission of the museum is part of the allure of marketing campaigns to entice the visitor to attend an exhibition, there are sales driven initiatives present in advertising agendas. It becomes apparent that this

5. ²² Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces, Research Series on the Arts,

5. ²³ Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces, Research Series on the Arts,

pursuit of marketing the museum's purpose to an audience in a way to meet their needs is not easily facilitated without the sales driven component of advertising. Advertising is a strong component within the marketing apparatus with the practical applications of advertising felt in souvenir distribution, web-site applications and attendance figures.

Advertising and Its Implications: The Case Study of the Barnes Exhibit

Advertising can be defined as any paid form of non personal presentation and promotion of products, services, ideas, persons, or organizations by an identified sponsor. Advertising can add value to a museum's efforts in several ways: as a long-term buildup of the museum's image (institutional advertising), a buildup of a specific collection or exhibit (product advertising), the dissemination of information about a particular event (classified advertising), or an announcement of a new membership drive (promotional advertising).²⁴

This basic definition elucidates the process of institutional advertising, product advertising, classified advertising and promotional advertising. Again, these procedures point to the powerful process of marketing endeavour. To understand how the practical application of advertising is enacted, it is helpful for us to look at a typical large scale advertising campaign, in this example, a blockbuster exhibition, undertaken by the BCP advertising agency for the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO).²⁵ In 1994, the Barnes Foundation Exhibition, a selection of works from the collection of Dr. Albert Barnes which included artworks by Renoir, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Picasso and Monet²⁶ was mounted at the AGO. Due to its potential for large scale attendance, the advertising support from the BCP agency was considered to be crucial to the success of the entire exhibition. The allocation of funds from the AGO and government was \$1 million

²⁴ Kotler and Kotler 220.

²⁵ Elizabeth Addison, Frank Comella, Aldona Satterthwaite, Sherri Somerville, Marlene Hore, Bruce Mau and Lee Jacobson, "Art Gallery of Ontario: The Barnes Exhibit," Canadian Congress of Advertising (1995) 1.

²⁶ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 2.

dollars.²⁷ The first step of the advertising campaign was to “de-mystify the exhibit,”²⁸ through classified and product advertising, focusing on the event itself thus “creating a face for the Barnes exhibit that would be engineered through the use of multiple executions in variable-sized print advertising, transit, television, direct marketing and public relations.”²⁹ One aspect of the “de-mystified exhibition” was the imposed simple title, “The Barnes Exhibit.” Originally, the title was to be called, “From Cézanne to Matisse: Great French paintings from the Barnes Foundation.” This was shortened following the focus group testing that suggested the title was “counterproductive in the broad consumer market that had to be reached.”³⁰ Further simplifications occurred in classified advertisements. While submitting ads to The Globe and Mail, The New Yorker, New York Times and The Toronto Star, the “strategic decision” was made not to show any of the art from the exhibition in print ad form. The rationale behind this was that focus group results indicated that “still life people are less inclined to like ‘nudes’ and vice versa.”³¹ To add to this justification, was also the pragmatic consideration of whether or not the artwork reproduced in black and white would entice the visitor to visit. The broad-based market advertising classified ads were also placed in The Toronto Star to attract those segments of the population who would not usually attend an art gallery exhibition. Due to the advertising success, “The Barnes” was the “hottest ticket in town.”³²

²⁷ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 3.

²⁸ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 2.

²⁹ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 2.

³⁰ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 3.

³¹ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 3.

³² Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 3.

The event was stressed as a “limited time only” event (as many blockbuster exhibitions are advertised) so that product advertised excitement about the opportunity afforded by the exhibition’s limited run in Toronto from September 17, 1994 to December 31, 1994 was emphasized. The organizers of the advertising drive also wanted to have visitors buy their tickets 3 months in advance to generate revenue as well as excitement. As indicated in the Canadian Congress of Advertising, John Bentley Mays, then visual art critic for The Globe and Mail, wrote in 1994,

Heavy ticket sales, and the general gotta-go buzz one hears everywhere around town nowadays suggest that the AGO’s media campaign has been a brilliant success. It’s the real masterpiece here, certainly a cut above most of the paintings on display, and a darn sight more thrilling.³³

This clearly shows the ways in which market-led advertising can outshine and can simplify the message of the exhibition. In an age of financial pressure within art institutions, it is not surprisingly that the marketing campaign reflected within the Barnes Exhibition is stressed. After all, part of the mandate for the exhibition, (set by the government for the Barnes exhibition) was to spend advertising dollars outside of the Toronto region to bolster the tourism trade. This outside advertising budget was very successful in drawing revenue as an “estimated 60% of the Barnes Exhibit visitors were outside the Metro Toronto area. Hotels in the area were heavily booked, “registering over the 42000 room target.”³⁴ The AGO’s retail sales were also higher than projected (the average person spent \$12). The reason for the higher sales (as the Canadian Congress of Advertising report indicates) was due to the fact that the attendees “treated the show as

³³ John Bentley Mays, quoted in Elizabeth Addison, Frank Comella, Aldona Satterthwaite, Sherri Somerville, Marlene Hore, Bruce Mau and Lee Jacobson, “Art Gallery of Ontario: The Barnes Exhibit,” Canadian Congress of Advertising (1995) 4.

³⁴ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 4.

an event to be remembered with merchandise-much as they would at a rock concert.”³⁵

This marketing campaign is reflective of the growing trend in art gallery and museum centers to stress big exhibitions in order to attain revenues. Moreover, it demonstrates that museums are obligated to stress themselves as entertainment in an effort to maintain their success. It is clear in the Barnes Exhibit example that institutional advertising, product advertising, classified advertising and promotional advertising allowed for its great success. Clearly, the power of these practical marketing processes defined the exhibition and even articulated a marketing message of its own.

Elitism, Branding and Marketing the Museum

Perceptions of marketing in the museum world have typically been coloured by a conventional Modernist hierarchy in which high culture of the museum is elevated above the popular. This has particularly been the case in art museums but it also impacts other museums. Museums were separated from marketing and commercial enterprise by the museum professionals to maintain the status of museums as high culture. Even today, marketing can be perceived as something that soils the curatorial voice of an exhibition.

Marketing theorist James B. Twitchell comments on the debate. He argues that in order for the “Museumworld” to survive, the institutions must embrace branding of their name. According to Twitchell, branding, a commercial process of marketing in which the institution promotes its name in a fashion typically adapted by corporate entities, is already in operation in non-profit institutions in order for those institutions to compete in the entertainment arena and against other non-profit organizations. Although, the concept of branding is necessary, museum administrations have, in the past, sought to ignore the

³⁵ Addison, Comella, Satterthwaite, Somerville, Hore, Mau and Jacobson 4.

marketing brand. They have thought that museums are of a higher calling, they don't sell a product but are temples of culture to enlighten the public. To brand and advertise was to create a "dumbing down" of the museum. While it may be argued that marketing simplifies the message of museum exhibitions in an effort to draw in greater attendance, the process of advertising and branding is unavoidable. Twitchell concludes, "If you want to increase your competitive advantage and up the gate and fund-raising, you are going to have to separate yourself, tell a story and establish a brand, or your neighbor nonprofits are going to squeeze you out of the market."³⁶ This message of embracing market branding is being heard in the twenty-first century world. The former elitism of the museum as temple is not necessarily reflective of the ways in which museums function in today's climate. According to Fiona McLean, "In the annals of museum professionals' journals, marketing is no longer a dirty word; it is now accepted as a fundamental aspect of a museum's organization."³⁷ Marketing is a necessary tool used by the museum as we indeed inhabit a truly visual realm in which everything is marketed to a public, be it an art exhibition or a hockey game. This again demonstrates the power that museum marketing yields over the public and the museum itself. It forms the message of the museum and imparts this message to the publics of the institutions. In competing in the entertainment arena the discourse of the museum is relegated to the marketing campaign adopted.

³⁶ James B. Twitchell, Branded Nation: The Marketing of Megachurch, College, Inc., and Museumworld (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2004) 230.

³⁷ McLean 37.

Competing with the Entertainment Industry: Art Historians and Marketing Theorists Speculate on the Inherent Problems

Not only do museums face competition from the public sector, but they also face competition from the private entertainment arena even, as shown earlier, cross-over audiences can be mutually beneficial for a number of cultural institutions. Within the public sector, sister public institutions (those museums or cultural events that are affiliated with larger public institutions) are not viewed as competition although they directly compete for the same patrons, members and visitors.³⁸ Within private enterprise, commercial entertainment arena such as theme parks, theaters, sports arenas, restaurants, exercise, gardening, and being a coach-potato directly compete with the museum experience.³⁹

In Museums and Popular Culture, Kevin Moore assesses the validity of the museum's competition with the private sector entertainment facilities. He asserts,

For if museums seek to compete directly with other forms of leisure activities on these grounds alone [leisure activities and entertainment] they risk being caught in a race they cannot win. Museums cannot compete head-to-head with Disneyland.⁴⁰

Besides the obvious pitfalls of becoming something purely entertaining rather than educationally or aesthetically fulfilling, Moore asks the reader to question if the general public would even pay theme park prices for museum admission. He argues that the museum, in pushing itself to compete with commercial entertainment, ceases to be museums.⁴¹ He then concludes that we must "defend museums as publicly beneficial

³⁸ Kotler and Kotler 69.

³⁹ Kotler and Kotler 69.

⁴⁰ Kevin Moore, Museums and Popular Culture (London and Washington: Cassell, 1997) 19.

⁴¹ Moore 22.

institutions *as* museums.”⁴² The value of material culture within museums (“collecting, documenting, preserving, exhibiting and interpreting material evidence and associated information”⁴³) needs to be stressed. “For museums are not museums if they are not centrally about material culture.”⁴⁴ So, the marketing strategy involved here is less product and more amenity based. In other words, what must be communicated to the public is that the museum has unique resources and that the museum serves as a critical resource to the public. The critical resource “is the expertise in collecting, documenting, preserving, exhibiting and interpreting material evidence.”⁴⁵ Moore terms this marketing of the critical resource as the USP (unique selling proposition) or, “what museums offer to the customer or user that no one else can.”⁴⁶ Moore states that museums have not stressed enough of their difference from other forms of leisure activity. Further, the museum, in marketing itself as a product in competition with commercial enterprises and spectacles, has confused the public and, as a result, has forced a defeat in their respective marketing campaigns. “We need to identify and stress to the public the benefit of museums, not to choose our public benefit first, and then alter the museum to suit, to a point where it is no longer a museum.”⁴⁷ Moore makes a convincing point while assessing the traditional meaning of the museum as institution. However, while upholding the traditional values of the museum, Moore fails to see the impact marketing, advertising and branding maintains within the post modern museum. Again, it is impossible to divorce the museum from the marketing apparatus. To change the way a

⁴² Moore 23.

⁴³ Moore 23.

⁴⁴ Moore 23.

⁴⁵ Moore 25.

⁴⁶ Moore 25.

⁴⁷ Moore 26.

museum or exhibition is viewed is to address the marketing agenda as the exhibition is seen through that message.

In Marketing the Museum, Fiona McLean also comments on the troubles of marketing of museums. She explores the problems of museums of competing with commercial entertainment. She states that “Disneyfication,” the process of entertaining, as implemented by the Disney theme park model, which emphasizes fun over education in an effort to win more museum visitors, is forcing the museum to assume what she considers to be a less satisfactory role. In other words, the museum loses its knowledgeable and critical resource power and lessens its educational authority by creating solely popular entertainment. “Enjoyment relegates education to second-class status, with museums positioning themselves as emporia of pleasure, an alternative to the theme parks.”⁴⁸ She concludes that the solution to this dilemma is to stress the uniqueness of the museum experience. “A museum communicates with the visitor through presentation; the juxtaposition of objects with other objects; through interpretation; use of media; and creation of atmosphere.”⁴⁹

Another concern in the museum sphere is the way items and merchandise define it. Art Historian Sanford Sivitz Shaman addresses the consumerism now involved in the public art world.

[...]many of our major museums have in recent decades embraced the role of entertainers through proliferation of the blockbuster, which has come to assume a profile closer to that of a well-marketed Broadway musical than that of a forum for educational activity and spiritual refreshment.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ McLean 27.

⁴⁹ McLean 27.

⁵⁰ Sanford Sivitz Shaman, “Education, Sunflowers and the New Vulgarly in Art Museums,” Museum, Media, Message, ed. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 100.

He contends that the public art museum panders to the societal trends of today-people consuming for the entertainment of the moment presented. This is a narcissistic need within consumer-based socialization. "Superproductions designed to attract millions, the commercialized, sensationalized blockbusters can be seen as having played a key role in furthering the public's perception of art as commodity."⁵¹ Shaman argues that there is a direct correlation between rising commercial art market prices and the blockbuster. Namely, the reproduced exhibition paraphernalia (such as poster reproductions of artworks) raise the monetary value of the work.

This is very intriguing as the public museum is presented like a commercial entity driven to outsell its competitors and increase supply and demand. Shaman uses the pertinent example of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute, headed by Diana Vreeland in the 1980s⁵² which associated its exhibitions with international sales campaigns at Bloomingdales to promote a new consumerist elite.⁵³ Here, the public exhibition takes on a new meaning, aligned with a market-led advertising campaign so that the commoditization of the art object is paramount, a fashionably consumed item which influences the buying of the end product: the perfume. Most importantly, the souvenir replaces the art object, the perfume is the experience: the art object is secondary. The art object's participation is to promote the replacing of itself or the art experience by the souvenir. An interesting conclusion, and yet, with the advent of the blockbuster and the conglomeration of the commercial art world and public realm with market-led

⁵¹ Sivitz Shaman 100.

⁵² Sivitz Shaman 102.

⁵³ A great example of this was using Chinese Imperial Robes for promoting Yves Saint Laurent's perfume, Opium in 1980. See Madhu Suri Prakash and Sanford Sivitz Shaman, "Museum Programs: Public Escapism or Education for Public Responsibility?" *Art Education*, vol. 41, no. 4 (Jul., 1988): 16-24, 41-43.

advertising, the souvenir found in the art gallery or museum can perhaps supercede the artwork's power.

Souvenirs and Websites: A Piece of the Exhibition

"Opportunity Analysis," a process that requires museums to look for other sources of revenue besides their attendance figures, requires institutions to promote the gift shop, not only for increased sale potential, but for advertising the image of the museum. According to the Kotlers, "Museum images can be communicated by the merchandise sold in the museum shops."⁵⁴ The museum's brand image and logo design on promotional items such as T-shirts can serve as a way to look at the museum as a beneficial experience. Website applications for retailing as well as advertising also increase recognition of the institution in the public sphere. There is also a strong reliance on museum retailing to complement the exhibition space.

A great example of souvenir production and marketing campaign success is The Royal Ontario Museum's April 1991 marketing campaign. Because of the drop in attendance at the ROM in the early nineties, the museum was forced to reposition itself in the public eye. The advertising agency, Geoffrey B. Roche Partners Advertising, constricted by a low advertising budget of \$800 000, decided to stress what the museum had to offer in its permanent collections.⁵⁵ Their strategy "was to take advantage of this incredibly diverse product range [the museum's interesting collections] that appealed to both the mind and the emotions and present it in a way that was new and unexpected."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Kotler and Kotler 137.

⁵⁵ Trilby Bittle, Andy Macaulay, Geoffrey B. Roche, Chris Harrison, Paul Ruta, Jim Ranscome, and Allan Goldman, "Royal Ontario Museum Campaign," Canadian Congress of Advertising, (1993) 1.

⁵⁶ Bittle, Macaulay, Roche, Harrison, Ruta, Ranscome, and Goldman 3.

The media used included small newspaper advertising as well as banners in transit shelters, unique ten-metre long snake ads which ran overhead in the interior of subway cars, mural advertising and superboard advertising. The marketing campaign was so successful that the snake ad poster that was placed in subway cars was subsequently sold in the ROM gift shop. The snake ads sold out which was amazing due to the fact that the giftshop sold the posters for \$50 per copy.⁵⁷ The success of the print ads then gave the museum further income in the gift shop while, at the same time, drawing in the visitors that were required. The marketers concluded that the campaign succeeded “because it delivered fun, memorable messages at high frequency levels. People wanted to see the ads and then see the original items at the Museum.”⁵⁸ For the full fiscal year the attendance figures went from 407900 to 484800⁵⁹. This demonstrates the success of the advertising campaign coupled with the draw of the souvenir.

With the success of retailing, many museums have opened satellite gift shops in urban shopping malls to promote their museum offerings in product form.⁶⁰ Another place of interest is the airport shopping areas which are growing into urban shopping places. The satellite gift shop is exemplified by The Philadelphia Museum of Art satellite shop in the Philadelphia airport. [Figure 4 and Figure 5] Here, we see that only commercial wares, reproductions of artworks or other kitsch type items are available for sale. What is more problematic is that the commercial venue (divorced from the art institution) functions as a replacement for the gallery itself, if one has not been able to attend the institution. Further, some of the wares on sale have nothing to do with the

⁵⁷ Bittle, Macaulay, Roche, Harrison, Ruta, Ranscome, and Goldman 4.

⁵⁸ Bittle, Macaulay, Roche, Harrison, Ruta, Ranscome, and Goldman 5.

⁵⁹ Bittle, Macaulay, Roche, Harrison, Ruta, Ranscome, and Goldman 4.

⁶⁰ Kotler and Kotler 92.

actual works of art on show at the gallery (an example would be the Mona Lisa mug available to be bought). This type of opportunity for financial capital could be assessed as a problematic museum strategy but it appears that few find issue with the satellite shop. This also points to the newfound prevalence of the private sector within the museum shop merchandising endeavour.

There are several museum private industry souvenir and novelty shops. The Museum Shop, a commercial enterprise by the private sector, has stores located in urban shopping malls dedicated to fake artifacts and reproduced artifacts. (The Museum Shop, was one of the leaders in profit among the Gift, Novelty and Souvenir Shops within the United States⁶¹). The MuseumStore Company has also been successful (it was awarded Forbes best of the web directory).⁶² This web-based company, run out of Denver, Colorado, promotes its motto, "Est. 1997, Own a Piece of History...Give a Piece of History."⁶³ It advertises relics for sale which include Degas' *Dancer*, *'Petite Danseuse de Quatorze Ans'* for a nominal fee of \$68.00. They also offer ancient artifacts like a Sarcophagus (Coffin) of King Tutankhamen with a small King Tut inside for only \$42.00.⁶⁴

Museums now find the need to compete with ventures such as these. At the time of this examination, the Metropolitan Museum of Art maintained a website with commercial goods (the first museum shop to appear when looking at a search engine) as well as the Yale University Art Gallery Center of British Arts, MOMA (with the MOMA

⁶¹ Encyclopedia of American Industries, "American Industry Overview: Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Shops," (Farmington Hills: The Gale Group, 2006) 1.

⁶² The Museum Store Company, Jan. 15 2007
<<http://www.museumstorecompany.com/?gclid=CLuotrnrIoCFQ4HPwadc0GtvA>>.

⁶³ The Museum Store Company, Jan. 15 2007
<<http://www.museumstorecompany.com/?gclid=CLuotrnrIoCFQ4HPwadc0GtvA>>.

⁶⁴ The Museum Store Company, Jan. 15 2007
<<http://www.museumstorecompany.com/?gclid=CLuotrnrIoCFQ4HPwadc0GtvA>>.

store), The National Gallery of Canada (albeit one has to mail in a form to purchase items), The J. Paul Getty Museum, The Tate Modern and Tate Britain only to name a few. Apparently, commercial sales (regardless of whether the visitor actually set foot physically within the environment) are not consequential.

The commercial goods bought in cyberspace can replace the actual experience of the museum environment. This further complicates the relationship of art linked to commodity item. If the object bought from the museum shop is not actually representative of the museum visitor's experience, then the commodity item is valued over the actual physical experience of the museum. To the museum, the commercial venture is indeed profitable and that is the driving force of the marketing product campaign. So, the commodity item then oscillates as souvenir of the experience (a kind of memorial to the experience, at times a replacement for the experience) to total replacement of the experience (or non-experience as the would-be consumer of the commodity item has never experienced the museum space) with commercial property.

According to the Kotlers,

Studies show that typical visitors spend about ten minutes in a museum gallery and a total of about an hour in all galleries combined. They spend about an equivalent amount of time in gift shops and restaurants when such amenities are available.⁶⁵

If the visitor equally prioritizes the gift shop and restaurant with their time of contemplation of the museum, it is no wonder that the financial reward for museums outweighs any other concerns. Visitors look for and require sales products with the exhibition. It is a souvenir consumer-driven mentality.

⁶⁵ Kotler and Kotler 43-44.

As will be discussed in Chapter Two, Susan Stewart has theorized that the souvenir is central to the cultural notion of the 'authentic' experience.⁶⁶ Similarly, Charles Gordon exclaims in Canadian newsmagazine, Maclean's,

... we live in a souvenir society, a world in which everywhere we go, has to be commemorated, either by purchasing a souvenir of it, or recording it on videotape. As a result, we wind up being so busy buying and videotaping the things we do that we have far less time to actually do anything.⁶⁷

Can this statement explain the ways in which museum goers prioritize their time within the gallery? As James B. Twitchell surmises in his advertising critique, Branded Nation, "Shopping is what we have for modern pilgrimage. Sales are crusades."⁶⁸ This is interesting applied to the museum visit as the visitor is attracted to the exhibition not only because of the material goods but also because of the souvenirs.

Mike Featherstone, using the theories of Jean Baudrillard and Frederic Jameson summarizes the postmodern consumer and the postmodern society to which art, advertising, retailing and souvenirs belong. Within postmodern life, there is an

effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life; the collapse of the hierarchical distinction between high and mass/popular culture; a stylistic promiscuity, favouring eclecticism and the mixing of codes; parody, pastiche, irony, playfulness and the celebration of the surface 'depthlessness' of culture; the decline of the originality/genius of the artistic producer, and the assumption that art can only be repetition.⁶⁹

This repetition can be seen in the reproduction of art in souvenir form which is located in the museum's gift shop. Art and the art souvenir theoretically can be valued on equal terms, through the effacement of the boundaries of high and mass culture. One

⁶⁶ Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993) 133.

