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Documenting Expo'67: A Documentary Assemblage and Construction of an Inclusive and Multicultural Canada

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Abstract: When they said that the past is another country, they must have been imagining Canada in 1967. That summer, Canada hosted Expo'67, an extravagant and futuristic international exposition, enchanting the world with its cosmopolitan eclecticism. Intimately Canadian, this occasion also celebrated the country's 100th birthday and symbolized a turning point for Canada into a more inclusive and multicultural society; many Canadians argue that, in fact, Expo'67 came to define Canada itself. But what exactly was Expo'67, how did it enchant the world, and how did it come to define Canada as an inclusive and multicultural place? This article argues that the documentation – that is documents and documentary practices – of Expo'67 helped the ideas of Canadian inclusiveness and multiculturalism to emerge. First, Exp'67 was one grand document: it was an assemblage of documents that, when put together in a unified whole, allowed for the idea Expo'67 to emerge. Second, practices with these documents, from their production, deployment, handling, reading, inscribing, and use, helped spread the idea of Expo'67 to the world, allowing those individuals not in Montreal experience Expo themselves. And, third, the promotion of these documents within and across Canada helped entrench the idea and fact of the country being an inclusive and multicultural society. Applying documentation theories to Expo'67 – Bernd Frohmann's constitutive effects of documentation, Bruno Latour's map, Niels Windfeld Lund's documentation of an art museum exhibit, as well as Janine Marchessault's concept of the 'media city' and Benedict Anderson's idea of the 'monument'– helps illuminate the numerous roles and effects that documentation had on this spectacular occasion. Documentation was an integral component of Expo'67, and without it, Expo'67 would have been only a transient dream rather than a physical reality working upon the international dreams of the world and the national imaginings of Canada.

Keywords: Expo'67, Documentation, Documents, Documentary Practices, Canada, Inclusive, Inclusivity, Multicultural, Multiculturalism

WHEN THEY SAID that the past is another country, they must have been imagining Canada in 1967. That spring, summer and autumn – from 27 April until 29 October – Canada hosted Expo '67, an extravagant and futuristic international exposition, enchanting the world with its cosmopolitan eclecticism. Intimately Canadian, this occasion also celebrated the country's centennial, symbolizing a turning point for Canada into a more inclusive and multicultural society; many Canadians argue that, in fact, Expo '67 came to define Canada itself.

In *1967: Canada's Turning Point*, respected Canadian author and journalist Pierre Berton argues that Expo '67 was a defining moment for Canadian culture, society, and history because of its national and international acclaim and respect, its architectural achievements, its technological wonders, and its inclusive, multicultural cooperation. Although it was an international exhibition, it simultaneously feted Canada's 100th birthday, thus representing Canada as one of the few peaceful, open, tolerant, and advanced countries on Earth where such oc-

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casions were possible. Berton states that many Canadians therefore see this occasion "as one of the shining moments in [their] history, right up there with the building of the Pacific railway or the victory at Vimy Ridge" (Berton 1998, 267) for it epitomized the inclusive and multicultural Canada that was to emerge in the following decades. He further notes that Canadians thus regard "the miracle of Expo '67 with feelings of pride and nostalgia. 'Miracle' is the proper word. How did we [Canadians] manage to pull off the greatest world exposition in history with about half the start-up time that most world's fairs require?" (Berton 1998, 267).

Similarly, in "Expo '67: Back to the Future", Olenka Demianchuk explains the political, cultural, and social significance Expo '67 had for Canada and Canadians. Expo '67 showed how Montreal was a 21st century city and Canada a modern and open country, both paving the way forward for other places and countries on how to be more tolerant, cosmopolitan, and cooperative. Canada turned into something new during this spectacular occasion: in Montreal, a global village emerged in one of Canada's most important cities, bringing people of the world together, experiencing a single moment of harmonious consciousness.

It was the moment in which Canada 'grew up', becoming more confident, proudly and successfully displaying its uniqueness and sophistication whilst simultaneously rejoicing in its new inclusive multicultural identity. It thus symbolized Canada's opening up to the 'Other': the birthplace of a modern Canada open to other ideas, tastes, flavours, cultures, peoples, and religions. Its legacy is one of positive change: a change in how Canadians thought of their country, and how the world perceived Canada; indeed, after Expo '67 nobody needed to ask what it meant to be Canadian because this occasion beautifully expressed that very identity.

