Man And His World:

An Indian, A Secretary And A Queer Child. Expo 67 And The Nation In Canada

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec

August 1999

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0-612-43681-0

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Abstract

Randal Rogers

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Read today as a "bright and shining" moment, or as the "last good year" in Pierre Berton's estimation, a period that has since slid into the current crises of nationhood, Expo 67 is seen to mark a "turning point" in the complexion of the nation. This representation of history became entrenched as we passed through the thirtieth anniversary of Expo 67 and as monumental national events threatened to divide Canada permanently, producing a yearning for a simpler and better epoch when Canada was seen to be united. *Man and His World* attempts to rethink the unity 1967 is now seen to possess and challenges this nostalgic refiguration as well as theoretical concepts that regard the nation as a singular entity. Although Expo 67 was produced to unite Canada, fissures were present within the discourses on the nation as they were on the Expo 67 site itself. This thesis, which emphasizes the fragment, multiplicity and the surface, interrogates three sites at Expo 67 which show us that "'adding to' need not 'add up,' but may disturb the calculation" of nationhood (Bhabha,1994:155): the Indians of Canada Pavilion, the Man in the Home Pavilion and the Québec Pavilion. Each of these sites produced a challenge to the definition of the nation being performed in 1967, although not without problems. *Man and His World* investigates the possibilities and the limits of these challenges, while employing a methodology based on multiplicity, an attribute "thinking the nation" necessitates.

In Memory of My Mom
Bernice Earline Rogers
11 January 1929 - 18 March 1997

To My Dad
To Marco

without whom I never would have made it

Acknowledgments

This thesis has benefited from the guidance and support of many people. To Dr. Brian Foss I owe my greatest debt. Your insight and willingness to let this project detour, sometimes far off course, have aided it (and me) more than you know. Thank you for this and for knowing when to reel me back in too. Dr. Joan Acland has been instrumental in this work's development from the beginning. You introduced me to crucial ideas when I needed to hear them and your commitment to "other" subjects stands as the origin of this project. Dr. Catherine MacKenzie has enthusiastically supported this research. The breadth of knowledge and the creativity you share with students is inspirational.

I thank too Dr. Jean Belisle for taking my mind out of books for a term and making me carry very heavy rocks. Your students still wonder what is going on up there. Dr. Janice Helland taught me the importance of feminist practice to all of my own work. Thanks as well to those who have offered assistance and commentary on various parts of this work as it was presented at my thesis presentation and the Annual Concordia Art History Graduate Student Colloquium. Your ideas substantially altered this text's direction. Finally, thanks to Dr. Thomas Waugh in the Cinema Department. Your commitment to queer life at Concordia is truly inspirational. Thank you for the support you have shown me from the moment I arrived in Montréal and for generous words offered at befitting moments.

This thesis has also benefited from the reception of a Frances and David Rubin Research Award.

Without friends no work is done. And sometimes with friends no work is done. To Kitty and Stephane-Anne thanks for listening to my rants. Jane, I look forward to Christmas. S-A I do miss you so, especially dancing to Samantha Fox while...! To Donna and Franchesca I owe many pounds of coffee and as many thanks for the various distractions they have encouraged (and demanded). Elizabeth and Emmanuel have reminded me of the joy of having a child about.

Á ma famille Québécoise, Marco, Linda et Doris Villeneuve, je vous remerci de m'avoir reçu dans vos coeurs et d'avoir partagé la vie avec moi. J'ai beaucoup appris de vous autres.

Finally, and thankfully, Hysteria and Ernest are the only ones to have witnessed what truly occurred during this process. May they never learn to speak.

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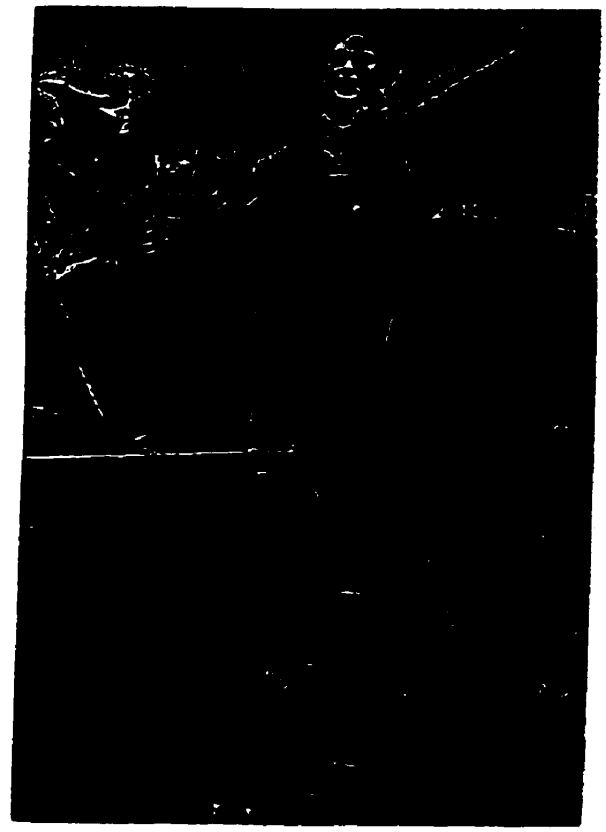

A child said, What is the grass? fetching it to me with full hands;
How could I answer the child?....I do not know what it is any
more than he.

ww

I'll be clumsy instead.

ms

Introduction

The Last Good Year: Canada's Turning Point

"To be a man, is to feel that through one's own contribution
one helps to build the world."
Antoine de St. Exupéry, *Terres des hommes*

"I came to the fair a nationalist, full of pride in Canada.
I left it a humanist, full of hope for man."
Peter Newman, Toronto Star[1]

Imagine seeing this, the earth from outer space (fig. 1), for first time. This occurred at Expo 67 in Montreal,[2] and represents a momentous juncture for human beings, visual confirmation of the Copernican revolution as never witnessed before, evidenced by the medium of photography. In the photograph the viewer is a member of the crew of Apollo 17, hovering above the earth as though in heaven and looking down in awe. Hanging, seemingly motionless, somewhere above the Atlantic Ocean, one views the continent of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and beyond, while imagining that a simple turn of the earth will reveal Australia, the Pacific Ocean, North and South America.

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1 Quoted in Time. The Weekly Newsmagazine (1968) *Birthday of a Nation. The Story of Canada's Centennial.* Toronto: Time International of Canada Ltd.

2 Wilson, Alexander. *The Culture of Nature. North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez.* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992): 167. The photo was exhibited in the "Man, His Planet and Space" exhibit at the Man the Explorer Pavilion.

Still this is not the awe of magnitude and sovereignty but that experienced upon viewing a micro-organism - the awe is derived from seeing earth as a single self-sufficient unit. We knew it to be, but had never seen it attested to by the truth-evoking medium of photography. This is its power. Here, through technology, one is able to see the interconnectedness of the earth's inhabitants as distance dissolves difference and borders evaporate, revealing unity and symbiosis as we seem to float alone in a black void with only each other for company, protection, sustenance. A Utopia, in Louis Marin's words: "Nowhere, or the place of happiness....The discourse held on utopia attempts, through the constructed reading of the text, to make the spaces signified by the utopian text coherent and consistent by filling them up with its own signifying substance" (Marin, 1977: 50). The photo of earth viewed from outer space performs this "filling up" by lodging in the mind('s eye) of the viewer an image of unity and order, with the organic and healing shape of the circle marking this relationship. The circle secures the space as utopic; separated from "other" space and foreign to influence, the circle is an island, "Nowhere, or the place of happiness." Think of Thomas More's Utopia, situated between Europe and America, on an island where people live harmoniously protected from the outside by the sentinel that is the ocean. The cosmos performs this gesture in the photo of earth from outer space, as the St. Lawrence River does in another utopic space - Ile Notre-Dame and Ile Ste Helène, "two small islands that held the world" (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 8), the site of Expo 67.

And one may think of Expo 67 as a utopia beyond the physical borders that protected it from the world that surrounded it. Constructed for Canada's 100th birthday, and for Montreal's 325th, Expo 67 marked the centre of celebrations that traversed the nation, both physically through the Centennial caravan and train that were viewed by 1 in 10 Canadians (*Time Magazine*, 1968: 33) and through media that reported the events on an unprecedented scale. Expo 67 was seen to unite the nation, fusing diverse populations into Canadian national citizens. Looking back, former Mayor of Montreal Jean Drapeau described the moment: "There is no doubt that visitors coming from all parts of the world, of all classes, of all religions, of all colours, felt but one thing on the site - they were all human beings" (Bantey: 8-9) With its theme taken from Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's novel *Terre des hommes*, Expo 67, while maintaining the world's fair central theme of technological advancement, went far beyond all those before it, into the outer reaches of space itself, while at the same time using this image of earth from outer space as a means to unify everyone who viewed it.

If "Man" at Expo 67 was the figure that emerged through this erasure of difference, the uninflected subject of history, the universal human without gender, race, class or sexuality, then Alexander Calder's sixty-seven-foot tall stabile "Man" stands as the mark of this concept (fig. 2). Created specifically for Expo 67 and occupying lot C-308 on Ile Ste.-Helène on International Nickel Plaza, adjacent to the pavilion of Scandinavia and the Pont de la Concorde, "Man" consists of three abstract and interlocking standing figures each facing a contrasting direction and differentiated only through size. Evocative of St.

Éxupéry's "celebration of non-factional and co-operative brotherhood among humankind" (Kröller: 38-39), especially in his novel *Terres des hommes*, the three figures of "Man" remain unmarked by race, class or gender.

Canada, the Centennial and Expo 67

Optimism and a sense of unity were central elements of Expo 67 and of the Centennial celebrations. Geoff Pevere and Greig Dymond, in their 1996 book *Mondo Canuck. A Canadian Pop Culture Odyssey*, write:

> That's it, of course: a shining moment when Canada felt good about itself. This is why the memory of Expo lingers so long and sweetly for those who lived through it: it is a symbol of what memory insists was a simpler, brighter and possibly better time for Canada, when an entire nation was capable of setting aside all its differences in the interest of raising a toast and a hoot to Confederation's centenary, when there were millions of public dollars to throw into something as fundamentally nonessential as a national birthday party. Even our greatest threat to national unity at the time - the growing separatist movement in Quebec - seemed allayed by the mere situation of Expo at Montreal (Pevere and Dymond: 50).

Pevere and Dymond share a memory of Expo 67 that has become dominant at this moment in history: a nostalgic refiguring of the sixties that allays the fear of Canada's current crisis of nationhood. Pevere and Dymond's writing is aligned well with that about the Montreal Expo in the years leading up to 1967 as well as after, with a certain yearning that can be traced through every representational medium. Thus in a *Time Magazine* article from 6 Jan. 1967 titled "Birthday of a Nation," one reads:

> But for Canadians themselves, the Centennial is much more meaningful than simply an occasion to invite in the neighbours. "We are the most happily situated people in the world," says author Bruce Hutchinson, and he asks: "Are we worthy of it?" Of good fortune there can be little doubt. On Voltaire's "quelques arpents de neige" Canadians have built one of the world's highest standards of living, and

> an economy rich enough to finance a welfare state from Medicare to guaranteed income for the aged; to undertake doubling university enrollment within ten years; and at the same time to underwrite both Expo and the Centennial (*Time Magazine*, 1968: 2).

The above quotation well articulates what was at stake in this moment: the attempted molting of Canada's colonial identity in favour of a new insistence on nationalism, however tentative it may have been. "Are we worthy?" Its emphasis on the standard of living, the economy, the idea of the welfare state and university enrollment, attempts to pry Canada away from Voltaire's construction of it as a few acres of snow (quelques arpents de niege) with "Mounties bracing blizzards, Eskimo's crouched over Kodlik swapping wives, bluff Quebeckers doffing berets to passing priests" (18). In turn what is being articulated is the consciousness by Canadians of this shift, in which Canadian identity is being reworked into modern "man", out of a seemingly backward snow-bound people.

The Montreal Expo was deeply implicated in this refiguration. All universal exhibitions, including those in England, France and the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were centred on defining the character of the host country as modern. Modernity is what universal exhibitions were about, so to speak, with Expo 67 being Canada's turn to prove its modernity over and against its colonial past. This is expressed by Commissioner General of Expo 67 Pierre Dupuy in his message for the official guide:

> Since then [the first Olympic Games], the world has grown prodigiously, become diversified and enriched by the research and the discoveries of Man. Civilization has crossed the bounds of the Mediterranean, to spread over the vast magnitude of the planet....The London and Paris exhibitions of the last century revealed the Industrial Revolution. But what is this - compared to the changes which science and technique have brought to collective and individual life in our time?

> The Montreal Universal and International Exhibition's aim is to provide an explanation of the world we live in to each and every one of its visitors, so that they may realize that we are all jointly and severally answerable for and to each other, and that what divides men is infinitely less important than that which links them together....[This guide] will be proof for future generations that - in this year of Canada's Centennial - we strove with all our might to prepare for them a future of happiness, prosperity and freedom (The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 2).

Expo 67, then, was seen to perform a immense gesture for Canada and Canadians - that of exhibiting to the world its new identity as a modern nation at the moment it was seen to finally shed its colonial relationship to England, a process which had been occurring for decades. Expo 67 became the stage on which this newly formed national identity was performed, all within the context of Canada's Centennial birthday and the celebrations that accompanied it.

Pierre Berton in his book *1967* taps into the nostalgia I am here delineating, offering a view of history for which many people in Canada are starved, especially given its publication on the thirtieth anniversary of the Canadian Centennial and just two short years after a very narrow federalist victory in the October 1995 referendum on sovereignty in Québec. This nostalgia is inscribed into Berton's title. When the book was released in hard cover in late 1997 its title was *1967: The Last Good Year. A Chronicle of Canada's Centennial Year*, which implies that since 1967 Canada's sense of national identity has slowly slid toward the present crisis. Berton describes in detail the sense of optimism that surrounded the Centennial as well as the threats to national unity and the large historical shifts that were occurring in 1967:

> It was a special year - a vintage year - and it is probable that we will not see its like again. It was a turning-point year. An aging political establishment was about to fade away to be succeeded by a younger, more vibrant one. A past royal commission - into bilingualism and biculturalism - delivered its report; a future commission, dealing with the status of women, was launched. Canadians talked about economic nationalism, women's place in society, the out-moded divorce laws, national unity, the drug culture, and whether or not the state had any business in the bedrooms of the nation. All these diverse subjects reached a kind of realization in 1967 (Berton, 1998: 8).

Thus, Berton describes a burgeoning woman's movement, the growth of the sovereignist movement in Québec, the prefiguring of the omnibus bill, the gay rights movement, among others, at the same time that he argues for a return to political unity, a yearning expressed in his subtitle "The Last Good Year." The problem with such a formulation is that the rise of peripheral political movements in Canada is directly associated with the demise of the Canadian nation.

This, I believe, explains the change in title that occurred between the release of the hard cover and that of the soft cover for which the title is *1967: Canada's Turning Point. A Chronicle of Canada's Centennial Year*. Between "The Last Good Year" and "Canada's Turning Point" lies a chasm of political signification. If 1967 stands as a turning point in the soft-cover edition of Berton's book, then it also stands as a political corrective to the alignment between the struggle for equality and legitimacy on the part of those excluded from the national citizenry being linked to notions of disintegration in the hard cover's "Last Good Year," as well as a corrective to Berton's own sense of loss and the modernist yearning for purity that produced the book in the first place. The change of

title marks 1967 as one moment of political change among many rather than as a desire for a return to a unified and pure state that never existed.

Aside from Berton, writing on Expo 67 in recent years has centred on the ideological nature of official discourse. In his 1986 MA thesis "Progress In An Age of Rigor Mortis," David Howard analyzes the *Painting In Canada* exhibition held in the foyer of the Canadian Pavilion at Expo 67. In particular, Howard is interested in Greg Curnoe's painting "For Ben Bella" of 1965, arguing that its place in the exhibition is of import as an articulation of a "new Canadian cultural identity and the policy objectives of both the Canadian Liberal Party and American foreign policy," which "For Ben Bella" represents the dilemma of Canadian culture in the mid sixties, "trapped" within American empire at the point of transition between the modern and the postmodern (Howard: iv). Ben Bella was the socialist leader of Algeria who was overthrown in a coup led by Houari Boumedienne on 14 June 1965 (148). This reference to a third world revolutionary in a painting in which the primary figure is former Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King, Howard argues, is interesting. Displayed in the Canadian Pavilion and sponsored by the Liberal minority government, this critique of MacKenzie King charted a fresh course for a government seeking a new ideology to differentiate itself from past Liberal governments (152), importantly for Howard, an ideology which could embrace criticism of the Liberals.

Howard's thesis is intelligent and far-reaching in its investigation of how Curnoe's painting worked through contemporary national narratives. However, my concern with Howard's work comes from hanging a complete ideological formation on a single object, a painting, and using this to explain grand historical narratives. Such a method reverts to the modernist formulation Howard seems to want to abandon in that the fracturing movement of postmodernism, to which Howard makes reference, is left unaddressed with a single, unified object being used to centre Howard's discourse. His emphasis on grand historical narratives risks missing the minutiae and contradictoriness of meaning production on the Expo 67 site itself. It erases that which has not already been written into the discourses of nationhood in Canada, rendering invisible once again non-dominant accounts of the nation.

The success of Eva-Marie Kröller's "Expo' 67: Canada's Camelot" (*Canadian Literature* 152/153 (Spring/Summer 1997), is marked by the deployment of a method that can effectively account for the fragmented nature of meaning at Expo 67, while refusing the totalizing tendencies seen in Howard's thesis. In her article Kröller examines a broad range of ideas and objects, including the Indians of Canada Pavilion, the Chatelaine Expo Home (Man in the Home Pavilion) and the Québec Pavilion as they relate to the theme of the fair and to notions of the nation prevalent in 1967. What emerges is a narrative that refuses to pin down the meaning of Expo 67 while giving a more nuanced sense of that moment. The weakness of such an approach lies in its inability to perform detailed analysis: missing is an extended examination of many of the objects and ideas Kröller

sketches in the essay. However, rather than this being a lacuna in her method, I believe this essay represents a stage in a more extended study with the essay standing as the first articulation of the field of her research.

One of the central challenges of this thesis is that of formulating a manner in which to think the nation. In what has become a classic equation, Benedict Anderson describes the nation as an "imagined community," a "deep, horizontal comradeship," he writes, in which citizens are connected each to the next in a confident knowledge of the existence of other citizens, without having to know them. Anderson gives the example of someone reading the *New York Times* newspaper in solitude:

> Each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion....At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop or residential neighbors, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life. As with *Noli Me Tangere*, fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations (Anderson: 35-36).

