

Better Life? Drawing the People's 2010 Shanghai World Expo

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A Research-Creation Thesis

Department of Humanities PhD Program

Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Humanities)

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

September 2016

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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

Better Life? Drawing the People's 2010 Shanghai World Expo

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This dissertation presents a research-creation investigation of the phenomenon of visitor activities at the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, the results of which later became part of the visual culture of the event in the form of a 200-page drawing folio entitled *Expo Daily*. Featuring 130 watercolour illustrations (ranging from 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres to 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres) accompanied by field notes, *Expo Daily* uses primary data gathered over a forty-two day period through observation, drawing, and information gathered from local newspapers. Critical analysis included verification with secondary sources to report and reduce the raw data. The drawing folio subsequently served as the main unit of study for this dissertation by providing graphic (illustrated) case studies of three kinds of visitor activities: visitors preferring to buy counterfeit Haibao toys rather than the officially licensed Expo souvenirs, visitors picnicking on fairgrounds not designed for accommodating sedentary groups, and visitors passing up exhibition displays in favour of collecting souvenir stamps. The findings suggest that many visitors engaged in social practices very different from those anticipated by the Shanghai Expo's official pavilions, which showcased the theme "Better City, Better Life." This study argues that these divergent visitor activities speak to China's issues of class inequality, and alternative narratives of nationality once visitors left the pavilions for the fairgrounds of the Expo. Visitor activities, therefore, highlight the question of "Better Life?" in order to investigate how local Chinese attendees contested the Shanghai Expo's official programs.

RÉSUMÉ

Meilleure vie? Dessins des visiteurs de l'Exposition universelle de Shanghai 2010

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Cette dissertation présente les résultats d'une recherche-crédation sur le phénomène des activités des visiteurs, qui a ensuite fait partie de la culture visuelle de l'événement lors de l'Exposition universelle à Shanghai, en Chine, en 2010. La recherche-crédation incluait un carnet de dessins de deux cents pages intitulé *Expo Daily*, ainsi qu'un livre illustré de 130 petites illustrations à l'aquarelle dans des formats de 25.4 x 30.5 centimètres et de 21.9 x 29.7 centimètres, accompagnées de notes d'observation. Le carnet regroupe les données primaires recueillies sur une période de quarante-deux jours au moyen d'observations, de dessins et de journaux locaux. L'analyse critique comprend la vérification avec des sources secondaires afin de relever et de réduire les données brutes. La recherche-crédation a d'abord été présentée sous forme de roman de voyage illustré. Le carnet de dessins a ensuite servi de document de travail principal pour cette dissertation et a été complété d'études de cas couvrant trois types d'activités : les visiteurs préférant acheter des jouets Haibao contrefaits à prix réduit plutôt que des souvenirs sous licence officielle de l'Expo; les visiteurs amenant des boîtes à lunch pour pique-niquer sur des sites de l'Expo non conçus pour attroupements sédentaires; et les visiteurs passant en flèche devant les expositions pour collecter les étampes-souvenirs des pavillons. Les observations suggèrent que plusieurs visiteurs prennent part à des pratiques sociales très différentes que celles anticipées par le programme officiel de l'Expo de Shanghai dont le thème était : « Meilleure ville, meilleure vie ». Dans l'ensemble, cette étude soutient que ces activités divergentes des visiteurs portent sur les enjeux d'inégalité des classes et de versions alternatives de la nationalité lorsque les visiteurs sortent des pavillons et pénètrent sur le terrain de l'Expo de Shanghai. Les activités des visiteurs soulignent ainsi la question d'une « meilleure vie » et présentent l'occasion d'étudier comment la population chinoise a souvent contesté les programmes officiels de l'Expo de Shanghai.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been completed without the great support that I have received from so many over the years. I wish to offer my most heartfelt thanks to the following people.

First to my principal supervisor, Alice Ming Wai Jim, I owe you an enormous debt of gratitude for introducing me to the topic of the Shanghai Expo, and for providing many years of advice, patience, and support along the way. Your meticulous attention to detail drove me to finally learn to punctuate prose. I see the same care, creativity, and passion in your own research efforts, and I thank you for letting me do the same.

To the director of the Humanities Department, Bina Toledo Freiwald, as my academic advisor you have been a beacon of encouragement and support. Your good judgment and comments brought my dissertation to its confident completion stages. Thank you for keeping your office door open and available for all the times I needed it.

To Ingrid Bachmann, thank you for being a ready support from the outset of my MFA studies, and now the completion of my doctoral studies. You have encouraged me to think deeply about my studio art practice, and for this I will always be indebted to you.

To my external examiners, Monika Kin Gagnon and Glen Lowry, thank you for your insightful comments and feedback over the course of my initial deposit and thesis defence. I hope the final version of my dissertation meets your satisfaction.

To Gisele Amantea, thank you for your support in the early years of my doctoral studies in graphic narratives and revisionist Canadian histories. I was lucky to have cultivated my practice and knowledge under your instruction during those exciting and busy years. To Catherine Mackenzie, thank you for teaching me to read broadly and passionately. To Hilary Drummond, thank you for your technical edits and support.

I have been inspired and indebted to so many passionate educators who are also activists and advocates of bringing to the fore the life stories of women, Chinese Canadians, and those who have not been justly heard. I hope to have succeeded in meeting the high bar set by the scholars who have comprised the members of my external and internal committee.