But what exactly was Expo '67, how did it enchant the world, and how did it come to define Canada as an inclusive and multicultural place? There were a multitude of actors, institutions, and infrastructures that helped construct Expo '67, not only as an actual, physical space, but also as an idea, the idea that Expo '67 represented the best of human nature through a distinctly Canadian lens. The idea of Expo '67 came to represent an inclusive and multicultural Canada in which different peoples, cultures, and religions could peacefully and harmoniously co-exist. But each actor, institution, and infrastructure on its own could not construct either Expo '67 or the idea of Expo '67; rather, a unified and coherent assemblage of these various separate entities was required. What helped to connect this assemblage together, ensuring that its constructions emerged? The documentation of this grand occasion helped link, and keep, this assemblage together.

I argue that the documentation of Expo '67 – that is documents and their associated documentary practices – helped to connect this complex and diverse assemblage, and, most importantly, helped the idea of Expo '67 to stabilize and emerge. First, Expo '67 can be considered one giant document because, while it connected an assemblage of actors, institutions, and infrastructures, it also established a documentary assemblage of its own, linking many documents together. Once these many documents were assembled and linked together, whilst connecting the other assemblage, then a unified and coherent Expo '67 and idea of Expo '67 emerged. Second, practices with these documents – from their production, deployment, circulation, handling, inscribing, reading, and use – helped spread the idea of Expo '67 to both Canada and the world, allowing those individuals and groups not in Montreal to experience Expo themselves. And, third, the promotion of these documents within Canada

and across the globe helped entrench the idea and fact of Canada being an inclusive and multicultural place.

For without these documents and one's practices with them, the idea of Expo '67 would not have been possible. Of course Expo '67 would still have happened, impressing the over 50 million visitors who physically came to experience it. But then the idea of Expo '67 as representative of a mature, modern, and open Canada would not have emerged. Expo '67 would thus have had less impact on those people not physically in Montreal to experience it, and the uniquely Canadian story of this occasion would have become more transient, existing only for a second within the golden memories of those people who visited it. Moreover, the unified and coherent assemblage of actors, institutions, and infrastructures itself would have been jeopardized without any documentary assemblage connecting it and keeping it together. Documentation, in other words, was an essential ingredient of Expo '67's success.

Applying documentation theories to Expo '67 – Bernd Frohmann's constitutive effects of documentation, Bruno Latour's map, Niels Windfeld Lund's documentation of an art museum exhibit, as well as Janine Marchessault's concept of the 'media city' and Benedict Anderson's idea of the 'monument' – helps illuminate the numerous roles and effects that documentation had on this occasion. I will analyze three sets of Expo '67 documentation: (i) the promotional documents; (ii) the Expo passport; and (iii) the pavilions, specifically the American, Canadian, and Soviet monuments. I contend that each of these three sets of documents, on their own, could not have constructed the idea of Expo '67, let alone connected the entire exposition together; yet, when they were assembled together as one unified documentary assemblage, the idea of Expo '67 – that is, the idea of an inclusive and multicultural Canada – stabilized and emerged.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is to analyze the constitutive effects of documentation, illuminating how documents and documentary practices help construct ideas and identities, in this case, the idea of Expo '67 and the modern Canada of inclusivity, openness, and diversity. Documentation is such an integral component of modern life and political, economic, social, cultural, and religious organization that it is difficult to imagine a world without it; documentation was such an important part of Expo '67 that it would be hard to discuss this occasion without any mention of it. Analyzing the documentation of Expo '67 augments other discussions and debates regarding the construction of ideas and identities; and although this article presents a specific documentary case study of Expo '67, it has wider conceptual and practical implications for other research and studies concerned with the construction of ideas and identities.

Documentation and Expo '67

To begin, what is documentation? Documentation refers to documents and their associated practices, such as designing, producing, standardizing, routinizing, deploying, circulating, analyzing, organizing, categorizing, classifying, inscribing, reading, and using documents, regardless of their particular format (print, audio, electronic, or digital). As Annelise Riles notes in *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge*, documents, and the ability to produce, deploy, and control documents, is the emblem of modern bureaucracy, society, and life (Riles 2006, 5). We are completely surrounded by and immersed in these creatures which we have created to stand in as surrogates for us, to speak for us, to talk to us, and to connect us to various things including institutions, infrastructures, histories, and each other.