This is a powerful formulation that links citizenship to the quotidian events of people's lives wherein simple actions, such as reading the newspaper, tie individuals to national formations whether or not the person is conscious of this interpellation. While I accept Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined community, I would like to look in the "other" direction, away from his "confidence in community." Rather, I want to question the singularity in Anderson's equation where the nation emerges as a solitary and integrated entity, a "deep horizontal comradeship," to use his words. In the context

of postmodernity and now-standard theories of the subject through which people live their lives as fragmented, incomplete and contradictory, this restoration of totality produces discomfort, for it seems to revert to modernism's search for purity, a project Bruno Latour has brilliantly investigated in his book *We Have Never Been Modern* (199). According to Latour, purity has never existed. Instead, the modern period has seen the proliferation of modernity's obverse, the underbelly it so anxiously attempts to deny and repress, the hybrid (Latour: 1-12). If the hybrid proliferates in modernity, even as modernity seeks to eliminate it, then a theory of the nation must account for this multiplicity and fragmentation within the national subject and the nation itself.[3] In a "multicultural" nation such as Canada, in which the nation is defined precisely through its lack of purity, through its hybridity, such a project is not only desirable, but imperative. For is the nation not multiple nations that exist together in the geographic space that is Canada and in which people have unequal access to national citizenship, for which they must struggle politically

This thesis, then, wants to rethink the uniaxiality of Anderson's imagined community and refigure the nation as multiple, hybrid and agonistic. I am not alone in this refiguration and must express a deep debt to several thinkers. The work of Homi Bhabha goes far in rethinking the margin's relation to the centre in terms of national narratives, to the "complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of 'the people' or 'the nation' and make them the immanent subjects of a range of

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[3] For an excellent critique of totalization in relation to subject formation see Judith Butler's "Imitation and Gender Insubordination" (Abelove et al 1993).

social and literary narratives" (Bhabha, 1994: 140). The split in the nation between pedagogical and performative time is productive for Bhabha, for it is the nation split within itself which may articulate the heterogeneity of its population. It is also the site from which to launch a contestation to narrative authority by mobilizing marginality to produce an "agonistic minority position" able to challenge the centre's mastery over discourse.

It is this political challenge that is taken up by Chantal Mouffe in her research on democracy. Mouffe argues that antagonism is ineradicable in politics. Against Habermas' communicative action Mouffe posits a theory of democracy that centres this antagonism, arguing that political groups will always, and necessarily, struggle for representation. Therefore, antagonism is not to be overcome, but instead, is the basis for full participation in the political realm; that is, the basic tenets of democracy, its principles, are established in advance with collective political claims laid on top of these, with no need to argue for the right to political representation. Thus political groups have adversaries in their political struggles, those with whom they struggle for space, but no enemies, those who prohibit a group's right to representation (Mouffe, 1993: 1-9).

Taken together, I believe Homi Bhabha's and Chantal Mouffe's work point in the direction of capturing the multiplicity that defining the nation necessitates, though not without problems, as will be seen in individual chapters of this thesis. The challenge then, is to investigate how the individual formations this thesis explores might be

productive of new social relations. Lawrence Grossberg and Elspeth Probyn have been crucial to my own development in terms of attempting to rethink representation along new "lines of flight," a term used by both theorists to capture the manners in which events and representations might be "refigured" to say something other than what might be expected. For both writers, these lines of flight lead toward rethinking identity in non-essentialist ways. For Probyn this is toward new manners of (national) becoming and for Grossberg "new modes of individuation and subjectivation with no identity" (Grossberg: 104).

This text, "Man and His World," investigates three formations and three objects at Expo 67 that produced the possibility of the refiguration outlined above: the Indians of Canada Pavilion, the Man in the Home Pavilion and the Québec Pavilion. However, it does not simply put events and histories together in a new way; rather, this thesis seeks out transverse connections evoked by the subject of study and refuses a "deep" interpretation. In this sense the analysis performed here is of the surface, with ideas being connected not through an inherent meaning one must discover behind representation, a causality which generates the social formation, but through a series of analyses that encourage oblique and intersecting links (Probyn, 1996: 35). The chronotope of the surface encourages writing from another angle, an alternative space which animates thinking through multiplicity and fragmentation, not as problems to be solved, but as a manner of capturing, if only for an instant, the movement, even constant flux, which thinking the social compels. Having written this, I want to discourage an approach to multiplicity that

risks unraveling into meaninglessness. One may not say whatever one wishes of the social formation by simply calling for multiple approaches and transverse connections. A notion of constraint must follow closely any call for multiplicity because the realm of possibility is never unlimited. As will be seen, it is always constrained by factors that delimit discourse. Some connections are impossible. It is my hope that those made here are not.

Chapter One

A Perfectly Spaced (Out) Nation: The Indians of Canada Pavilion and the Canadian Nation-Space

location, location, location

The modernist teepee-like structure and adjoining buildings of the Indians of Canada Pavilion (lot C-414) occupied an extraordinary relation to the other buildings that constituted the Canada Complex at Expo 67. Connected to the Canada Complex spatially and in name, yet also positioned at its margins physically, and not being a provincial or regional pavilion, the Indians of Canada Pavilion was simultaneously positioned inside and outside the nation-space of Canada. This chapter will investigate the particular spatiality of the Indians of Canada Pavilion in relation to Homi Bhabha's notion of liminality in an attempt to figure the place of Native people in Canada in the 1960s.

spatial utopics

Physical space is permeated by ideas, with the organization of objects in space, such as the buildings of the Canada Complex at Expo 67 (fig. 3), revealing a system of values and hierarchies within that schematization. In the words of Doreen Massey, "the spatial is a social construct....Understanding the spatial organization of society is crucial. It is central to our understanding of the way in which social processes work out, possibly to our conceptualization of some of those processes in the first place, and certainly to our ability to act on them politically" (Massey: 11, 17). For Massey geography is not simply

distance or discourse unconnected to the social; rather, the spatial is constitutive of social relations, the ground of the social, so to speak.[4] Space is not an emptiness that one passes through objectively and one does not move through an objective empty space. Rather one proceeds through subjectifying spatial organizations during the course of one's daily transits.

This is true of the Expo 67 site as it is of any other space. Upon traversing its threshold the visitor was immediately made aware that s/he had entered an/other world and was a tourist there. It was the world of history, the future and of nations converging in search of solutions for that future:

> The presence of 61 participating countries from all continents made our exhibition truly international. We grouped them together on the site according to their origins, to give the visitor the impression of traveling abroad. Instead of selling admission tickets, we sold 'passports' which could be stamped with 'visas' in the pavilions. Thus we sold dreams before offering reality....An immense poem with varied rhythms, but rich with human density, a city of knowledge, of joy, of self-confidence and faith in others....We hope the reader will find the same inspiration in this memorial album. The texts, for the most part, are written in the present tense to re-create the feeling of a visit to Expo 67 (Montreal. Exposition universelle et internationale, 1967: 10).[5]

Expo 67 was to be a microcosm of the world in which one sought knowledge for the future and where the mode of experience was touristic. But this microcosmic world of

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[4] See Derek Gregory. *Geographical Imaginations.* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Gillian Rose. *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Edward Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* (London and New York: Verso, 1989); David Harvey. *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Inquiry into the Conditions of Cultural Change.* (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1989).

[5] Although this claim to internationalism is true, some continents were represented by only one or two nations. South America, for instance, was represented by Venezuela and Guyana/Barbados. Some groups of nations were also represented in a single pavilion as was the case in the Scandinavia Pavilion which housed Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland.

nations was also a community. Interspersed amongst the national pavilions were pavilions portraying the theme of Expo 67, Man and His World, including Man the Creator, Man the Producer, Man the Provider and Man in the Community, the latter a pavilion described by the official guide as "a school of today where Man must learn to live with a host of strangers against a background which every day is changing: a place where in spite of technological revolutions he dreams and he loves, where he retains the special quality of individuality which is independent and solitary" (The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 40-41). This city-community of nations was held together spatially by the theme pavilions centring on "Man", emphasizing "that differences are superficial and that it is the sameness of Man which is significant," to use the words of Pierre Dupuy (55). The spatial distribution of theme pavilions pervaded the national spaces of Expo 67 with the overriding theme of "Man," and worked to wed individual, self-interested nations through the glue that was the theme pavilions. "Man" transcended nation at Expo 67 - an unquestionably utopic endeavour.

Utopia as defined by *The Oxford English Dictionary* is "an imagined perfect place or state of things" (Thompson: 1546). Certainly this was the conceptual focus of Expo 67, with its emphasis on technology, "Man" and how he would live in the future. Expo 67 was the dream of or first step toward this perfect place or state of things on this scale, with Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67 standing as the mark of this future. Louis Marin in an essay titled "Disneyland: a Degenerate Utopia", a reworking of arguments presented in his book *Utopics: Spatial* Play (1989), affords a more complex definition of utopia.

Marin centres a word play as the beginning of his paper by substituting "ou" for "u" in Utopia making Ou-topia, a name given by Thomas More at the beginning of the sixteenth century to a "blessed island" *between* England and America (Marin, 1977: 51). In so doing, Marin is able to set into play various elements constitutive of utopia that remain unspeakable within its own discourse but that overturn the notion of utopia as an imagined perfect place or state of things. Utopia is a geographical location *in between* Europe and America; this in between is meant to signify a neutrality, a place neither positive nor negative (Thompson: 916) outside of the politics and problems of both Europe and America. But for Marin "neutral" is only meaningful in relation to another term to which it is positioned oppositionally; neutral is "the name given to limits, to contradiction itself" (Marin, 1977: 51). This contradiction constitutes the centre of utopic discourse. In Marin's words, "the topographical, political, social spaces articulated by the utopian text *play*, they shrink and swell, they warp, they do not fit exactly together: there are empty places between these spaces. The discourse held on utopia attempts...to make the spaces signified by the utopian text coherent and consistent by filling them up with its own signifying substance" (50). This "filling up" process is the fiction of utopic discourse.

This theoretical space is beneficial to a discussion of the Canada Complex at Expo 67. Under the umbrella theme of Man and His World the Canada Complex was designed as the stage on which Canada would present itself to the world, and was the centre of activity at Expo 67. It consisted of the Canadian Pavilion, the pavilions of Ontario,

Québec, the Atlantic Provinces and the Western Provinces, and the square housing the symbolic structures Katimavik, a six story inverted pyramid containing a sculpture garden from which views of Expo were obtained and the People Tree, an enormous globe-shaped tree with leaves representing the people of Canada at work and leisure. Its essentially circular form on the west end of Ile Notre Dame marked and secured by the curve of the rear side of the Canadian Pavilion (fig. 4), repeats that of the utopic spaces I have already mentioned. Even the Expo 67 logo represents utopic space as a circle (fig. 5), drawing its inspiration from one of the oldest known drawings of "Man" - "eight identical groups of twin figures represent mankind in unity encircling the world" (The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 28). And anchoring this order is the People Tree "a huge reproduction of a maple tree, of which the leaves are hundreds of colored photographs depicting Canadians at work and leisure" (89). Its form is a globe, the shape of harmony, order and unity, the perfect shape to represent the nation, and with Katimavik it was the centre of the Canada Complex at Expo 67.

So one sees inscribed in the very forms and spaces that represent Canada at Expo the circle, the shape of utopia itself, "an imagined perfect place or state of things." With Katimavik and the People Tree anchoring the complex, the various pavilions of Canada approximately encircle the plaza. Louis Marin writes: "Sometimes, if not always, edges and borders have the precise and concealed function of indicating the center" (Marin, 1977: 50), a well-received theoretical notion today which within this spatial scheme tells one a great deal about this utopic space. There was a spatial hierarchy operating within

the spaces of the Canada Complex at Expo 67. The relationship that each of the provincial and regional pavilions had to the centre represented by the Canadian Pavilion, Katimavik and the People Tree was unequal, with Ontario holding the privileged position nearest Canada (in fact between the host Québec and Canada) and being the only provincial or regional pavilion to be directly adjacent to it. Within this circular arrangement, lying in secondary positions are the pavilions of the Western and Atlantic Provinces, where the Atlantic provinces are situated further from the centre and separated from it by a canal, and the Western provinces, though they share access to the square with Canada, are detached from it by the monorail. The provincial pavilion located furthest from the centre is Quebec which was situated closer to the French Pavilion above it than to the Canadian Pavilion.

The circular formation of the Canada Complex performs some of the work that Marin writes of by making "the spaces signified by the utopian text coherent and consistent by filling them up with its own signifying substance." The circle fortifies the space as utopic; however, Marin also writes that the utopic text *plays*: it shrinks, warps, swells and does not fit exactly together. "There are empty places between these spaces", he writes (50). This is what was occurring in the spatial organization of the Canada Complex - the circular organization attempted to secure the space as utopic at the same time that the provincial and regional pavilions were positioned hierarchically in relation to the Canadian Pavilion, thus producing *play* in the meaning of the complex, and more importantly in the meaning of the term Canada, the referent of the nation.

The Indians of Canada and the ambivalent nation-space

I have intentionally excluded the Indians of Canada Pavilion from the above discussion. The Indians of Canada Pavilion was located near the Pavilion of the Atlantic Provinces (fig. 3). In the spatial scheme above outlined, the Indians of Canada Pavilion lies furthest outside the circular arrangement that is the Canada Complex, even outside the position of Quebec, on the other side of the canal and the monorail. Interestingly, it is located next to the Pavilion of the United Nations. In the photograph it is clearly positioned on the margin of the utopic space of the Canada Complex, the outside margin I would argue, not quite able to be incorporated into the body of the nation. In fact, the Indians of Canada Pavilion is not listed in the *Expo 67 Official Guide* (fig. 3) as a National Pavilion (yellow); rather it is listed as a Private Pavilion (brown) and is part of a group including the Pavilion of the United Nations (#415) and the Christian Pavilion (#416), an eerie combination given Canada's treatment of its First Peoples, especially in relation to its Christianizing mission. The Indians of Canada Pavilion, then, was not a component of the Canada Complex at Expo 67. I want to ask, then, why was this particular theme pavilion chosen to be so closely associated with the Canada Complex yet still not included within it?

In "DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation" Homi Bhabha formulates "the complex strategies of cultural identification and discursive address that function in the name of 'the people' or 'the nation' and make them the immanent

subjects and objects of a range of social and literary narratives" (Bhabha, 1990: 292). Bhabha is not interested in producing a general theory, nor is his main concern the discourse of nationalism; rather, he is drawn to the nation as a narrative strategy, to the act of writing the nation, to the "disjunctive forms of representation that signify a people, a nation, or a national culture" (292).

"DissemiNation" works with the notion of temporality, through which Bhabha displaces historicism as the dominant feature in discussions of the nation. He argues that the time of the nation, and its writing, is split in two, that there is a doubleness that characterizes the writing (narration) of the nation. The space and time of the modern nation is never horizontal or empty, though it always is represented as such. Rather, narrating the nation engages two times simultaneously, the pedagogical and the performative, wherein pedagogical time represents the synchronous, continuist, accumulative temporality of historicism; and the performative is a repetitive, recursive, disjunctive temporality which destabilizes the "empty-time" of the nation (299, 302). For Bhabha it is the combination of the pedagogical and the performative, not their accumulation but their splitting function, which produces a central feature of the modern nation. This is ambivalence; "the national narrative is the site of an ambivalent identification; a margin of the uncertainty of cultural meaning that may become the space for an agonistic minority position" (317). Identifications of love and hate (or desire and repulsion) that emerge in the space of ambivalence or liminality, occupy the same psychic space demonstrating "how the demand for a holistic, representative vision of society could only be represented

in a discourse that was *at the same time* obsessively fixed upon, and uncertain of, the boundaries of society, and the margins of the text" (296). At the same time that the text claims to be representative a crisis is provoked within the process of signification and discursive address. Built into the claim to be representative is the insufficiency of that claim. But ambivalence is not a defect to be amended - it is the site from which to narrate the nation. A liminal position, at once inside and outside the national narrative, the uncertain boundary of society, the margin of the text, is the place for an agonistic minority position to be established. From here one may launch a contestation to narrative authority, the "blindspot that will not let the nationalist gaze settle centrally" (318).

The Indians of Canada Pavilion occupied Bhabha's ambivalent, liminal space physically and psychically. Situated outside of the circle of the Canada Complex and listed as a theme pavilion rather than as a component of the Complex in the official guide, the Indians of Canada Pavilion nevertheless remained attached to the Complex through its physical proximity to it. Its listing in the official guide positioned the Indians of Canada Pavilion outside the utopic space of "Canada" as represented by the Canada Complex, while *at the same time*, its physical site in relation to the complex positioned it inside that space, though just, as did its title, the Indians of Canada Pavilion. But this negotiation was more complex. Inside the Canada Complex the signs of Nativeness existed everywhere: from the art museum to the most popular restaurant on the Expo site, La Toundra, to the monumental structure of the square at the Canada Complex, Katimavik, to the Haida sculpture inside Katimavik's sculpture garden. The centrality of Katimavik

combined with the other instances of Native presence demonstrates the centrality of difference to the conception of the Canada Complex. In fact, diversity was a structuring element of the representation of Canada, both at Expo 67 and during the Centennial celebrations. In an interior photograph of the Canadian Pavilion (fig. 6) taken from a book titled *My Home, My Native land. A People, Their Land, Their Growth*, sold at Expo 67 for one dollar, First Nations are seen to provide diversity and are represented as a constituent of the body of Canada. Yet this difference was very highly mediated, thus adding to its ambivalence.

The ambivalent position of First Nations at Expo 67 was conveyed through the theme of *Man and His World*, and was articulated through the relation between modernity and history. As was stated earlier, Expo 67 was the Expo for the future: "It was a dream of something better, a playground of global utopianism in Canada's own backyard, a fantasy of social perfection" (Pevere and Dymond: 55). From Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome to the tent-like structure of the German Pavilion to the design of Katimavik and the People Tree to Moshe Safdie's Habitat to the tetrahedron of the Man the Explorer Pavilion to Alexander Calder's sixty-seven-foot tall sculpture titled *Man* to the image of earth as viewed from outer space to the *Canadian Pavilion* itself, Expo 67 was inscribed with the signs of modernity. But the Indians of Canada Pavilion was positioned in a strange relation to modernity, a relation revealed through references to architectural design and materials.

In the May 1967 *artscanada* issue titled "Canada at Expo," in an essay titled "Expo: the Canadian Buildings," Professor James Acland of the University of Toronto's School of Architecture writes:

> Ultimately, a great fair is an expanded marketplace in which the societies of men meet to compare and contrast differing approaches to common problems. It is an affirmation of a certain style, an objective or a range of dreams. Of course it is visionary, apocalyptic and unsound; yet the pavilions, displays and patterns of a great world's fair indicate the pattern of the future better than the day-by-day compromised expediencies of professional developments and architectural hackwork...
>
> With the collapse of the initial visionary theme of *Man and His World* as it was to be expressed in dynamic new architectonic concepts intimately related to the fabric of the city, the focus in Expo planning changed about 1964 to an exploration of novel systems of construction, housing exhibits which could carry a distant echo of the basic theme. As a "space frame fair," Expo is an unqualified success; it gives the participating architects and designers an unequaled opportunity to display their virtuosity in ingenious devices of steel, aluminum, wood and glass. But after a century of trade fairs and nationalist exercises in promotional advertisement, Expo could have been the first international show to assess the real quality of life in the city...(Acland: 4,6).