⁶⁷ Charles Gordon, "Christmas Shopping at the Beer Store," Macleans Vol. 104, Issue 50 December 16, 1991, (Business Source Complete Database: EBSCO Industries, Inc., 2007).

⁶⁸ James B. Twitchell, Branded Nation (New York: Simon and Shuster, 2004) 234.

⁶⁹ Mike Featherstone, Consumer Culture and Postmodernism (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991) 8.

celebrates the retail item as it represents the art, through mixing of codes: artistic genius combined with the 'surface depthlessness' of souvenir. This, in turn, represents the masterpiece of art housed in the museum. Within the museum, Featherstone's contention that postmodern consumer culture contains "the effacement of the boundary of art and everyday life," can be seen in the potential deterioration of the distinction between the exhibition space and consumer society. Further, the presence of the commercial (media, advertising, marketing strategy, and public relations) permeates the museum so that the power of those procedures is unavoidable. Jean Baudrillard refers to this destabilization. Culture effectively becomes free-floating. Culture is everywhere, mediating the social fabric and entering social relationships. This is defined as the simulational world, or the world in which 'reality' and image are obliterated in favour of an endless precession of simulacra.⁷⁰ It is with this diagnosis that we can assess the experience of the public museum within the postmodern climate of commercial endeavour. And yet, the inevitability of consumerism is also important to understand. To return to Twitchell's summation, "Shopping is what we have for modern pilgrimage. Sales are crusades"⁷¹ the consumerism inherent in any activity is unavoidable.

Marketing the Nation

According to the 2003 Canadian Museums Association visitors' survey, 97% of the people asked believe that museums play a valuable role in explaining our natural

⁷⁰ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), referenced in Featherstone 14-21.

⁷¹ Twitchell 234.

heritage.⁷² The Canadian Museums Association, an organization created for collective advancement of museums in Canada also asserts in its mission that, “The CMS believes fervently in a Canada where everyone can be proud of, involved in and have access to their heritage.”⁷³ Again, our heritage is stressed. With more than 2300 Canadian museums and related institutions under its wing this mission speaks for a very broad set of institutions. While cultural theorists such as Sharon J. MacDonald point out that the process of “radical transformation, fragmentation and disembedding”⁷⁴ in museums dislocates the museum from a nation state formulation, it can be argued that the organization of the museum still maintains a nineteenth-century structure. That is, the museum today is still concerned with the development and solidification of nation-states. That is not to argue that new identities (trans-national, hybrid community identities) have not also been perpetuated through national institutions.⁷⁵ However, the public clearly views the museum as a model from which a view of national identity is created. The public also requires the museum to provide an educational framework for an understanding of a community identity based on this perceived model. MacDonald asserts, “Museums, precisely because they have been so implicated in identity work and because of their more particular articulations with the kind of identities that are argued to be under threat, are significant sites in which to examine some of the claims of identity transformation.”⁷⁶ Because most exhibition goers expect the museum to represent

⁷² The Canadian Museums Association, “Passionate, Proud, Professional,” Strategic Plan 2003-2008, 3.

⁷³ The Canadian Museums Association, “Passionate, Proud Professional,” 1.

⁷⁴ Sharon J. MacDonald, “Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities,” Museum and Society, (2003): 1.

⁷⁵ In Chapter Two, I discuss the difficulty in representing national history in the museum. See David Dean and Peter E. Rider, “Museums, Nation and Political History in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization,” Museum and Society (Mar. 2005):35-50.

⁷⁶ MacDonald 6.

national heritage (as seen in the CMA survey) it can be argued that the museum space can represent the changing narratives of Canadian identity and therefore represent a new Canadian heritage.

Susan Ashley studies Canadian nationhood as seen through the museum in her paper, "State Authority and the Public Sphere: Ideas on the Changing Role of the Museum as a Canadian Social Institution." Ashley discusses the fact that the drive of Canadian museums towards "non-authoritative representation and inclusive participation has only been a recent concern for Canadian museums."⁷⁷ With the Multiculturalism Act of 1988, the government strove to define programs to support the cultures of new Canadians.⁷⁸ What did that mean to the Canadian museum? The basic problems in Canada is that material objects relating to First Nations are available in great quantity, while there is little supporting material goods that are representational of ethnic minorities. In the case of First Nations, the First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization is an excellent example of collaboration of management and curatorial power between aboriginal and CMC participants which was an 11 year process.⁷⁹ However, minority groups have not been able to collaborate on that process level.

As Ashley points out, one exhibition that was somewhat successful in representing minority group discourse was the Royal Ontario Museum's multimedia exhibition, The Underground Railroad: Next Stop Freedom which chronicled the urban experience of Black Slaves who escaped from the U.S. to Canada in the early 1800s. Its success was due in part to the collaboration between Historic Sites historians and project

⁷⁷ Susan Ashley, "State Authority and the Public Sphere: Ideas on the Changing Role of the Museum as a Canadian Social Institution," Museum and Society 3.1 (March, 2005): 8.

⁷⁸ Ashley 9.

⁷⁹ Ashley 11.

staff and African-Canadians who were invited to sit on the committee.⁸⁰ Although, the exhibition was created by the Department of Canadian Heritage in order to fulfill an obligation to represent African-American stories. This was in part due to the pressure of the U.S. government National Parks Service that was already planning exhibitions staged around the Underground Railway. The collaboration also occurred as a direct result of the controversy created by the Royal Ontario Museum's Into the Heart of Africa exhibit. This exhibition, which told the story of 19th century collecting by Canadians in Africa, was meant "to address colonial attitudes and interpret histories of minority groups not previously exhibited."⁸¹ African-Canadian groups protested the exhibition however and asserted that the exhibition presented a story of white people in Africa.⁸²

The success of exhibitions like The Underground Railroad: Next Stop Freedom points to the power of cultural sites to redefine Canadian Heritage. These exhibitions provide a national discourse for minority groups that are overlooked. However, more of these exhibitions need to be planned as part of the power apparatus of the museum curatorial process. Ashley discusses the fact that the imagining of "Canadian-ness" to be more inclusive as a slow-process. One of the only examples of a permanent visualization of multiculturalism in Canadian institutions is the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Chinese Laundry⁸³ and Ukrainian Church.⁸⁴ Ashley argues that these examples, while

⁸⁰ Ashley 12.

⁸¹ Ashley 9.

⁸² Ashley 9.

⁸³ This permanent exhibition at the Museum of Civilization recreates Chinese Laundromats which were established between 1900 and the 1950s. After the expansion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad was complete, many Chinese labourers sought out work in other parts of the country. However, due to socio-economic constraints and racial discrimination, many of these labourers established Laundromats as a permanent means of income. This exhibit incorporates artifacts from these Laundromats, in particular Ho King's Central laundry which was located in Winnipeg. <<http://search.civilization.ca/dwesearch.asp?showDoc=46770&page=1&resultsetToken=IKT000022332.1178772876&Lang=en&docType=>>.

noteworthy, do not necessarily reflect the true nature of these minority stories as troubling issues are omitted.⁸⁵

It is within this milieu that we also see marketing campaigns working in consort with the museum to define nationhood through the marketing mission of the exhibition. The public trusts the power of the museum to create a nation-state which defines Canadian heritage and also trusts the power of the marketing campaign that entices them to visit the museum. The power of the apparatus of the museum can only be best defined through the advertising campaign that directs the public to visit the museum. Therefore, with the educational departments and input of curators and members of the community, a powerful marketing campaign drives the museum's hegemonic discourse of learning as well as a national dialogue. It is vital to value the importance that the curatorial team coupled with marketing apparatus maintains in the public light.

The museum is a powerful promoter of an essentialized Canadian identity.⁸⁶ This, as will be argued, is clearly happening in retailing, web-site advertising, print advertising and television as marketing campaigns can simplify the nation-state of the museum sphere.

In the subsequent chapters, I will discuss the case study exhibition examples from the National Gallery of Canada and the Museum of Civilization. I will argue that Canadian nationalism is constructed through the marketing campaigns of those

⁸⁴ This permanent exhibition, located in the Museum of Civilization's Canada Hall, reconstructs the Ukrainian Church, St. Onuphrius from Smokey Lake, Alberta. The church, a symbol of permanence to immigrant Ukrainians who migrated to the prairies is meant to symbolize the cultural mosaic of Canada. <<http://search.civilization.ca/dwesearch.asp?showDoc=46771&page=1&resultsetToken=IKT000005978.1178773550&Lang=en&docType=>>>.

⁸⁵ Ashley 9.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2 and 3 Case Studies for examples of marketing souvenirs sold at Canadian National institutions.

institutions and I will discuss the authoritative power of those marketing campaigns. It will become apparent to the reader that marketing is part of an influential apparatus in defining nationalism.

Chapter Two:
Tourism and Nationalism in the Museum:
The Lace Up Exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (2006-2007)

We museologists all know what they [Disneyworld theme parks] are doing wrong, but what are they doing right when the attendance at Epcot, of Canadians alone is virtually the same as the total number of Canadians visiting all of the provincial and federal museums combined? (About 4.5 million Canadians per year)

George F. MacDonald, founding director and CEO of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, quoted in "Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective."

In this chapter, I will introduce the history of the Museum of Civilization (CMC) and the ways in which the museum has marketed itself, in part by promoting the museum as a preserver of Canadian identity. My discussion of marketing and Canadian identity will be informed by Louis Althusser's influential concept of *interpellation* as discussed in the introductory chapter. In terms of marketing practice, I will argue that the individual visitor to the museum is interpellated by marketing campaigns, materials and branding: these factors help convey the museum's message about Canadian identity. Lace Up, a 2006-07 CMC exhibition devoted to skating, will be addressed as a case study of marketing practice, issues of Canadian National identity, and the tourist commercial exhibition. Further, I will argue that Lace Up represents the ultimate commercial exhibition. Through its marketing campaign, souvenirs and advertising, a certain image of Canadian identity interpellates the museum visitor into a basic vision of national character. In other words, the ideology of Canadians as inhabitants of the north and the cold climate is promoted through the exhibition space of Lace Up. Further, the individual is led to believe that all Canadians skate and rejoice in the cold weather and part of being Canadian is being able to skate and enjoy sports such as hockey, a stereotyped image of Canadian nationalism.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that Lace Up provides the attendee with a stereotypical image of Canadian identity while the marketing campaign and distributed materials and souvenirs also construct an image of Canadian identity which interpellates the individual. Clearly, the marketing campaign interpellates Canadians into an essentialized vision of national character. Using the examples of the CMC, we see that, nationalist ideology is symbolically represented not only through the exhibition sphere but through marketing materials, campaigns and procedure. This is another material concern within the ideological apparatus. Does the public always recognize that our Canadian national identity is presented in museum marketing material which then defines the ideological concerns of a nation? This brings us to the key theoretical concern in our analysis of the marketing machine of the museum: Althusser's process of *interpellation*. The national museum is a great example of the ideological message of the state interpellating the individual in that, (particularly in national institutions) the museum provides a nationalist ideology and interpellates the individual through marketing campaigns, advertising and web site propagation.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization

Since its famous 1983 groundbreaking ceremony, when then Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau paddled to the site in a canoe dressed as a Voyageur, the Canadian Museum of Civilization (then the National Museum of Man) has been presenting and preserving Canadian heritage with dramatic flair. In 1986, already with a collection of more than the two million artifacts, the museum changed its name to the Canadian Museum of Civilization. According to the museum's former Director George MacDonald and

scholar Stephen Alsford, the name reflected an “implicit broadening of the museum’s mandate”¹ and to acknowledge the concept of the “global village.”² The new building was “acclaimed as one of the most sophisticated ‘intelligent’ buildings in the world, with a fibre-optic network, interactive laser disc and satellite broadcasting systems, and an IMAX theatre.”³ A so-called geoform structure designed by architect Douglas Cardinal, the museum’s “features... [are] drawn directly from the landscape and the forces of nature which shaped the landscape...” according to MacDonald and Alsford. The building complements its natural setting and design with the extensive use of new technologies.

MacDonald and Alsford state, the museum

...embodies many state-of-the-art technologies: from the evolution of its form within the ‘womb’ of computer’s memory, through its nourishment and protection by computer-controlled environmental and security systems, to its nervous system of fibre-optic cables.⁴

Since its opening, the building has been seen as a cutting edge museum space where sophisticated technologies could dazzle the public and represent the newest processes in world-class technologically advanced museum display. At the same time, the architecture was meant to symbolize, “Canada’s landscape at the end of the ice age. Water cascading down stepped waterfalls, flowing along the edge of the Grand Hall, and finally finding its way to the river is a reminder of the streams created by glacial melt.”⁵

¹ George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, A Museum for the Global Village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989) 4.

² The global community is then added to the ideology of the museum and projected through the mandate of the museum which is seen up to the present day.

³ Christy Vodden and Ian Dyck, A World Inside: A 150 Year History of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Gatineau, Québec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005) 79.

⁴ MacDonald and Alsford, A Museum for the Global Village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization 5.

⁵ George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, The Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1990) 21.

In short, its design features two key symbolic elements: nature as a marker of Canadian national identity and technology as a sign of Canada as a forward-moving nation.

Architect, Douglas Cardinal, too, contributed to the rhetoric of nationalist symbolism. Cardinal regularly recounted that he had conceptualized the design for the museum while in a traditional Aboriginal sweat lodge near his home in Stony Plain, Alberta.⁶ The ritualized burning of prairie sweetgrass within the “rounded, trap covered dome of the lodge,”⁷ was described by Cardinal as the impetus for his twenty-minute description of the museum in the sweat lodge as well as his descriptions of “its social mission and architectural forms.”⁸ Cardinal concluded that the visionary ritual was “one of the most intense rounds in the lodge he had ever experienced.”⁹ This vision, as viewed through Native myth, adds to the nationalist ideology surrounding the building. The Canadian Museums Construction Corporation (the entity responsible for judging competition submissions for the CMC building) picked Cardinal’s design due to the fact that it was the only design that “seemed Canadian.”¹⁰ In effect, the museum appropriated Cardinal’s Aboriginal iconography as a signifier of Canadian nationhood. Former Director George MacDonald concluded that, “the museum is destined to become as much a symbol of Canada as the venerable Château Laurier...”¹¹ He also adds that, “Cardinal created a living artifact. It makes statements about Canada’s past and present that are

⁶ Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1989) 85-86.

⁷ Boddy 85.

⁸ Boddy 86.

⁹ Boddy 86.

¹⁰ Boddy 86.

¹¹ MacDonald and Alsford, The Canadian Museum of Civilization 23.

¹¹ Boddy 95.

highly appropriate contexts for the cultures presented within the building.”¹² Ultimately, the design is seen as a landscape mythically transformed. “Cardinal chooses the tectonics of geology, the mythic tales of natural genesis...”¹³ Therefore, the allusion to natural glacial configurations in the Canadian wilderness reinforces the notion of Canada as a great expanse of northern landscape. In turn, we see that this landscape is part of national pride and national ideology which proved to be successful in attracting visitors.

In the six months immediately following its opening, the CMC welcomed close to one million visitors.¹⁴ Although the attendance figures were substantial at this time, the recession of the 1990s was difficult for the museum. In 1990, the new federal Museum’s Act¹⁵ established the Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation and “marketing and business plans became essential facts of life.”¹⁶ The importance of renting out space for catered events, attendance fees, the IMAX theatre, in-house boutiques, restaurants and parking fees were imperative for the museum’s survival. In effect, the museum has functioned as a big business entity since 1990. Memberships have also been an important money maker for the museum. Memberships were introduced in September 1994 and have grown in their importance as well as methods of attracting patronage.¹⁷ In 2006, “The Capital Museum’s Passport” was made available to the public which attracted

¹² George F. MacDonald, A Museum for the Global Village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989) 3.

¹³ Vodden and Dyck 79.

¹⁴ The Museum’s Act of 1990 allowed for museums in Canada to function as corporations. Part of the Museum of Civilization’s establishment in the Museum’s Act is the right to “charge for goods, services and admission and use the revenue obtained therefrom for its own purposes,” and “operate restaurants, lounges, parking facilities, shops and other facilities for the use of the public.” “The Museum’s Act,” <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/showdoc/cs/M-13.4/bo-ga:l_I-gb:s_7/en#anchorbo-ga:l_I-gb:s_7>

¹⁵ Vodden and Dyck 80.

¹⁶ Today, the museum sells a total of 12000 memberships annually, quoted in Vodden and Dyck 80.

tourist populations and local Ottawa area inhabitants to the CMC as well. The passport, which cost \$30 per person or \$75 for family of five provided the holder with the ability to visit “10 of Ottawa’s diverse museums”¹⁸ including the CMC. With such promotions, the CMC announced itself as a business and a key tourist destination.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization Mission and Mandate

The CMC prides itself on attracting a wide and diverse audience through its entertaining and technologically-oriented exhibitions and special events. On average from 1999 to 2005, 68 % of visitors were Anglophone, and 32% were francophone. 26% of visitors reside in the National Capital Region; 47 % were Canadians from other parts of the country; and 27 % were international tourists.¹⁹ Again, we see that the majority of visitors to the CMC are Canadian. Indeed, I will argue that a visit to the CMC has become something of a nationalist pilgrimage. From its architecture to exhibitions and souvenirs, it interpellates visitors as Canadians. In the CMC’s Summary of the Corporate plan, it defines its external and internal environments in detail, acknowledges its valuable role preserving Canadian nationalist identity:

The CMCC (The Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation) can help convey and develop a sense of Canadian identity by preserving, interpreting and presenting Canada’s heritage through its exhibitions and programs. One of the Corporation’s fundamental obligations is to act as custodian of part of our collective heritage. Central to that role is the responsibility to preserve and present objects and related information, making them widely accessible for study and display. By connecting Canadians to their particular heritage, as well as to

¹⁸ Ottawa Tourism, *The Great Ottawa Getaway*, (November/ December 2006) 7.

¹⁹ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, “Museum Visitors,” *Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation: Summary of the Corporate Plan: 2006-2007 to 2010-2011* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2006) 10.

aspects of world heritage, the Corporation helps to strengthen the social fabric of the country.²⁰

The CMC's mandate, reflecting the Museums Act, states that "...the heritage of Canada and all its peoples is an important part of the world heritage and must be preserved for present and future generations."²¹ The Museum of Civilization Corporation's purpose is "to increase throughout Canada and internationally interest in knowledge and critical understanding of and appreciation and respect for human cultural achievements and human behaviour."²² Under this mandate, the museum prioritizes the collection, permanent exhibitions and traveling exhibitions as a means of supplying information to the public. It is very successful in attracting attendees. The museum has averaged 1.4 million guests visiting the site annually over the past 5 years.²³

The CMC's Exhibitions, Marketing Campaigns and Advertisements

A great deal of the museum's Canadian focus is provided by the permanent exhibitions including the Grand Hall, the Canada Hall and the First Peoples Hall. But blockbuster exhibitions have also been stressed by the CMC in order to bolster attendance to the site. In 1998, the CMC produced its first in-house blockbuster, The Mysteries of Egypt which "set an attendance record of almost 700 000 visitors during its ten-month run."²⁴ The Mysterious Bog People touring exhibition which opened in December 2002 also proved to be a blockbuster exhibition with 315 000 visitors during its nine-month showing. In

²⁰ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, "Internal and External Environment," Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation: Summary of the Corporate Plan: 2006-2007 to 2010-2011 (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2006) 9.

²¹ The Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, "Presented to the Board of Trustees," Special Examination Report (Gatineau: Museum of Civilization Corporation, March 2006) 4.

²² Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, Presented to the Board of Trustees 4.

²³ Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation: Presented to the Board of Trustees 6.

²⁴ Vodden and Dyck 84.

2003, Ancient Treasures and the Dead Sea Scrolls had 100000 visitors in its first four months prompting the museum to extend some of its hours.²⁵

Throughout its various programs, the CMC Corporation has demonstrated that it knows how to market its exhibitions to the public. The museum's marketing campaigns, along with its successful exhibitions, points to the fact that entertainment is paramount in the creation of the exhibitions mounted at the CMC. For The Mysteries of Egypt exhibition, for example, an IMAX film was produced by National Geographic which highlighted the rarity of this display. By successfully advertising the exhibition through the IMAX presentation, attendance to both the IMAX and the exhibition space increased proving that the exhibition was a commercial success. Another commercial triumph was The Mysterious Bog People exhibition. The campaign poster featured a mummified human skull with the caption underneath, "Rituals and Sacrifice in Ancient Europe." In examples like these, the museum sensationalizes its exhibition to draw in audiences. The Dead Sea Scrolls, another exhibition that enjoyed commercial success, presented "the early history of the Jewish people through artifacts and references to one of the world's best-known documents: the Bible...It also [drew] upon recent archaeological discoveries, historical research and the analysis of scriptural sources."²⁶ Clearly, the campaign for The Dead Sea Scrolls was a commercial endeavour. It was also heralded as "a once in a lifetime" experience. The marketing campaign poster for this exhibition read, "Behold!" reminding the visitor of the religious aura that the scrolls and objects held and, by association, the aura of the museum. Clearly, the CMC is providing the audience with an

²⁵ Vodden and Dyck 84.

²⁶ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ancient Treasures and the Dead Sea Scrolls <<http://www.civilization.ca/expo/ex01e.asp?ExID=266>>.

entertainment experience and the marketing campaigns here interpellate the individual to make the pilgrimage to the museum as both entertainment facility and site of spiritual or intellectual edification.

Another important area the museum has focused on is its website accessibility.