Yet many individuals concentrate on information – or text, content, ideas – as their primary interest in studying events, histories, and stories, not documentation. But information is an ambiguous concept that typically lacks any context, clear definition, or coherent framework. Information is sometimes considered a mental substance that exists in an inherent 'state of knowing'; information is sometimes regarded as a part or section of some other idea, object, or assemblage of information; information is sometimes examined as a part of a behaviour, such as information-seeking behaviour; and other times information is seen as something that changes personal or collective knowledge. Or, put differently, information can mean anything and, further, if the word is simply placed in an analysis or discussion, then that analysis or discussion becomes a part of a discourse on information science.

In "Multiplicity, Materiality, and Autonomous Agency of Documentation", Frohmann argues that documentation shifts attention and interest from information to documentation as a key aspect of understanding the latter's constitutive effects (Frohmann 2007, 27). He argues that by concentrating on documentation, we can better examine and analyze the manifold roles documents play, such as coordinating the work of institutions, organizing epistemic communities, directing social traffic, determining particular actions and behaviours, and manufacturing scientific knowledge (Frohmann 2007, 27). Documents are much more than disposable conveyors of information; rather, documents are stabilizers of information. He states that information is

> often conceived as an abstract, immaterial, and mentalistic substance – Geoffrey Nunberg's 'noble substance […] indifferent to the transformation of its vehicles', or Katherine Hayles's 'disembodied information' – a conception that privileges research often transcending, if not simply by-passing, the social, political, scientific, and cultural worlds (Frohmann 2007, 27).

He therefore argues that documentation helps to recognize the many contextual contingencies that help make information informing. These contextual contingencies include the institutional, scientific, cultural, social, and historical components surrounding both documentation and its information. The documentation of Expo '67, for example, helps to better understand the complex assemblage of political, economic, cultural, and social institutions involved in making this occasion a success and, importantly, ensuring the idea of Expo '67 became a reality.

A document thus allows a person to present and express their ideas through: (i) the document's format; (ii) their inscriptions onto the document; and (iii) the document's place within an institution. But documents, documentary practices, and their institutional placements do not exist or occur in a vacuum; each of these related things depend upon context. A certain document can only be created in a particular setting; a certain document is made authoritative, or not, in a specific time and place; a certain documentary practice is only possible in particular circumstances and, further depend upon different technological devices, as well as institutional and social discipline; and certain institutions and their infrastructures, in which documentation operates, exist only in certain historical and cultural milieus.

The documentation of Expo '67 could only exist and occur within a certain historical, cultural, and institutional context: that is, in an open, inclusive, and multicultural Canada in the mid-1960s. If one created an Expo '67 document decades before the actual occasion, it would have lacked any authority, representing a dream or fantasy of a feverish imagination;

if one created an Expo '67 document today, it would be considered an object of nostalgia or kitsch. For an Expo '67 document to be authoritative – that is, for it to be directly related to the historical, cultural, political, economic, institutional, and social setting of the actual Expo '67 – it had to be produced, deployed, circulated, inscribed, read, viewed, and used in that setting, at that time.

Through documents and documentary practices, a person's ideas – regardless whether they are abstract theories or daily reminders – are transformed from some mysterious mental substance into information, and through documentary practices, that information becomes informing. Through documentation, the assemblage that 'made up' Expo '67 was connected and the idea of Expo '67 was constructed and emerged; indeed, it was an assemblage of documentation that helped make Expo '67 possible. But what does a documentary assemblage mean? Let us now turn to Lund's discussion of an art museum exhibit's documentary assemblage in order to shed more light on Expo '67's documentation.

The Documentary Assemblage of an Art Museum Exhibit and Expo '67

In "Building a Discipline, Creating a Profession: An Essay on the Childhood of 'Dokvit'" Lund argues that a documentary methodology and analysis is different from content analysis because it is "a kind of deconstruction of the apparent or 'obvious' content [within a document], followed by a more explicit placing of a document in a specific environment making it into a specific document" (Lund 2007, 17-18). For example, the documents of Expo '67 were of a specific historical and cultural environment, or context, that made them specific documents: Expo '67 documents. Lund presents the case of an art exhibit to illuminate this point. It is worth quoting in full because it demonstrates the complexity, diversity, and significance of the roles and effects of documentation in helping to construct 'things', in this example, the art museum exhibit. It thus has implications for my own analysis of Expo '67's documentation and its constitutive effects, namely, the construction of the idea of Expo '67 as the symbol and manifestation of an inclusive and multicultural Canada.