In fact, world fairs had been since their official beginning in the mid-nineteenth century historic competitions for architectural design (Sorkin: 210). One need only look to the Crystal Palace (London, 1851) to the Eiffel Tower (Paris, 1889) or to the Atomium (Brussels, 1958) to confirm world fairs as just such forums. Modernity, through world fair architecture, is inscribed into the very definition of the world fair. In this regard Expo 67 was no different, but its materials were. It was the "space frame fair" as indicated by Acland, in which the new materials designed for space exploration had filtered into the locale of the fair through architecture. In so doing, the future of space

exploration was brought to earth in the guise of new architectural design and materials, confirming to visitors to Expo 67 that they were experiencing the future.

In the most discussed pavilions it was design and materials that set them apart. In the *Official Guide* this emphasis is clear. For example, Italy's pavilion "is simple but striking in form. On a rectangular sloping roof - which soars independently of the underlying structures - three symbolic sculptures summarize the whole exhibit" (127). The Ontario Pavilion's roof "is a soaring angled structure of pyramid shapes which appears to float over an exhibit platform 18 feet above ground level. The roof is an opaque vinyl glass fibre membrane stretched over cigar shaped steel booms" (158). Germany's pavilion is exemplary: "A glance at the striking silhouette of the German Pavilion inevitably invites a closer look. Its roof, supported by eight steel masts, of which the highest soars 120 feet into the sky, is made of a steel net lined with a 100,000 sq. ft. translucent plastic skin" (132). Even the organic structure of the Pavilion of the Western Provinces, with its wood shake roof and trees growing out of its top, could be recuperated into modernity by concentrating on it as a romanticized engineering feat: "The pavilion is virtually without walls and its irregular conical roof rests on low earthen embankments. It is finished in natural materials from Western Canada, and in the evenings lights along the lower edge of the pavilion create the impression that it is floating gently upon the shimmering waters of the canal" (162). These descriptions abound in the official guide to Expo 67 and give a clear indication of the emphasis placed on modernity as it was represented in architectural designs and materials.

A different emphasis is witnessed in descriptions of the Indians of Canada Pavilion (fig. 7). In the official guide no mention is made of its architecture or materials other than to state that it was a concept "that evolved into a significant form of expression" (p. 183). In *The Memorial Album of the Exhibition* (1967) it is described:

> The 100-foot-high teepee dominates a forest setting with an adjoining small lake on Ile Notre-Dame near the pavilions of Canada and the Canadian provinces. The trees and bushes in the forest come from all parts of the country; each has a special meaning to the Indian people. What catches the eye as we approach are the bold, colourful murals on the wooden walls of the building, painted by artist Francis Kagigewikwenikong from Ontario's Manitoulin Island. The style seems geometric and modern, but the bird figures belong to traditional Amerindian mythology (Montréal. Universal and International Exhibition: 118).

In this instance there is no discussion of the modernity of the architecture of the teepee or of its materials, with the only reference to modernity being in relation to the painting on the outside of one of the buildings, which *seems* modern in design, though its content is Amerindian. Indianness overrides modernity. Yet the pavilion's form is clearly modern, especially the stylized I-beam steel frame supporting the edifice from the outside, the very structural element seen to constitute the modernity of the Buckminster Fuller geodesic dome, the pavilions of Germany and Ontario, the Gyrotron and other buildings on site. In fact, this structural element could be viewed as a sub-theme of the architecture at Expo 67. Why was the modernity of the teepee-like structure overlooked in favour of discussing its natural setting, complete with trees and a small lake?

A response must consider the temporal, especially modernity's relation to history. The people of the First Nations continue to be seen as operating on a different time, a problem exacerbated by the constant emphasis on tradition in discussions of First Nations' cultures, by non-Natives and Natives alike. The emphasis on ancient traditions and ways of life positions Native cultures and peoples in a different historical space and time, tied to the rhythms of nature: "trees, shrubs, plants and rocks symbolize the Indian's harmony with nature....With him it is the sun and the moon which regulate the passing of time. Any clock-regulated timetable is repugnant to him. The school bell startles him" (Montréal. Universal and International Exhibition: 118, 120). These words are from the *The Memorial Album of the Exhibition*. Such enunciations function to lock Native people and their cultures into an anti-modern space and time, a pure and empty space guided by the cycles of the moon, an entirely pedagogical space and time, to use Bhabha's formulation.

When modernity is discussed in relation to people of the First Nations, it is not something they work within, but something working upon them. It is the effects of modernity that are accentuated: "Primarily the Indian people want to present the problems with which they are faced by involvement in a modern technological society, and to affirm their will to preserve the traditional moral and spiritual values of their forefathers" (The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 183). Here the perceived link (or rift) between non-Native, modern technological society and traditional, spiritual, Native culture becomes evident. Under this directive, modernity is something that moves

through and interrupts the lives of First Peoples rather than something to which one adjusts relatively unproblematically. In fact, it is the extreme difficulty of adjustment to modernity that is uniquely emphasized in discussions of First Peoples at Expo 67 and elsewhere. The bizarre lack of discussion concerning the modernity of the Indians of Canada Pavilion, both in terms of design and materials, coupled with the emphasis on ancient traditions and the perceived inability of Natives to function within modernity, served to position the Indians of Canada Pavilion in a strange relation to the modern nation. Once again its ambivalent marriage to the nation is clear, with modernity - here viewed through a discussion of architecture and materials - performing the illusory gesture of determining one's place.

agon(y): the transport machine

But what exactly is that place? This chapter has explicated some of the complexities and contradictions within the spatial structure of the Canada Complex at Expo 67, especially as related to the Indians of Canada Pavilion, maintaining that these may tell one something about the relation between Native people and the idea of Canada being articulated and performed in 1967. Rather than wanting to expose the "real" situation of Natives over and against those definitions offered at Expo 67, this chapter attempts to express both the inside-outness and the outside-inness of First Nations in Canada, in which Natives are "at the same time" defined as inside the nation and without. It is precisely this ambivalence that Homi Bhabha takes as the space to found an "agonistic

minority position" wherein one may begin to challenge the pedagogical space and time of the nation.

Yet I am left with a feeling of discomfort over Bhabha's "agon," which continues to function within centre/margin models. Elspeth Probyn's words about queer belonging in Québec return to haunt me as I think about Homi Bhabha, particularly her notion of singularity and its relation to the figure of the margin, a notion she borrows from Stuart Hall: "the margin-center equation is posed as self-evident when in fact it is always getting up to other things, forging other discursive directions" (Probyn, 1996: 72). Probyn argues that the self-evident nature of this model is deceptive, for it generates a certain understanding of colonial history and geography in Canada, thus producing a pride in marginality and a fear of isolation (73). Marginality, therefore, is made to stand as a discursive operator that sets into play other discourses. In her free trade example, perceived Canadian economic isolation instills stereotypes of Canadians and Québécois in relation to the American economic giant, "a small instance in a large repertoire of cultural images that interrelate geography, land, space, and time in very affective ways" (74). Probyn argues that some of the central signs that figure Canada as marginal, such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, are posed as coterminous with certain conceptions of the nation (76), figurations which are mutually supporting and regenerating. But the question remains: marginal to what? For Probyn, a response must refigure the lines so that they intersect in different ways but never through pre-existing determinations to form "alternative national manners," new lines of becoming" (76).

Probyn's "alternative national manners" work well within Chantal Mouffe's theories of democracy, which posit difference as the guarantor of a democratic society. Mouffe argues, and here she is in accord with Bhabha, that difference cannot be erased in favour of an abstract universal: "For a radical and plural democracy, the belief that a final resolution of conflicts is eventually possible, even if envisaged as an asymptomatic approach to the regulative ideal of a free and unconstrained communication, as in Habermas, far from providing the necessary horizon of a democratic project, is something that puts it at risk" (Mouffe, 1993: 8). For Mouffe antagonism between political groups is essential to the democratic project, with the basis of democracy standing as an agreement on democratic principles. Difference stands on this: political groups will always have adversaries with whom they struggle for representation; however, with agreement in principle, such adversaries will not privilege their own politics as the unique ground for democracy. Antagonism is ineradicable.

Mouffe's anti-essentialist position affirms that neither the totality nor its fragment possesses a fixed identity. Each, rather, is contingent on the form of its articulation. In a similar vein, Lawrence Grossberg argues that theories of identity have failed to open up a space of anti- or counter-modernity; in fact the notion of difference is also a historically produced economy that must shift through time in order to maintain its relevance (Grossberg: 94). Theories of identity must be re-articulated according to alternative logics to move beyond models of oppressor/oppressed, oppression/resistance and toward

a model of articulation as "transformative practice," as a "singular becoming of a community," he argues (88). This is done by employing a model of the "other" that is not essentialist, wherein one develops a "strong sense that the other exists, in its own place, as what it is, independently of any *specific* relations" (94), a theory of the "changing same" to use Grossberg's term. To define this changing same, Grossberg re-articulates the concept of agency, arguing that it is not possessed by an individual but is a "product of the diagrams of mobility and placement which define or map the possibilities of where and how specific vectors of influence can stop and be placed" (102). Agency, then, is a product of contingency that produces "temporary points of belonging and identification, of orientation and installation, creating sites of strategic historical possibilities and activities....Agency is the empowerment enabled at particular sites, along particular vectors" (102). This is a concept of "belonging without identity," a singular belonging which respects the other without absorbing it into the same, or the different (103), a position which may re-orient the terms of (identity) politics.

Rather than a politics based upon identity as something possessed by individuals, more transient needs and desires become the basis of politics; these may even contradict historical identity categories in their formulation. Grossberg gives the example of the student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989, arguing that there was no shared identity that students possessed other than the fact that they came together for that moment, for a particular need, and would subsequently disperse. He writes that as a "community of opposition" the students shared:

> no common identity, no property that defines them apart from the fact that they were there, together, in that place. It was the fact of belonging that constituted their belonging together. Such a singularity operates as a transport machine following a logic of involvement, a logic of the next (rather than of the proper). It refuses to take any instance as a synechdocal image of the whole. It is only at the intersection of the various lines at the concrete place of belonging that we can identify the different processes of individuation carried out through groups and people, new modes of individuation and even subjectivation with no identity. Such a community would be based only on the exteriority, the exposure, of the singularity of belonging (104).[6]

How, then, is it possible to refigure the lines of the nation to form alternative national becomings? If I wish to go beyond the centre/margin model toward a non-essential means of defining identity, how then, might I discuss the spatiality of the Indians of Canada Pavilion? In 1967, Native people in Canada were struggling for representation; indeed, Native participation in the conceptualization, construction and operation of the Indians of Canada Pavilion was a central concern for the Centennial Committee, with a Native Advisory Board to Expo 67 being organized to ensure the presence of Native voices (Brydon: 55-61). In fact, a haltingly disturbing message issued from the Indians of Canada Pavilion as a result of Native participation, and was often in direct contrast to the desires of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs that wished to be non-political with regard to the displays (60). Within the Indians of Canada Pavilion diverse Native groups came together to exhibit common components of their citizenship in Canada - oppression and subjugation. Their pavilion provided the space to define Native commonality at the same time that it exhibited spatially the relation of Native people to the nation of Canada through its position vis-à-vis the Canada Complex. While operating

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[6] It is important to note that a strong tradition of student protest has existed in China for decades. Grossberg is arguing that the common ground the students share in protest does not constitute an identity, but rather a "community of opposition" which shifts according to need.

within Expo 67's axiom of coming together to solve problems for humanity, the Indians of Canada Pavilion also produced a space for Native people to organize collectively to solve problems exclusive to them, as a people with a shared history. This type of organization had led to many advances for Native people since WW II including, but not limited to: a revised Indian Act which, among other items, repealed anti-potlatch laws (1951) (Dickason: 329-31); enfranchisement without compromising special status (1960) (400); the right of women to retain their status upon marrying non-Indians (1985) (331); and the shift toward self-government which continues today. The Indians of Canada Pavilion was a tremendous success not only for the sense of politics it promoted for Native people, but also for the uses made of it as a gathering place for political and social purposes by Native groups until its destruction in the late 1980s (Brydon: 60). Yet, its success at Expo 67 resided in the erasure of difference amongst Native groups to aid in exhibiting collective concerns, an important step toward political representation, but one which ultimately would be limiting. Thus, the Indians of Canada Pavilion produced a line of flight toward alternative citizenship in Canada at the same time as it was constrained through its conceptualization of identity politics, a politics which even today has not been entirely dislodged.

Chapter Two

The Most Important Secretary in Canada and the*Chatelaine* Expo Home

"are you a woman or a parliamentarian?"

Judy LaMarsh was the most important secretary in Canada in 1967. As Secretary of State, having been appointed as what Pierre Berton calls a "consolation prize" (Berton, 1998: 13) after the 1965 election, Judy LaMarsh was responsible for the festivities that traversed Canada during the Centennial year. Besides this, under LaMarsh the Ministry of Health and Welfare legislated some of the mainstays of the Canadian nation: the Canada Pension Plan, the Canada Assistance Plan, the National Arts Centre, the National Museums Act and Medicare. LaMarsh was also a central figure in the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, set up in 1967. A busy minister indeed and a dynamo. Judy LaMarsh is known for her black-and-white political attitudes and her ability to fight for what she believed. Elected as an MP in Lester Pearson's Liberal Party in 1960 for the Niagara Falls riding, LaMarsh became Minister of Health and Welfare after the 1963 Liberal win over Diefenbaker's Conservatives, and remained in political office until her 1968 retirement from politics. LaMarsh was the only woman in Pearson's cabinet and recalls in her autobiography, *Memoirs of a Bird in a Guilded Cage* (1969), her differential treatment. For instance, after an invitation to Governor-General Vanier's official residence to sign the Privy Council roll as the new government, the group broke for lunch. LaMarsh writes: "As usual, most of the men broke off into groups to lunch together and I went off by myself. In the five years in Cabinet...I doubt that I

had lunch with one or another of my colleagues in an informal way more than a handful of times....This I found one of the most difficult things to get used to in Ottawa - almost total isolation from my colleagues except on parliamentary matters" (LaMarsh: 51-52). The sense of isolation LaMarsh felt often slipped into utter denigration, as LaMarsh repeatedly notes in her memoirs and as Berton points out in his book *1967*.

The contention of this sub-section is that something particular occurs in representations of Judy LaMarsh's body that is connected to notions of femininity, decorum and excess. As the only woman in Pearson's cabinet, LaMarsh in many ways worked in a "man's world,"_and yet, Judy LaMarsh did not perform as expected. For instance, when male Members of Parliament met dignitaries they bowed, while women were required to curtsy. In her memoirs LaMarsh discusses this difference and the humiliation it caused her by repeatedly positioning her in contradistinction to her male colleagues, pointing to her femininity as a marker of difference. Within the political realm she felt this to be inappropriate, a point which at once set her apart and devalued her position there (LaMarsh: 217-24). Not only this, but, as LaMarsh admits in her autobiography, after practicing and practicing she was almost always unable to get the curtsy right, awkwardly placing the incorrect foot forward again and again (Berton: 19). Although one may never know her motivations for doing so, LaMarsh did lobby to have the curtsy removed from official government protocol, a process completed when Norah Michener bowed to her husband upon his swearing in as Governor-General in 1967, but not soon enough for LaMarsh, who was required to curtsy before approximately forty VIPs as they arrived for

their official greeting on the lawn of Parliament Hill during Centennial summer (Berton: 18-19).

It is this awkwardness and refusal to act as expected to which I wish to call attention, to this perceived inability of LaMarsh to act with decorum, within the rules of protocol, to inevitably spill beyond the frame of proper action. As the official representative of the government in power, decorum and protocol are essential features of the office of Secretary of State, a point doubly true during the Centennial year in which LaMarsh was obliged to travel throughout Canada and the world promoting Centennial events and projects as well as to receive all foreign VIPs who arrived in Ottawa for official visits. During 1967, one sees photographs of Judy LaMarsh riding the Centennial train, holding a koala bear in the Sydney Zoo, at a Centennial garden party with Lorne Green, rubbing noses with Maurice Lamontagne at the 1967 New Year Party on Parliament Hill, and of her riding shotgun on a stagecoach (frontispiece) to name but a few. This section will investigate two strategies used to represent Secretary of State LaMarsh.

In 1966, the Ministry of National Health and Welfare, LaMarsh's portfolio, launched a national anti-smoking campaign through the Smoking Research Grant. LaMarsh recalls that at this time in cabinet meetings the room was often a cloud of blue, as almost everyone there smoked (53). However, LaMarsh came under fire for the perceived hypocrisy of her ministry launching such a campaign as she continued to smoke three packages of cigarettes a day. LaMarsh immediately quit smoking and soon gained forty

pounds, a point of shame she discusses in her memoirs. This point is also mentioned in an interview for *Chatelaine Magazine* that LaMarsh gave in February 1968: "Close friends say that Judy has been personally unhappy for the past year and that she finds the job not very satisfactory. The fact that she has gained ninety pounds since she became a cabinet minister is some kind of confirmation (Michener: 79). I am interested in this weight gain for the reading of LaMarsh's body and actions it seems to facilitate. Mary Russo in her book *The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity* of 1994 argues that the fat body, especially the fat female body, is a repository of shame and repressed desire that contributes to definitions of femininity (and class) (Russo: 24). In the case of Judy LaMarsh the weight gain and resultant body-form combined with a common perception of her as a "big mouth" to produce a mutually supporting system in which a commentary on her weight gained impact through its attachment to her mouth and vice versa.

This is evident in a caricature done of LaMarsh in the *Toronto Star* by Al Beaton titled "Say It Isn't So" (fig. 8), which marked LaMarsh's retirement from politics in 1968. In "Say It Isn't So" the caricaturist is kneeling in front of a bust of Judy LaMarsh and pleading with it while tears fly from his eyes to produce a puddle on the floor. Behind him and above his work table are several images of LaMarsh with her characteristic big mouth, only this time smiling, perhaps due to the happiness caused by her announcement. In only one of the images is LaMarsh's body present: portrayed from behind the caricature shows her walking away from the viewer, with briefcase in hand and her arms

shortened to emphasize the rotundity of her enormously fat body. Even the vent in her jacket is rendered ambiguously so it appears her skirt is riding low, baring her ass to us all. This image, I believe, attests to the synchronicity produced between her mouth and body, together facilitating an injurious reading of LaMarsh's character and politics, which were severely strained by 1968 after several difficulties which arose in the period prior to her retirement.