To make the museum accessible to all people across Canada, the museum has an extensive website which is visited by millions of users annually from all over the globe.²⁷ The site holds an online catalogue of the Museum library and archives and includes 308000 entries with the collection database having over 186000 artifacts online.²⁸ The web-site is also home to various Web-casts. *Iqqaipaa*, an exhibition of Inuit art which coincided with the inauguration of Nunavut, had a live Webcast of the exhibition's opening ceremonies and a guided online tour.²⁹ As Christy Vodden and Ian Dyck indicate in their book, A World Inside: A 150 year History of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, millions of people visit or use the resources of the Museum via the web-site. They conclude "it has truly become a 'museum for all Canadians' and, indeed, one for the wider world."³⁰ The fact that the museum has such a high volume of visitors to its web-site, more even than the 1.3 million people who visit the actual museum site every year,³¹ is proof of the success of marketing its web-site and providing its image online. Moreover, the fact that the web-site claims that it is accessible to all Canadians is a clear promotion of a certain Canadian identity.

²⁷ Vodden and Dyck 84.

²⁸ Vodden and Dyck 84.

²⁹ Vodden and Dyck 84.

³⁰ Vodden and Dyck 87.

³¹ Vodden and Dyck 87.

The Museum's current slogan, coined in 2007, *The Canadian Museum of Civilization: Your Country. Your World. Your Museum*, is featured on the web-site, at the site, and on other marketing material. It suggests that every Canadian should see themselves through the eyes of this institution. Whether the visitor can make the pilgrimage to the site or not, the message of being Canadian by participating in the CMC experience is communicated through the marketing promotional brand and campaigns. The brand stresses that visiting the site is patriotic as the CMC belongs to all Canadians. The draw of the slogan is unmistakable: To be Canadian is to participate in the pilgrimage to the CMC. The brand also stresses the global village, *Your World*, so that the visitor is satisfied that the museum can also provide the exoticism of the outside. Moreover, the use of direct address ("your") implies that the individual is being hailed or, in Althusser's term, interpellated directly as a potential visitor to the museum and, as such, as a Canadian.

The CMC's Founding CEO and Director George F. MacDonald openly acknowledges the importance of "packaging" the museum. In his article, "Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society," MacDonald states that "all museums are, at the most fundamental level concerned with information: its generation, its perpetuation, its organization, and its dissemination."³² He argues that how and what museums do with this information will either attract audiences or not. In other words, the packaging of the product (the exhibition and educational museum experience) should be accessible to the public. He argues, "Education and entertainment may be viewed as two

³² George F. MacDonald, "Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society," *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992) 160.

forms of packaging.”³³ Again, MacDonald refers to the packaging (marketing and commercial industry) as a means to speak to visitors. He concludes by stating, “Museums alone cannot create a sense of cultural identity. The media and entertainment industry have much more impact here... the importance of museums to the future development of society lies not merely in their role as repositories of information. It is also in how they use that information to create understanding;...”³⁴ It appears that marketing defines the actual museum exhibition site. It can be argued then that MacDonald is fully aware of the power to interpellate the museum visitor.

When the CMC’s new building and reconfigured identity was established in 1989, market segmentation was an integral part of museum exhibition planning, as well as the inception of educational programs and facility plans. In other words, understanding the demographics of the potential market for the museum (income level groups, educational levels, and language requirements) dictated the way in which the museum was constructed. The CMC also labels visiting groups as part of its program of market segmentation, in order to understand the visiting audience’s intellectual needs. The differentiated labels of the market are referred to “streakers,” “strollers” and “students.”³⁵ As MacDonald explains, streakers are those visitors with little time” typically they do not read labels or visit sub galleries.³⁶ The Grand Hall³⁷ and History Hall³⁸ were designed to

³³ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 160.

³⁴ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 162.

³⁵ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 166.

³⁶ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 166.

³⁷ The Grand Hall, located on the first level of the CMC, showcases the cultural heritage of the Native Peoples of Canada’s West Coast. Each of the Hall’s six houses presents an Aboriginal community living in coastal British Columbia, and features exhibits punctuated by artifacts and imagery. The Grand Hall < <http://www.civilization.ca/visit/cmcpermanente.asp>>.

³⁸ History Hall, now named Canada Hall is located on the first floor of the CMC and boasts more than 3000 square feet of exhibition space. It recounts the Canadian history of French and English settlement and the relationship of European newcomers as well as immigrant groups. ‘Life-size settings of buildings

awe those visitors and give them an impression of history and the main themes of those exhibitions without requiring in depth reading or time –consuming viewing. “Strollers” in contrast, take in labels and audiovisual presentations. Finally, “students” are visitors who come to the museum with a strong interest in exploring particular topics in depth.³⁹ This cross market analysis is still important today in exhibition planning at the Museum of Civilization along with exit survey results, age group preferences, tourist expectations and school curriculum programs. MacDonald does not hide the fact that museums are integrating marketing strategy into their planning (overtly in the Museum of Civilization) so that they achieve the ticket sales they need to survive. He advocates the incorporation of market analysis and marketing campaigns in the exhibition experience as means to create a museum experience which caters to all museum audiences. He argues that audiences need to have museum resources available for further study but “without overloading visitors with information.”⁴⁰ Further, he argues that social needs, are important and therefore, lobbies, salons, shops, theaters, restaurants, and hall rentals are important considerations for the museum.⁴¹ MacDonald’s allusion to information as possibly being overwhelming to some can be criticized, particularly those who need to have all information presented in academic rhetoric. Exhibitions that are light on information and impressive in size are designed with “streakers” in mind. MacDonald uses Bob Kelly’s survey profile of the new museum visitor who rejects “low-tech,

and environments from the history of Canada are reconstructed, furnished with appropriate artifacts, and often animated by actors.’ Canada Hall <<http://www.civilization.ca/hist/canp1/canpleng.html>>.

³⁹ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 167.

⁴⁰ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 168.

⁴¹ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 165.

interpretive technologies that employ academic jargon with which they have no familiarity,”⁴² to justify the simplification of the exhibition sphere.

When the CMC was in its planning stage, many commercial arenas outside of the museum were assessed, in MacDonald’s words, “to analyze their successes and failings and to seek inspiration,”⁴³ including Disney theme parks. MacDonald advocates the adoption of techniques and technologies used by Disneyworld but when they are adopted in Museum world, he argues that an infusion of museum content should be implemented. The Children’s Museum in the CMC is one example of Disneyworld meeting Museum world.

MacDonald’s 1988 article, “Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective,” published in the museological journal *Muse*, addresses the criticisms leveled in the marketing and presentation of the CMC’s exhibitions. MacDonald begins his article by addressing the museologists criticism of popular culture.⁴⁴ Museologists have argued that Disney, the theme park giant, is the personification of popular culture and, as MacDonald explains, it is therefore seen as “ersatz, phony, trivial.”⁴⁵ However, MacDonald sees Epcot centre, a world showcase theme park in Disneyworld, Orlando, Florida as an important model for museologists upon which to base processes of exhibition display. While Epcot takes its lead from past World Fair display tactics, MacDonald puts forward the stats on Epcot in the article stating that the world pavilions in Epcot center provide the viewer with an artifact experience in that the museums branch personnel of Walt Disney Enterprises travel the world to sign up exhibits of national treasures. He cites the

⁴² MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 169-70.

⁴³ MacDonald, “Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society,” 170.

⁴⁴ George F. MacDonald, “Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective,” *Muse* 6, no.1 (April 1988): 27.

⁴⁵ MacDonald, “Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective,” 27.

exhibitions, The Treasures of the Forbidden City in the Chinese Pavilion and the Mayan Treasures of the Museum of Anthropology in the Mexican Pavilion in Epcot as examples of national treasures on display that even the Metropolitan, the Louvre and the CMC would want in their collections.⁴⁶ When MacDonald wrote this article in 1988, he envisioned museum directors and professionals vying for national treasures that have already been snatched up by Disney. It is interesting that the answer for MacDonald to raise attendance in the CMC was taking a cue from Epcot's display processes. To argue his position further, MacDonald points to the credentials of curators who claim to be official researchers of culture, are not necessarily sound interpreters. He argues that curators are mostly 98 percent Euro-Americans and their knowledge is secondhand. He states, "[Scholarly anthropological databanks]... are... a 'replica,' an 'image' of another culture. They [curators and researchers] have never been cultural participants and will never have the credibility of 'the real thing.'"⁴⁷ In the twenty-first century, with the many debates of New Museology addressed, MacDonald's approach may be questioned, but what is important here is that although MacDonald is arguing against limited cultural knowledge, his solution to this problem in exhibition display can be seen as problematic. He points to the fact that Epcot chose to have foreign nationals work at their pavilions. He concludes that "they went for 'the real thing.'"⁴⁸ While he does see some problems with the employees of Epcot (their elevated social class, youth and single status does not necessarily represent their respective countries) but he still argues that "their mannerisms, accent, physical look and intimate knowledge are impressively authentic compared to their museum counterparts who are often both unconvincing and pedantic to the

⁴⁶ MacDonald, "Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective," 28.

⁴⁷ MacDonald, "Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective," 29.

⁴⁸ MacDonald, "Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective," 29.

visitor.”⁴⁹ Are the foreign nationals working in this kind of World Fair type pavilion really ‘the real thing?’ Undoubtedly, this kind of display of foreign nationals can be compared to the late nineteenth century World Fairs that Tony Bennett described as sanctioning a particular world view. It is interesting that MacDonald argues that this presentation is the ‘real thing.’ And, what does that mean to the CMC? His debate becomes more challenging when he argues that the environment of Epcot (the replicated buildings from other countries) is more impressive than the real thing. He states,

To all this I can say that my very best slides of the Temple of Heaven were taken under sunny Florida Skies, and I show them in preference to those I took of the real thing later in Beijing under leaden skies and years of neglect during the cultural revolution.⁵⁰

Following MacDonald, the CMC has continued to privilege exhibition design that caters to the “stroller.” It is also not surprising that now the museum shops, restaurants, IMAX and catering facilities are marketed heavily to the museum visitor as the Epcot influence is felt within the walls of the CMC. I am not going to argue that the museums need not worry about revenues or generating income, it is just an interesting point that the CMC is overt in their status as a corporation unlike other museums.⁵¹ What is imperative to analyze at the CMC is the fact that the marketing campaigns also overtly subscribe to a Disneyesque appeal. The brand created this year, *The Canadian Museum of Civilization: Your Country. Your World. Your Museum*, appeals to mass audiences in part by personalizing the nationalist experience of attending the museum. As the CMCs marketing manager, Julie Marion has stated, “We are aware and we like to work towards

⁴⁹ MacDonald, “Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective,” 29.

⁵⁰ MacDonald, “Epcot Centre in Museological Perspective,” 29.

⁵¹ See Chapter Three analysis of the National Gallery.

the fact that this belongs to all Canadians and all Canadians should be invited to see all we have to offer here.”

The Inherent Problems with the Presentation of a Nation's History at the CMC

According to historian Fiona McLean, the challenge for museums, at the national level, “...[become] one of reconciliation and of promoting national integration within the plurality and diversity of identity.”⁵² The authority implicit within national institutions like the CMC demonstrates that the very process of staging exhibitions and displaying national artifacts, “authenticates”⁵³ and “present[s] identities through the presentation of heritage.”⁵⁴ Clearly, the national museum represents the social and political agenda of the society they represent. Because of the authority the national museum maintains, the CMC has definitely been taken to task on its display and interpretation of national culture and identity. The History Hall, now The Canada Hall, was criticized after its opening for gaps in Canadian History. The hall was criticized as it omitted important events such as the conquest of New France in 1759-60 and the rebellions of 1837.⁵⁵ The lack of artifacts in the exhibit spaces and the emphasis on reconstructed environmental settings was also scrutinized. Although the hall was later completed to include these historical events and with scholars suggestions and the name of the hall was changed to Canada Hall (a more inclusive title), the museum was still condemned by the commercial press. According to historians David Dean and Peter E. Rider, at the end of the 1990s the conservative press

⁵² Fiona McLean, “Museums and National Identity,” *Museum and Society*, 1. 1-4. (Mar 2005): 1.

⁵³ McLean, “Museums and National Identity,” 1.

⁵⁴ McLean, “Museums and National Identity,” 1.

⁵⁵ David Dean and Peter E. Rider, “Museums, Nation and Political History in the Australian National Museum and the Canadian Museum of Civilization,” *Museum and Society*, vol.3. no.1(Mar 2005):36.

(particularly The National Post and The Ottawa Citizen) pointed out the shortfalls in the permanent exhibition. These shortfalls included the museum's lack of effort to tackle tough issues in Canada's history and "political correctness."⁵⁶ While the commercial articles were not necessarily well researched, they swayed public opinion. The public was led to believe that the museum was not being presented with a "comprehensive overview of Canada's history."⁵⁷ This situation was coupled with the academic debate about the study and teaching of Canadian History. At the forefront of this debate were prominent scholars such as J.L. Granatstein author of Who Killed Canadian History? and University of Toronto political historian Robert Bothwell.⁵⁸ The debate centered on the museum's Canada Hall and its presentation of national history, which critics contended emphasized social history over political history.

The CMC proved to be interested in the opinions of scholars as well as public opinion. Robert Bothwell was appointed to the museum's Board of Trustees and Granatstein was also later appointed as the Director of the Canadian War Museum.⁵⁹ In 2002, the first Curator of Political History was appointed,⁶⁰ proving that political history would be more at the forefront in The Canada Hall. In addition, a panel of academic historians were hired to assess The Canada Hall, revealing the push of the commercial press to readdress Canadian history storytelling. Part of the reexamination of the hall was the added text panels that provided more information on the exhibitions. Historians Dean and Rider conclude that the injection of politics into The Canada Hall has "irreversibly changed both the interpretation of Canadian history at the CMC and the mandate of its

⁵⁶ Dean and Rider 38.

⁵⁷ Dean and Rider 38.

⁵⁸ Dean and Rider 38.

⁵⁹ Dean and Rider 38.

⁶⁰ Dean and Rider 38-39.

historians.”⁶¹ Undoubtedly, the hall has been somewhat changed to reflect “diversity on the one hand, and contentious issues on the other.”⁶² However, as Dean and Rider indicate, a grand national historical timeline for a nation is a difficult undertaking. To display such a history is also a challenge given the medium of expression. Dean and Rider conclude, “Compared to some other media, exhibitions are blunt instruments, unable to convey certain highly nuanced ideas or complex concepts effectively.”⁶³ In other words, exhibitions cannot pack in historical information the way in which history texts do. Further, the artifacts represented in an exhibition only simulate the experience of history rather than replicate lived experience. The national institution also has to mediate conflicting narratives as seen in proponents of differing views on national history who argue for one official national history. Therefore, as Dean and Rider argue, the national museum’s permanent exhibitions will “lag somewhat behind contemporary historical and political priorities, and they evade the kind of moral and political certitudes that critics on all sides demand.”⁶⁴

In the case of The Canada Hall, Canada’s history is distilled and simplified. In terms of the CMC’s authority to transmit the nation’s history, we see then that the museum identifies a nationalism that is not necessarily reflective of a culturally distinct nation. As I discussed in Chapter One, sites of permanent displays of ethnic groups only appear in limited quantities at the CMC. The CMC undoubtedly “authenticates” a nation’s history, but only within the “safe” narrative of Canada’s history. This simplified rendering of Canada’s past, creates the fodder for stereotyped truths and ideology of the

⁶¹ Dean and Rider 44.

⁶² Dean and Rider 44.

⁶³ Dean and Rider 44.

⁶⁴ Dean and Rider 45.

Canadian identity in the museum. This message is then seen in commercialized marketing processes. As “ideology is a state of consciousness inscribed in material practice...,”⁶⁵ the ritual of going to the museum, viewing the exhibition and then purchasing commercial goods, interpellates the individual, whether as viewer or buyer. Hence, the exhibition’s original ideology (in the case of Canada Hall it is a passive retelling of Canada’s history) indoctrinates the viewer into a Canadian identity. This is particularly problematic when faced with commercially scaled exhibitions like Lace Up, as we shall see, because the stereotypical national character represented in the exhibition interpellates the Subject into a simplified version of Canadian identity. This Canadian identity is presented by the ideological truths that claims all Canadians skate, all Canadians enjoy the cold, all Canadians participate in winter sports and that they all support a marketing campaign in which commercial icons such as moose, beavers and hockey pucks represent Canada.

CMC’s Exhibition Lace Up: Marketing and Souvenirs

The exhibition, Lace Up: Canada’s Passion for Skating, was on view at the CMC from January 27, 2006 to April 1, 2007. Lace Up was thematically centered on “the integration and diffusion of skating sports throughout Canadian society.”⁶⁶ The exhibition was very successful for the CMC. Over a 15 month run, it attracted more than 210 000 visitors.⁶⁷ Bianca Gendreau, curator of the exhibition, wanted “not to examine the

⁶⁵ Julian Holland and Gary Wihl, “Marxist Theory and Criticism: 2 Structuralist Marxism,” The John Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism <http://litguide.press.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/view.cgi?section_id=130302#nr130302#nr130302alth>.

⁶⁶ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Lace Up: Canada's Passion for Skating 10 June 2007 <<http://www.civilization.ca/expo/ex01e.asp?ExID=284>>.

⁶⁷ Metro Ottawa, “The Lace Up,” (March 28 2007) 3.

individual histories of figure skating, speed skating, or hockey, but rather to approach skating as a whole, examining its evolution, its transformation, and its establishment in Canada.”⁶⁸ Through the history of skating, it becomes apparent that the exhibition focuses on Canadian national identity as seen through the sport. Held in conjunction with “Winterlude,”⁶⁹ the National Capital Region’s annual winter festival, Lace Up was clearly designed to attract tourists. According to CMC Marketing Manager, Julie Marion, the CMC worked closely with the National Capital Commission (NCC)⁷⁰ which oversees Winterlude⁷¹ activities. According to Marion, “We partnered over a period of two years... two Winterlude seasons...so we had the opportunity to get more return on investment that way because we would cover two Winterludes.”⁷² The marketing campaign for Lace Up included commercial spots, print ads, as well as special advertisements on the canal. The TV spot, which aired on CBC (with the audio version aired on Radio Canada), was also used on the canal site and appeared as an advertisement before IMAX presentations in the CMCs IMAX theatre.⁷³ During Winterlude, the commercial spot was aired on the Winterlude ball on the canal near the NAC. This

⁶⁸ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Lace Up: Canada's Passion for Skating 10 June 2007 <<http://www.civilization.ca/expo/ex01e.asp?ExID=284>>.

⁶⁹ Winterlude is an annual winter festival which takes place in Ottawa, Ontario every February. Amongst the biggest draws of the festival is to skate on the Ottawa canal which holds the title of ‘the longest skating rink in the world.’ 10 June 2007 <http://www.canadascapital.gc.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16297-16298-22877&lang=1>.

⁷⁰ The National Capital Commission was created by parliament in 1959 to act as an executor of federal lands and buildings and to build the capital region into “a course of pride and unity for Canadians.” “The NCC’s mandate includes: coordinating the policies and programs of the Government of Canada respecting the organization, sponsorship or promotion by federal departments of public activities and events related to the National Capital Region (NCR); and approving the design of buildings and land use, as well as any changes in use relating to federal lands in the NCR.” 10 June 2007 <http://www.canadascapital.gc.ca/bins/ncc_web_content_page.asp?cid=16302&lang=1>.

⁷² Julie Marion, “Transcription of Interview with Julie Marion,” June 20, 2007 (Gatineau: Museum of Civilization) 4.

⁷³ Marion 4.

marketing strategy was successful in that the Winterlude participant would skate by the installation while on the canal. The commercial that was projected on the wall had a captive target audience as the viewers were already happy to be skating on the longest skating rink in the world. Moreover, the patriotism reflected in the commercial was a key interpellator to the viewer. The exhibition was also touted as patriotic through the commercial spot so the skater on the canal would feel that the visit to the CMC would also reinforce a national pride. For the tourist viewer, the “once in a lifetime” experience of skating on the canal is also a key motivator in continuing the experience in the museum.

The commercial is actually an interesting extension of the Canadian nationalism felt within the walls of the exhibition. In the exhibition space the last text panel of Lace Up includes a basic definition of Canadian Nationalism through the sport of skating. Gendreau’s text panel states, “Head for the Ice. Skating is our sport. We have adapted it to our geography and climate. It has become part of our lives: Whether we are athletes, amateurs or spectators. Six million Canadians lace up their skates each year. Be one of them.”⁷⁴ The text expresses a sense of Canadian camaraderie while, simultaneously, in its use of first person plural (“we”) hailing or interpellating skaters and potential museum visitors as Canadians.

The commercial also stresses the association between sport and Canadian identity with a pithy rhyme spoken over panoramas of skaters in a stereotypical northern climate of Canada. A soft feminine voice reads the rhyme,

From handmade skates to custom fits, from soft fur muffs to woolen mitts, from
ankle length skirts to official gear, from backyard rinks to player of the year, ,

⁷⁴ Bianca Gendreau, “Text Panel from Lace Up,” The Canadian Museum of Civilization, January 27, 2006- March 4, 2007.

from the first pirouette to taking the gold, year after year, in spite of the cold,... Skating- its our passion.⁷⁵

Clearly, this commercial plays on a sense of nationalist pride. With the added moving pictures, the commercial paints a definite image of Canadian national identity: a cold northern climate where the citizenry band together through skating as a national pastime. This is an aspect of interpellation as it draws the visitor to enter the exhibition space. Particularly in the case of the commercial spot featured on the canal, the power of the commercial spot to hail or call the individual into the ideology of skating as an extension of nationalism is clear. Moreover, the commercial simplifies the message of the exhibition to a short fanciful rhyme to show the infotainment aspect of the museum. Also, the skater on the canal is already enjoying the entertainment of skating so the commercial is just emphasizing the fun aspect of the sport while associating Canadian identity with skating. The exhibition recounts the history of skating and implies ownership over the sport. The commercial declares Canada as absolute owner of the sport. This example definitely shows the power that the marketing department has in creating a Canadian ideology and constructing visitors as subjects within that ideology.