Insofar as the art museum exhibit is concerned, there are numerous different documents involved. The art museum exhibit

> can be considered as multimedia and complex documents, in which several works of art form parts of the total document. In addition to the exhibit itself you may have a catalogue, advertisements for the exhibits, postcards, and so on. Some of these documents may be considered worth studying in other disciplines, like the works of art exhibited, but the catalogue, the postcards and the letters between the curator and the artists, the sponsors, and the public authorities about the organization of the exhibits, will not be studied. This means that you not only have complexity regarding the exhibition itself, but also regarding the documents relating to the exhibit, more directly and indirectly. This also demonstrates the complexity of the sheer number of people involved in a production, and not just the few persons usually considered the main creators of the most important document, in this case, the artists in the exhibit (Lund 2007, 18).

There is an intricate documentary assemblage that helps make the art museum exhibit possible. This documentary assemblage involves a multitude of different documents – and their associated documentary practices – as well as different actors and institutions. It is not one doc-

ument – such as the overall exhibit itself – that is of import in a documentary analysis of the art museum exhibit; rather, it is various documents and their specific, different, and related contextual contingencies that allow the art museum exhibit to emerge. Lund thus argues for a documentary perspective in approaching this event: examining its documentary assemblage; tracing the documents' circuits and routes; identifying each document, regardless of how seemingly insignificant or hidden; studying each document's production, deployment, and use; and seeing what actors and institutions are involved. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this documentary perspective enables an analysis of the effects of these documents: what information they stabilize, present, and make possible; what message, or messages, they constitute; what ideas they construct or deconstruct; what possibilities they permit or restrict; and what opportunities they allow or forbid.

Similarly, Expo '67 can be regarded as one total document; however, this one total document was constructed from an intricate assemblage of other documents. Or, put differently, Expo '67 can be considered as multimedia and complex documents in which several major documents – such as the promotional documents, passport, and pavilions – formed important parts of the total document. In addition to the exposition itself, there were countless small-scale models, panoramas, maps, brochures, postcards, posters, billboards, advertisements, television and radio programs, tickets, licenses, and merchandize. This documentary assemblage means that there was not just complexity regarding the exposition itself, but also regarding its numerous documents. This intricate documentary assemblage, that 'made up' the total document of Expo '67, also shows the countless individuals, institutions, and interests involved in constructing the total document, and not just the few people or groups considered the main creators, in this case, the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exposition, artists, designers, and architects.

Let us now turn to media scholar Janine Marchessault's discussion of Expo '67 as a 'media city', in order to (i) further illuminate the concept and importance of a documentary assemblage, and (ii) demonstrate the implications for my own analysis of Expo '67 as a documentary assemblage, or a 'city of documentation'.

Expo '67 as a 'Media City'; Or, Expo '67 as a 'City of Documentation'

In "Living Space: The New Media City of Expo '67", Marchessault presents the concept of Expo '67 as a 'media city' constructed from the many different and diverse media applications, technologies, and programs involved in the occasion; or, put differently, Expo '67 was a huge media assemblage that, when put together, helped construct the experience and idea of Expo '67 as a 'media city'. Each piece of media on its own could not create this experience or idea; yet, when assembled together, they could construct these effects.

So, then what exactly does Expo '67 as a 'media city' mean? Marchessault explains that Expo '67 resembled a Marshall McLuhanesque fantasy city of interconnected media establishing new relationships, interactions, and organizations. It was a city where a number of creative and reliable allies – particularly artists, photographers, filmmakers, sculptors, designers, and choreographers – creatively worked together to produce an elaborate media extravaganza that transformed citizens from passive actors into active, dynamic, and responsive spectators. It thus provided a new model, a new way, for designing a city: citizens became spectator-citizens living, working, and socializing within this new interactive, multimedia network and artwork that replaced the old concrete urban environment.

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In Expo '67 as a 'media city', therefore, citizens became a part of the media assemblage. This 'media city' required new kinds of relationships and interactions, molding each individual to fit into its media assemblage. The media assemblage, in other words, required the media practices of these spectator-citizens to fully realize and appreciate this new 'media city'. Marchessault states that this 'media city' encouraged people to interact with media in novel ways, changing perceptions and perspectives of what media could do. Expo '67 as a 'media city' thus became a kind of end in itself: a giant display of displays, an impressive exposition of expositions; or, an assemblage of displays, an assemblage of expositions. It was a total multimedia environment that generated a whole new way of being, not only for an urban landscape, but also for one's life within that place.