For example, LaMarsh's comments to Pierre Berton during an interview on CBC television, in which LaMarsh openly criticized the President of the CBC, Alphonse Ouimet, were the final ones in a growing chain of insult and injury beginning with LaMarsh's attack on John Deifenbaker upon her arrival in Cabinet. As the Minister responsible for the CBC, LaMarsh stated on Berton's nightly programme that she was seeking a "brilliant rising star" who was "with it" to replace Ouimet upon his retirement at the end of 1967, someone capable of bringing unity to the country by promoting Canadian programming, a task for which Ouimet was not deemed capable (Berton, 1998: 88-89, Michener: 76). A perhaps minor indiscretion became a national scandal when Berton asked if perhaps LaMarsh could find money to renovate the studio for Front Page Challenge. LaMarsh responded that there would be plenty of money if the CBC had better management, a perceived "kick in the teeth to every single CBC employee with management functions" (Berton: 89), especially Ouimet. The debate deepened and raged on with the establishment of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission being its result. But this did not occur until the debacle had threatened the CBC and the Liberal Party

(Michener: 41), a point for which LaMarsh was not forgiven by many Ministers including Pearson.

In a widely circulated photograph of Judy LaMarsh greeting the Queen and Prince Philip on Parliament Hill on 30 June 1967 (fig. 9) LaMarsh is seen next to Queen Elizabeth II with Prince Philip smiling at someone hidden behind LaMarsh's form and Lester Pearson following them, seemingly paying no attention to the group. A Mountie tails them. The caption that appears with the photograph in LaMarsh's memoirs is interesting. It reads: "Remember now, stay one step behind, and don't speak to Their Majesties unless they speak first" (LaMarsh: between 186 + 187). Is this an injunction that LaMarsh repeats obsessively to herself like the grocery list a child repeats on the way to the store, or is it a warning from another quarter? It is not clear, but the inclusion of this statement with the photograph betrays a certain paranoia that LaMarsh might transgress the disciplinary codes of protocol and decorum by speaking out of turn or marching ahead of the Queen. And in the photograph LaMarsh is speaking. Has she already spilled beyond the frame and transgressed propriety? If the Queen represents magisterial decorum and an always appropriate femininity, can LaMarsh here be seen as anything other than its antipode, a shame inscribed in the lowering of the head and a rolling of the shoulders that position LaMarsh in an outlandish relation to the class of the Queen?

And what about that dress and hat? LaMarsh wears a snugly fitting, crocheted button-front dress with a thin cord belt which emphasizes her breasts and midriff. Over this is a

matching crocheted half-sleeve jacket of the same length. Wrinkled gloves reach halfway up LaMarsh's forearm leaving the other half bare while a matching hat tops off the ensemble. Her outfit stands in stark contrast to the architecture of the Queen's attire. As mentioned, one of Judy LaMarsh's duties during the Centennial year was to greet all foreign dignitaries who arrived in Ottawa. LaMarsh mentions that her office on Parliament Hill became a virtual closet for that year and that if she were a man it would have been much less complicated as she would only have been required to change her tie periodically. This was exacerbated by the mail LaMarsh received after any public appearance criticizing either what she wore, how much she spent, or both (Michener: 78) Yet, her request for a clothing allowance, supported by the Minister of Finance, Walter Gordon, was denied by Prime Minister Pearson.[7] Although one may never be certain as to why, a response must consider LaMarsh's gender and her differential position vis-à-vis the male Parliamentarians with whom she worked. In a 1973 interview for the series "Canadian Public Figures on Tape" LaMarsh was asked by the interviewer to reflect on her character as both a person and a phenomenon in the press, to which she began a response by recounting an interview conducted by a journalist in the parliamentary cafeteria. LaMarsh recalls how when they sat down, the interviewer crossed his arms, looked at her and asked, "Are you a woman or a parliamentarian?" a question LaMarsh was stunned by then, and angered by afterward. She says to the 1973 interviewer, "I am sure no man has ever been asked this." The perceived fissure and irreconcilability

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[7] Pierre Berton writes that LaMarsh spent $100 000.00 on clothes for the Centennial year (Berton, 1998: 20) while Michener writes that LaMarsh spent $5000.00 out of a salary of $35 000.00 (Michener: 78). This is a wild discrepancy which nonetheless establishes that LaMarsh spent a tremendous amount of her own money for her public role.

between woman and parliamentarian was a constant problem for LaMarsh, who says she was always considered to be a "freak" and a "hybrid," with no one knowing "exactly whether I was a man or a woman" (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education). It seems that gender, through this hybridity, worked against LaMarsh in two ways that could produce either oppression based on her being a woman or on her not being enough of a woman, "unlady-like," "unsoft," "ungentle" to use LaMarsh's words (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education). I think Pearson's refusal of a clothing allowance must be seen in this light, with LaMarsh's identity as a parliamentarian facilitating a refusal to be regarded as a woman, with its seemingly superfluous requirements. Thus Pearson's refusal could be read as a response to a woman making immoderate claims on the public purse rather than Canada's Secretary of State needing to be appropriately attired for public events during Canada's most important year. Or was this decision by Pearson an attempt to undermine LaMarsh, not his favourite MP by any means, to contain and even embarrass her, a punishment for her difficult nature, or for being a woman in politics?

Containment in relation to LaMarsh is an important aspect of her representation, and was used to refeminize her according to contemporary codes of femininity. An advertisement that appeared in *Chatelaine Magazine* in April 1967 (fig. 10) illustrates well contemporary notions of the female body and how to reform it stating: "Everything is under control: hips, tummy, even midriff - everything's sleekly controlled, neatly understated in these tidy daisy fresh and sarong go-betweens. The secret of control is, of course, nylon covered lycra - light but packed with holding power." Here is glimpsed

how a certain form of feminine desirability is achieved through the actual reformation of the female body, with the stitching in the centre marking its ultimate form: a perfect hourglass. However, this type of direct reform of LaMarsh's femininity, a reshaping of her physically, is not what I am arguing for, because, and this needs to be stated, her body did not stand so absurdly outside contemporary codes of desirability, although as the caricature discussed above argues, her weight was a point of ridicule. Rather a more subtle reworking of character is produced by representing LaMarsh in "feminine" environments performing "feminine" activities.

On the cover of *The Canadian*, a monthly insert in the *Montreal Gazette*, on 15 April 1967 appears a photograph of LaMarsh (fig. 11) putting the final touches on a dress she has designed. Standing in profile with head turned and wearing in a classic black dress, hose and pumps with only a simple strand of black pearls adorning her body, she smiles excitedly toward the camera, while next to her, a model stands frontally positioned in a strange pose that better exhibits the extended a-line design and decorative pattern of the dress and provides bulk to her form. Whether intentional or not, this stance reduces the bulk of LaMarsh's body, as does LaMarsh's profile stance itself. But this is a minor point that performs a level of containment on LaMarsh's body. Recall LaMarsh's comments on "Canadian Public Figures on Tape" where she designated herself to be a "hybrid," with people not knowing whether she was a man or a woman. Recall as well the journalist's question: "Are you a woman or a parliamentarian?" Images such as the cover of *The Canadian* work to make a "woman" out of a "parliamentarian" by seducing

LaMarsh's body out of the manly political realm and positioning it firmly within that of femininity. A reference to this is made at two points in the feature's accompanying text: "It may take a long time to decide who's to be the president of the CBC, but it only took Secretary of State Judy LaMarsh five minutes to turn out the flowery creation on our cover" (*The Canadian*: 19), a comment which refers to the difficulty of LaMarsh doing "man's" work and the ease with which she performs "woman's." LaMarsh's feminization is completed in the article's final two sentences: "Judy looked pretty sharp herself as she wise-cracked her way through the modeling session. Did you get a load of those textured nylons enclosing the best legs in the entire Canadian cabinet?" (19). Both the familiar use of her name, Judy, and the overt sexualization that does not consider the legs of male MPs, at once a compliment and a quip, perform this final sexual gesture. Images such as the cover of *The Canadian* contain LaMarsh's body by recuperating her femininity, not so much through her dress which was always feminine and fashionable, as through the actions she performs. Enjoying herself sewing a flower on a dress, or seen cooking a sauce in her kitchen (another popular photograph of her reproduced several times), LaMarsh is no longer a hybrid, a dangerous and unstable man-woman, a parliamentarian, but is thoroughly and unapologetically a woman.

Judy LaMarsh is interesting for the manner in which she negotiated contemporary codes of femininity and politics. How might one relate LaMarsh to feminist practices in the mid-1960s and, perhaps more importantly here, to Expo 67? The following sections will

take up these relationships in an investigation of the Man in the Home Pavilion, the *Chatelaine* Expo Home, designed and built for Expo 67.

1960s Chatelaine

In his book *1967* Pierre Berton writes that by the late 1960s, with Doris Anderson as its editor, *Chatelaine* "had for ten years been publishing a different kind of woman's magazine," adding that "Anderson was always one to swim against the tide" (Berton, 1998: 125). *Chatelaine* editors and executives wished to attract a national audience of middle-class female readers because these were believed to hold the purchasing power for the products *Chatelaine* advertised (Korinek: 95). However, Korinek argues that, being the only Canadian women's magazine of the era, *Chatelaine* had a large, broad-based readership of women (and some men) from diverse classes, regions, ages, and ethnic groups, composing a reader base larger than the two national Canadian magazines, *Mclean's* and *Saturday Night*, combined. And 32% of *Chatelaine* readers were single women, in spite of its editorial bias in favour of married women (Korinek: 84). Aside from articles on children's rights, youth and anti-Imperialism, and the standard features such as recipes and makeup tips, *Chatelaine Magazine* also published texts on medical issues for women, women's equality, employment for women, and women's agency over their own bodies. In fact, *Chatelaine* by 1967 was publishing primarily feminist articles. Leafing through its volumes for that year alone one discovers articles with titles such as

"Is There a Prejudice Against Women on Juries" (Apr. 1967), "87 Jobs Older Women Can Learn Or Do, Right Now" (Apr. 1967), "The Dangerous Disappearance of 'Woman'" (May, 1967) and "Why Men Want Out of Marriage" (Mar. 1967). This last article is interesting for its surprising findings. Rather than suggesting that men want out of marriage because they are no longer satisfied with it as an institution, or because they are naturally non-monogamous and feel trapped, the problem for the men is one of independence. Each man interviewed expresses the desire for his wife to be more independent: "She's a perfect wife. There isn't any other woman in my life. Her world revolves around me. And, says Gil violently, I don't want to be that important to anyone" (28, 83). The author then goes on to ask, "Having won the right to some sort of equality in marriage, are we, as women, demanding too much of the partnership and driving our husbands to boredom and thoughts of escape?" (83-84). Indeed the problem for some of the men interviewed is that they do not want their wives to make a career out of marriage: "I just wish my wife would use marriage as a solid base to operate from, instead of trying to turn it into an enclosed circle. It gives me claustrophobia" (88). This, of course, is the point of the article: to remind women of their need for independence, even within the institution of marriage.

In fact, independence for women is the primary theme of *Chatelaine* throughout this period. One example may be found in *Chatelaine's* "Women of Canada," a monthly commentary featuring women from a different province each month of the Centennial

year. For March, eight women from diverse backgrounds are featured.[8] In the article each woman's independence is central to her story: the volunteer works at various projects not associated directly with her domestic life; the young woman who serves coffee left home at age sixteen and is re-evaluating her immigrant parent's values and exhibiting an unfettered autonomy; even the mail-order bride is seen to have asserted her independence by leaving her home in Yugoslavia to take up life in rural Ontario. However, each women's independence is carefully weighed against other concerns and responsibilities. Sylvia Ostry, the Director of Special Manpower Studies and Consultation at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, balances a very successful high profile career with a demanding home life that includes being a mother of two and wife to a Regional Supervisor of Public Affairs for CBC radio and television. Even without editorial comments, the message of the feature is clear: be your own person.

This message is central to a feature which appeared in the February 1968 issue of *Chatelaine Magazine* featuring Judy LaMarsh. "The Trouble With Judy LaMarsh Is..." features several of the controversies LaMarsh weathered and discusses them in relation to LaMarsh's femininity and politics, and foregrounds the split argued for above which occurs when a woman is also a politician. The article documents many of LaMarsh's accomplishments while a Member of Parliament and the difficulties she encountered in political life. These are then measured against her character and evaluated in relation to LaMarsh's gender, arguing that ambivalence is "the key to her character" (Michener: 76).

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8 No page numbers available.

"She is a mass of conflicting emotions," the author states. At once reticent about her public persona, LaMarsh also was known to divulge private information quite readily; "violently" partisan at times, LaMarsh insisted on non-partisanship at other times; "terribly hurt by the constant remarks about her size, yet she invites them by being the first to call attention to it" (76). A certain schizophrenia emerges from these descriptions of LaMarsh, which simultaneously refuse to position her as a victim. In fact, LaMarsh appears to willfully construct the oppositions which are seen to attach to her character, to spurn any will to categorize and limit her abilities by reducing them to gender. Judy LaMarsh, then, makes a useful subject for *Chatelaine* for her refusal to regard gender as a limitation and her willingness to cross gender lines and occupy "a man's world" (78). Furthermore, LaMarsh insists on maintaining her femininity while also being critical of women who "let the side down" (76). Thus, while not relinquishing her feminist ideals, LaMarsh also promotes "femininity" as an agent of change. It is for these reasons that LaMarsh appears as an exemplary subject for *Chatelaine*: "Since she does not behave as others do, she is a challenge to both the men and women around her" (78).

I am arguing that a particular brand of feminism emerged from Chatelaine Magazine with Doris Anderson as its editor, a feminism of constrained independence in which agency for women was promoted while femininity was upheld as a basis for social change. How, then, did this feminism translate into the Chatelaine Home, the Man In the Home Pavilion at Expo 67? An exhibit that foregrounds home life, family and domesticity seems an odd choice for *Chatelaine Magazine* in the 1960s, a moment at

which its official editorial position centres on women's independence and their need to respond politically to lifestyles that determine their roles strictly in terms of domesticity.

Chatelaine Expo Home

Situated on lot C-449 the Man In the Home Pavilion (fig. 12), constructed specially for Expo 67 by *Chatelaine Magazine*, occupied a rather strange space on Ile Notre-Dame. Sandwiched between the private Economic Progress Pavilion (C-448) and the Expo Banking Service (C-450), the Man In the Home Pavilion, or the Chatelaine Home as it was popularly called, was in an area of the Expo site marked by Expo Service Projects, such as two vaporetto landings (C-458 [Africa] + C-459 [Bank]), and an Expo Services B kiosque, as well as by the private pavilions of Canadian National (C-444) and Canadian Kodak (C-445). With the nearest major theme pavilion being Man the Producer (C-440) and being quite distant from the Canada Complex, the Chatelaine Home occupied a national space closer to the countries of Cuba (C-447), Guyana and Barbados (C-452), and Ceylon (C-453), indeed closer to the entire square titled Africa Place (C-462 + C-463). This curious spatiality wherein a pavilion so closely linked with Canadian life was positioned at such a distance from the territory in which it signified makes little sense without considering it in relation to the history of universal exhibitions. The Chatelaine Home, which the *Expo 67 Official Guide* describes as "entirely Canadian in design and execution" (Expo 67 Official Guide: 192), was made to signify progress against the "developing" nations in its vicinity, with their concentration on political development, industry, tourism, education and welfare (129-31). The Chatelaine Home declared a

triumph for progress in each of these realms, with the nuclear family standing as the natural outcome of development. And Canada was represented as the pinnacle of this development.

Constructed as a two-story house with a full basement and interior single-car garage and finished with upright pine siding, the Man in the Home Pavilion resembled a periscope lying on its side. The pavilion's interior housed a garage, hobby and work centre in the basement with living areas and kitchen on the first floor and three bedrooms with two bathrooms on the second. It also featured a wine cellar, gardening centre, sewing centre, outdoor swimming pool and a "forever-green man-made lawn that you vacuum, never cut or water" (192). This prize-winning home was commissioned by the Canadian Lumberman's Association, designed by architect Gustavo da Roza of Winnipeg, built and furnished by Chatelaine Magazine and won by a visitor to Expo 67. In the *Expo 67 Official Guide* the Chatelaine Home is described as "a new imaginative concept in family living, an outstanding design that was the prize-winner from over 130 entries in a Canada-wide competition." The *Official Guide* adds that the Man In the Home Pavilion was conceived for an "average family in their late thirties with three children" (192). In the May 1967 feature of *Chatelaine Magazine* titled "Chatelaine Expo Home" a more detailed description is found: "The dramatic impact of the Man in the Home Pavilion at Expo 67 is achieved by the simple elegance of its architectural lines. You can see at a glance...what makes this a great house - full-height walls of glass, an unplaned-pine exterior that architect Gustavo da Roza treated to give a play of light and shadow. Inside

there are soaring spaces, and more of the warmth and strength of natural wood" (Campaigne: 89). The author adds that the family imagined to occupy the Chatelaine Home are "for contest purposes a couple with a son, fifteen, and two daughters, ten and five" (89). The article then goes on to describe the house's interior:

> The entry is roomy, has a coat closet at the end, various hobby rooms to the right. A wine cellar needn't be a luxury....Warm cherry paneling in laundry does away with that clinical look....Powder room of foyer combines color and convenience....Garden centre has sink, growing light, materials for potting....The compact kitchen has luminous ceiling, under-cabinet lights...sink to the right of dishwasher, has waste disposal...foam-cushioned floor makes for comfort underfoot" (89, 91-92)....At the top [of the stairs], a balcony hall leads to the master bedroom, itself a balcony overlooking the living room. A common ceiling texture and wall color ties bedroom and living room together. Balcony paneling is same wood as exterior of house. The seventeen-foot glass wall is curtained with open-weave casement cloth specially treated to filter sunlight and insulate...boys of all ages prefer thoroughly masculine furnishings that stand up to hard wear. Walls of hardy vinyl panels and a pull-out sofa bed give [the boy's] room a studio look. the desk with good lighting makes for good homework habits. There's no morning rush in this house as the children have their own private bathroom....Soft shades of pink and green establish a mood for two young daughters. Twin beds are placed headboard to headboard for privacy. A desk extends the whole width of the room..." (97-98,100).

While unique in style and set apart from the more standardized suburban houses of the period through its design,[9] the Chatelaine Home nonetheless did not mark a radical departure from convention, containing the usual spaces of suburban housing along with the concomitant consumer conveniences. Especially when compared to other forms of maverick architectural design for housing in this period such as Moshe Safdie's project that was built on Cité du Havre for Expo 67, Habitat 67, the Chatelaine Home appears as a emphatically middle-class residence, an ideal dwelling for Mrs. Chatelaine 1967.