Lace Up print advertisements and reviews were also plentiful during the exhibition's run at the CMC. The exhibition was mainly advertised in travel magazines and brochures and proved to be easily marketed to the tourist populations as well as local Rideau Canal skaters. In Itinerary Québec, the Lace Up exhibition was advertised as part of the Ottawa experience. It heralds the exhibition as exploring "the sport that dominates

⁷⁵ The Lace Up Advertisement, The Canadian Museum of Civilization, (Gatineau: The Museum of Civilization, 2006).

the Canadian cultural landscape.”⁷⁶ In The Great Ontario Getaway magazine, the review in reference to Lace Up concludes, “Even for those who don’t skate, the sport represents something quintessentially Canadian, and all people who endure long winters cannot help but applaud an activity that so mocks the bone-chilling cold with its speed and grace.”⁷⁷ In Dreamscapes (Niagara On the Lake), under “Seasonal Forays,” the article declares, “You can’t miss the Canadian Museum of Civilization, where two exhibits evoke Canada’s winter, “Lace Up... and Masters of the Plains: Ancient Nomads of Russia and Canada.”⁷⁸ In all of these tourist advertisements, Canadian nationalism is privileged.

Lace Up also provided fodder for the marriage of art and culture with sport. In the Richmond Review in British Columbia, reporter Matthew Hoekstra, explains that managers from the city’s 2010 Olympic office have planned a sports museum as part of the new Olympic Oval in Richmond. The administrators of The Olympic Oval, a 33,000 square-metre building with a 400-metre track which is scheduled to open in the fall of 2008,⁷⁹ are looking to add arts and culture to the blend. The article states that the exhibitions that the city had already been pursuing include the Olympic torches- on display in Turin, Italy- and Lace Up: Canada’s Passion for Skating.⁸⁰ If the Olympic Oval displays Lace Up, this is a poignant example of the exhibition becoming imbricated in the celebration of national pride. Imagine the Olympic attendees in British Columbia looking at Lace Up so that Canada’s passion and pride are intertwined with national character.

⁷⁶ Itinerary Quebec, Canada and Beyond: Cross Time Zones and Centuries while Exploring the Canadian Museum of Civilization, (Spring, 2007):119.

⁷⁷ The Great Ontario Getaway, Lace Up is a Legs Up, Heads Up Display (November/ December 2006): 10.

⁷⁸ Dreamscapes (Niagara On The Lake), Seasonal Forays (December 1 2006): 12.

⁷⁹ Richard Gilbert, “Richmond Olympic Oval Roof nears completion,” Journal of Commerce: Western Canada’s Construction Newspaper 22 Oct. 2007< <http://www.joconl.com/article/id24778>>.

⁸⁰ Matthew Hoekstra, “Olympic Oval to Get Culture,” Richmond Review (Richmond, British Columbia, October 05 2006): 7.

Further, the exhibition will also be showcased against Olympic torches adding to the mythic proportions of skating.

The web-site created for Lace Up also posited skating and hockey as key signifiers of Canadian nationalist identity. The web layout is colourful and attracts the eye with numerous reproductions of the photographs located in exhibition. [Figure 6] Throughout, quotes from the curator, the collector of the skate collection and the president of the CMC are taken to reiterate the Canadian appeal. Dr Victor Rabinowich, current President and CEO of the CMC is quoted on the website's communiqué as saying,

Skating is part of our culture, as millions of people lace up each winter to enjoy the unique experience of skating on ponds, rivers, rinks and canals across Canada. We teach our children to skate, join teams and clubs and hold social parties. We participate in a tradition that is a central part of life in this country.⁸¹

Again, the use of the first person plural ("our") implies a unified expression of culture that belongs to every Canadian. In statements like these viewers are interpellated through the sport of skating into a Canadian nationalist ideology. Curator Bianca Gendreau is, for example, quoted as confirming skating as a uniquely Canadian sport. She concludes,

If you live in Canada, you are introduced to skating at an early age. It is all around you. To learn how important sports and physical activities are in the life of Canadians, you need only read the newspapers or turn on the television. Skating is a part of Canada's social history. Today, our winter sport is practised by everyone - men and women, boys and girls, people of all ages, origins and walks of life.⁸²

Here too, the web site emphasizes the importance of skating in Canadian life and uses rhetorical address ("you") to directly hail or interpellate the viewer. . It begins to

⁸¹ The Canadian Museum of Civilization, First-ever National Exhibition on Canada's Passion for Skating 10 Jun 2007 < http://www.civilization.ca/media/show_pr_e.asp?ID=749>.

⁸² Bianca Gendreau, "A Word from the Curator Bianca Gendreau," The Museum of Civilization 10 Jun. 2007 < <http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/patins/patins02e.html>>.

interpellate the viewer into the ideology of skating and nationalism. Here, a portion of the exhibition is also viewed easily with clickable links and reproduced photographs. The facility of the web-site adds to the marketing campaign in that the information is easily accessible as well as easy to read with little scholarly jargon. In this way, the web-site, while offering more information than the simplified commercial spot, also offers an entertaining package meant to bring the visitor into the museum.

Another important aspect of the marketing campaign for Lace Up is the sale of souvenir items. During the exhibition, located right in front of the exit was a large display of commercial items available for sale in the museum shop which was located at the end of the hall. Once the viewer was done with his or her exhibition experience, they were able to buy a souvenir from a plethora of commercial commodity items. The items for sale included rubber pair of skate key chains (either with a first name on it or with a statement like "I ♥ boys"), rubber magnet skates with "Canada" written at the bottom, skating themed postage stamps (the exhibition was housed in the Canadian Postal Museum space), a stuffed moose wearing the Team Canada Jersey, T-shirts with a hockey team from circa 1900 (the T-shirt was entitled "Vintage Canada"), posters of the pair of skates from the exhibition, how-to books on figure skating and hockey paraphernalia (this included pins with "Rocket Richard"). As Art Historian, Ruth B. Phillips contends, tourist populations display their purchases "as trophies."⁸³ Although Phillips critiques tourist populations consuming Native North American arts in her study, Trading Identities, some of her observations can be aptly cited here. Phillips' example of the turn of the twentieth century Anglo-Canadian collector of native pin cushions being

⁸³ Ruth B. Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) 65.

motivated by the common need of possession is poignant. The collector's purchases during that time "were displayed as trophies of imperial possession in the gentleman's den and as signs of a sentimental brush with an exotic and noble past in the "cozy corner" of a lady's parlor."⁸⁴ In the case of Lace Up's souvenirs, I want to suggest that this ownership over object and experience has not really changed. The buying of the souvenir in Lace Up is a trophy of Canadian identity. For the tourist, the exotic aspects of the souvenir item are represented within item itself. This is applied to citizens as well as to the tourist visitor who knows little or nothing of the Canadian climate, geological setting or cultural heritage. A souvenir item then can stand in place of and reinforce a Canadian identity to be owned and bought.

Here, theorist Susan Stewart's important discussion of the souvenir is instructive. For Stewart, the social signification of the souvenir object rests in its relation to lived experience. When an individual visits a cultural site of significance (in this case the exhibition Lace Up) that visitor is looking for "the authentic experience." In this search the authentic object becomes critical to the individual's confirmation of the authentic experience. As Stewart explains,

Experience is increasingly mediated and abstracted, the lived relation of the body to the phenomenological world is replaced by nostalgic myth of contact and presence. 'Authentic' experience becomes both elusive and allusive as it is placed beyond the horizon of present lived experience, the beyond in which the antique, the pastoral, the exotic, and other fictive domains are articulated.⁸⁵

The souvenir serves as a trace of the authentic experience so that the object has the power to distinguish the exhibition as an important experience. In the museum, the souvenir functions impressively. As Stewart indicates in her definition of the souvenir,

⁸⁴ Phillips 65.

⁸⁵ Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993) 133.

We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative. Through the narrative the souvenir substitutes a context of perpetual consumption for its context of origin.⁸⁶

Lace Up delivers a patriotic version of Canada which could strengthen pride in national heritage or define Canadian nationalism particularly for a tourist who does not reside in Canada but took part in some of the Winterlude experience. This attaches another layer of meaning to the exhibition sphere whereby the souvenir purchased at the CMC could also represent the experience of skating on the canal and participating in the events at Winterlude. The participant will then value the souvenir as a substitute either for the exhibition, Winterlude, a visit to Ottawa, patriotism or all of the above. As Stewart explains, "The souvenir speaks to a contest of origin through a language of longing, for it is not an object arising out of need or use value; it is an object arising out of the necessarily insatiable needs of nostalgia."⁸⁷ The need then to own a piece of the experience is a principal concern to the individual. They seek out a souvenir in order to solidify the event as authentic. Stewart goes on to argue that the souvenir is not valued for its form rather its reference to experience. She describes the narrative origins of the souvenir.

What is this narrative of origins? It is a narrative of interiority and authenticity. It is not a narrative of the object; it is a narrative of the possessor. The souvenir a bibelot or curiosity has little if any value attached to its materiality.⁸⁸

However, I wish to argue that the materiality of the souvenir object is vital to the meaning attributed to the souvenir. We must look at the actual commercial commodity purchased and the value of the commercial item in relation to the narrative of the

⁸⁶ Stewart 135.

⁸⁷ Stewart 136.

⁸⁸ Stewart 136.

experience in order to fully comprehend the process of souvenir commoditization. Again, if we look at the souvenirs available for sale at the CMC for Lace Up, they also have their own inscribed narratives. The stuffed moose who is represented in the Team Canada Jersey has a significance of its own, namely the support of the Canadian Hockey team and as a symbol of Canadian wilderness and wildlife. The guest can pick that up from the museum shop and remember Lace Up but they are also being interpellated into a stereotype of Canadian nationalism (national pride is experienced through the sport of hockey). Canada is seen as a country that values hockey which, in turn, becomes an aspect of Canadian cultural mythology. When the guest shows the bear to others, the message associated with the bear may be communicated before the message of the museum exhibition as the bear functions as a symbol for the National Hockey Team. Personal experience of the individual is, of course, inscribed on the souvenir object but the materiality of the actual consumer commodity item is also present. In this way, the extension of the exhibition to the museum shop is important to address as the items for sale can commercialize the exhibition further so that the meaning of the exhibition can be altered with the consumer items available for sale.

In her article, "Ritual Space in the Canadian Museum of Civilization," art historian Jill Delaney also addresses the inherent messages within consumer items for sale. While her focus is on the commercialized space of the exhibition, she does argue that the consumer items available to the visitor impart a message about Canadian national identity. She argues that with the CMC's focus on 'infotainment' the museum has moved itself more fully into the sphere of consumer culture. Her critique of The History Hall at

the CMC, demonstrates that this national museum has become “a site of consumption of a prescribed national identity.”⁸⁹ She argues,

Consumption of knowledge/experience/identity in the History Hall becomes a ritual, a ‘rite of passage... The exhibit acts to imprint a national identity on to the visitor by enclosing the body in its presence, by removing the opportunity for intellectual distance.’⁹⁰

According to Delaney, the viewer is then relegated to a passive consumer. For Delaney, the way in which The History Hall shares its exhibition programme viewpoints with the museum shops is even more representative of the consumption involved. She states,

For the museum, these shops act as a key tool in the dispersion of cultural knowledge and identity. The shops allow both Canadian and foreign visitors to take home an artifact (whether genuine or reproduction) which is a ‘totem’ symbolic of their initiation into Canadian culture.⁹¹

This is an important point as the souvenir in this context then acts as a piece of the exhibition. Therefore, some of the items available for sale during the Lace Up exhibition were questionable as they change the message of the exhibition. Moreover, since the message of Lace Up was Canadian national identity, the symbolic items of national character were not positive icons of Canadiana. One example, the rubber skate keychains with the message, “I ♥ boys” was borderline distasteful and ultimately a commercial commodity that did not reflect the exhibition sphere.

When asked about the selection of souvenir items in the shop and if there is any consultation between the curator and the boutique manager, Marketing Manager, Julie Marion replied that she does,

⁸⁹ Jill Delaney, “Ritual Space in the Canadian Museum of Civilization: Consuming Canadian Identity,” Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption, ed. Rob Shields (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) 136.

⁹⁰ Delaney 143.

⁹¹ Delaney 136.

consult with the exhibition's team a year before the exhibition comes or six months before the exhibition comes. And depending on the topic and what can be available that can link with the exhibitions, we would take a special effort to find items that would relate to the theme. Keeping in mind that it needs to sell...⁹²

Ultimately, the concern of the marketing department and the entities within the umbrella (which includes the gift shop) is to sell its product and rightly so as marketing is concerned with pushing a product that is to be bought by the public. But, with the case of Lace Up, as Delaney argues also with The History Hall, a commercialized version of Canadian nationalism is now for sale at the Museum of Civilization. It is integral to note here that the tradition of Canada as a location for winter sports, in particular hockey, as well as the characterization of Canada as "the Great White North" are invented traditions that the exhibition and marketing department are exploiting. As Eric Hobsbawn notes in the Introduction of The Invention of Tradition,

traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented... Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.⁹³

Again, the very tradition that is reflected within the exhibition is created by the state apparatus which is instructed by societal norms and routine. In this way, the stereotyped moose or hockey jersey is reflective of a tradition of Canadian practice. As such, visitors to the museum are led to believe they have been constructed as subjects of the past. The tradition of hockey links Canadians and tourist populations symbolically to Canada's history. Therefore, the tradition of winter sports coupled with a construction of ideology and then the interpellation of the individual through commoditization reinforces the

⁹² Marion 3.

⁹³ Eric Hobsbawn, Introduction The Invention of Tradition, by Eric Hobsbawn, eds. Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 1.

country's invented tradition. Lace Up extends the invented tradition of winter in Canada (which, as we have seen can be problematic) while the commercial commodities hail or interpellate the individual into the invented construction of national citizenship.

Further Considerations for Lace Up

Lace Up was structured as a patriotic venue to reinforce national pride yet more care could have been taken with the souvenirs that were represented in the museum shop. The souvenir is an extension of marketing strategy to increase sales revenues but it is also a reflection of the exhibition itself. The souvenir, in and of itself, can also be linked to the ideology of the exhibition and museum. In this way, the souvenir also interpellates the individual into an ideology. It is part of the overall narrative of the exhibition space. In the case of Lace Up, the souvenirs provided a basic view of nationalism that was more about stereotypical views of Canada. Canadian nationalism was simplified into a stuffed moose with a hockey jersey and rubber skates with "I ♥boys."

Lace Up was, at its foundation, a commercial exhibition meant to appeal to Canadians and foreign nationals taking part in Winterlude while providing stereotypic images intended to construct an image of Canada for and about Canadians. The marketing campaign reflects this ideology but pushes the notion of a Canadian character that is more entertaining and accessible. The marketing campaign was successful in interpellating the visitor to come into the CMC museum space due to the fact that the commercial spot seamlessly blended into the backdrop on the canal, the web-site was easily accessible and there were many commodity items for sale. Clearly, the marketed ideology in the campaign was paramount in drawing in attendees and this points to the

powerful role the marketing department played in forming the message of the exhibition.

Undoubtedly, marketing can be the mediator of ideological concerns in the exhibition space and, in the case of Lace Up, an appeal of a national identity.

Chapter Three:
Marketing Canada through an Icon:
The Emily Carr Exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada (2006)

To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its highest, most authoritative truths. It also means the power to define and rank people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's common heritage-in its very identity.

Carol Duncan, Museums and Citizenship

In this chapter, I will argue that the National Gallery of Canada, a federal Canadian institution, like the Museum of Civilization, is concerned with defining Canadian nationalism through its exhibition space. I will analyze the ways in which the history of the gallery, its mission and site reinforces a certain vision of national character. Typically this vision includes stereotypical images of Canada such as pristine winter landscapes, conventional Canadian wildlife and commercial items with stylized Group of Seven paintings alongside Emily Carr artwork reproductions. As in the preceding chapter, my analysis will draw on the processes of the gallery's marketing strategy which includes pamphlet distribution, commercial spots, web-site design and the souvenirs made available in the gallery gift shop. Again, Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation will be central to my reading. To add to the discussion, I will also assess the gallery as a seemingly exclusive cultural site which does not readily acknowledge the influence of marketing in the exhibition space, despite the persuasive marketing umbrella which is in place at its location. My discussion will focus on the Summer 2006 blockbuster exhibition Emily, a retrospective of Canadian artist, Emily Carr. Specifically, I will examine the message of the exhibition and the construct of Canadian national identity in relation to the marketing campaign.

The National Gallery of Canada: Its Mission, History and the Marketed Canadian Identity

The National Gallery of Canada is a widely acclaimed art institution dating to the nineteenth century. Since the present National Gallery building was opened in downtown Ottawa in 1988, it has enjoyed a new prominence nationally and internationally. As author Douglas Ord argues, the building, designed by Moshe Safdie, suggests a solid temple devoted to Canadian heritage and identity. Through the incorporation of the gallery building with its surroundings (including the Basilique cathedrale de Notre Dame d'Ottawa across the street and the nineteenth century Parliamentary Library and Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings), the overall experience for the viewer is loaded with symbolism. Ord states,

Via architectural homology, and via the arrangement of outdoor space, art is implicitly identified with both the saving glories of religion and the role of written knowledge as a guarantor of the democracy which, in Canada, is symbolized most eloquently in the Peace Tower...the Gallery's motifs seem to connect and provide a transition along a curve, between the Basilique cathedrale to the east and the Parliament Buildings to the west.¹

As Ord suggests, the gallery's very site alludes to Canadianness and the visit becomes a citizen's pilgrimage. The choice of this site is a reflection of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's vision of Canada and his specific announcement in 1982, "that with the constitution repatriated, he was turning toward 'the creation of a nation' and was giving priority to the arts 'as an enrichment of Canadian identity.'"² It is not surprising that Canadian identity is portrayed in the site as it reflects the notion that the government of the early 1980s was interested in creating a national character. At the time, there was also

¹ Douglas Ord, The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas Art Architecture (Montreal and Kingston: McGill University Press, 2003) 7.

² Ord 12.

a boom in national western museum sites being built. For this reason, Trudeau promoted the construction of new national institution sites.

The National Gallery, like other western institutions of its kind (including the Louvre, and the National Gallery of New South Wales to use theorist Carol Duncan's examples) transmits to the viewer an image of a temple or shrine where the visitor experiences an ideological pilgrimage. Carol Duncan, a new museology theorist, refers to the museum space as a secular ritual, a place reserved for specific contemplation where secular truth is understood as objective or universal. A certain performance takes place where issues such as narration of the exhibition or prescribed route through the exhibition are interpellated.³ The significance of the site is an important beginning of the museum visitor's experience. Because the National Gallery Museum is constructed like a ceremonial monument,⁴ there is definitely a feeling of authorship by the state and an authoring of Canadian heritage as seen through a secular ritual. This is experienced bodily through the walk to the building and then the prescribed route up the ramp of to see the exhibition sphere. The outside landscape of the building also adds to the ritual in that the visitor sees the first reference to Canadian art in the Gallery's Taiga Garden, a landscape environment based upon Terre Sauvage, a painting done by The Group of Seven's A.Y. Jackson in 1913. This is an important reference to the Canadian icons, The Group of Seven, as they supposedly "discovered the Canadian landscape for art."⁵ In this

³ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship." Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Levine (Washington and London: Smithsonian, 1991) 90-91.

⁴ The ramp that is directly in front of the main glass doors is argued to reflect an influence from the Scala Regia in the Vatican. Other influences include ceremonial ramps and colonnades from the Mortuary Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri Egypt and the Babylonian House of Heaven and Earth, Sixth Century B.C.E. See Ord, The National Gallery of Canada: Ideas, Art, Architecture, 20-25.

⁵ Ord 23.

way, the garden expresses the landscape as distinctly Canadian and belonging to the ideological framework of the institution.

Again, Althusser's work is instructive in understanding the relationship between the visitor, the construction of national identity and the museum. For Althusser, "ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material."⁶ With the National Gallery, we can see the physical manifestation of the apparatus of the Canadian government's ideology. This secular ritual is part of the experience of the art gallery. As Carol Duncan demonstrates, museums act as ceremonial monuments. She states,

More like the traditional ceremonial monuments that museum buildings frequently emulate—classical temples, medieval cathedrals, Renaissance palaces—the museum is a complex experience involving architecture, programmed displays of art objects, and highly rationalized installation practices.⁷

The apparatus of the museum as a whole then comes together to act as an ideological state apparatus to impart Canadian nationalism. The Group of Seven is emphasized within the gallery as their stylized landscapes prove pivotal in defining the Canadian landscape. As a result, Canadian identity is also defined through the Group's vision. As Curator Charles C. Hill argues in the 1995 catalogue of The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation, an NGC Exhibition, "The artists of the Group of Seven remain the most celebrated in Canadian History."⁸ Beginning in the 1920s, the Group strove to "probe the landscape to understand the Canadian psyche and thus realize an art that would truly

⁶ Althusser 166.

⁷ Duncan, Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship 90.