Marchessault's discussion of Expo '67 as a 'media city' has implications for my argument that Expo '67 was a documentary assemblage; for Marchessault, it was a 'media city', for me it was a 'city of documentation'. Yet, while she does not explicitly state or acknowledge that she is concerned with documentation, instead focusing on media, Marchessault is nevertheless discussing how documentation helped construct the idea of Expo '67. Documentation helped make this 'media city' possible: the many eclectic films – these media documents – were indeed revolutionary and experimental in their design and display, but they were nonetheless documents requiring numerous documentary practices in order for their intriguing messages to stabilize and emerge. Although an Expo visitor, or spectator-citizen, interacted with them in non-linear, non-traditional, McLuhanesque ways does not negate the fact that they were still engaged in documentary practices, particularly that of viewing each document. Indeed, documents and documentary practices were essential in order for each film – including its messages and stories, its relationships to its viewers, and its contribution to the event of Expo '67 – to help construct the idea of Expo '67.

Thus, Marchessault's Expo '67 as a 'media city' and Expo '67 as a 'city of documentation' complement one another, each providing a different lens on which to understand this occasion. While Marchessault sees Expo '67 as a total work of multimedia art, I see it as a total work of documentation: while she gets close to calling it an artistic assemblage, I illuminate its documentary assemblage. While she examines the interconnectedness of media, I examine the interconnectedness of documentation: how Expo visitors had to interact with documents in order to (i) engage in Expo '67, (ii) experience Expo '67, and, (iii) understand and appreciate the idea of Expo '67.

The Roles and Effects of Expo '67's Documentation

Let us now turn to three examples of some of the documentation of Expo '67 in order to show, not only their roles, but also their constitutive effects: the construction of Expo '67 and the idea of Expo '67. These three sets are: (i) the promotional documents; (ii) the Expo passport; and (iii) the spectacular pavilions, particularly the Canadian, American, and Soviet ones.

Expo '67's Promotional Documents

Expo '67 produced numerous promotional documents to help publicize the occasion across Canada and around the world. These promotional documents included elaborate panoramas, displays, models, and maps showing images, details, and information on Expo '67. There

were also special episodes featured on the popular American television show, 'The Ed Sullivan Show', promoting the occasion (Demianchuk 2004). Each promotional document worked together in order to produce, deploy, circulate, endorse, and entrench the idea of Expo '67. Or, put differently, these promotional documents can be considered a mini-documentary assemblage supporting the larger documentary assemblage that was Expo '67.

Latour's discussion of La Perouse's map in "Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together" helps illuminate the significance of these promotional documents in helping to construct the idea of Expo '67. He explains how Louis XVI commissioned La Perouse to bring the East to France; this French explorer thus travelled throughout the Pacific for the King with the explicit mission of bringing *back* a better map of the region (Latour 1985, 5). But La Perouse did not, indeed could not, actually bring back the East to France: he could not physically take the lands and islands, monuments and statues, or all the people back to Louis XVI to place in his palace or some museum. Yet he did in fact bring the East back to France, along with its lands, islands, monuments, statues, and people through documentation. He designed, inscribed, and produced maps of the East – including its geography, architecture, culture, and demographic make-up – transforming it, through these documentary practices, into documents: maps, graphs, reports, and artistic renderings. When back in France, these documents will have constitutive effects of determining future endeavours, outcomes, and debates, such as who was right or wrong about Eastern geography, who will own the land and property, which routes the ships should sail, how the empire will form, and so on.

Like La Perouse's map, Expo '67's promotional documents brought Expo '67 to places and people far from Montreal. For example, an intricate model of a miniature Expo '67 – along with a large-scale map – was designed and developed by the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exposition to travel to various cities and regions, in order to generate buzz for the occasion. The first stop was New York City's upscale Macy's department store, where the model and map were given prominent display, as well as additional promotion with a building-sized poster hanging on the outside of the store. These promotional documents were accompanied by an Expo 'tour guide' to advertise and explain Expo '67, along with Expo hostesses in the official smart blue and white Expo '67 uniforms of Jackie Kennedy-inspired short skirts and pillbox hats.