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[9] For example, see the Sept. 1967 issue of *Chatelaine* for the feature "Chatelaine-Approved Design Homes '67" in which six housing designs from across Canada are highlighted. In relation to these the *Chatelaine* Home is set apart through its design.

Mrs. Chatelaine 1967

As "Mrs. Chatelaine 1967," Eva Hammond is the prescribed occupant of the Chatelaine Home (fig. 13): "She's Eva Hammond, of St. Hilaire, Quebec, who serenely manages a busy family of four young children, a number of absorbing hobbies and a bit of work too" (*Chatelaine*, May 1967: 39). Notice the concentration on her role as "manager" of the family, rather than mother, as well as the distance drawn between Hammond and her husband, both textually and visually, as he is not mentioned as a member of the family at all and is separated from them, standing on the outside of the home in the photograph. Even the caption to the photograph lists "husband, Russell" as last in order of importance, just before the runners-up to the contest. Inscribed here is the discourse of independence I earlier argued was central to *Chatelaine's* feminism, an independence Eva Hammond embodies faultlessly:

> Eva Hammond's life, like her environment, is a rich, subtle blending of old and new. She enjoys folk singing with friends on a Saturday night, followed by coffee and pastries; she loves to skate, or toboggan or ski, on the small mountain a few minutes from her home with friends and their children on a Saturday afternoon, and then bring them all back to her house for a chicken casserole that has been bubbling in the oven. But she continues to work one day a week as a nurse at the Neurological Institute in Montreal where she was in charge of a ward before her first child was born, and she plans to teach nursing when her children are independent...
>
> The Hammonds entertain frequently but casually. Once a month they have friends in for dinner. An enthusiastic cook, Eva usually serves one of her international specialties - Chinese, Italian of French Canadian - buffet-style. She tries to cook as much ahead as possible so that she can enjoy her guests. In winter she often makes French-Canadian *tourtière* and she also bakes all her own rolls and bread... (*Chatelaine* May 1967: 39, 108).

The article goes on to mention Hammond's involvement in church activities, her "picnic-painting" sessions with the children, how she helped "Russ" build a two-car garage for his hobby cars and how she makes all of her own curtains in addition to many of her own clothes (108). The article ends with Hammond's words on her role in the family: "The wife and mother is the coordinator of activities, the emotional hub of the family. She is the one who creates the proper environment and nourishment for happiness and growth. Anything that contributes to making a woman a better and bigger person in her own right she will use in her marriage and in raising her children" (108).

I want to draw attention to how Hammond's roles as family "manager" and "hostess" are linked to the independence so central to *Chatelaine's* feminism. It is through the figure of the manager that her role as wife and mother is refigured and extended to include activities that will make Hammond a "better and bigger person in her own right." Her role as a hostess is associated with this refiguration in important ways for it is partially through a redefinition of the terms "wife" and "mother" that the hostess surfaces, now appearing within a discourse on independence. That is, the terms manager and hostess transformed women's role in the home by at once separating it from the roles of wife and mother while giving the roles an aura of publicness that pulled them from the domestic sphere, all in the guise of obtaining independence for women. Hammond "enjoys" bringing friends back for chicken casserole after tobogganing and prepares as much before hand as possible so that she can "enjoy" her guests. Even her return to nursing when her children are older, which is viewed as providing independence for Hammond,

firmly situates her work within a traditional female sphere, caregiving. This maneuvre, in fact, further entrenched and extended the relation between women and domesticity at the same time that it represented this fortification as an increase in independence for women, by linking it to the public sphere through the act of naming.

hello, is anybody home?

I want now to return to the descriptions of the Man In the Home Pavilion and to the imaging techniques employed in the *Chatelaine Magazine* feature from May 1967 (figs. 14-16). Immediately apparent in these images and descriptions is the complete effacement of the human body, with the spaces of the *Chatelaine Home* remaining undefined in terms of their prescribed user. As one is led on a tour of the home, the rooms are described by their physical features rather than the uses a specific person and identity will make of them: "3. Warm cherry paneling in laundry does away with that clinical look. Even pegboard behind washer is wood-grained. 4. Powder room off foyer combines color and convenience; walls and ceiling in floral vinyl, counter in ebony brown give dramatic effect. 5. Garden centre has sink, growing light, materials for potting" (Campaigne: 91). What emerges from these descriptions is a spatiality that is not gendered, a point true for the adult spaces of the *Chatelaine Home* in ways it is not for the children's.

Although the photographic images of the children's spaces are unpeopled, like the adults,' the textual descriptions are radically gender prescriptive: "1. Boys of all ages prefer thoroughly masculine furnishings that stand up to hard wear. Walls of hardy vinyl panels and a pull-out sofabed give the room a studio look....5. Soft shades of pink and green establish a mood for two young daughters. Twin beds are placed headboard to headboard for privacy. A desk extends the whole width of the room" (99). In the *Chatelaine Home*, then, one witnesses the strict separation between adult and child in regard to gender, with a disciplining of the child's body that is to be overturned in adulthood. Strong gender divisions are required in childhood to guard against the possibility of gender-role ambiguity. We know where this leads. Korinek raises this issue in her discussion of "vigilant parenting" where she outlines theories of (male and female) homosexuality prevalent in the 1960s, in which parents were encouraged to "heed warning signs" and "take decisive action" with regard to ruptures in the sex role system (Korinek: 93). The medical articles Korinek cites all appeared in the "Health" column of *Chatelaine Magazine*. Thus, one sees inscribed in the Chatelaine Home, as well as in the pages of *Chatelaine Magazine*, a rigid division of genders for children to guard against the possibility of sex-role ambiguity and its result - homosexuality.

Yet the fact that the adult spaces of the Chatelaine Home are represented as non-gender specific is a conspicuous disruption in contemporary gender codes, the latter seen in a wiring advertisement for the *Resources For Man* theme building at Expo 67 (fig. 18) that appeared in *Chatelaine Magazine* (March 1967). In it a father is shaving and drilling, a

mother doing laundry, entertaining her friends and taking care of a child. A boy is mowing the lawn. All these activities are conventional with regard to gender-role expectations. This stands in striking contrast to the entirely unpeopled spaces viewed in the *Chatelaine* feature story and inscribes the magazine's feminism into the pavilion. In the *Chatelaine Home* it is possible to imagine father powdering his nose and mother drilling. Herein lies one of the "lines of flight" that Elspeth Probyn discusses in *Outside Belongings*, a reconceptualization of social relations so that "each line is broken, subjected to variations in direction, subjected to derivations" leading to "singularity as they intersect in different ways but never through a preexisting determination" (Probyn, 1996: 76). By not predetermining the uses of the space in the Man In the Home Pavilion, *Chatelaine Magazine* broke with contemporary delineations of gender, opening them to other possible figurations, thus reworking the relations between men and women.

One must, however, be careful with such a formulation. A difference exists between the Chatelaine Home and its representation in *Chatelaine Magazine*. A transformative representation must not here be generalized to encompass the magazine's politics *in toto*, for the advancement inscribed in the photographs did not exist in the Chatelaine Home itself. As has been demonstrated above, while encouraging independence for women on the one hand, *Chatelaine Magazine* actively promoted this independence within the existing framework of gender meaning on the other; that is, *Chatelaine* promoted independence while, at the same time, it advocated the importance of home, family, religion (at times) and strict gender discipline for children. *Chatelaine* wanted women to

be everything at once, often arguing that changes in the domestic sphere and relationships were women's responsibility. At once workers, volunteers and community activists, *Chatelaine* readers were also required to be mothers, domestic servants, wives, managers and hostesses - a hybrid capable of filling the spaces left over as new social relations began to transform the nuclear family irreversibly. And women did it.

If the hybrid woman arose out of domestic necessity produced partially through shifts in family structure and economics in this period, then this proved to be a difficult but important progression for women, an advance not yet complete, which will redefine the relation between gender and domesticity. This refiguration is anticipated in a *Chatelaine Magazine* article from January 1967 titled "How We'll be Living in 25 Years" in which predictions about various spheres of contemporary life, such as the environment, travel, the body, medicine, education and the arts, are made. With great confidence in technology the article discusses the sweeping changes to the domestic sphere that would occur: prefab construction, computer kitchens, frozen foods, cosmetic surgery, *in vitro* fertilization, genetic manipulation and greater leisure, to name only a few. Also discussed is the changing roles of Mother and Family:

> Having passed through the historical stages of matriarchy and patriarchy, the woman of the future will experience new freedom and equality: her housekeeping time will have been reduced drastically and she will enter the job market on more equal terms with men. One designer of women's clothes predicts - tongue in cheek - that by 1970, women will be wearing pants to work (Istona: 60).

But where does this leave Canada's Secretary of State? As a self-proclaimed hybrid Judy LaMarsh was already living in this future, this possibility. Working in a "man's" world,

she experienced the pressures involved in the transformation that "How We'll Be Living In 25 Years" foretells, as well as the discomfort her hybridity sometimes caused others. I have shown how certain representational strategies were used to mediate LaMarsh's hybridity, and how she negotiated them as well. If hybridity facilitated a system of injustice in relation to LaMarsh's femininity and body, then it also marked their possibilities, permitting her to succeed in the manly world of politics through her "unlady-like," unsoft" and "ungentle" demeanour. LaMarsh's ability to refuse gender classifications, to "not behave as others do" (Michener: 78), and her insistence on using femininity as a tool of social change also produced a model subject for *Chatelaine Magazine's* feminism of constrained independence. "Are you a woman or a parliamentarian?" Emphatically both was LaMarsh's response in actions if not words.

Yet, when asked for the 1968 *Chatelaine* interview "Did you ever even consider trying to be prime minister? (79), LaMarsh said "no," stating that she could not imagine "anything lonelier," especially without a confidant. However, when told that Indira Gandhi insists that a woman must be alone to be a leader, LaMarsh agrees: "I don't think that a married woman could do it....I really don't think it would be possible to, ah, give your best energies to the job of being prime minister if you had a happy married life" (79). What is LaMarsh suggesting? How might it relate to the hybridity I have suggested is central to *Chatelaine's* politics and to the Chatelaine Home? LaMarsh posits a fracture in *Chatelaine's* and her own feminism, which proposes a limit to the hybrid woman's independence within the institution of marriage, which will ultimately prohibit women.

Thus, the question is not whether Judy LaMarsh may reside in the Chatelaine Home as a single woman but whether Mrs. Chatelaine 1967 might ever be emancipated from it?

Chapter Three

An Unhappy Marriage and a Queer Child: Québec's Coming Out

"a brooding dark mass"

The Québec Pavilion (fig. 19-21), designed and constructed by architectural firm Papineau, Gérin, Lajoie, Leblanc and Durand, was one of the sleepers of Expo 67. In a *Montréal Gazette* article from Saturday 6 May 1967 Satish Dhar writes that the pavilion's "unity of total design is impressive and a rare achievement" (Dhar: 21). Built as a monumental truncated pyramid on a bay of Regatta Lake on Ile Notre-Dame between the pavilions of Ontario and France, the Québec Pavilion seemed to float above the water while its black-tinted glass-sheeted walls reflected the surrounding meteorological formations and the Expo site itself. Dhar explains that this "monumental majesty," combined with its "static and rigid" form, seemed to impede visitors from crossing the bridge to be swept up into its interior by the pavilion's four elevators. However, Dhar structures his commentary around a "fascinating duality" one witnessed with the Québec Pavilion, a transformation which occurred as night engulfed day at Expo 67: "But night seems to touch it like a magic wand, transforming its almost dormant stillness into a floating, golden fairyland of colours, movement and light. The glass facades which look like black walls by day become transparent at night, pouring out light and colour" (21). Dhar adds that this "about face" between night and day is indicative of another duality experienced upon traversing the threshold between exterior and interior, in which the "dark brooding mass" metamorphosed into "a world resplendent with jewel-

like objects" (21). And radiant it was. Upon debarkation from the mirrored circular glass elevators the viewer encountered 4200 stylized acrylic cubes, each two feet square and painted in primary colours. Used as display platforms and screens for film and photography as well as acting as visual barriers and even sculpture, the cubes were a remarkable thematic coup de main that harmonized the interior with its exterior while providing a remarkable and transient visual leitmotif for the eye. Hydro-electric energy and forestry were also highlighted, the former through a film on water resources projected in a circular enclosure the shape of a dam, and the latter through a setting of abstract artificial trees suspended from high above as well as through an oversized attenuated paper production machine. The final image in the pavilion was a film titled "Québec in the Year 2000" "showing a people on the march" (Bantey: 56). Dhar describes the interior as architecture rather than interior design making the Québec Pavilion "one of the most intellectually and rationally contrived at the Expo" (Dhar: 21).

However, it was precisely this "architecture" that received Robert Fulford's opprobrium in his 1968 book *This Was Expo* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart). Seen by Fulford as cubic both "inside and out" (Fulford: 176) the composition of the pavilion provided the sought-after image of "sobriety and efficiency" (176) but was not "groovy" (177). While Ontario's pavilion is described by Fulford as "sophisticated, even uninhibited," Québec's is "functional, even dour." "In the *argot* of the moment," he writes, "French Canada came through as 'square' while English Canada seemed to emerge as really 'swinging'" (175). This duality separated the Québec Pavilion from the more spectacular architecture

of Expo 67 with its dour functionality operating in direct opposition to the "zip and style" (177) of several of the other pavilions.[10] The question I wish to ask is: why would the Québec Pavilion produce these two related but differently inflected responses to its form, with Dhar's centred on intellect and rationale and Fulford's on the lack of them - on the "square"-ness of the pavilion?

In the *Expo 67 Information Manual* the themes are listed: "Challenge," "Struggle," "Drive" - "Québec's natural environment and its *challenge* to man," "Man's *struggle* with this natural environment," and "Society and its aspirations, or the *drive* of a people moving confidently to meet its destiny" (author's emphasis) (Expo 67 Information Manual: S109, p. 2). Falling within the general theme of "Man and His World" the pavilion of Québec foregrounded "Man and his ideological, cultural and scientific relationship to his environment" (Expo 67 Official Guide: 28) by concentrating on progress, technological advancement and building a new society. The cubic theme then was the mark of this possibility, this future, with each cube designed as a building block toward this destiny. In stark contrast to historical concepts of the Québécois as drawers of water and hewers of wood, as the habitants of folklore and painting, Québec here emerged as a modern technological society with its gaze fixed firmly on the future, a future secured primarily through advancements in hydro-electric energy, mining and forestry. Virtually no reference to history was seen in the Québec Pavilion; for this one would have to visit the Québécois village at La Ronde.

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10 It should be noted that the architecture of the Québec Pavilion was seen as more closely related in form to that of the pavilions of Cuba and Venezuela, with their unapologetically cubic form and more overtly political messages.

I am here trying to call attention to the multiform ways that duality was invoked in relation to the Québec Pavilion and positioning those in relation to certain discursive formations within which they signified in 1967. Day versus night, hip versus square, dour versus groovy, sophisticated versus jewel-like, intellectual versus uninhibited: each of these was used to describe the Québec Pavilion or what was viewed as its shortcoming. I believe this incommensurability of terms was produced by a duality that operated within the term "Québec" itself, a doubleness which designated Québec as a province and a nation simultaneously, producing universal and particular meanings in the term. Against notions of identity that propose that one recognize oneself in the generalization that is the universal, Elspeth Probyn argues for the singularity of identity "to capture some of the ways in which we continually move in-between categories of specificity" (Probyn, 1996: 9). We do not live our lives as general categories, argues Probyn, and the movement from specificity to singularity describes the processes through which the virtual is rendered actual, the ways that the general is realized by individuals as singular (22). If the theme of Expo 67 promoted "Man" as a universal category, exemplified in Alexander Calder's stabile, the themes of the Québec Pavilion "played" by employing terminology that at once invoked universality and singularity.

This point is well illustrated in an article that ran in the *Montreal Gazette* on the opening day of Expo, Friday 28 April 1967, titled "The Meaning of Expo 67 for Canada, Québec and Montréal," featuring comments on Expo 67 from Prime Minister Lester Pearson,

Québec Premier Daniel Johnson, Montréal Mayor Jean Drapeau, and Expo 67's Commissioner General Pierre Dupuy. For his part, Lester Pearson concentrated on notions of unity: "Our own country's existence has always depended on achieving unity of human purpose within the diversity of our linguistic, cultural and social backgrounds; Expo 67 offers perhaps the most striking proof ever assembled in one place that the future well-being of the whole world community of man also depends on achieving unity of peace within the vast diversity of national policies" ("The Meaning of Expo": A-2). Daniel Johnson's words focused on the meaning of Expo for Québec:

> "For the next six months Quebeckers will be on trial. The whole world will be watching to see if we have what it takes - what it takes to organize and run a first-category universal international exhibition; what it takes to play host to millions of visitors of every race, colour and creed, with courtesy, consideration and true hospitality, and without profiteering, discrimination or cynical indifference; what it takes to build a modern progressive society in the world of 1967 - by making use of what God gave us to provide the best possible life for all our citizens" (A-2).

Note the difference in these words from Pearson's. Absent from Johnson's address is any allusion to the unity of the world community in favour of specific references to Québec "building a modern progressive society" for its "citizens," an ambiguous reference which fails to mention whether this society would be built within Canada or without. This ambiguity is echoed in Jean Drapeau's remarks that refer to the participants of Expo 67 as "one big family" (A-2). Drapeau adds that "the participating nations have worked together for a year, two years, three years in some cases. Have not these nations, each contributing part of the universal inventory, succeeded in co-operating as sister-nations?" (A-2). Sister-nations: once again the lack of a specific referent for the term leaves its meaning equivocal, producing a space for alternative denotations. It is this space that

relinquishes specificity while sustaining the singularity to which Probyn refers, thus allowing, perhaps even encouraging, dissimilar subjects to recognize themselves therein.

Québec: Nation

In Robert Schwartzwald's discussion of the discursive formation of identity in Québec the problematics of defining a nation are examined in detail. Schwartzwald argues that independence in Québec in nationalist intellectual accounts has proceeded within a developmental narrative as a move from "infancy" to "maturity" (Schwartzwald: 265) and that "the overarching persistence of a developmental model for nationhood within this contractual paradigm and its particular claims to modernity reveals an enduring reliance upon heterosexually ordered and ultimately archaizing *familial* models when constructing the national 'body' itself" (270). Such a model within a developmental paradigm can only revert to homosexuality as a stage in identity formation that must be overcome to achieve full "maturity" (i.e. full heterosexuality), a stage which Schwartzwald argues is figured as "symbolic homosexuality" and the "false feminine" in the three theorists he discusses: Jacques Lavigne, Gilles Thérien and Jean Larose.[11] Schwartzwald writes that the dependence on homosexually-inflected formulations of identity in learned discourse repeatedly figures homosexuality as arrested development to

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[11] Schwartzwald chooses these three theorists "to demonstrate more closely the implications of deploying homosexuality as a way of 'importing' familial models back into the civically inflected discourse characteristic of modern nationalism in Québec" (Schwartzwald: 270). See Jacques Lavigne. *L'Objectivité: Ses conditions instinctuelles et affectives*. (Montréal: Leméac, 1971); Gilles Thérien. "Cinéma québécois: La difficile conquête de l'altérité," *Littérature* 66 (May 1987); Jean Larose. *Le Mythe de Nelligan*. (Montréal: Boréal, 1981).

explicate Québec's "long, halting, progress toward self-determination" (267), this in spite of an "astonishingly varied representation of homosexuality across all registers of cultural production in Québec" (265). In fact, he writes that legal discourse and popular attitudes are largely inconsistent with the homophobic assignations of learned discourse (266). Nonetheless, this deployment of homosexuality as arrested development and even failure within this narrative is coded as the Québécois' own failure to achieve national "maturity" (269).