⁸ Charles C. Hill, The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation (Toronto and Ottawa: McClelland & Stewart, 1995) 15.

reflect both.”⁹ Part of the artists’ mission was to identify Canada with the land and the

North. The group defined their undertaking:

The New subject to be painted was ‘all the sunlight, the height of sky, the freedom of windy space that is Canada. Landscape predominates over figure work in Canadian art because Canada is all landscape so far- at least, landscape is all that is national yet. Her people and her cities are not characteristic... But Canada’s physical appearance is distinctive and our artists are aiming to catch the illusive appearance of its face, to see in it what virtues, what natural qualities it has breed into the Canadian people...’¹⁰

Hill concludes that, “The goals of the artists who would form the Group of Seven in 1920 were idealistic and nationalist in intent...”¹¹ Clearly, the creation of the Group’s vision of Canada represents to the gallery attendee a specific nationalism: Canada linked to the Northern landscape. Therefore, reference to the Group of Seven at the Gallery is promoted to link the idealistic Canadian landscape to national identity. The viewer is constructed as Subject through the landscape and is therefore interpellated as a Canadian. And, as I will argue, the marketing of these images is an extension of this vision

The National Gallery of Canada’s Mission and Mandate

The National Gallery permits and imparts systems of understanding to the museum visitor and can be seen as an educator, its purpose is to inform Canadians of their cultural heritage. In its mandate, the institution seeks to fulfill the educational goals of imparting cultural knowledge. Among the areas of art history, Canadian art history is privileged. This is evident in The National Gallery’s mandate which states,

The National gallery of Canada aims to develop, maintain and make known, throughout Canada and internationally, a collection of works of art, both historic

⁹ Hill, The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation 20.

¹⁰ Gregory Clark, “Canadian Collectors Fail to Appreciate Canadian Art,” Toronto Star Weekly [Toronto] 31 October, 1914: 10, quoted in Hill, The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation 20.

¹¹ Hill, The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation 20.

and contemporary, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, and to further knowledge, understanding and enjoyment of art in general among all Canadians.¹²

This mandate is further elucidated in the vision of the National Gallery. In the National Gallery Annual report the vision is defined. It states,

The National Gallery of Canada strives to bestow Canadians with a sense of identity and pride in Canada's rich visual arts heritage. Through its collections, on-site and traveling exhibitions, educational programs and publications, professional training programs and out-reach initiatives, the Gallery aspires to be a model of excellence in furthering knowledge in the visual arts, both at home and abroad. Through its collaboration with national and international institutions, the Gallery seeks to make art accessible, meaningful and vital to diverse audiences of all ages.¹³

Art accessibility to all visitors is a huge part of the mission and mandate of the museum. This accessibility is coupled with advancement of the Canadian content of the gallery's collection. As Duncan indicates, museums are power identity-defining machines.¹⁴ Their power is formed within the ritual of the displayed narrative. This powerful is displayed in the exhibition, architecture and landscape. However, the power of the curatorial voice or the architectural landscape is not the only contributor or conveyor of the message of identity. As we have already seen in the example of the CMC, The National Gallery is also interpellating the individual through the marketing practices of its institutions. As I have already argued, the curator transmits the identity of the collective only to be subjected to the identity transmutations of the marketing and media machines as well as mass produced commercial items the gallery makes available.

¹² The National Gallery of Canada, *Annual Report 2004-2005* 3.

¹³ The National Gallery of Canada, *Annual Report 2004-2005* 3.

¹⁴ Duncan, *Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship* 101.

The National Gallery of Canada: Exhibition Practice versus the Marketing Campaigns of the Institution

In recent years, the gallery has made efforts to rework the display of their collections. Most dramatically, the installation of its permanent Canadian collection, The Art of this Land, has integrated Aboriginal artifacts and Euro-Canadian historic art works.

Marketing plays a role in the viewer's experience of the National Gallery's permanent installations like The Art of this Land. Hélène Donaldson, an officer in the Marketing and Communications team at the National Gallery explains the marketing strategy for the permanent exhibitions in an interview I conducted on March 3, 2006. [See Appendix] When asked how Canadian content is marketed, specifically through the example of The Art of this Land, she explains,

The Jack Pine by Tom Thomson is basically like our one defining piece... It will always be on our generic tourism lure it will always be kind of the one image that we project, the one that is well known and really identifies The Group of Seven. We have a fantastic Group of Seven collection. I don't want to say it's the best one because I don't know, but we have a lot sketches that they did in the field next to the final work and things like that. ..It's the other side pieces (things) like Art of This Land, we are always changing them to show other pieces of art that we have. As far as how we promote them, we use certain key images to really define the gallery.¹⁵

The Jack Pine [Figure 7] is therefore used as an emblem for the Canadian content within the art galleries which, in turn, becomes problematic as the scholarly approach would rather have the Inuit and Native art showcased. As Donaldson describes, The Jack Pine is particularly promoted at international travel conventions to convey Canadian Art. It is interesting to place the vision statement of the gallery alongside strategies employed by the marketing department. According to its Vision Statement, the National Gallery

¹⁵ Hélène Donaldson, Interview The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, March 3, 2006. [See Appendix] It should be noted that Tom Thomson was not an actual member of The Group of Seven.

“strives to bestow Canadians with a sense of identity and pride in Canada’s rich visual arts heritage.”¹⁶ In this context, the marketing strategy seems to promote a limited vision and limited scope given the rich and culturally diverse Canada. Moreover, the marketing department’s campaign strategy reveals a limited art historical knowledge (Thomson was not actually a member of The Group of Seven). In this way, the campaign directed at tourists appeals to a more general audience in an effort to make accessibility a priority. Further, it appears that a limited vision of Canadiana as evidenced in The Jack Pine is marketable to a foreign audience. So, the nation as seen through the lens of Tom Thomson becomes a simple defining feature of a collective national identity as perpetuated through the advertising of the National Gallery. This marketing campaign is an example of ideological concerns hailing the individual. As already stated in the introductory chapter, ideology encompasses our whole existence. Even those individuals that believe they are outside ideology are, in fact, within it. “What really takes place in ideology seems therefore to take place outside it.”¹⁷ The individual viewing the campaign is subject to the basic image of Tom Thomson’s The Jack Pine. They visit the gallery but the ideological considerations of the image have already interpellated them into the ideological state apparatus. The message is that the Canadian landscape is vast and rugged and it also provides the visitor with a notion of Canada as a homogenous landscape; this a nationalist vision also imparted through the landscapes of the Group of Seven. The image is paramount in the Gallery’s definition of nationhood and is therefore seen as a patriotic vision of Canada. The Jack Pine image appears all over the gallery as well. It is regularly attached to Vernissage, the Gallery’s magazine; it is placed on letter

¹⁶ National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report 2004-2005 3.

¹⁷ Althusser 175.

heads for those visitors that receive mail through their memberships. It is also on the generic pamphlets printed for tourists.

Art historian Anne Whitelaw has criticized the rehanging of the galleries of the Canadian and Aboriginal art (The Art of This Land). She states,

The National Gallery of Canada's decision to venture into the display of historical Aboriginal objects acknowledges the place of First Nations within the Canadian state's imagined nation, the insertion of these works into the existing narrative of Canadian art history signaling that Aboriginal objects have achieved the status of art that had previously escaped them... However, this rhetoric of inclusion has not been accompanied by a reconsideration of the terms within which "Canadian" art history has been constituted. The objects introduced into the Canadian galleries are presented in such a way as to conform to Western conceptions of aesthetic interest, with the result that the ceremonial character of many of these works is erased.¹⁸

While Whitelaw does admit that the Gallery's attempt at inclusion of an Aboriginal narrative is positive in that it provides a starting point for the rethinking of conventional Canadian history, her criticism represents the inherent problems with museum display at the National Gallery. In this light, the fact that the marketing department relies on conventionalized visuals (as seen in The Jack Pine) is awkward. Undoubtedly, the gallery needs to reassess its marketing campaigns in this area as the display of The Art of This Land is considered problematic.

It appears that The Jack Pine as a marketed image can directly speak to the tourist populations or basic gallery viewer who has limited knowledge of Canadian art and landscape. This can become a fragmented landscape of Canadian identity (both for the

¹⁸ Anne Whitelaw, "Placing Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Canada," Canadian Journal of Communication Vol. 31. No. 1 (2006).

¹⁸ John Urry, Consuming Places (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 132.

foreign national and the patriotic Canadian). In terms of the tourist populations, theorist John Urry indicates that the tourist gaze is very distinctive. He states,

Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially, through day-dreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, newspapers, T.V., magazines, records and videos which construct that gaze. Such practices provide the signs in terms of which the holiday experiences are understood, so that what is then seen is interpreted in terms of these pre-given categories.¹⁹

Given The Jack Pine image contained on the advertisements for the National Gallery, the tourist gaze has constructed a romanticized vision of Canada already before the tourist visitor ever encounters the gallery. The anticipation of seeing the gallery is constructed through the fantasy of the Canadian landscape. And, as Urry suggests, can indicate to this example, the tourist's presupposition of what the gallery space and Canadian identity will be like is sustained through the commercial means of the pamphlets, posters as well as commercially generated advertisements like radio or television spots. The marketing process is the first experience of the gallery for the visitor and the gallery is interpreted against the initial understanding of the gallery: its advertisements. This is the process of interpellation which indoctrinates the gallery visitor into the ideological considerations of the gallery space (through the marketing campaign which provides a simplistic view of Canadian painting).

It is also important to assess the Canadian viewer (who may or may not be a tourist) whose pilgrimage to the gallery is for the reinforcement of national pride. To explain the phenomenon of nationalism, it is of use to look at Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation. Anderson characterizes the nation as,

...an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign... It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.²⁰

Nationalism, according to Anderson, is built upon the notion that the community is, in fact, an imagined entity. This definition is apt at the gallery as the basic vision of Canadian nationhood is an imagined construct. Further, the affinity the Canadian visitor has with the vision of Canada that the marketing department promotes is a camaraderie with the imagined community of the north. The stereotype of the rugged Canadian landscape becomes emblematic of Canada which is already a clichéd notion of imagined Canadian identity.

As the marketing campaigns become more basic (that is, appealing to those who have little or no knowledge of history or art) in order to encourage visits to the National Gallery, the accessibility of all visitors is stressed in some instances rather than art historical content. As New Museology theorists Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago argue, "Most museum goers are not prepared (educated) to analyze both the framework and its contents, with the result that museums, as informal institutions, perpetuate racial/ ethnic/ national/ gender stereotypes."²¹ This can also extend to the marketing strategies of the museum. The collective identity derived through the process of display becomes fraught with the stereotypes that are now considered problematic in the new museological theoretical frame. In other words, even if the exhibition is complex in its art historical research, marketing strategists (as seen in the example of the National Gallery's

²⁰ Benedict Anderson, "Introduction," *Imagined Communities*, (London and New York: Verso, 1991) 6.

²¹ Claire Farago and Donald Preziosi, "General Introduction: What are museums for?," *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, eds. Claire Farago and Donald Preziosi (London and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004) 2.

replicated The Jack Pine on tourism lure) often provide simplistic representations of the gallery's collection. The advertising here becomes the example of commercially consumer driven society. Postmodern theorist Mike Featherstone surmises that,

Commodities hence become free to take on a wide range of cultural associations and illusions. Advertising in particular is able to exploit this and attach images of romance, exotica, desire, beauty, fulfillment, communality, scientific process and the good life to mundane consumer goods such as soap, washing machines, motor cars and alcoholic drinks.²²

This can be applied to the construction of an imagined collective national community as seen through the eyes of the tourist and patriotic Canadian. Tom Thomson's emblematic piece can function as a consumer good in a commercial construct of culture.

Curators, Reproductions and the Repetition of Seeing

In the analysis of the art gallery space, it is also imperative to address curatorial authority in relation to the commerciality of the art object, art market and art reproductions that are produced everyday. Art historian Lawrence Alloway discusses the ways in which the curator's voice is not able to function with much authority within the post-modern society. His analysis concludes that the profession of curator is in crisis. He argues that while "the curator is at the interface of the museum as an institution and the public as consumers,"²³ he or she is also bound by the internal concerns of art as commodity as perpetuated by artists and art dealers. The art world depends upon the co-operation of dealers and artists and, as such, the curator need to compromise to suit the demands of those groups. This is for "the purpose of furthering the work both as a

²² Featherstone 14.

²³ Lawrence Alloway, "The Great Curatorial Dim-Out," Thinking About Exhibitions, eds. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) 222.

cultural sign and as object on the market.”²⁴ Alloway critiques the new curator and concludes that their weakness lies in their subservience to artists. He states that, “Production and consumption (interpretation) are different acts.”²⁵ To Alloway, because there has been a failure in intellectual independence of the curator, there has been a failure in education in museums. While these concerns reflect the contemporary climate of the art gallery, they can also be applied to the dissemination of modern artworks, such as The Jack Pine in that this could be a challenging of curatorial authority that lends itself to a simplistic construct of consumable Canada.

Theorist Mieke Bal indicates that one is acclimated to the meaning of artworks by the repetition of seeing. Through her example of the repeated visual experience of Rothko paintings within art museums, she reveals that the connotation is already implied (this correlates to the greatness of the work as a mandatory inscription of meaning). “By seeing what one already knows one cannot see what one doesn’t know (yet). What is destroyed, then, is the educational function of art which is so central to the museum’s self image.”²⁶

If we look at marketing in this process, the patron is subject to meaning before arriving at the gallery by being subject to replicated brochures and posters. In the case of the marketing strategies of the National Gallery, this could refer to an imposed importance placed on certain pieces to convey a construct (recall The Jack Pine). Further, the conclusion that the curator is a failure in educating the public is not just a concern of the curatorial voice but of the institution as a whole. On the other hand, as I have already

²⁴ Alloway 223.

²⁵ Alloway 225.

²⁶ Mieke Bal, “The Discourse of the Museum,” Thinking About Exhibitions, eds. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) 205.

discussed, the institution also requires marketing to entice the masses through the doors. It can be concluded again that the repetition of seeing, as exemplified through marketing processes, can alter the experience of the artwork.

Visitor Surveys and Visitor Statistics from the National Gallery of Canada

The National Gallery visitor profile accurately defines the populations of visitors who visit the NGC allowing gallery personnel a clear understanding of visitor demographics. The visitor profile exit survey from the 2004-2005 calendar year, indicates a breakdown of the demographics involved within at the Gallery. This survey, (also referenced in Chapter One) conducted by the National Gallery, provides a dissection of the age categories of visitors. [Figure 1] The categories (by percentage out of 100) are as follows: 24 and under: 17%, 25-34 years old: 19%, 35-44 years old: 16%, 45-54 years old: 18%, 55-64 years old: 17%, 65 + year old: 13%. The average mean is defined as 44 years old. According to the survey, it appears that the age group with the highest percentage of visits to the National Gallery is the 25-34 years old age groups. Since this age group is younger, it also shows that this target demographic is definitely apt to be technologically savvy and commercially cognizant. Therefore, it can be theorized that this group would be (aside from student groups) highly interpellated by the marketing campaigns at the gallery. However, it could also be argued that this group would be most cynical about those processes. But even if those groups recognize the fact they are being catered to with an advertising campaign, they are still apt to be affected by it. Advertising can work in the same fashion as ideology within the state. The subject of the marketing campaign can believe they are not indoctrinated by the ideological message

of their environment, when in fact they have already been exposed and affected by the message of the advertisement. The individual is attracted by the campaign. This is particularly if the marketing campaigns were flashy and pop culturally aware (a discussion to follow with the example of the Blockbuster exhibition, Emily).

The largest breakdown of statistical information available through the National Gallery is the summary of educational programs by school level. [Figure 8] Here, we see that since the 2004 summary, 92 737 students have visited the gallery. Out of those groups, kindergarten to grade 3 boasts the most educational school tour visits with grade 4 to grade 6 following close behind. The other frequenters include grades 7 to 8 and grades 9 to 12. Clearly, while these groups are probably obligatorily subjected to the educational tour process, it is plausible that these school groups represent the most likely group to respond to the rhetoric of commercialism over the refined art historical analysis of the gallery setting. Again, there is no way to delineate the cultural bias to which these groups are subject, nor is it completely inaccurate to conclude that these groups could be more apt to respond to a basic commercial rhetoric over curatorial educational concerns. Younger populations are more apt to be well versed in pop discursive practice. This youth dynamic then represents part of the populous which commercial strategy can target.

In total, the gallery's attendance, as stated in 2004-2005 annual report, totaled 394566 visitors with its traveling programs boasting 272023.²⁷ It is probable that many of these patrons also account for the tourist populations (as represented in the Strategy 4 section of the annual report wherein it is indicated that 18% of visitors surveyed "speak a language in addition to French or English and new visitors are mostly from areas outside

²⁷ The National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report 2004-2005 5.

of Quebec and Ontario”).²⁸ These patrons could also be a component of the visitors that are attracted to blockbuster exhibitions like the Emily Carr 2006 exhibition (the marketing campaign will be analyzed).

It is also possible to assess the success of marketing campaigns at the National Gallery as exit surveys exist which analyze the success of the marketing process. In an exit survey conducted for Emily, the visitors were asked if they recalled the advertisement campaign conducted over the past six months. [Figure 9] Out of the 809 people who were asked, 69% said they recalled the advertising campaign. This study points to the fact that the marketing campaign undoubtedly was important to their understanding of the exhibition. While Emily was not as successful commercially as the NGC had hoped,²⁹ of those people that visited, the advertising campaign had already created meaning for them. While, it can be argued that the commercial appeal was not as high as it could have been, the marketing campaign still affected the overall meaning of the exhibition. And, of course, the marketing campaign was commercially centered in an effort to bring in the crowds for the blockbuster.

Practically speaking, the attendance to the art gallery does matter, as stressed in the National Gallery budgets of the 2004-2005 annual report. While the curatorial voice can be at odds with the commercialism required to attract an audience to boost attendance numbers, marketing is responsible for bringing in visitors.

Mike Featherstone's definition of postmodern consumer culture affirms that postmodern consumer culture contains, “the effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life; the collapse of the hierarchical distinction between high and mass/popular

²⁸ The National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report 2004-2005 39.

²⁹ The National Gallery of Canada, The National Gallery of Canada Report, 2006-2007 3.

culture.”³⁰ In the context of the museum, this represents the deterioration of the boundary between the exhibition space and the mass consumer society. Or, this could create the de-stabilization of authoritarian voice (perhaps curatorial autonomous voice) thus creating an equalization of art display and appreciation in the cultural sphere. It is important to assess the art gallery setting as an arena that has been traditionally defined as “tasteful” for the higher echelons of society, determined by education and economic status.³¹ There is still an elitist understanding of the art gallery so that only a limited portion of the population is believed to have a scholarly understanding of art history. The commercialism of the gallery sphere can be viewed in terms of the general population (groups of students and tourists as discussed above) gaining authority through the new rhetoric of media and advertising. However, that population is unable to access the scholarly understanding of the museum space. Further, the educational knowledge, as supplied through the educational programs in the National Gallery, only provide basic understanding of the art historical rhetoric, which, in turn, points to the inability of the masses to fully function within the art gallery sphere. Yet, the marketing campaigns are bringing in the most populations possible.

Can the media and communications aspect of the gallery space complement the scholarly goals of the curators? If we suppose that commercial culture consumes everything, then, by that supposition, there is credence in the theory that the consumer places value on the exchange of tasteful knowledge. That tasteful knowledge (the arena of the academic), in turn, becomes a possession to add to the repertoire of lifestyle. Thus, the elite consumer (the patron with art historical knowledge) owns the tasteful; the

³⁰ Featherstone 8.

³¹ See Pierre Bourdieu’s analysis of the art gallery attendee in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (1962; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

general populations own the distasteful or the absence of taste. But, can this be represented with an absolute binary categorization?

Further Analysis of NGC Marketing Strategy

Marketing Officer, H Donaldson outlines the marketing of Inuit and Aboriginal content. The content is applied in marketing campaigns only as a method to deter attendees from traveling to the CMC. When asked specifically about the ways in which The Art of This Land is marketed, she stated,

We do a lot of the same things media relations wise. We would still do fact sheets and press kits and Q and As and things like that for it. Try to create as much buzz as possible without having to necessarily have to pay advertising. We won't necessarily hold a press conference for each exhibition that is smaller like that but what we will do if we are doing one for a larger exhibition... we will talk about all the other ones that are happening at the same time. So, Art of This Land has been ongoing for quite awhile too that changes its position. But with the Governor-General's awards (we have those every year) but it's only for two months max so you can do a little more "Need to come now before it goes" whereas Art of This Land is sort of ongoing. But there is different ways to spin it to try and get some publicity on it anyway but. I mean our biggest competitor would be The Museum of Civilization and they are so strong because they have their totem poles and their aboriginal content. Something like Art of This Land is our chance to really capitalize on that. You know, look at all the aboriginal and Inuit Art that we have.. It's all grouped here together for you to be able to take in. You don't necessarily have to do every museum in Ottawa. You know we kind of picture ourselves as being the one stop shop if you want to get you know the hands on activities of a children's museum, if you want to get the visual arts as well as we will often have performers in our great hall- evening events. And then like I said the Inuit Aboriginal factor.³²

"The One Stop Shop" idea is intriguing and demonstrates the aforementioned consumerism involved in the gallery experience. Here we again find the marketing of a construct for the consumer. We again see the ways in which the gallery space functions in a manner similar to that of a shopping mall. Marketing shows the viewer what they need

³² Donaldson [See Appendix]

through the repetition of key images and then forms a sort of shopping list which details the ways in which the consumer of the art gallery should take in the experience.

Donaldson's interview recalls George F. MacDonald's enthusiasm for drawing in large crowds to the Canadian Museum of Civilization. When MacDonald concludes, "Museums alone cannot create a sense of cultural identity. The media and the entertainment industry have much more impact here,"³³ this summary is again apt in reference to the NGC.

Marketing Versus The Curatorial Vision

Will Pollock, in his article, "Behind the Velvet Rope," discusses the myth of the curator and positively aligns the role with that of commercial production. He begins with a description of the mythic curator,

Intellectual and seasoned, curators are widely thought of as the breathing, human reflections of the collections in their charge. More than just administrative gatekeepers, they live and ruminate on every historical nuance and motivation that inspired the works' originators. Borne of this scholarly caretaking spirit is a unique form of retailing that requires similar expertise—one that marries the best of museums, manufacturing and merchandising.³⁴

Here he describes the process of replicating artwork, furniture and pottery. Pollock believes that this is an area that requires expertise. His example of Mottahdeh Co. Inc. (a company specializing in the reproduction of art and textiles) also demonstrates that museums function as the suppliers of consumer goods. The reproduction of famous art or furniture or textiles are available to serve the consuming public. We cannot forget that in this context, the art gallery provides actual material goods to provide "a piece of the

³³ George Macdonald, "Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society," Museums and Communities, eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Levine (Washington and London: Smithsonian, 1992) 162.