Taken together, these promotional documents and the actors (the 'tour guide' and hostesses) and institutions (Macy's) generated immense interest and enthusiasm; in fact, they were so popular that they then travelled across the United States for similar presentations in other American department stores (Demianchuk 2004), taking the idea of Expo '67 to thousands of people. Simultaneously, another set of the same promotional documents were produced to travel across Canada, first displayed in the Eaton's and Simpson's flagship department stores in downtown Toronto (Demianchuk 2004), inspiring Canadians with the idea of Expo '67 as representative of them: open, tolerant, inclusive, and multicultural.

Expo '67 Passport

The Expo passport was a stylish version of a typical, real national passport: it was bright red with large black, bold-face, Optima font inscriptions of 'expo67 PASSPORT' and the official logo of Expo '67 by Montreal artist Juline Hebert - the circular arrangement of pictograms of men, holding hands, representing international friendship – on its cover. The Expo passport

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had a number of blank pages, like a typical passport, on which the national staff of each pavilion would examine and stamp in order to allow access to their monument and exhibitions.

Dreamed up by Expo '67's top manager and promoter, Philippe de Gaspe Beaubien – the so-called 'Mayor of Expo' (Berton 1998, 278) – the Expo passport was created in order to help equalize the crowds, particularly so that there were not huge queues at the most popular pavilions – American and Soviet – and nowhere else. This document thus helped organize, guide, and control the social traffic at Expo '67, ensuring that long line-ups, bottlenecks, and delays did not cause unnecessary frustrations, either for visitors or workers. For queues that did form, though, there were hired entertainers, dancers, troubadours, singers, and figure skaters performing on portable rinks to amuse the crowds, while electric signboards flashed messages like 'Lots of room and no waiting line at the British Pavilion. Go there now!' (Berton 1998, 280).

This Expo passport literally connected each visitor to Expo '67, obliging each individual to carry it, present it, and have it examined by Expo workers and then stamped in order to move around, access, and experience Expo '67. In fact, this document "turned out to be the most popular piece of gimmickry at the entire fair. People became obsessed by the need to have their passports stamped at as many pavilions as possible" (Berton 1998, 280). Through the Expo passport, different nations, cultures, and religions emerged. Without the Expo passport, or practices with it (carrying, presenting, examining, stamping) one could not get onto its man-made islands, tour its grand pavilions, enjoy the many cultural shows and performances – including operas, concerts, dramas, comedies, fashion shows, and even a performance by the Soviet Union's Bolshoi Ballet – or have fun on the amusement rides of La Ronde. This one document, consequently, had a number of constitutive effects: (i) tying each visitor to Expo, (ii) organizing and controlling the social traffic of the occasion, (iii) allowing, or preventing, access to different attractions, and (iv) helping construct the experience, and idea, of Expo '67. Through this document, one became a part of Expo and Expo became a part of them.

Expo '67's Pavilions

The pavilions of Expo '67 were stunning, avant-garde, architectural wonders representing over sixty countries, from Belgium to Ceylon (today's Sri Lanka) to Ethiopia to Israel to Japan to Yugoslavia, and over twenty private participants, including the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and the United Nations (UN). These pavilions were monuments of outrageous scale and controversial design that left indelible marks on each visitor's experience and memory. Berton, for example, comments that "at expo we were all children, wide-eyed, titillated by the shock of the new, scampering from one outrageous pavilion to the next, our spirits lifted by the sense of gaiety, grace, and good humour that these memorable structures expressed" (Berton 1998, 288).

The host pavilion, Canada, covered 11.5 acres and featured a massive 109-foot-high inverted pyramid dominating the exhibit complex. It was also the only pavilion to be visited by all of the over sixty sovereigns, presidents, princes, princesses, prime ministers, and government representatives who officially visited Expo '67 (De Lorimier 1968, 109), including Queen Elizabeth II, the Shah of Iran Reza Pahlavi, the Emperor of Somalia Haile Selassie, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, Prince Takamatsu of Japan, French President Charles de

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Gaulle, and Princess Grace of Monaco (Berton; De Lorimier; Library and Archives Canada). It featured concerts, dances, fashion shows, and three restaurants, the fancy La Toundra considered an Expo 'must' (De Lorimier 1968, 109). It was a diverse, sprawling exhibit with wide-open spaces, displays in and on water, and the People Tree, a six-storey-high abstraction with red and orange nylon 'maple leaves' glowing incandescently under floodlights.