Several difficulties arise from the identitary impasse triggered by this homology, according to Schwartzwald, assuring that the developmental trope remains intact. If homosexuality is the symptom of an identitary cessation, then it follows that once independence is gained homosexuality will disappear. Furthermore, the trope's reliance on a binary system subjects homosexuality to a disciplinary control that denies its own autonomy and a "ground on which to elaborate its own identitary preoccupations" (281). Homosexuality then is forced to prevail as a symptom of a "more urgent" ontological question that registers by inscribing questions of the nation within familial and developmental models that guarantee a heterosexually ordered system.

Elspeth Probyn takes up Schwartzwald's ideas in her work on queer belonging in Québec by examining some of the ways in which this developmental system is constantly refigured: "For personal reasons and driven by a theoretical exigency, I need to figure the ways in which specifically Québécois representations of identity run into very singular

lines of belonging" (Probyn, 1996: 67). Probyn importantly adds that "At the same time, the challenge of such an analysis lies not in a redistribution of those belongings in such a way that all can have a piece of the national action - rather, it is in the making strange of belongings, in queering their epistemological underpinnings, that we may be able to conceive of a manner of belonging not predicated on possession" of particular traits a person holds (68). The notion of Québec as a "distinct society," which circulates differently in Québec than it does in the rest of Canada, positions Québec as marginal to the majority, as peripheral to the centre, as female to male (72), just as Canada is seen to be positioned in relation to the United States, and representation is invariably summoned to embody this marginality (78).

Particular formulations of this equation operate in Canada and Québec. The image of Canada as a defenseless maiden to the American hulk is refigured in Québec to articulate the Francophone minority in Canada as marginal female to the overbearing male that is Canada, in a marriage on the brink of failure. But this is not accomplished without significant difficulties: the enunciation of this order is less than straightforward, with slippages in discourse occurring frequently and confounding its synthesis. Thus, Probyn remarks that the Anglophone minority is seen to be marginal to the Francophone majority in Québec giving rise to an emasculated male in relation to the Québec strongman and producing a structure of male to male, homosocial bickering (81).

The narrative of Québec as unsatisfied wife to her indifferent husband is used to explain how Québec has historically been, to use Probyn's word, "fucked" by Canada, but with Québec emerging as a "wildly desiring being who may just take her pleasures elsewhere" (84). This is seen in the short film as *La Dernière partie* by Michel Brault in which a woman, dissatisfied with the Saturday night ritual of going to a Habs game, leaves her husband during a match by telling him that she has had enough of his hockey night (in Canada) and she cannot stand anymore how he makes love to her (80-81). The locale of the hockey game, of course, is important, giving a national context to the marital disintegration and providing firm ground for its message concerning separation. So, the nation in Québec emanates from the heterosexualized play of minority-majority relations, just as it does from specific movements in relation to the family, but never with an "inherent meaning" (89), as Probyn warns: "Some are historical lines that have the potential to veer into virtual relations of belonging; some serve as actual barriers to imagination" (89). And it is this "veer into virtual relations of belonging" that interests Probyn, as she seeks articulations of identity which are not figured as possessed "by right, by nature, by white males," but are instead, "able to catch the construction of alternative manners, emerging singularities of belonging" (91).

In both Schwartzwald and Probyn the family appears as a structural metaphor for nationhood, in Schwartzwald to underline the narrative of development he lures to the surface of analysis and in Probyn more as an agent within her discussion, describing the family as "that bastion of Québecitude" (87). However, within Probyn's discussion of

the family the lesbian couple at its centre is installed comfortably within its fold, showcasing "the family as a queer site of national identity policies and history and as the space where, if we so desire, queers can and do belong" (89). In Probyn's example, the family becomes a site of positive identification for queers in Québec, constituting one of her "lines of becoming," rather than a site of unfulfilled desire for a belonging never realized but always sought. This is one of the strengths of Probyn's analysis: its refusal to let stand universal concepts like the family as always-already oppressive sites for queers: "Lest this sound like an Edenic situation, let me be very clear that what I have described here are but fragments that have no inherent meaning" but are able, under the right conditions, to "veer" into virtual relations of belonging (89).

If Probyn's analysis of the nation is useful because it foregrounds "lines of becoming," I want to ask what is lost in the concentration on this particular singularity. Probyn's analysis of Québec-Canada relations privileges the notion of the "unhappy marriage" over that of the nation as family by situating her arguments about the family exclusively in Québec and not relating them to Canada. I do not wish to argue against their usefulness; however, I do believe this to be a quite serious lacuna in her text that needs to be brought forward, especially since a married couple is but one instance of a the larger formation that is the family, one of the central metaphors of the nation in Canada as elsewhere.

we are family

On the CBC radio call-in show *Richardson's Round-Up* on 1 April 1999 Bill Richardson spoke with Elizabeth from Nelson, BC. Elizabeth was holding Canada's first "virtual potluck dinner" to celebrate the changes in the Canadian map that had occurred that day. The show on 1 April was filled with Canadians calling in and wishing the new territory of Nunavut a happy birthday. Beyond the national celebration the event sparked I am interested in the parameters of the debate that accompanied it. The discussion with Elizabeth is telling in this regard as she emphasized how Canadians do not celebrate the good things - "what brings us together" - in our country enough, preferring instead to concentrate on the negative, the reference here being no secret even within her carefully guarded utterance. And in her words, what brings Canadians together is family: "I want to celebrate the arrival of this new member to the family," she stated when asked why she was throwing the potluck. It must be noted that Elizabeth's comment is not a new manner of referencing the nation, but emanates from a by-now long history which positions the family as the primary metaphor for the nation, today as in 1967. In Canada the nation is viewed as the parent, usually the mother, and the provinces as the children; therefore, Nunavut was being welcomed by Elizabeth as the new child of the nation-mother, just as CBC Television could state in a 5 July 1958 advertisement in *Maclean's Magazine* that with the completion of its national link-up, that "Canadians are now linked together as a family of viewers by the CBC-TV network from sea to sea. ONE FAMILY, ONE NATION" (quoted in Probyn, 1996: 76). Even the "Centennial Section" of the *Expo 67 Official Guide* referred to Canada as a family in its chapter titled "The

Canadian Heritage" by stating that "British Columbia entered the family in 1871" (The Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 294). The equivalence being drawn in the above examples between family and nation is explicit, with the nation being conceived and domesticated through the familiar structure of the nuclear family and the family providing the foundation for the nation's organization, each mutually sustaining the other. This anthropomorphizing of the nation is one means by which this metaphor is animated and fortified, immediately conjuring other equivalences to the body, other beings and nations. In this way, Canada's Centennial "birthday" provided an exceptional opportunity to once again entrench this metaphor.

Canada in 1967 was a family with twelve children, but one of these children was not like the others. Québec, when compared to the other children, had distinct needs and desires shaped by its particular history and position within Confederation. Linguistically split, the province had been engulfed by a conflict between the Francophone majority and the English minority since its inception, a conflict not diminished by official government policy at the provincial and federal levels. Surrounded on all sides by Anglophone territories, not to mention First Nations, and bombarded by English culture and media, Francophones predicted the disappearance of their culture and language in a sea of English language, institutions and power. The "Quiet Revolution" in Québec came about as a result of this alienation as well as political and policy changes, especially with regard to culture, education, religion and language, designed to secularize and modernize the Québec state (Lachapelle: 94). Angered by the domination of Québeckers by English-

speaking capitalists, hurt and infuriated by the refusal of Canada to understand them and impelled by the Anglophone minority's unwillingness to learn French and understand Québécois culture, Francophones were galvanized by directives put forward in the Quiet Revolution. With many seeing clearly that their identity would not and could not work within a family at once unwilling to recognize and resentful of - even anxious to silence - Québec's difference, changes were adopted in Québec to seek independence. A queer child indeed.

But what is at stake in the claim that a province is a queer child? A response must keep in mind the slippage that occurs between the body of the nation and that of its citizens outlined above. Eve Sedgwick (1993) and Judith Butler (1993) argue against a certain tendency in queer theory to see "queer" as an umbrella term for all those on the sexual margins or as an alternative term that redescribes gay men, lesbians, homosexuals and transgendered people in a fresh way but without political difference. Being a re-appropriated word traditionally used to denigrate non-heterosexual desire, queer has reappeared in the past decade to redefine that desire from a positive position while retaining emphatically its "difference." Sedgwick (1993: 8) writes that queer now refers to "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically," at once referencing the fragmentary nature of identity and the resistant possibilities queer engenders. Sedgwick and Butler agree that this makes queer difficult to define in static terms, but

that it is precisely this difficulty which allows queer to maintain its resistant force: "If the term 'queer' is to be a site of collective contestation, the point of departure for a set of historical reflections and futural imaginings, it will have to remain that which is, in the present, never fully owned, but always and only redeployed, twisted, queered from a prior usage and in the direction of urgent and expanding political purposes" (Butler: 228). If identity constitutes a "necessary error" (230), a temporary totalization of identity categories, queer captures the manner in which these are, and must remain, provisional. Thus, queer will always prevail as a term of contingency, a discursive site whose terms are not fully constrained in advance. It is in this that Sedgwick sees the most radical democratic possibilities of the term, arguing that the most interesting work she currently sees being done is that in which gender and sexuality "criss-cross" with other identity-constituting and identity-fracturing discourses such as race, ethnicity and postcolonial nationality (Sedgwick: 9). It is this sense of queer I wish to advance in relation to Québec's position as the queer child in the family of Canada, a position which at once acknowledges Québec's "queerness" and maintains it as a site for resistance.

a coming of age and a coming out

I have already discussed how Schwartzwald focuses on a developmental narrative that is used to explain national identity in Québec, particularly the identitary impasse responsible for the successive failures of independence. Canada in 1967 was engaged in its own narrative of development, one not unconnected to Québec's, at least in terms of colonization. In the literature of the period, one sees recurring references to Canada's

Centennial as a narrative of maturity and coming of age. An illustration of this formation is seen in the *Time Magazine* story from 7 July 1967 in which Canadian historian Arthur Lower is quoted from an article that appeared in *Queen's Quarterly*:

> Something very interesting has happened to the Canadian psyche. In many respects this Centennial year is not the 100th year of our existence, but the first. Hitherto there has always been in our affairs the shadow and sometimes very real presence of the mother country. It is 1967 which witnesses us facing the world entirely on our own. There is nothing in this of turning our backs on a hated past, nothing suggesting that old ties were irksome. The point is simply that the country is growing up. We face all the duties of man's estate (Hunter et al: 29).

This sentiment is echoed in another essay from the 5 May 1967 issue of *Time Magazine* titled "Canada Discovers Itself." The essay discusses Canada's historic "lack" of identity: "Canadians know what they are not - not US-American, not British, not French - but they do not seem to know what they are" (Massenet, Gelinas, Sharp: 18). The authors contribute this lack to three factors: the country's long colonial status, its "special" racial mixture and the "somewhat overwhelming" nearness of the US. "History," they write, "deprived Canadians of the customary sources of nationalism" (19): The British North America Act produced a confederation of colonies that others joined, enticing Canada very gradually toward independence while each racial group within Canada maintained strong ties of identity to its home, producing a mixed population which "failed to merge" (19). To these must be added the "little brother" or "pygmy" complex produced by Canada's proximity to the US in which, although the threat of territorial conquest has passed, the threat of cultural domination remains. Even though the resultant anti-Americanism has done much for Canadian identity it has also

produced a schizophrenic Canadian subject: "If you're supposed to be anti someone you resemble so much, it makes for a kind of schizophrenia," they argue (20).

However, the authors argue that these conditions changed at least in part due to the Centennial and Expo 67: "There are innumerable signs that Canada is coming of age....As they enter their second century, Canada's people, having passed the first stage of conquering their land, seem at last on the verge of conquering and discovering themselves" (20). If the Centennial marked this "turning point," to use Pierre Berton's words, or this first birthday, to use Arthur Lower's, then Canada had come of age in 1967, finally molting the skin of colonization. As the naive colonial child progressed into modern national adulthood its "true" identity emerged, producing effects in the manner in which Canadians and Canada are discussed. This explains why Canadians would for the first time be labeled "sexy" (Pevere and Dymond: 54) - the youthful country had matured to a point at which the discourses of sex could be attached to its national character in ways impossible for the colonial child. "Expo 67 isn't just a world fair, it has glitter, sex appeal, and it's given impact and meaning to a word that had neither: Canadian" (54). This comment issuing from the *London Observer* stands as proof of this transition: the colonial mother is finally permitted to express sexual desire for her fully developed child. Thus Canada's Centennial was seen to perform an immense gesture for Canada and Canadians - that of exhibiting to the world the country's new identity as a modern nation at the moment it was finally and permanently seen to

shed its colonial relationship to Britain. Expo 67 was the centre stage on which this newly formed national identity, this coming of age party, was performed.

If the Centennial marked Canada's coming of age, what could it have been for Québec? I have argued already that the position of Québec in relation to the nation-family is that of the queer child, that Québec is positioned as marginal, misunderstood and demanding of special status. A double movement characterizes the relation between the anti-colonial developmental narratives Canada and Québec share, with Québec being part of Canada's coming of age narrative while struggling against Canada's position as a colonizer of its Francophone minority. At Expo 67, with development, technology and progress as principal themes, there was no rupture between the modernity of the Québec Pavilion in comparison to the rest of the pavilions that constituted the Canada Complex, yet Québec's discursive position vis-à-vis the nation of Canada was decidedly queer. Positioned at once inside and outside the nation-family, with needs and desires "distinct" from those of the other province-children, Québec and Québeckers were (and are) persistently made to defend themselves against the question: What does Québec want?, a question not unfamiliar to the queer child as s/he begins to define her/his identity in contradistinction to the other siblings of the family. And it was the search for identity being formulated in the Québec Pavilion at Expo 67, an identity which broke radically with the past and fixed its gaze firmly on the future. It is in this sense that the historical shift witnessed in the Québec Pavilion marks a coming out rather than a coming of age. Coming of age produces no radical break for the subject, suggesting, rather, a continuity

of identity formation, a maturation not based on fracturing a past formation in favour of an emerging one. On the other hand, the shift in sexual object choice a coming out is perceived to reveal marks a radical cleavage in identity formation with the subject viewing this moment as a new beginning, a shift which breaks with the past and opens the future. This is what occurred in the Québec Pavilion.[12]

I believe the thematic emphasis in the Québec Pavilion elucidates how the coming of age narrative in Québec might operate as a coming out. Above I outlined how a certain doubleness characterized the term "Québec," producing it as a province and a nation simultaneously and thus sanctioning universal and particular interpretations of its meaning. I went on to summarize how this operated in four speeches printed in the *Montreal Gazette* by Lester Pearson, Daniel Johnson, Jean Drapeau and Pierre Dupuy. I want to return to the themes of the Québec Pavilion now in order to tease out further these connections. My interest here lies primarily with the third theme, *Drive*, as the first two themes, *Challenge* and *Struggle*, coincide very closely with those delineated in the other pavilions in the Canada Complex, with *Challenge* centring on "Québec's natural environment and its challenge to man," and *Struggle* defining "Man's advance and progress from frontiersman to citizen" (Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, 1963: S 109 p. 2). These are archetypal themes of Canadian national identity. *Drive* is interesting as a theme for its focus on social and political life: "*Drive*: Society

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[12] Even the failure of the 1981 referendum on sovereignty has been described as a failed coming out. See Guy Ménard. *Une Rumeur de Berdaches: Contribution à une lecture de l'homosexualité masculine au Québec.* Unpublished doctoral thesis. Département des études réligieuses, Université de Paris 7, 1983.

and its aspirations, or the drive of a people moving confidently to meet its destiny" (S 109 p. 2).

Above it was argued that "The forward *drive* of the people" appealed to Expo 67's universal theme at the same time that a space was opened for alternative interpretations. This alternative focuses on the term "a people." Although an understanding of "a people" may have been seen to refer to the Canadian people generally, within the shift in naming this period marks, the term primarily referred to "le peuple Québécois," an identity which was consolidated during the Quiet Revolution and which stood in contrast to "les Canadiens," the term which referred to French settlers and their descendants following the installation of a French administrative apparatus in New France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Elmer and Abramson: 17-19). This term itself was superceded by "le Canadien-français" after Confederation in 1867 brought together territorial and ethnic signifiers of citizenship. A further shift from territorial and ethnic definitions would occur with the adoption of "Québécois." Québécois was propelled into discourse as a result of transformations initiated through shifts in policy beginning after World War II and that centred on the modernization of the Québec state. These included: secularization of attitudes and institutions with the state replacing the church as the overseer of reforms in the social, political and economic sectors; policy changes that would allow Québec to participate in the global economy; cultural, education and language reforms developed to support the uniqueness of Québec's identity in North America and to enhance the development of French culture; and reassessment of

collective versus individual rights in a search for balance as policy changes were adopted (Lachapelle: 94). As a part of this "revolution" and modernization a "cultural community often perceived as an ethnic group became a national political community" (Elmer and Abramson: 18).

A transformation in the role of the Québec state facilitated a mapping of Québec and Québécois onto le Canada-français and le Canadien-français. A nation and its people were born through this discursive mapping.[13] But, as Elmer and Abramson argue, "Québécois is a confused term" (19). Being the only term available to refer to the inhabitants of Québec, it also refers to an ethnic group forming a significant proportion of those inhabitants, many of whom reject the term French-Canadian for its traditionalist inflection (19). Québécois is an unstable term that is constantly refigured through discourse.