³⁴ Will Pollock, "Behind the Velvet Rope," Art & Antiques no. 28. vol. 2 (2004) 102.

items. But for specific little giveaways... promotional items we'll do some of those on our own.³⁷

A little bottle of wine or a paint tin can reflect the art that is viewed in this context. It is also easy to see that the mass attendees requires the accoutrements of consumer items (even the elite consumer can be subject to the enticements of commercial items as evidenced by souvenirs taken from exhibitions to which they attend: a common place practice amongst art professionals).

The 2006 National Gallery of Canada's Blockbuster Emily Exhibition: Message and Meaning

The Emily exhibition opened with a partial reconstruction of the National Gallery exhibition of 1927 in which Emily Carr's work was originally introduced on the national stage.³⁸ As curator Charles Hill states, "The 1927 exhibit was really the first time Carr emerged on the national scene. It shows how she set out to document the art of the native people."³⁹ The exhibition then follows a restaged exhibition from 1945 to a succession of final galleries "in which the social and political dimensions of her art are examined."⁴⁰ Although the Carr exhibition was critically well received overall, critics such as Paul Gessell of The Ottawa Citizen, asked the question, "So, do we really need another [Carr retrospective] so soon..? The last Emily Carr retrospective was 16 years before Emily was staged in 2006."⁴¹ Gessell answers his own question by stating,

³⁷ Donaldson [See Appendix]

³⁸ Denis Armstrong, "National Gallery parks Carr for Summer." Ottawa Sun May 28, 2006: C12.

³⁹ Charles Hill, quoted in Kenneth Jackson, "Emily Carr Dominates Summer Lineup," Metro March 3, 2006:3.

⁴⁰ Sarah Milroy, "Emily Carr: Feminist, Nationalist, Misfit, Westerner, Native Advocate," The Globe and Mail [Toronto] Saturday, June 3, 2006:R5.

⁴¹ Emily of 2006 is the fourth national retrospective on Carr since her death in 1945.

The National Gallery needs a hit and Carr, being Carr, is bound to deliver with dozens of favourites from her hit parade, including *The Welcome Man, 1913*, *Indian Church, 1920* and scores of others that are familiar to us as Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven.⁴²

This is an interesting allusion to the requirement of the blockbuster show to have highly familiar artwork in order to attract museum crowds. Theorist Emma Barker states that sponsors of exhibitions of this type are not necessarily concerned with the art overall but the potential of generating blockbuster crowds (i.e. hundreds of thousands of people). She states, "It can prove difficult, if not impossible, to find a sponsor for exhibitions devoted to less mainstream art that are unlikely to achieve very high attendance levels."⁴³

Emily Carr, an icon of Canadian nationalism, then proves to be a good investment for potential business sponsors in that the artworks "from the Carr hit parade" are potential commodity points that attract visitors.⁴⁴ Barbara Sibbald of The Canadian Medical Association Journal adds to the argument that Carr has been a popularized Canadian artist by stating, "Unquestionably a box office hit, Carr has joined the highly questionable cult of celebrity."⁴⁵ Therefore, Carr is viewed as potential draw to financial backers.

The media constructs Carr as a celebrity in the summer of 2006. The marketing of print ads and reviews added to the hype for the exhibition. In her analysis of the blockbuster show, Emma Barker concludes that,

Marketing plays a crucial role in ensuring the success of the exhibition. The host institution will, of course, take out advertisements, but no less important in encouraging people to visit the show are assurances in the media that it is not-to-be-missed, once in a lifetime experience.⁴⁶

⁴² Paul Gessell, "Carr Cast in New Light," The Ottawa Citizen June 2, 2006:D1.

⁴³ Emma Barker, "Exhibiting the Canon: The Blockbuster Show," Contemporary Cultures of Display ed. Emma Barker (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999) 132.

⁴⁴ Emily was presented by Sunlife Financial.

⁴⁵ Barbara Sibbald, The Cult of Carr," The Canadian Medical Association Journal August 1, 2006: 278.

⁴⁶ Barker 132.

The media hype for Emily in the form of print ads and reviews was definitely well distributed. Advertisements in the central Canadian region⁴⁷ for the Emily exhibition appeared in The Ottawa Sun, Metro, The Montreal Gazette and The Globe and Mail to name but a few. In The Globe and Mail, the exhibition was listed under “The essential 2006” where “the biggest and best of the coming year in arts and entertainment”⁴⁸ were listed. The tourist populations were also enticed to come to the exhibition by means of advertisements in travel magazines. In Good Times magazine, the viewer is addressed by the advertisement, “Emily Carr’s Canada” where the 200 objects of Emily Carr’s work are heralded as the reason to luxuriate in Carr’s Canada. There also numerous reviews within newspapers and magazines that also tended to beckon the tourist visitor to attend the exhibition. For example, in The Globe and Mail on July 17, 2006 Kate Pollock’s review exclaims, “This summer, Ottawa is crazy for the *Emily Carr: New Perspectives* exhibit at the National Gallery of Canada.”⁴⁹

Another interesting aspect of the exhibition was the controversy that resulted from some of the catalogue essays. Critic Paul Gessell, declared that there was a “decidedly unfriendly tone”⁵⁰ to several scholarly essays in the catalogue. According to Gessell, the essays attack the artist herself not her art. Carr was criticized by scholars due to the fact that she had misinterpreted the significance of a few totem poles that she had recreated in her paintings. Because of that mistake, the artist was considered “dishonest and racist.”⁵¹

As critic Sarah Milroy describes, each scholar in the catalogue assumes a different

⁴⁷ The exhibition also traveled to the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Art Gallery of Ontario, The Montreal Museum of Fine Art and the Glenbow Museum in Calgary.

⁴⁸ Paula Citron, Kamal Al-Solaylee, Liam Lacey, Sarah Milroy, John Allemang and Scott Colbourne, “The Essential 2006,” The Globe and Mail January 7, 2006: R5.

⁴⁹ Kate Pollock, “For Art’s Sake: Summer Discoveries at Ontario Galleries,” The Globe and Mail July 19, 2006: D7.

⁵⁰ Paul Gessell, “There’s Something about Emily,” The Montreal Gazette June 23, 2006: K4.

⁵¹ Gessell, There’s Something about Emily K4.

perspective on Emily Carr. The intense criticism launched at Carr in the catalogue is summarized by Marcia Crosby who challenges Carr's "presumptuous acts of cultural appropriation and her patronizing attitudes towards her native subjects."⁵² Nevertheless, curator Charles Hill, in response to the controversy, stated, "neither the catalogue nor the exhibition is meant to be an attack on the person he describe[d] as the best Canadian female artist of the first half of the 20th century."⁵³ He concluded that "Emily Carr is an industry and the amazing thing to me is that she can survive all of this and that there is still more to say."⁵⁴ It is interesting here that he used "industry" in allusion to the artist. While it is not clear that he meant for Carr to be a sole commodity item, the artist as legend and therefore Canadian celebrity is all important. The controversy, which was reviewed in The Ottawa Citizen, The Montreal Gazette and The Globe and Mail also provided the exhibition with publicity to enticing people the visitor into the gallery to see what all the controversy was about. Further, the "industry" of Carr is component of our Canadian identity as we see her as controversial icon, while, at the same time, part of Canadiana which is a measurement of life in Canada. Undoubtedly, Emily's marketing advertisements and reviews added to the visitor's need to attend the exhibition.

An Analysis of the National Gallery of Canada's Marketing Campaign for Emily, The 2006 Summer Blockbuster

The 2006 blockbuster exhibition of Emily Carr at the National Gallery was a collaboration of the curatorial voices of Johanne Lamoureux, Charlie Hill and Ian Thom. Promotions for the Emily exhibition are emblematic of the new marketing campaign

⁵² Milroy R5.

⁵³ Charles Hill, quoted in Gessell, There's Something about Emily K4.

⁵⁴ Charles Hill quoted in Milroy, Emily Carr: Feminist, Nationalist, Misfit, Westerner, Native Advocate R5.

strategy that uses popular culture to appeal to the perspective gallery visitor. [Figure 5]

The strategy, probably first born out of the title, New Perspectives, was a complete departure from previous marketing campaigns at the National Gallery. As discussed above, the exhibition Emily looked at the Canadian icon, Emily Carr through the lens of her exhibition history with the partial reconstruction of the National Gallery's 1927 exhibition, Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern, where the Canadian audience of the time first saw Carr's work.⁵⁵ The marketing campaign for this exhibition, as even indicated in The Ottawa Citizen, was innovative and edgy. Paul Gessell described the exhibition campaign strategy. "The National Gallery has a saucy advertising campaign in advance of the show's opening inviting people, without revealing who "Emily" was, to come and see Emily to come and hug Emily and to come and meet Emily's friends."⁵⁶ Critic Barbara Sibbald also critiques the campaign by describing the single photograph of Carr that was used over and over again in the campaign as feeding the legend of Carr. She concludes, "on top of everything else, she is now beautiful and young."⁵⁷ A more thorough critique of the campaign was included in The Ottawa Citizen. Critic Joanne Laucius writes about the teasers⁵⁸ for the Emily exhibition which were first run without her name or the exhibition site attached to the ad. She concludes that the ads were presented in this fashion to illuminate the face of the artist as a mystery and to entice the viewer into the gallery site through the labels that asked the viewer to "share her secrets,"

⁵⁵ Pierre Theberge and Kathleen S. Bartels, "Foreword," Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon (Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Calgary: National Gallery of Canada and The Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006) 5.

⁵⁶ Paul Gessell, "Emily Carr as You've Never Seen Her Before," The Ottawa Citizen June 12, 2006: A1.

⁵⁷ Sibbald 278.

⁵⁸ A teaser is an advertisement that lures customers or clients by offering a bonus, gift, or the like. <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/teaser?r=14>>.

“give her a hug,” or “meet her friends.”⁵⁹ Why did the gallery rely on the edgy ads for Emily? Laucius explains, “...like many museums, the gallery must depend on more than iconic art images plastered on buses to draw visitors.”⁶⁰ She concludes that institutions are using unorthodox strategies to entice new or younger visitors (interpellate the new or younger visitors) and they need to do this without the aid of huge budgets that are afforded to movies or football games. An edgy campaign will create interest in the public sphere without a massive financial advertising budget. Undoubtedly, the campaign began to pique the curiosity of the public. What did the campaign mean to the exhibition’s scholarly content? The ramifications of the curatorial voice being marketed through commercial avenues is a concern for the marketing department at the NGC to some degree but attendance figures are the most crucial concerns in the process. Marketing officer, Hélène Donaldson summarized the Emily marketing process.

... We [marketing] are trying to get bodies in the door they [the curators] are looking at it from a different angle-trying to further the cause of Canadian Art. So, for the most part, we would come up with, like we get the general gist of the exhibition that is being put together from the curators and each exhibition has a different curator so it’s never the same one. And based on that spin, like the Emily Carr exhibit for example, we are recreating a 1927 exhibit that was done in the other building that we were in at that time- in the first gallery...The Emily Carr exhibit it’s more of a “what is her creative process and what is it that inspires her” and I guess how that inspiration has changed throughout her life. So you are going to see very different things. When we are looking to do a marketing campaign for that -you can’t just do what you have been doing before because it’s not a retrospective it’s not what people are going to expect to see. And you want to be as truthful as possible in your marketing of that because you don’t want people coming through the door to be disappointed. (If they are expecting one thing and then get something else) so with Emily Carr (it was actually our chief’s brainchild)-it was a fantastic idea. We are basically using a picture of her face because the title of the exhibition is New Perspectives. So it’s a new way of looking at Emily Carr. We’re not necessarily using her works of art. It will be very Blair Witch style. Television commercials, you know, somebody going

⁵⁹ Joanne Laucius, “Unmasking the NAC’s Woman of Mystery,” The Ottawa Citizen June 3, 2006: D1.

⁶⁰ Laucius D1.

through the woods saying you know where's Emily? Emily, you know, Banners- have you seen Emily? Very almost grassroots which is very different for a crown corporation like the National Gallery. So, we pitched that idea to the curator and to the educators and to the various key players. They have to approve that because they have to make sure that it fits in line with what it is that they are trying to do scholarly wise. Luckily for that one it was all a go so we are ploughing ahead with it. Sometimes there is a bit of clashing with ideas as far as which images we should be using for promotional images and what a title should be or, you know, because we are always looking at the mass population perspective. So it has like I said we have had our challenges in the past we are getting a lot better with that but I think you will see some really good things this summer with Emily Carr.⁶¹

The interplay of Emily is really fraught with inherent tensions between the marketing agent and the curatorial and institutional vision. After all, attendance is important to the exhibition offered, just as revenues are important, despite the fact that the National Gallery is a crown corporation.

Art Historian Roger Kimball, in his article, "The Museum as Fun House," shows that museums have evolved to blockbuster venues wherein attendance and crowds are paramount to success. He concludes,

Although unstated, I shall argue that art museums typically have other missions that are actively, if insidiously implemented through processes of representation (re-presentation), socialization, institutionalization, and commoditization. The museum functions as a "socializing institution," that both represents and presents cultural assumptions, as well as social and aesthetic values to young and old alike.⁶²

The re-presentation of Emily Carr as Blair Witch [Figure 10] aesthetic (an independent horror film of the late 1990s that recounts the final days of teenage filmmakers whom ultimately die at the hands of the dreaded Blair Witch of Maryland) presents popular culture's depiction of intrigue. The younger visitors (reflecting the demographics discussed above) would have been familiar with the film medium yet

⁶¹ Donaldson [See Appendix]

⁶² Roger Kimball, "Museum as Fun House," The New Criterion no. 19 vol. 6 (2001) 5.

possibly not aware of Emily Carr. This marketing ploy then causes sensation in the consuming mass. They are attracted to the rhetoric of commercial discourse. But this also presents a fragmentation of the Emily Carr exhibition in that the figure has no acquaintance with the Blair Witch narrative. The total commercial and curatorial narrative is disjointed. Again, recall the repetition of images in constructing meaning as defined by Bal. It is interesting in this light to think of the image repeated through fragmentation of imposed significance (the applied Blair Witch aesthetic over the Emily Carr figural image so that the early 20th century painter appears as a commercial icon). The signified meaning is not the repetitive connotative understanding (Emily as creative Canadian master) that the galleries of the past would have inscribed. It is then less than comprehensible to scholarly circles. To further complicate the issue, it is probably fragmented to some of the mass visitors who maybe do not have any knowledge of the Blair Witch aesthetic. And yet, the subtitle of New Perspectives (as imposed by the marketing department) declares, "*See Emily like Never Before!*" [Figure 11] This could present hip marketing appeal.

When viewing the creative campaign, we see that Emily Carr does indeed take on the air of a ghostly figure. This is reminiscent of The Blair Witch Project film where the main figure's face is cropped and eerily contrived to pose as a ghostly presence. The Emily photograph is reproduced, cropped and zoomed in and out of focus to reflect the Blair Witch creative work. In yellow, her name appears as Emily. Her first name is included only to impose familiarity of subject. The simplicity of the campaign is meant to evoke participation with Emily, as if she is a peer.

The internet campaign for Emily is supposed to represent Emily Carr's world which is seen through the lens of commercial culture via the website. The subtitles invite empathy: *Laugh with Emily, Hear Emily's Stories, Walk in Emily's Shoes, Feel Emily's Anger*. [Figure 12] Again, this is reflective of the Blair Witch aesthetic. In The Blair Witch Project, subtitles are meant to entice the viewer to experience the spooky world of the teenage filmmakers. [Figure 13] Emily (her first name used to create familiarity) is a commodity to be consumed, much like the Blair Witch film. And yet, the press kit created for the exhibition states that this exhibition "looks at this much-loved artist through the historical lens of 20th century exhibitions that presented her work and in the social and political contexts that defined her world."⁶³ Perhaps curators Johanne Lamoureux, Charlie Hill and Ian Thom have envisioned an exhibition rooted in the past (a throwback to the museological displays of the early twentieth century) but the marketing campaign does not reflect these nuances.

The marketing department of the National Gallery does not reveal their marketing strategies in text form so one can only speculate as to the reasons why they chose this particular aesthetic to market Emily Carr. It appears that an aesthetic such as Blair Witch could entice the student demographics and still satisfy the age 25-34 group who would probably be familiar with flashy marketing enticements. Perhaps that indicates that the curator becomes caterer to these groups to get high attendance records, an important consideration (as Robert Kimball discusses). Undoubtedly, the upbeat Emily, the persona of the "new" and "Never seen before" spices up the relatively mundane prim ladylike

⁶³ The National Gallery of Canada, "Communique," Summer 2006: See Emily like never before! (Ottawa: NGC, 2006) 1.

figure of yesteryear. The marketing department, however, still asserts that they adhere to the curator's vision for the exhibition.

We follow the Gallery mandate definitely. Marketing wise I can tell you we just have to follow what the curator's vision is for the exhibition. Our mandate is get people in the door. We don't necessarily have a branding exercise that's on the go but we definitely want to respect the high profile and respected profile of the gallery in everything that we do... We're there to do the marketing. Hopefully, that translates into bodies in the door but, like I said, we are there to get the word out.⁶⁴

It can be argued that to some degree the Marketing Department is not really following the mandate of the NGC when the ultimate motivation of the entity lies in the attendance of the exhibition. The marketing campaign is also not totally reflective of the exhibition either when the cropped Emily Carr appears edgy and ghost like in the ads that were displayed. The marketing strategy here interpellates the individual into an iconography of Emily Carr as a mysterious Canadian icon, not the image that is reflected in the exhibition sphere which is a relatively traditional display of Carr's paintings.

Emily Carr as Iconic Canadian Souvenir

The souvenirs available at the gallery gift shop for the Emily exhibition were plentiful. The souvenirs available included The Heina Painting of 1928 in night light form, plush animals that were arranged in totem pole fashion in the gift shop [Figure 14] generic paint brushes and paint tins meant to inspire the future Emily Carrs of Canada, mugs, puzzles and reproductions of Carr artwork in the gallery exhibition. Alongside the Emily Carr items were Group of Seven paraphernalia to complete a Canadian identity as seen through commercial commodities. Again, a certain message of Canadian identity was represented through the souvenir and items like the plush moose provide stereotypical

⁶⁴ Donaldson [See Appendix].

notions of the Canadian landscape. The marketing of these items changes the view of the exhibition and defines the viewer's experience, like the powerful marketing campaign.

To return to Susan Stewart's argument, the souvenir serves to trace the "once in a lifetime" experience. Here, the souvenir serves that purpose, while also providing conflicting messages about Carr's work. Items like the plush bears and paint brushes obscure the image of the exhibition in that they are divorced from the overall message of the exhibition: Emily Carr's work and life. Yet, the visitor, no doubt, feels national pride when purchasing these items as they stand in for the imagined national community of Canada.

The Emily Carr Marketing Campaign's legacy

The summer blockbuster exhibition of 2006 clearly illustrates the creation of a marketing campaign directly influenced by popular culture. In this sense, the art gallery is functioning in the same fashion as corporate business. In this way, the exhibition can be comprised and, as seen in the example of Emily, the commercial sphere alters the end result of the exhibition. It is a moot point to note that the gallery sphere still maintains a certain classification as the holder of higher taste, and yet, the commerciality inherent within the NGC walls is very apparent. More and more galleries are functioning in the same milieu as malls and hockey arenas (including the NGC). While there are those who can be classified as elite consumers (educated art professionals, students and aesthetic connoisseurs) the trope of art taste appears to be deflating in hopes of marketing mass consumable art items. The National Gallery is reflective of the marketing strategies used by institutions to entice the layperson into the gallery sphere. In this light, the gallery can

be viewed as a case of curator as compromised authorial voice. The ideology of the exhibition is represented within the gallery's walls (Emily as an iconic Canadian national) which is then communicated through the marketing campaign in a commercially viable package. The power of the marketing apparatus to define the exhibition should be understood and viewed as an important messenger in the initial understanding of the exhibition due to the fact that the message of the exhibition first appears in advertisement form. This promotion of the exhibition, as seen in Emily, constructs viewers as subjects and, as such, the campaign interpellates the gallery attendees as Canadian citizens. Educational rhetoric may be lost amongst marketing ploys but there will always those who seek a higher understanding even if in some instances a paint tin may replace historical relevancy when it is used as a token to remember Emily. Clearly, the blockbuster is here to stay, whether the elite consumer likes it or not. Undeniably, this is a reflection of the post modern consumer commercialization of the museum sphere.

Conclusions: Marketing Applications and the Future of National Institutions

Tony Bennett's influential 1995 critique of museums, "The Exhibitionary Complex"¹ has proven to be highly significant in its suggestion that the museum is by no means a neutral institution; instead he argues that museums articulate ideology through modes of display. Bennett described the historic move from cabinets of curiosities to public exhibitions which was brought forward in the late eighteenth to nineteenth century (as seen in Bennett's example of The World's Fair of 1851). A new spectacle for the public was born where power was exercised by the state through modes of display which still exists in today's museums. Bennett concludes,

The exhibitionary complex... were involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where, through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but of a different type) throughout society.²

The different type of power concluded to have been present here is the state's power to construct its citizens as social Subjects through the exhibition's modes of display. Bennett's analysis is beneficial for future art historians to discern the ideological power that the museum maintains. Citizens are constructed as subjects through the interpellation of the cultural site. Bennett's analysis, which was a catalyst for the vast amount of scholarship written in New Museology, shows that the discussion of cultural authority is pivotal to understanding power within national institutions.

¹ Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 59-88.

² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 63.