The American pavilion – competing for attention with the USSR pavilion – was a mammoth geodesic dome, the most visible landmark at Expo '67. It was considered an architectural triumph (De Lorimier 1968, 152) of steel pipes in triangular and hexagonal patterns, twenty-storeys high, glittering during the day, and lit up at night, with Expo's minirail track cutting through it, awing its passengers with its space-age feel. It included many pop cultural displays and posters, technological delights and rides, and an impressive 'Space Observation Deck' nine-storeys above the ground, reached by steep escalator, displaying the USA's space achievements and advancements. It was officially visited by the likes of President Lyndon B. Johnson on Expo's 'United States Day', and Jackie Kennedy, who held a morning press conference at Expo '67 to announce her tour of the exposition (Library and Archives Canada).

In 1967, the Soviet Union was still a dark, mysterious, and alien superpower to most of the world; thus, its pavilion, located across the river from the American pavilion, was one of the most popular sites, visited by over 15 million people (De Lorimer 1968, 265). Its enormity, although eerily oppressive, nevertheless featured an elegant, sweeping convex roof, modern glass walls, and a gigantic Communist 'hammer and sickle' monument at its front entrance. With a huge bust of Lenin located in its centre, the pavilion displayed the country's Communist history and ways of life, particularly emphasizing its advanced atomic energy industry and its space achievements. In fact, visitors were thrilled by a replica of the *Vostok*, the first satellite that carried Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, the first person in space in 1961, along with other prototypes of their satellites (Library and Archives Canada).

Each pavilion, whether the pavilion of Austria or Iran or Tunisia or West Germany or Venezuela, functioned as a monumental document that helped to physically and permanently represent, stand-in for, express, and 'museumize' the idea of their national characters; and when assembled together on the remarkable man-made islands in the middle of the St. Lawrence River, the idea of Expo '67 emerged: showing the world that Canada was a place of inclusive multiculturalism where different peoples, races, creeds, religions, and cultures could easily and peacefully work together to achieve something amazing.

Benedict Anderson's concept of the museum, or monument, helps illuminate the documentary significance of these pavilions. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson argues that the museum is an institution of power that articulates a nation's idea of itself. He refers to the documentation of the museum as "museumizing [the] imagination" (Anderson 1991, 178). Museumizing is to document: capturing a symbol – the museum or monument – through documentary practices of inscription, photographing, etc. This documentation stabilizes the symbol's meaning, allowing it to emerge and cement itself to a national identity. At Expo, each pavilion, on its own, became the country it represented; yet the pavilions, taken together, represented the open, tolerant, and diverse Canada of 1967.

These monumental documents were turned into even more documents, through personal pictures, professional photographs, postcards, posters, cinematic and television programs, artistic renderings, brochures and pamphlets, books, government and Expo '67 publications, news reports, stamps, and even commemorative coins. Expo '67's pavilions were thus reproduced, transformed, and inscribed into countless other documents requiring different kinds

of documentary practices. Like the promotional documents, the documentation of these pavilions permitted them to travel beyond Expo and into other countries, regions, and lands around the world, to be studied in schools and universities, discussed at conferences, examined in government agencies, and enjoyed at home.

Conclusion: Documenting Expo '67

When assembled together, the documentation of Expo '67 – including its many promotional documents, passport, and grand pavilions – helped to (i) connect this international exposition's numerous institutions, infrastructures, and actors together, and (ii) construct the idea of Expo '67 as being a diverse and multicultural event ushering in a new era of hope and cooperation for the world. This documentation also helped to construct Canada's modern identity of being an inclusive and multicultural country because, as it helped to construct the idea of Expo '67 itself, it also helped to connect this same idea to Canada, showing how Canada was sophisticated and mature enough to successfully host such a spectacular event. As this documentation helped to constitute Expo '67, it consequently helped to also constitute the national identity of an inclusive and multicultural Canada. Applying some of the documentation theories of Anderson, Frohmann, Latour, and Lund, as well as Marchessault's 'media city', helps us analyze the different roles and effects of Expo '67's documentation, providing a useful framework in which to augment other studies on idea and identity constructions. Documentation was such a vital component of this international exposition, that without it Expo '67 would have been only a fleeting dream rather than a physical reality working upon both the world's and Canada's national imaginings.

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