The Québec Pavilion, with its themes of Challenge, Struggle and, especially, Drive participated in the discursive remapping of Québec and the Québécois, refiguring the people into a national citizenry. The Québec Pavilion produced no rupture in Expo 67's overall theme of technology, development and building a future society, for its emphasis on hydro-electric power, forestry and mining situated the pavilion firmly within the discursive universe of "Man and His World." At the same time, the Québec Pavilion de-emphasized the history of the Québec people with virtually no reference being made to

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[13] See Maurice Charland (1983) "Discourse and Power: The Construction in Public Communication of a *Peuple Québécois*. Unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of Iowa Department of Communication and Theatre Arts.

early history, tradition or folklore. The only references to history were made through geology and geography, points which marked the "Challenge" and "Struggle" themes of the pavilion, and a single map of Québec dating to pre-1760 (Bantey: 56), a reference which marked the territory as French and evoked a direct link between 1760 and 1967. While not rupturing Expo 67's "Man and His World" theme or that of the Canada Complex with which it coincided fully, the Québec Pavilion was structured around ambiguities in its terminology which resulted in the possibility of generating alternative meanings. I have tried to show in this chapter how certain of the terms used in the pavilion, especially its themes, operated through an interpretive openness or doubleness that participated in the discursive construction of Québec and the Québécois as a people and a nation. This marks the success of the Québec Pavilion, its ability to signify (and bring into being) a nation-space without producing a political fracture or scandal in the Expo for which it was host to the world.

Standing on a firm foundation in Regatta Lake, the Québec Pavilion is a fortress. Surrounded by water with only a footbridge to obtain access to it, the pavilion stands alone, fortified against external influence or threat. As a fortress the pavilion is self-sufficient, a society able to nurture, sustain and defend itself in the face of peril. The fortress walls form a severely truncated pyramid. What is this pyramid? Extended vertically, would its walls not produce, in fact, an obelisk? A pillar erected as a monument or a landmark, the obelisk marks a public triumph over space. As such, the Québec Pavilion was inscribed with the signs of such an ascendancy. Marking this site,

the obelisk - with a Québec flag adorning each upper corner - declared this space for Québec. Yet, this was a triumph delimited by the definition of "a people" the pavilion promoted. Once the ethnic (French-Canadian) was re-territorialized as the national (Québécois), "the threat of cultural difference [was] no longer a problem of 'other' people. It [became] a question of the otherness of the people-as-one" (Bhabha, 1990:301). This question is yet to be resolved in Québec.

Conclusion

"It may be quite wrong, but that is not the issue."
ursula franklin

I have just returned from a run on Ile Ste-Helène, an ironic route for someone writing about Expo 67 and who runs to escape. Recently I have been running a great deal. It is chilly today. One senses fall in the air. When I am on the Expo site, I often think of what Ile St- Helène was for a "brief and shining moment" thirty-two years ago and what it is now. Little remains of Expo 67 outside of a few buildings and Habitat 67, that expensive utopia on Cité du Havre. After all it was a temporary invention. Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome still stands even after a fire consumed its outer shell and is now a museum of the St. Lawrence River, dedicated to sustainability and recovery. The pavilion of France has become a casino, as has that of Québec more recently and the spaces of the Canada Complex have become almost unrecognizable. There remain only a few remnants of that time attesting to the history of the place: a decaying building next to the site of the Canada Pavilion with the Expo 67 logo hanging precariously off of it, a totem pole which marks the site of the Indians of Canada Pavilion slowly returning to its origins, paths once traveled by fifty million people are now overtaken by weeds and will disappear with the physical memory of the place.

And I think about how this place once represented such confidence and hope for the future, how for one summer now long ago it was utopia. It remains so for many: a memory of a simpler and better time for Canada and Canadians. The site today reminds

me that nothing is permanent, the changes in the use of Expo 67's remaining pavilions and the decay of the site stand as witness to this fact. Or does this disintegration suggest that the Expo 67 utopia was wholly invented and unsustainable? I have tried in this thesis to suggest that the latter more sufficiently captures Expo 67's significance, that the decay I witness on the site today suggests that the fissures in the utopic text were there all along. Each chapter has investigated a site that points to the cracks in the definition of the nation being articulated in 1967, suggesting that *Man and His World* was not a self-evident theme of Expo 67 but was negotiated differentially by each nation or group who participated. A heterotopia. Positioning in one real place "several sites which are themselves incompatible" (Foucault, cited in Probyn, 1996: 10-11) heterotopia refers to a space of convergence, entanglement and movement, designating the co-existence of different orders of space and foregrounding the changing configuration of social relations:

> Heterotopias are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter and tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to hold together. This is why utopias permit fables and discourse: they run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental dimension of the *fabula*; heterotopias...desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences (Foucault: xviii).

Against the *fabula* of the utopic text this thesis has tried to encourage Foucault's disturbance by foregrounding three fragments which upset the unity of "Man" and "His" World and underline the multiplicity that thinking the nation commands. Such an action I believe begins to perform the refiguration of the social called for by Probyn and is one

step toward Mouffe's democracy. This thesis is but one refiguration of several surface fragments that refuse totalization. Further fragments may be postioned in another manner and may do something quite different. In fact, "it may be quite wrong, but that is not the issue."

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fig. 1 Earth as seen from outer space. From Wilson.

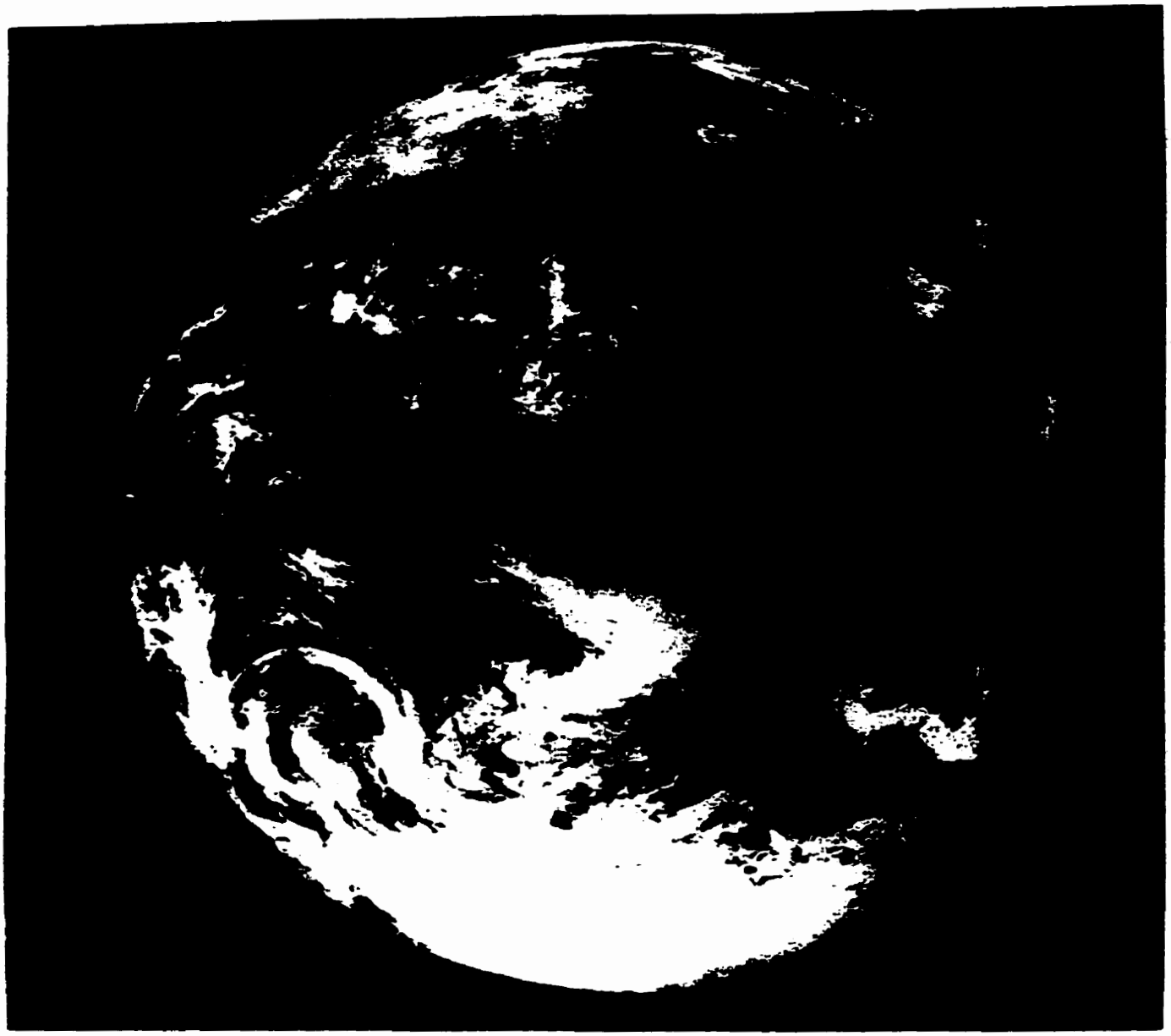
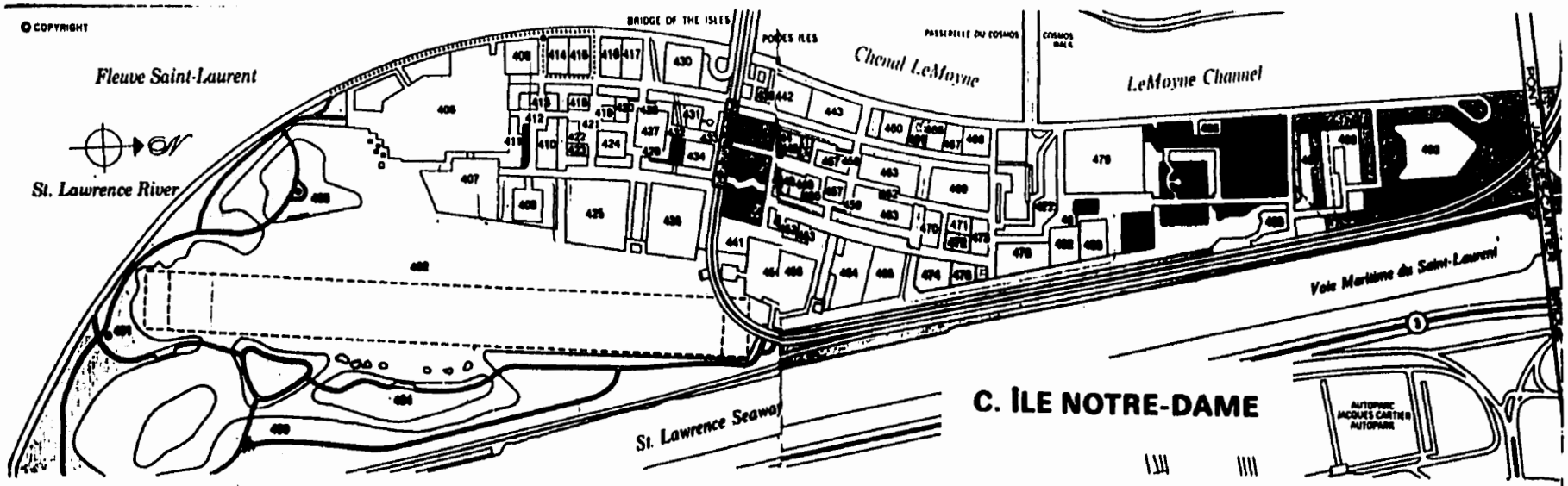


fig. 2 Alexander Calder, *Man* 1967. Nickel stainless steel, 67' x 94'.

fig. 3 Map of Ile Notre-Dame showing the Canada Complex (406-10).



Légende/Legend

- Pavillons nationaux / National Pavilions
- Pavillons thématiques / Theme Pavilions
- Expo-Services et réalisations de l'Expo / Expo-Services and Expo Projects
- Pavillons privés / Private Pavilions
- Divertissements et manèges / Amusements and Rides
- Parcs / Park areas
- Stationnement / Parking
- Stations du Métro / Métro stations
- Entrées de l'Expo/Entry points.
- Expo-Express
- Minirail
- Vaporetto
- La Balade/Trailer Train
- Hovercraft
- Bac/Ferry

Numéros de renvoi au plan:*

Key to map numbers:*

400 Parc Notre-Dame/Notre-Dame Park**
400 La Balade Parc Notre-Dame, Arrêt "Lagune"/Notre-Dame Park Trailer Train Stop "Lagoon"
401 Amphithéâtre des Régates/Regatta Amphitheatre**
402 Lac des Régates/Regatta Lake
403 Centre d'Information (British American Oil)/Information Centre (B.A.)**
404 L'Anse du Pêcheur/Fisherman's Cove
406 Canada
407 Ontario
408 Québec
409 Provinces de l'Atlantique/Atlantic Provinces**
409 La Balade Parc Notre-Dame, Arrêt "Canada"/Notre-Dame Park Trailer Train Stop "Canada"
410 Provinces de l'Ouest/Western Provinces
411 Minirail Notre-Dame, Station "Canada"
412 Place de l'Amiante/Asbestos Plaza
413 Jardin du Repos/Rest Garden
414 Indiens du Canada/Indians of Canada
415 Pavillon pour les Nations Unies/Pavilion on the United Nations
416 Pavillon Chrétien/Christian Pavilion
417 Grèce/Greece
418 Jamaïque/Jamaica
419 Île Maurice/Mauritius
420 OCDE/OECD
421 Place des Ingénieurs/Engineers' Plaza
422 Monaco
423 Haïti/Haiti
424 Yougoslavie/Yugoslavia
425 France
427 Expo-Services A
428 Vaporetto, arrêt "Nations-Unies"/Vaporetto, stop "United Nations"
429 Vaporetto arrêt "Thème"/Vaporetto stop "Theme"
430 Israël/Israel
431 Trinidad & Tobago et Grenade/and Grenada
432 Minirail Notre-Dame, station "Thème"
433 Expo-Express, station "Île Notre-Dame"
434 Place du Transport/Transportation Plaza
435 Grande-Bretagne/Britain
438 Arrivée des piétons/Pedestrian arrival
440 L'homme à l'Œuvre/Man the Producer
441 Place du Débarcadère/Landing Plaza
442 Italie/Italy
443 Tchécoslovaquie/Czechoslovakia
444 Canadien National/Canadian National
445 Kodak du Canada/Canadian Kodak
447 Cuba
448 Pavillon de la Vie Économique/Economic Progress Pavilion
449 Revue Châtelaine/Chatelaine Magazine
450 Service bancaire Expo/Expo Banking service
451 Les Communautés Européennes/European Communities
452 Guyane et Barbade/Guyana and Barbados
453 Ceylan/Ceylon
454 République Fédérale d'Allemagne/Federal Republic of Germany
456 Australie/Australia
457 Expo-Services B
458 Vaporetto, arrêt "Afrique"/Vaporetto stop "Africa"
459 Vaporetto, arrêt "Banque"/Vaporetto stop "Bank"
460 Venezuela
461 Jardin du Repos/Rest Garden
462-463 Place d'Afrique/Africa Place
464 Inde/India
465 Mexique/Mexico
466 Éthiopie/Ethiopia
467 Maroc/Morocco
468 Tunisie/Tunisia
469 Pays Arabes/Arab Countries
470 Thaïlande/Thailand
471 Union Birmane/Union of Burma
472 Jardin du Repos/Rest Garden
473 Les Sermons de la Science/Sermons from Science
474 Kaléidoscope/Kaleidoscope
475 Pavillon du Judaïsme/Judaism Pavilion
477 Expo-Services C
478 Canadien Pacifique—Cominco/Canadian Pacific—Cominco
479 Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
480 L'Homme et l'Agriculture/Man the Provider
481 Minirail Notre-Dame, station "Agriculture"
482 Industrie Canadienne de la Pâte et du Papier/Canadian Pulp and Paper Industry
483 Pavillon de l'Acier/Steel Pavilion
485 Sous-station électrique/Electrical sub-station
486 Station-service/Service Station
487 Lac du Doigt/Finger Lake
488 Cour de triage du Minirail/Minirail maintenance yard
490 Sécurité publique de l'île Notre-Dame/Ile Notre-Dame public safety
493 La Mare au Diable/Devil's Pond

*Voir aussi page 282 l'index alphabétique/See also page 284 for alphabetic index
**Arrêt de la Balade/Trailer Train stop

fig. 4 The Canada Complex at Expo 67.

fig. 5 Expo 67 logo.

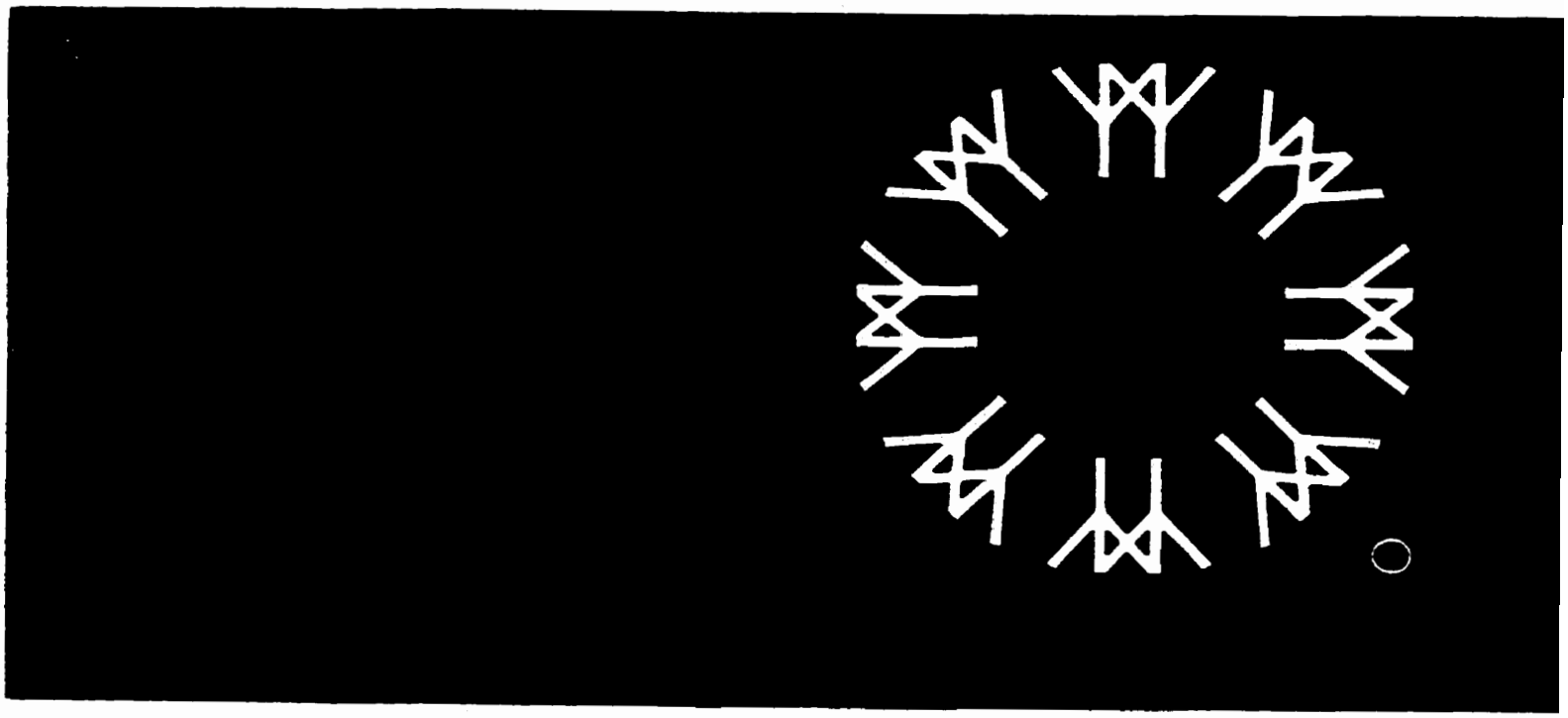


fig. 6 Our Ethnic Diversity, from *My Home, My Native Land*, 1967.