Bennett's critique and other works of "New Museology" that followed in its wake, however, typically address the museum's power through analyses of collections and exhibition display. In this growing body of literature, little attention is paid to other- less professionally-oriented- aspects of the museum. Key among them is marketing, which I argue here is one of the ways in which the museum wields power and creates subjectivity.

This thesis has argued that marketing and advertising are important concerns for all museums. Marketing practices are part and parcel of the museum enterprise and, as such, the marketing apparatus affects the ways in which the museum defines its mission and message. As I have argued, marketing also defines nationalism and national identity in museums through its broad system of processes. Marketing procedures include modes of advertising, exhibition pamphlets, retailing, website application and museum membership. To add to the discussion of marketing and the way in which the museum functions, I have drawn on Althusser's concept of "interpellation" as a model. Not only does the museum *interpellate* the individual through its collections (as Tony Bennett has argued influentially in "The Exhibitionary Complex"), but also through marketing practice. In making a "pilgrimage" to the museum, the visitor enters into and performs ideological values asserted by the museum. The individual is rendered a Subject of that ideology through the hailing or calling (interpellation) of the state or museum. In this thesis, I have addressed the fact that museums function as an ideological state apparatus and the individual is interpellated into the I.S.A through the message communicated on site but also through various means of marketing. Thus, the museum visitor is interpellated by the museum's message and the marketing campaigns that define the

museum's exhibitions. Through the case study examples of the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Lace Up and The National Gallery of Canada's Emily, I have concluded that visitors are interpellated as subjects of the Canadian state. Clearly, marketing can change the meaning of the exhibition. It can also affect the curatorial vision and the experience of the individual. Undoubtedly, in the case of the national museum, marketing is an ideological tool that defines identity.

Chapter One provided an overview of marketing in general and within the museum specifically. In this chapter, as in the thesis as a whole, I drew on literature from the New Museology as well as sources from marketing. This literature provides invaluable material for my study about the procedures, attitudes and tools employed by marketing. Drawing on this literature, I argued that marketing strategies and advertising are deemed necessary by museum officials in maintaining visitor attendance. At the same time, I argued that the museum's marketing department maintains an authoritative role in defining the museum's mission and message particularly as it pertains to national identity. Indeed, federal museums in Canada participate in publicly defining and reinforcing Canadian national identity. In turn, the museum's marketing campaigns are an essential-if often neglected- component of the promotion of an essentialized Canadian identity.

In Chapter Two, I argued that the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Lace Up provided the viewer with a stereotypical image of Canada, rendered in part by the marketing campaign for the exhibition. Lace Up was an exhibition devoted to the history and various manifestations of ice skating, incorporating displays on recreational skating and sports. As a whole, the exhibition interpellates the viewer as a Subject of an

essentialized Canada defined in broad terms by winter and hearty athleticism. Among other declarations, the exhibition suggested that all Canadians participate in winter sports and, accordingly, that skating is part of Canada's national character. Another powerful interpellator within the exhibition was the souvenir object. Drawing on the work of theorist Susan Stewart, I concluded that the souvenir is a reflection of the museum itself and that the souvenir also interpellates the individual. The notion of a Canadian character that is more entertaining and accessible (as seen in souvenir items that included stuffed moose and key chains) is not necessarily reflective of Canada as a whole and is problematic when the souvenir item's message constructs exhibition viewers as national citizenry. I concluded that Lace Up served as an example of commercial ideology which impacts Canadian national identity.

In Chapter Three, I argued that the National Gallery of Canada's exhibition, Emily defined nationalism through the exhibition space and the marketing processes of the museum. Althusser's concept of interpellation was again central to my analysis and the ideology communicated through the marketing campaign and exhibition was elucidated. The marketing campaign for Emily demonstrated a planned advertisement influenced by popular culture (namely the pop-culture film hit, The Blair Witch Project) and I argued that this influence of popular culture constructed a certain ideology that, at times, conflicted with the museum's curatorial vision. The souvenir also constructed a certain image of Canadian identity which was contradictory to Emily Carr's live and work. While the gallery space still seems to maintain an ownership on the realm of higher taste, the commerciality permeating its walls is very evident. I concluded that the

interpellation of the marketing apparatus should be understood and that it should be viewed as a major messenger in the meaning of the exhibition arena.

This thesis has aimed to make a valuable contribution to New Museology within Canada. It is my hope that it can provide a starting point for future studies to address the applications and processes of marketing in national institutions and the inherent power those processes maintain. This area of research, while underdeveloped, is valuable to understanding the ways in which cultural authority functions within national institutions. Museums are powerful purveyors of identity (as stated by Bennett) but the modes of ideological interpellation not only exist onsite but through the marketing machine. The exhibition is seen through images maintained in advertising form and the advertisement is often the first identification that the visitor has with the exhibition. That is a powerful position for marketing to maintain. In an age where image is everything, advertising visuals in the museum are the objects of first recognition. Undeniably, curators and art professionals need to understand the power that marketing owns and cooperate with the marketing campaigns and retailing establishments in order to create a unified ideology. This thesis has been completed with the desire to educate future art professionals so that they will recognize and address marketing. I hope that future marketing departments demand art historians among their staff so that the museum's mission and message can avoid simplistic characterizations. Clearly, marketing can be a helpful tool to educate and direct the public.

Figures

The NGC visitor profile, these are the 2004-05 results from an exit survey conducted at the National Gallery (as per Mélanie Lanois/Administrative and Statistical Officer/Visitor Services / National Gallery of Canada)

Age Groups

24 and under: 17%

25-34: 19%

35-44: 16%

45-54: 18%

55-64: 17%

65 +: 13%

Mean: 44 years old

Figure 1

The National of Galley of Canada visitor profile, 2004-05.

Table 1 shows that museum and art gallery attendance increases steadily with income. The table also shows that museums reach a larger proportion of Canadians in every income group than do popular music events (including rock, jazz, blues, folk and country). Art galleries reach a larger proportion of Canadians than pop music events in all but one income group – \$60,000 to \$79,999.

Table 1: Museum and public art gallery attendance by household income
With comparisons to performing arts and popular music

<i>Income group</i>	<i>Any museum</i>	<i>Public art gallery or art museum</i>	<i>Any performing arts</i>	<i>Popular music events</i>
Less than \$20,000	21.8%	15.9%	23.7%	14.8%
\$20,000 to \$39,999	28.2%	19.9%	31.2%	16.9%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	34.3%	25.2%	37.9%	22.0%
\$60,000 to \$79,999	37.8%	26.8%	47.1%	28.1%
\$80,000 and over	48.6%	39.0%	55.0%	31.5%

Figure 2

Table 1: Museum and public art gallery attendance by household income, Canada, 1998, Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces, Research Series on the Arts, Hill Strategies Research Inc., vol. 1, no. 3, March, 2003

Table 2 demonstrates that Canadian museum attendance rates increase with education, with over half of Canadians who have completed at least a bachelors degree (53.0%) visiting a museum during the survey year. This is nearly three times the attendance rate of those who have not completed high school (19.2%). Attendance at art galleries is also highest for those with higher educational attainment.

Table 2 also compares attendance at museums and public art galleries with attendance at performing arts events and popular music events. The table also shows that museums reach a larger proportion of Canadians in every education level than popular music events. Art galleries reach a larger proportion of Canadians than pop music events in all education groups except those with less than a high school education.

Table 2: Museum and public art gallery attendance by education
With comparisons to performing arts and popular music

<i>Education group</i>	<i>Any museum</i>	<i>Public art gallery or art museum</i>	<i>Any performing arts</i>	<i>Popular music events</i>
Less than high school	19.2%	12.2%	23.3%	12.5%
High school	24.1%	18.5%	33.2%	17.3%
Post-secondary in progress or not completed	37.3%	29.1%	44.2%	27.3%
College or trades diploma	33.2%	23.4%	38.1%	21.2%
Bachelors degree or higher	53.0%	42.3%	55.7%	31.9%

Figure 3

Table 2: Museum and public art gallery attendance by education
Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces
Research Series on the Arts, Hill Strategies Research Inc.
Vol.1, No. 3, March, 2003

Figure 4

Philadelphia Museum of Art Gift Shop

Philadelphia International Airport

Philadelphia, PA, 2006.

Figure 5

Philadelphia Museum of Art Gift Shop

Philadelphia International Airport

Philadelphia, PA, 2006

Figure 6

The Canadian Museum of Civilization

Lace Up: Canada's Passion for Skating

Jan. 27, 2006 to April 1, 2007

<<http://www.civilization.ca/expo/ex01e.asp?ExID=284>>.

Figure 7

Tom Thomson

The Jack Pine

c.1916-1917, 127.9 x 139.8 cm

Oil on Canvas

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

Figure 8

Summary of educational programs by school level, 2004-2005, 2005-2006

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

2005-06															
Educational Programs															
Summary by School Level															
School Programs															
Kindergarten to Grade 3 Grade 4 to Grade 6 Grade 7 and Grade 8 (Sec I and II) Grade 9 to OAC (Sec. III to V) General Tours School	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			School Programs		
	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time
	2890	74	110	34	1	1	3084	94	168	999	31	53	7007	200	333
	1780	51	70.5	15	1	1	1747	54	92.5	930	29	49	4472	135	211
	3638	79	82	40	1	1	582	22	40.5	690	25	44.5	4950	127	166
Total: School Programs	1513	48	55	269	11	14	2087	80	94.5	259	9	11	4128	148	174.5
	18425	378	379.5	530	19	19.5	974	25	25.5	2575	55	56	22504	477	480.5
	28,246	630	697	888	33	37	8,474	275	421	5,453	149	214	42,900	1,083	1,360
2004-05															
Educational Programs															
Summary by School Level															
School Programs															
Kindergarten to Grade 3 Grade 4 to Grade 6 Grade 7 and Grade 8 (Sec I and II) Grade 9 to OAC (Sec. III to V) General Tours School	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			Total		
	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time	Visitor	Event	Time
	2,238	62	76	149	4	5	1,844	51	83	2,530	80	127	6,761	197	290
	2,176	60	80	65	3	4	3,713	91	138	1,701	56	89	7,655	210	311
	758	18	21	266	8	14	808	21	36	2,135	53	76	3,967	100	146
Total: School Programs	664	29	30	267	11	14	2,242	63	82	696	27	31	3,869	130	151
	25,526	524	408	526	15	15	693	12	12	840	20	20	27,585	571	455
	31,362	693	614	1,273	41	52	9,300	238	350	7,902	236	343	49,837	1,208	1,356

Figure 2: Summary of educational programs by school level, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, NGC.

Figure 9**Emily Carr; New Perspectives Exhibition****Survey Results Cross tabs**

The National Gallery of Canada, 2 June - 4 September 2006

Survey results Crosstabs

The following data is valid for the period of 2 June - 4 September 2006

Major exhibition on view during this period:

Emily Carr: New Perspectives

Data reflects admission to the special exhibition only: 807 respondents

**A Last visit to the
National Gallery of Canada**

1 to 6 months	24%	36%
6 to 12 months	12%	
1 to 3 years	27%	27%
4 years or more	11%	36%
First visit	25%

B Geo-demographic profile

NCR	45%	Ottawa	41%
		Gatineau	4%
Ontario	22%	Toronto	8%
		Ont. elsewhere	14%
Quebec	12%	Montreal	9%
		Quebec elsewhere	3%
Other provinces	10%	Maritimes	2%
		West, B.C. etc	8%
USA	5%	USA	5%
Other countries	6%	Other countries	6%

**C Recall advertisement in the past
6 months.**

Do not remember	2%
Do not recall	29%
Recall advertisement	69%

Figure 10

The Blair Witch Project

Film Poster, 1999

Figure 11

This is Emily, New Perspectives

National Gallery of Canada, 2006

Figure 12

Emily Subtitles, New Perspectives

Jan. 2006 <[www. Nationalgallery.ca/Emily/en/flash.html](http://www.Nationalgallery.ca/Emily/en/flash.html)>.

Figure 13

The Blair Witch Project Subtitles, The Blair Witch Project, 1999

</www.blairwitch.com/>.

Figure 14
Emily Carr, New Perspectives
 Display Window of Gift shop
 The National Gallery of Canada, 2006

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Appendix

TRANSCRIPTION OF INTERVIEW WITH JULIE MARION, Manager, Marketing, Tourism and IMAXCanadian Museum of Civilization Corporation,

May 15 2007

J: Jill Perttula, M.A. Candidate

JM: Julie Marion, Marketing Manager

J: I just want to begin by asking you your title and ask you to explain the divisions within the Marketing Department at the Museum of Civilization?

JM: Alright, so my name is Julie Marion, I am the manager of marketing, tourism and IMAX theatre of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, which comprises also of the Canadian War Museum. Our division looks after both museums. Some divisions don't, part of the corporation specifically exhibitions, work a little bit differently, although together at the very high top level but the day to day they have separate officers to look after the print exhibition. However, for marketing, business operations and client services, which is my big division, we look at both museums. The big divisions are of course, marketing, IMAX, retail operations, client services, call center and facility rentals. So it is about the business side of the corporation.

J: Okay, so there are individual officers for each exhibition? They look after the exhibition?

JM: No, no the marketing in itself is a very small team actually. I'm leading a team of 6 people altogether two of which specifically work on the IMAX theatre because for the IMAX theatre my team is responsible for everything: programming, selection of movies, promotion, media relations, events, coordination, you name it promotions, my team does it all except for the technical side of projection or client services. For the exhibitions I have 4 officers, one is basically the tourism officer. So she takes care for both museums and for every exhibition of making sure that the tourism industry is well aware of what they offer and to keep the top of mind of both museums for the tour operators. The exhibitions we do not promote per say every exhibition that go through that the museums puts forward. We have priorities which we push harder, together with the full experience of each museum.

J: Is that the special exhibitions you would push harder?

JM: Would be, would be. Right now for the Museum of Civilization, the big focus is the Treasures from China and the big focus for the Canadian War Museum is Afghanistan: A Glimpse of War.

To complete the team, we have the other officer is the advertising and promotions officer. She looks after basically together with our agency of record, to create the image of the exhibition, the key art, the signature and to produce all the marketing material, plan the media selection for the campaign. The next officer is the day to day on the ad side of

things. We produce over 400 print ads a year for both museums plus IMAX theatre so that's a lot of work and back and forth with the agency. So we have an officer that basically just does only that plus brings support to the tourism officer, in terms of traveling to sell the museum. We attend many trade shows and some conflict with one another and especially we have two museums to represent so at some times we do need two officers to complete this so Melanie does those two tasks and then the next one is basically concentrating her time on the distribution information side of things so distribution of all materials, maybe posters, cards and being the contact to the outside in terms of whoever would have a request in regards to the museum. So that's that. My role is to oversee all of this and also titling of the exhibition is with me. We view the exhibition titles as the key marketing tool so as much as possible.

J: Do you talk to the curator about it? [Titling of the exhibition]

JM: We have many things with the curator. With the exhibition team, there's a goal process where we brainstorm, we put ideas together. We scratch some, we keep some. We always try to have the best option that both fits the mandate of the exhibition (what it is) and what would be efficient in compelling audiences. And then it goes to the executive committee and sometimes, usually for big exhibitions for our focus, we do title tests for our audiences.

J: Do you have target audiences? Do you do market research? And what demographics are you trying to reach?

JM: We do have research but we have a key research center in the corporation but it is not part of the marketing team. It's on its own. It is called research. And they do yearly surveys via computers that are installed here and there. And they do one main survey a year. Either it's a summer survey or a winter survey where they would interview large portions of the visitors about you know going from how long they were here, where they are from, if they had heard about us, through which means, etcetera. It's very wide so we get to find out a lot of information. (Where the marketing dollars are basically put towards the local clientele). And, because of the way the national capital region is, its demographic, and our campaigns are usually mass marketed. So we use both dailies (and always bilingual) we always aim for French and English audiences. The ratio of visitors is about 30 percent French and 70 percent English which represents well the actual demographic of the National Capital Region. So, we use print, we use outdoor, we use radio and television. We switch depending on what is the subject of the exhibition, or what is the time of year, then we can decide to target in different ways. But, it's always pretty much mass. For some exhibitions, that would be more niche then we would look at niche media. The museum also has the division that is called the public affairs. Public affairs also do a lot of promotion, they don't buy media but they do all the media relations which is quite important. And they also do some specific targeting for specific niche markets.

J: With a niche campaign or niche promotional items what would you do in particular. I guess it depends on the exhibition?

JM: It depends on the market. Say, Glenn Gould is coming up so, you know, we would do more effort towards the musical community.

J: Are there any government policies that dictate how you run the marketing department. How are funds allocated?

JM: I said that most of the funds are local. It is true that for the local campaigns which is the most advertising. In terms of marketing, what we do in terms of tourism also is a large portion of our budget. And, this aims towards regional, national and international.

J: So you're going to trade shows to push the museum as a viable product?

JM: Exactly. We also do some advertising with our partners. We partner together with Ottawa Tourism, the NCC, the OGMP, so we are partners in major campaigns that do promote the destination in which we are key attractions. The mandate of both institutions is to primarily aim and promote culture and be available to all Canadians.

J: So all your marketing campaigns will fall in line with the mandate of the museums?

JM: Yes. Sure we do aim international but we are aware and we like to work towards the fact that this belongs to all Canadians and all Canadians should be invited to see all we have to offer here. Your country, your world, your museum is a new brand we just put together.

J: You spend all your time marketing special exhibitions but I know that the First Peoples Hall and The Grand Hall is major draw. Would that be part of an advertising campaign?

JM: It depends. I say we would market our permanent offers when we market the museum as the big attraction or the very complete experience.

J: Do you have a lot of input into the web-site?

JM: No, it's a separate division.

J: You said that you also oversee retail. I was wondering about the ways in which you decide which promotional items are available. Is there a specific buyer that handles the promotional concerns? Do you have a dialogue with the gift shop when you are putting together a marketing campaign and do you talk about specific promotional items that will be made available during an exhibition campaign?

JM: Yes we do. We have a boutique manager. So, I can talk a little bit about what she does. Yes she does consult with the exhibitions team a year before the exhibition comes or six months before the exhibitions come. And depending on the topic and what can be available that can link with the exhibitions. We would take a special effort to find items that would relate to the theme. Keeping in mind that it needs to sell, it needs to be

respectful and so on. We also do some product development. A little less for special exhibitions, a little more for the museums' brand of their own.

J: Do the curators of the exhibitions actually have any input into what commercial type items are sold for their exhibition.

JM: Yes and no. We would consult, but at the end of the day, the retail operations are responsible for their revenue. They're responsible for their operations, so they are responsible for what they put out there on the shelves. The War Museum because of its general topic, is a little bit more difficult to match product with special exhibitions so it's very much broad in terms of military history. The Museum of Civilization, however, can have some very well fits to the exhibition for retail operations. Such as right now we have the Unique exhibition which is thirty years of collecting craft. So, some of the artists that we are showing works inside the exhibition, we are selling their craft inside of the boutique. So we can link stuff like that. We have what we call the temp boutique. It is actually specific to the main exhibition. You actually exit, right now you exit Treasures from China into that temporary boutique which is all about China. So you have product development but you also have tea, delicacies, silk.

J: In terms of Canadian identity and the museum, I think we already discussed the message, your brand sums it up: *Your country, your world, your museum*. The museum is available for all Canadians. It's your heritage.

JM: That's right. For the War Museum, the message is really about the personal, national and international dimension of war.

J: I am specifically looking at Lace Up, as a case study within my thesis. I actually went to the IMAX at the CMC and there was a commercial for it in the IMAX. So, my question is when did you start implementing these commercials available and do you find them effective in bringing in visitors into the exhibition?

JM: Everything is really, really hard to measure. So we do as much as we can in order to bring as many people as we can into the door. Yes, to keep our operations up and running but mainly to have as many people access the exhibition, the history and the work put into it as heritage of a country. Depending on, the topic of the exhibition, its priority rank, the time of year, we would choose or not to do TV. For Lace Up, if you are talking about the TV commercial that was on the IMAX theatre, we had that TV commercial available because we made it for TV. We had a campaign on Radio Canada and CBC, therefore it was available so we put it there to cross promote our product, part of the whole corporation.

We now have a new price structure, which is also coming from marketing, where each offer for the corporation can be combined. And people can mix and save. The four offers are admission to the War Museum, admission to the Canadian Museum of Civilization, admission to the main exhibition or special exhibition at the CMC, China right now, or the IMAX. So, one can choose to visit all of these and the more you buy the less you pay. For the tourists it's interesting because they can be in town for a couple days and they can

decide to see both museums and they save on admission and they have two extra days to visit one or the other museum. For the local community, it's quite interesting as well because that allows them to not pay for general admission of a museum they have already seen many many times. But, to get a break on the fees to get to see the new must see exhibition and the new IMAX movie. So, I think it's a win, win situation for everybody.

J: Could we just go over the marketing campaign for the Lace Up exhibition because I found it interesting the way it coincided with the canal and Winterlude. Was that a big push to bring the canal visitors, tourists into the museum?

JM: Absolutely, we partnered with the NCC. We partnered over a period of 2 years, well two Winterlude seasons because the Lace Up exhibition was quite long, it showed for a year and a half. So we had the opportunity to get more return on investment that way because we would cover two Winterludes. And, as I said earlier, our campaigns, depending on the timing, we would do different efforts. Well, this is a good indication of how we really pushed Lace Up during winter months, that we partnered with the NCC, to be visible on the canal, to have actually that TV spot we talked about shown on the ball, big screen that is by the NAC. In return, we do promote the Winterlude here at the museum also. We're all in this together. The federal partners and the NCC and both DMOs (Destination Marketing Offices) we're partnering to make Ottawa a great big destination where people can find whatever attraction that would suit them. So, the more we work together and the more we can fit our messages, the more efficient we are and the greater the response should be from the surrounding area (Toronto, and Montreal).

J: Press conferences, are they coordinated by public affairs?