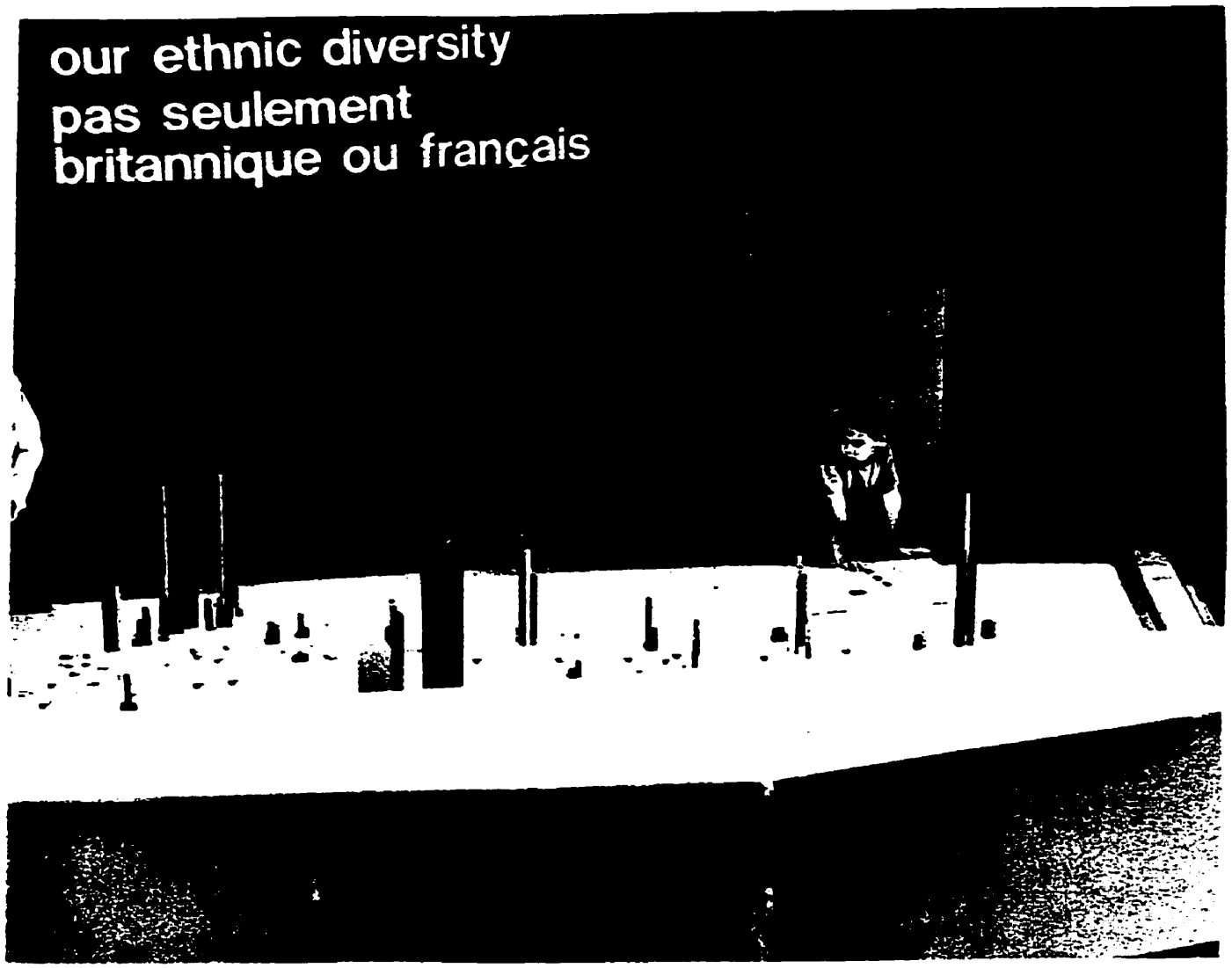


fig. 7 The Indians of Canada Pavilion, Expo 67.

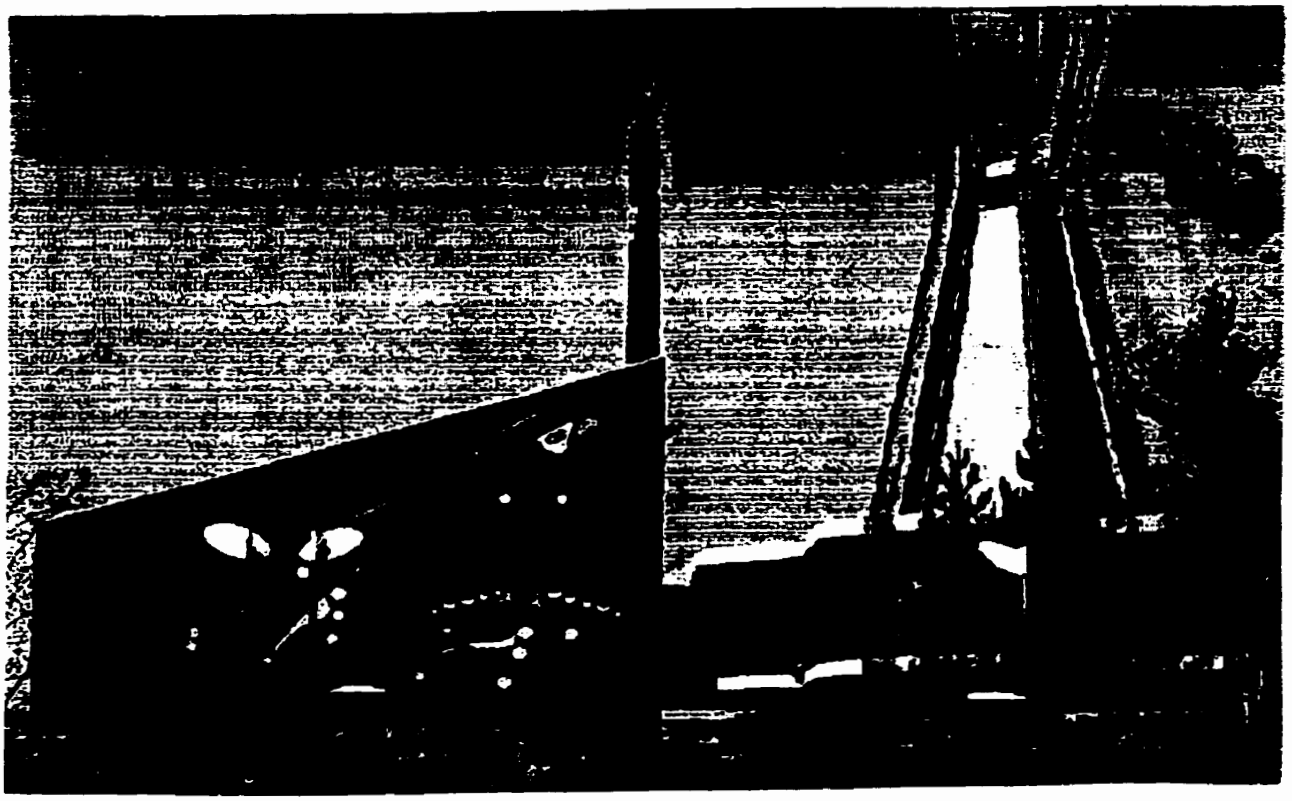


fig. 8 "Say It Isn't So..." Al Beaton, *Toronto Telegram*, 1968. Reproduced in LaMarsh, p. 370.

Say it isn't so. . .

fig. 9 Judy LaMarsh with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip and Prime Minister Pearson, Parliament Hill 1 July 1967.

"Remember now, stay one step behind, and don't speak to Their Majesties unless they speak first." Parliament Hill, June 30, 1967.

fig. 10 "Everything's Under Control," *Chatelaine Magazine*, April 1967.

everything's under control

Hips, tummy, even midriff—everything's sleekly controlled, neatly understated in these tidy Daisy Fresh and Sarong go-betweens. The secret of control is, of course, nylon-covered Lycra—light, but packed with holding power.

Sarong Stretch-Strap Bandeau, #2339, criss-cross design and breathing waist. Nylon-and-Lycra with nylon lace lower cup of lightweight Circles for uplift. Adjustable back closure. White, in A cup, sizes 34 and 36; B and C cup, 34 to 38. Each 6.00

Daisy Fresh Customsized Long-Leg Panty Girdle, of nylon-and-Lycra Power Net with front panel of nylon lace and Marquisette. Double non-roll cuff at waist; comfortable stretch-lace trim at leg-edge, no garters. Sizes small, medium, large and X-large, to fit waist sizes 25 to 32. White, style #6926 — or sauntone, style #6928. Each 9.00

Daisy Fresh Pull-On Corselette, #7562, in light-but-strong nylon-and-Lycra Power Net, has criss-cross self reinforcement at front, sides and back for a long smooth torso line. Softly moulded fiberfill underlift in nylon lace cup. Free-and-easy movement in semi-stretch adjustable longline straps, and stretch lace bottom band of nylon-and-Lycra. White only in B, C and D cups, 34 to 38, odd and even sizes. Each 19.00

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125

fig. 11 "Judy LaMarsh Designs Us a Dress,' *The Canadian*, April 1967.

fig. 12 The Man in the Home Pavilion (The Chatelaine Home) at Expo 67.

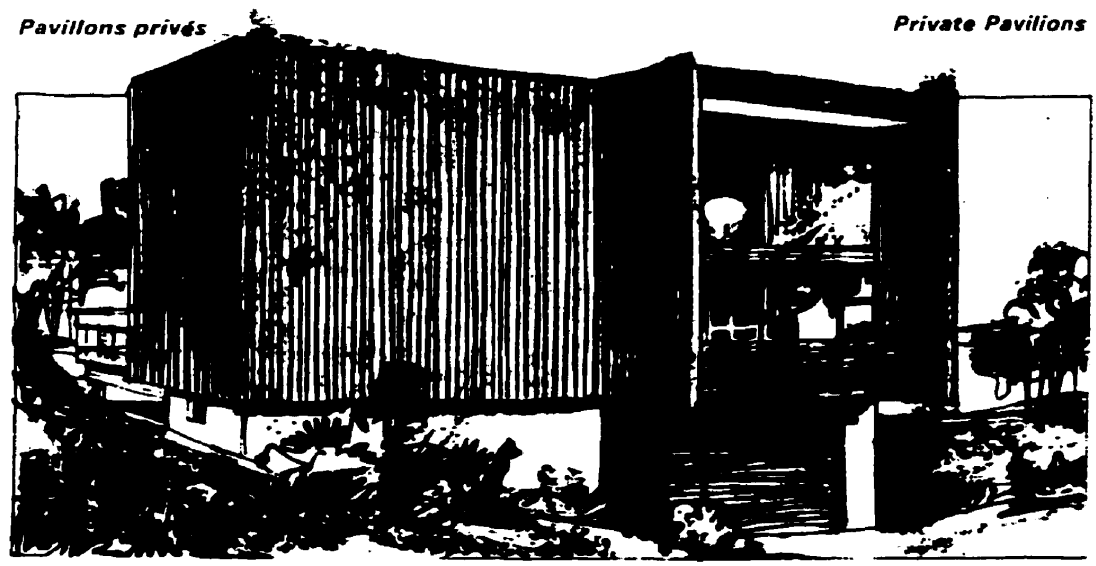
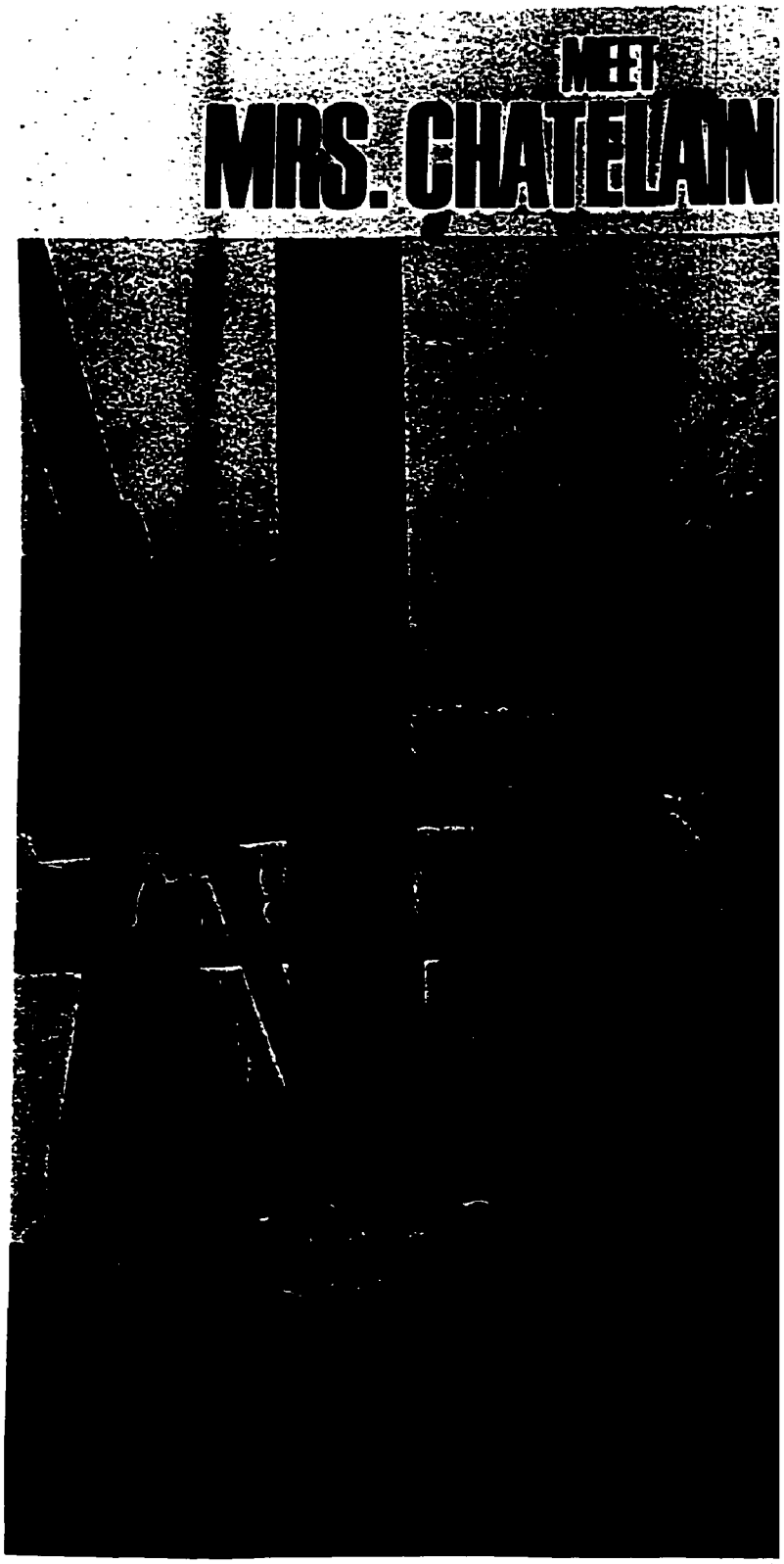


fig. 13 "Meet Mrs. Chatelaine 1967," *Chatela*



figs. 14-16 The Chatelaine Home, interior views.

fig. 17 The Chatelaine Home, interior view.

fig. 18 "Could You Spend a Day Like This in Your Home?," *Chatelaine Magazine*, March 1967.

fig. 19 The Québec Pavilion, Expo 67.

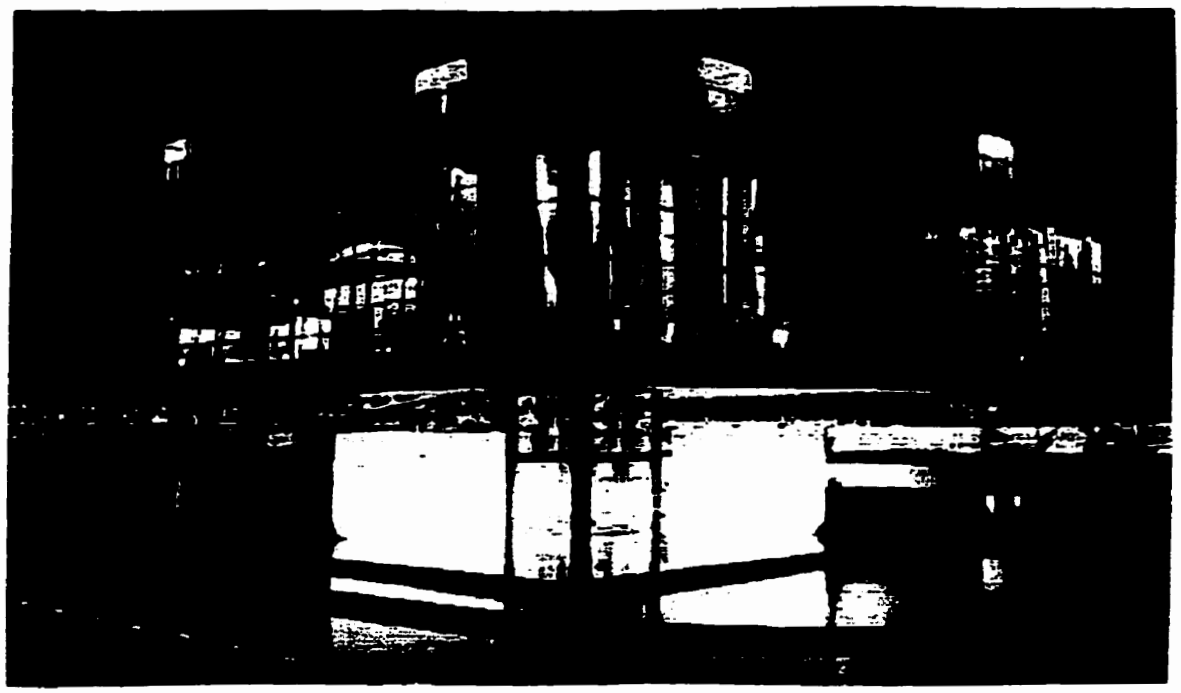



fig. 20 The Québec Pavilion, night view.