JM: Yes. Except for IMAX, as I said we do everything for IMAX, for IMAX it would be us, but they're not as grandiose as for the exhibitions.

J: Do you have a membership program at the CMC and War Museum?

JM: Yes, we have two types of membership. Actually membership for the museum is a membership for both museums. It's called a dual membership. So, you get to be a member of the Canadian War Museum and the Museum of Civilization and you have different levels of involvement where you have more services and whatnot depending on the, your investment. The most popular is the family membership which is very affordable. We also have the IMAX Club membership which is a membership specific to IMAX.

J: Do you specifically market any education programs.

JM: Yes. We don't, that's not part of my team, part of the corporation yes. That would be under exhibitions and programs. All the programming looks after actually putting together the school programs as well as all the other programming events that would occur throughout the year aimed at Mr. and Mrs. Everybody. But the school programs are with them and it is their task and opportunity to market to the school boards. I would

think they limit to the two hour rubber tire type of area, but we do outreach for a more broader geographical area with our tourism officer. We do target the tour operator that would specialize in student tour groups that would also tie in with the programs that we offer.

TRANSCRIPT: INTERVIEW WITH HELNE DONALDSON IN MARKETING AND COMMUNICATIONS/ The National Gallery of Canada

March 3, 2006

J: Jill Perttula, M.A. Candidate

H: Hélène Donaldson, Marketing Officer

J: I just wanted to start with your title and ask you to explain the divisions within the marketing department at the NGC?

H: We have a chief of communications in marketing and then under him we have a manager of public relations and then on the media side we have a senior media relations officer and a communications officer. The senior media relations officer would take care of more of the media relations, the communications officer prints all of our brochures (coordinates the production) all of our brochures and posters and website content as well as being the backup media officer.. Then on the marketing side there are two of us... There is myself in tourism marketing and then there is an advertising officer who takes care of all of The Ottawa Citizen ads and Le Droit, things like that. There is also a director of public affairs an associate that handles any external communications that happen to come up.. We purchase a controversial piece of art she is the one who is going to respond to those inquiries.

J: Are there any government policies that dictate how you run the marketing department? How are funds allocated to the marketing department?

H: Basically within the gallery, being a crown corporation, we are not necessarily told so much has to go toward marketing. Internally that is determined. And, really a lot has to do with how many other expenses there are in other departments (does the building need fixing and things like that) But, really in three years I have been here the budget hasn't really changed. It remains consistent throughout.

J: You mentioned controversial pieces of art, how is Canadian art marketed in general and if you were to purchase a work of art that was labeled as controversial, how would you "spin" the press?

H: Well, being the NGC we have more than just Canadian art so we are promoting a lot more than just Canadian art. Obviously the Canadian art is our focus because we have the best and most comprehensive collection of Canadian art in the world. So, promoting that is always our key thing. I should backtrack that back to October 2004, we were free to our permanent collection which is all of our Canadian art including contemporary and modern art so a lot of people would just come in and out. You know frequentation was a little bit more lax than when we installed the, or started with the admission fee. Now we can track who is coming into the galleries and things like that and we can track which promotions are working. Where did you hear from us? We are doing the postal code survey that you get at a lot of stores and things as well as on the spot surveys. We will catch visitors every once in a while (every five visitors) to ask them more detailed

questions so we can track of marketing efforts and see if they are working. That has really made a big difference.

J: That was actually going to be my next question. Do you have market research and do you have a target audience? Who are trying to reach? Specifically, what are the demographics that you are trying to reach?

H: Well, because we are a national attraction, I mean when you are looking at Ottawa.. Ottawa is the number one student city destination The NGC is definitely in the top three for all markets: seniors, adults, students, It depends on the time of year. We focus on different areas but being a national attraction we don't have the limitation of many other art galleries where they would have to find a specific niche. Generally we are more frequented by seniors and students. There is definitely a gap in your 35-50.

J: I know every year you have a major blockbuster- the summer exhibition. But how do you market an exhibition like Art of This Land where it is a permanent fixture within the NGC?

H: We do a lot of the same things media relations wise. We would still do fact sheets and press kits and Q and As and things like that for it. Try to create as much buzz as possible without having to necessarily pay for advertising. We won't necessarily hold a press conference for each exhibition that is smaller like that but what we will do if we are doing one for a larger exhibition we will talk about all the other ones that are happening at the same time. So, Art of This Land has been ongoing for quite awhile too that changes its position. But with the governor generals awards we have those every year but it's only for two months max so you can do a little more "Need to come now before it goes" whereas Art of This Land is sort of ongoing. But there is different ways to spin it to try and get some publicity on it anyway but, I mean, our biggest competitor would be the Museum of Civilization and they are so strong because they have their totem poles and their aboriginal content. Something like Art of This Land is our chance to really capitalize on that. You know, Look at all the aboriginal and Inuit Art that we have... It's all grouped here together for you to be able to take in. You don't necessarily have to do every museum in Ottawa. You know we kind of picture ourselves as being the *one stop shop* if you want to get you know the hands on activities of a children's museum, if you want to get the visual arts as well as we will often have performers in our great hall-evening events. And then like I said the Inuit Aboriginal factor.

J: In marketing you have direct dialogue with the curator of the exhibition. How does your marketing strategy reflect this communication and if there is any problems of creative difference who is the authoritative voice (who wins out)?

H: It's not a matter of who wins out it's more we are all trying to make the exhibition a success. Curators look at it from a different points of view in the fact that they, you know. We also have in our mandate that we are here to advance Canadian art in scholarly circles as well. So we are trying to get bodies in the door they are looking at from a different angle- trying to further the cause of Canadian art. So, for the most part, we would come

up with, like we get the general gist of the exhibition that is being put together from the curators and each exhibition has a different curator so it's never the same one. And based on that spin, like the Emily Carr exhibit for example, we are recreating a 1927 exhibit that was done in the other building that we were in at that time- in the first gallery. But the second gallery is it's not: a lot of our exhibitions are retrospectives so it's basically here is the beginning of her work here is the end of her work and here's everything in the middle. Whereas this Emily Carr exhibit it's more of a "what is her creative process and what is it that inspires her" and I guess how that inspiration has changed throughout her life. So you are going to see very different things. When we are looking to do a marketing campaign for that you can't just do what you have been doing before because it's not a retrospective it's not what people are going to expect to see. And you want to be as truthful as possible in your marketing of that because you don't want people coming through the door to be disappointed. If they are expecting one thing and then get something else so with Emily Carr it was actually our chief's brainchild it was a fantastic idea. We are basically using a picture of her face because the title of the exhibition is New Perspectives. So it's a new way of looking at Emily Carr. We're not necessarily using her works of art. It will be very Blair Witch style. Television commercials you know somebody going through the woods saying you know, "Where's Emily?" Emily, you know. Banners, have you seen Emily? Very almost grassroots which is very different for a crown corporation like the National Gallery. So, we pitched that idea to the curator and to the educators and to the various key players. They have to approve that because they have to make sure that it fits in line with what it is that they are trying to do scholarly wise. Luckily for that one it was all a go so we are ploughing ahead with it. Sometimes there is a bit of clashing with ideas as far as which images we should be using for promotional images and what a title should be or, you know, because we are always looking at the mass population perspective. So it has like I said we have had our challenges in the past we are getting a lot better with that but I think you will see some really good things this summer with Emily Carr. In fact our first wave of the website is up so you should check that out. You will see a little bit of the creative and where it is going to go.

J: I was going to ask you too about your web-site. Do you have a lot of input into the website?

H: We do all the content for the website. In fact, all of the content updates and the liaison with the external company that does the actual building of the website. It used to reside in communications until recently. We had two other departments that had IT people in them so the IT portion of that went to them but we still handle all the content that goes onto the website and we have our corporate website and our educational web-site. Our educational website (it changes quite a bit) that's where we have our interactive displays. Advance programming for teachers coming in with their school groups, things like that that's all on our educational web-site. Our corporate web-site talks about hours, parking, exhibitions on view, past and upcoming and then each of those exhibitions has their own mini web-site that you jump off of from the corporate site. So each of those has their own look and feel on the web-site. And then our advertising we would be putting the gallery

web address we would put directly to the exhibition web-site. Because we don't want them going necessarily to the corporate web-site and getting lost in there.

J: Do you have any input into the commercial products done for the exhibition? And do you have a dialogue with the gift shop? Who makes those decisions?

H: There you've got the right person because that's what I do. The bookstore and our caterings or our restaurants are our third entities. The gallery bookstore is a division of the gallery but anything we buy from them we basically get at full cost or minus twenty five percent. That is basically our staff discount. The challenge there we have with that is they are there to make money they are not there to give us discounts and things like that right? So, what they order, we don't have say in what they order in way of stock in the bookstore so you will find a lot of things in our bookstore that actually say AGO or the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts you know because that's who makes those products. So, promotional wise it doesn't really work well for us to have those items in our stocks. So a lot of the times we have gone around in it in many different ways in fact I have some ribbon that says NGC on it so at least we will wrap it in that. But for different events like event specific things or exhibition specific things I'll order my own promotional items. For the Renaissance exhibition last year we did mini bottles of wine with our private label. For the Emily Carr exhibit it's a little artist kit. It's a little metal tin that says Emily Carr on it with coloured pencils in it. So there is various promotional things that we do for things. But for the bulk of it we rely on the bookstore. They are the ones that are going to do the big T-shirts and hats, you know, any of those big items. But for specific little giveaways: promotional items we'll do some of those on our own.

J: What do the curators think about marketing promotional items like that?

H: I've only gotten positive commentary on that. The other challenge we should mention though is the fact that we have a foundation that searches out all of our exhibition sponsors. They're basically people that go out to get donations and those sponsorships are what allow us to print our posters and do various things. There's not really budgets for that so we rely heavily on those sponsorships. So anything that we put out has to get run by the foundation to make sure that the sponsors happy with where the logo is placed what the overall look is. That's another party to take into account.

J: The ways in which you deem a exhibition is attendance records is it not? Is this information confidential? Would I be able to look at these records?

H: Attendance is not confidential: no.

We do qualify an exhibition successful in other ways though because we are here to make art accessible to Canadians and international people. There is other ways. Like I said, the scholarly approach and other ways that we look at success. Our Renaissance exhibit was a huge success as far as international collaboration. The curator (David Franklin) really made a big step forward in our reputation in our profile internationally by being able to coordinate the loans and all of that of the works of art that we had here. A lot of those works had never left Italy. I mean it was just fantastic from that point of view.

J: Do you organize any group packages to the gallery?

H: Tourism, if you define tourism, you have your leisure people. So your people from Montreal, Toronto even your locals that are coming into, like packages: get away packages for the weekend, things like that. That's one side. And then there's your groups and even your groups are all changing now. There are still the bus groups that are coming-a lot of your student groups are on buses like that. (Seniors groups). But even seniors now want active travel or they want other things or they want to be able to determine their own itinerary. So what we have now is a lot of what we will call FIT or fully independent traveler. So they buy it through a tour operator. They are just basically buying their hotel and their flight and they are deciding what they will do once they are here. Or they are buying it through a retail operation like a travel agent and then all being grouped together on a bus so the bus is a real mix of people that may have bought the same package from different people. But, it is not worth it for one operator to put a bus for five people so they put them all together. We do do that. So the main advertising source for that is a lot of conferences, market places where we can go and meet with tour operators. I call it speed dating. We literally have a face to face appointment for eight minutes then you get up and go to the next one. But, we do about 5 or 6 of those a year. They are mostly domestic ones, some based out of the United States and we do one or two international conferences a year but most of them are the international operators coming to Canada so we don't have to go and travel too far. So that's a good market. And, like I said, the main point of advertising for that is we are always thinking ahead at least two years out because by the time they put their itinerary together, have to sell it to their client and then actually get here, they need that much lead time. Which is kind of nice because then I get to be in the loop far ahead. And I print like a one pager for them so that they have at a glance. They get special rates for groups and now what they are looking for is sample itineraries. They don't just want-"What can I do at the National Gallery?" They want to know, "What can I do in Ottawa?" You almost want to be a one stop shop. So you will see on our Emily Carr website there is actually quite a bit of information of like you know where can they stay- what can they do, where can they eat while they're here, where can they shop. Without being another Ottawa Tourism you know big organization where that's their job we do seek out partnerships and promote other partners. One of our most successful itineraries right now is with the NAC. So you do a bit of the visual arts by day, the performing arts by night. It's a full day of the arts for them so like it's really brainless for the tour operator you have to make it that easy because what there doing is packaging seven days across Canada and you want to be on that itinerary. So that's the group market. And the third part of the tourism market is the convention market. We're lucky here in that we have a special events department that handles all space rentals. So if you wanted to rent this space for a wedding or something they would do that for you. Where I get involved is for the spouses that are accompanying convention delegates or sightseeing tours for conventions. There is other things that come with the convention especially larger ones when they are coming into the city. There is often a delegate kit that they get and I want my brochure in there, various other things like that so that is where I get involved in it and coordinate those things. So really I have those three market segments.

J: Do you have a specific marketing mandate or does it follow the NGC mandate?

H: We follow the Gallery mandate definitely. Marketing wise I can tell you we just have to follow what the curators' vision is for the exhibition. Our mandate is get people in the door. And to do: We don't necessarily have a branding exercise that's on the go but we definitely want to respect the high profile and respected profile of the gallery in everything that we do. I'm lucky from my point of view (group sales) that I'm not necessarily a sales person. I don't have targets I need to meet or something like that. We're there to do the marketing. Hopefully, that translates into bodies in the door but, like I said, we are there to get the word out.

J: As for press conferences. How are those organized? What's the push to bring people to these press conferences?

H: Why don't we walk through the press kit. It's the best way to kind of go through. Press conferences, they all get a physical invitation like a mailed invitation and they would get email reminders at least a month out. And, basically the push is it's a new exhibition, each one has its own educational angle or scholarly advanced art angle. I would say on average we probably get about 30-50 media at each media event. So specifically for media, you have your press release which is written, it is all done in house, so your press release, you have your quick facts. (Who, What, Where, When) A bit of a backgrounder on the artist. Like in this case, it's an Aboriginal artist and it's the first Aboriginal artist exhibition we have ever had so that's the spin that we are using. There's a list of works you will find in the exhibition and there is also key images fact sheet. Basically it would show the key images we are using for marketing and that they can use like if you see a picture in The Ottawa Citizen typically they have taken it from that and they've got the list of works so they can put the credit line together and they can do that. So, some of the other materials that we would give in collaboration with this, we always have an exhibition brochure. For the big summer ones we would have an advance lure at least two months out. No actually more than that. In December we would bring it out for a June exhibition. So it's almost 6 months out do really do almost like a teaser. And then closer to the exhibition we would bring out the full exhibition brochure. Now the exhibition brochure, basically again it's the hours I'll show you the English side. Everything we do also has to be bilingual. For media what we will do is just do separate kits. You know do you want a English kit only they will just take an English kit. But, because we are a crown corporation everything has to be bilingual. So a lot of our printed pieces you'll see are front in English and French-English back. Back and forth. So a general description, a few highlights of what is going on in conjunction with the exhibition, admission prices and things like that. But, the more detailed information is all found in our calendars and events so children's activities, adult studios, various things like that, they are all in here. We will have a listing in here. So, someone gets interested or interest peaked by the brochure, then they go to calendar of events to see if there is something in particular they want, if there is date they should come, things like that. With each exhibition as well we have all the leads from the exhibition of the National Gallery

of Canada, if there's a sponsor that is involved, so you can see that there is various sponsors involved in this one. And then again it highlights the special activities.

H: So Joanne Charlotte would act as the MC, welcome everybody and do that kind of thing. Kind of give the order of linguistics, like if there are certain works that you can't take pictures of, if there are no video cameras allowed in the exhibition all that stuff-linguistics she will take care of. The curator of the exhibition will speak, if the artist is alive they may be here and speaking. The sponsor of the exhibition will likely send a representative to speak as well. And then sometimes there are some others that will speak. Usually our director will speak. They keep it short and sweet. It's about a half an hour long max and they are given the opportunity to have one on one interviews especially with the television cameras and radio programs and then print publications are allowed to go through. Well I guess everyone is allowed to go through but the print would not necessarily want the one on one. So everyone is allowed to go through the exhibition to get a preview of it. Our exhibitions open on a Thursday night and then the media event is always on the Wednesday morning. So they basically get a preview of the exhibition they can take pictures and video footage and do video interviews in the galleries and things like that.

J: How about membership in gallery?

They can come as many times as they want. They get discounts in our bookstore, they get discounts on parking. They also have friends' evenings so again kind of like a preview: where they can get a private tour. Otherwise, if you want a guided tour you have to be part of group. So you can't just walk in on Sunday and expect to get a guided tour. By having these members' events or members' evenings they are given the opportunity to get that guided tour. Same idea, speak with the curator, if the artist is there they will stick around. There is a lot of benefits and I mean they would do a big entertainment night.

J: How involved is marketing with education?

H: They are very interrelated as far as how involved we are. We don't. It's a bit of challenge getting one arm to talk to the other. We don't necessarily have input into what educational programming they put on. I can give some feedback as what I hear from the tour operator and various other things that they would like to see but as far as the execution of it I mean I just pass it on and that's that. And conversely if there is something in education that's happening that I need marketing for they'll let us know. Typically they want us to advertise everything but we just don't have the budget for it. So they will highlight certain things: two or three teen activities, two or three adult activities, things like that that we will really focus on. And, again it's our communications officer that will take care of all the content of the calendar of events but that's all educational programming. So it is very interconnected that way because education gives us all those details and basically does the proofing and various other things and I use them all the time with for guides and activities for the groups and stuff like that.

Some of the other materials I gave you here: This is just the tourism section of the Emily Carr I guess marketing plan. It's very generic I will warn you that. This is basically what we give if there's a potential sponsor looking to see what it is we are going to do for them. We have a much more detailed one we use for in house but it is not for public distribution. That gives you a really good background. And for this year for the first time we also: Each special exhibition like I said we try to do exhibition posters if there is a sponsor and we are able to it. We also have what we call an exhibition poster so on it. It will be one poster with various blocks for all the exhibitions that are coming up for 2006. So it will be the 2006 exhibition poster and have one image from each exhibition. And this year what we have done for the first time is done these mini posters so a little bit bigger than a brochure so if you're just a little restaurant in the Byward Market you can put that on your door. We are trying to give people what they really need to do advertising for us. All the details on the back are in French and English and again if there is collaboration with another museum they will always be there. We've got one of these for each exhibition that are coming up at the gallery. We also do the CCMP, we do all the marketing for them. It's a much, much, much smaller venue so we don't do as much and the exhibitions last a little bit longer there so there is two or three there per year. Smaller galleries, so there is only two or three rooms. So what we have done here is we've got one generic poster for the CCMP but we are talking about two or three exhibitions on the back. And then you may or may not be aware that we have the Shewinigan property, one of Jean Chretien's pet projects that we got involved in. We are on a five year contract to do exhibitions there. And it's at the old Cite de l'Energie, an old smelter that they have refurbished. It's actually a really cool space. So this is who we are representing this year: (Refer to brochure) So, we have done one for that exhibition as well. That's some of the promotional items, if you do want to come back and I encourage you as much as you want, we can go through our storeroom and show you. I mean all the catalogues that are produced for the exhibitions, all of the.. we do exterior and interior banners 4 x 8 feet or 25 ft at the Rideau Centre. So there is so many different aspects for each exhibition, too much to go into in an interview but we can walk through the storage rooms so you can actually get an idea. We have 225 staff here so there's a lot of different things that go on.. I mean everything from the installation staff to exhibition managers. From choosing the colour on the wall to. It's just there are so many aspects.

J: Just one last question: Is there a certain way to impact the message of Canadian art (example: the Group of Seven) Is that a way bring tourists in?

H: Totally. The Jack Pine by Tom Thomson is basically like our one defining piece. It will always be on our generic tourism lure it will always be kind of the one image that we project, the one that is well known and really identifies The Group of Seven. We have a fantastic Group of Seven collection. I don't want to say it's the best one because I don't know, but we have a lot sketches that they did in the field next to the final work and things like that. So I always hate that we call it a permanent collection because it is not permanent it's always changing its just we can't put the whole collection on one time. We own too many pieces of work. But favorites like The Group of Seven, like the controversial Voice of Fire, like the Rideau Chapel because it's the building, you know you are not going to move it. Those things are always there because you can't move it.

The birch bark canoe things like that is always there. It's the other side pieces things like Art of This Land, we are always changing them to show other pieces of art that we have. As far as how we promote them, we use certain key images to really define the gallery. But as well, because we are so avant-garde in purchasing Contemporary art, we have quite a bit of Canadian contemporary art as well so it's more than just the Canadian galleries it includes a lot of work.

J: I guess what I mean is resorting to the standards to bring the tourist crowd in.

H: I guess it depends on the market, if I'm talking to international clients, they want to see Canadian art they don't want to see a special exhibition on something else. I guess that is what I am really promoting that we have the best and most comprehensive collection of Canadian art that no other museum can claim that. And, how varied it is. Like I said, everything from an arrowhead from Inuit communities from the North from the 1500s to contemporary art like Ron Mueck's Baby's Head. It's a real spectrum, the best way I can do it is show pictures and to show the real range of the spaces, I show even how the building is constructed to display Canadian art. Sometimes it is a real traditional way of building and in other ways, in other rooms it's a very contemporary where you get a lot of the glass railings and the big open spaces. We often talk a lot about the sidelines, like I said nobody wants to come just for one reason. So we talk about.... I mean people want to come for our architecture [because of that], our location: We are in walking distance to a lot of things. The tulip festival is right here in major's hill park. So you know there are a lot of different ways to really group it. The trend right now, you know I said the active senior. Well, if they are coming in and doing a tour in the Gatineau parks, well come and see how the artists have taken that scenery and painted on the canvas. So you know there is lots of ways of really pairing it and pitching it, making it applicable to various people.