This project received funding from Concordia University's PhD Humanities Doctoral Program, the FQRSC (Fonds de recherche sur la société et la culture), CALQ (Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec), and The Canada Council for the Arts. Thank you.

Parts of this dissertation stem from earlier research-creation conference papers and selected exhibitions of the drawing folio *Expo Daily* (2010). I would like to thank the people with whom I had conversations related to this dissertation, including Roy Miki, Michèle Thériault, Erica Lehrer, Peter White, Lily Cho, Liz Park, Christopher Lee, Henry Tsang, Larissa Lai, Andrea Fatona, Zoe Chan, Vicky Chainey Gagnon, Maiko Tanaka, Melanie Rainville, Diane Borsato, and Mary Sui Yee Wong. I am also grateful to Sharon Fitch, who shepherded me through countless university regulations and degree requirements. Thank you.

To my Mom and Dad. Your unconditional love and care towards my education have encouraged my artistic and academic interests from day one. Thank you for always just wanting the best for me. To my sister Karen, brother-in-law Israel, nephew Oliver, and the rest of the McGill architecture graduates transplanted to Shanghai, thank you for your ongoing encouragement over the years.

I owe another enormous debt to my husband James and our daughters Simone and Edie. Through the struggles and trials of this dissertation, they have been a constant source of understanding. To Edie, I believe the combination of your precocious toddler antics and my thesis writing was the right fit during those early years of development. I would also like to thank my mother-in-law and the Prior family for their support.

Finally, I would also like to thank my fellow visitors at the 2010 Shanghai Exposition. Together we shared a spectacular experience.

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Introduction

Recent scholarship on the impact of the Shanghai 2010 Expo's official culture on its audiences indicates that the vast majority of people who attended the Expo were domestic visitors (Chinese residents), although specific audience profiles are generally recorded in terms of attendance numbers and nationalities. There are no studies that identify the profile of visitor behaviours at the Shanghai Expo. This dissertation, the written component of my research-creation doctoral project, makes an original contribution to scholarship by studying how the Shanghai Expo's visitor activities, which later became a part of the visual culture of the event, involved certain social practices which brought alternative experiences of the Expo into view.

The Shanghai Expo's official theme was "Better City, Better Life," addressing the critical rate of the world's largest wave of urban growth in history, a change resulting in major social, economic, and environmental transformations. In the years leading up to the Shanghai Expo, its organizers stressed the importance of improving city life for the citizens of Shanghai.¹ For instance, the municipal government implemented large-scale education programs, such as children's drawing competitions and the recruitment of 79,965 volunteers to assist on the Expo fairgrounds.² Other outreach programs included the 600-Day Action Plan, which aimed to educate Shanghai's citizens about international customs for polite behaviour and public hygiene in order to improve the city's image.³ At the same time, however, 18,000 Shanghai families were evicted from their homes to clear space for the Expo's fairgrounds.⁴ Consequently, local residents were early to recognize that the slogan "Better City, Better Life" prioritized Shanghai's international image and the Expo's success—"Better City"—over the "Better Life" of its citizens and their rights as individuals. As part of my thesis title, I continue to problematize the Expo's theme to

¹ Yu Zhengsheng, "Making Expo 2010 a Grand Meeting of World Culture and a World Expo of our Own," *Shanghai Expo Magazine*, no. 10, 2008.

² Ingrid D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy: The Beijing Olympic Games and the Shanghai World Expo," in *China's Public Diplomacy*, Diplomatic Studies Series Vol. 10 (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2014), 274; "Expo to Recruit Child Ambassadors Again," *Shanghai Expo Magazine*, no. 7, 2007.

³ *Ibid.*, 275; "Shanghai Gives Guidance to Development and Implementation of the Expo '600-Day Action Plan'," *Shanghai Expo Magazine*, no. 6, 2008.

⁴ "China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists Ahead of Shanghai Expo," Amnesty International, May 1, 2010.

present the interrogation of “Better Life?” through the study of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. Specific consideration is given to the classed experiences of Chinese visitors, the majority of whom live in lower- to middle-class income brackets. My study suggests that the actual experiences of these visitors were very different from the expectations of the Expo’s official programs.

The outcome of six weeks of research in the field (the research-creation component) is a 200-page self-published drawing folio entitled *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue* (2010), consisting of 130 watercolour and ink drawings accompanied by field notes. The folio entries were collected during fourteen visits to the Expo park site and the surrounding environs of the host city over forty-two days, from September 21 to November 1, 2010. The entries consist of collaged drawings and transcriptions of news stories from local newspapers, the official Expo website, expat blog sites, and my own conversations in the field. I used a combination of these secondary sources to create a multi-voiced form of reporting. My drawings interpreted and documented visitor activities that were obscured by the Expo’s promotional and public relations organizations through tight media controls. The folio, therefore, suggests that something very different took place on the fairgrounds of the Shanghai Expo through aspects that organizers could not fully control. As the main unit of study, the drawing folio and the research-creation process will be referred to throughout this dissertation.

The dissertation project draws on China studies, visual culture, and ethnography practices using drawing as research methodology. As a visual practice, my drawing activities were based on models of ethnographic fieldwork in which, as participant and observer, I fully immersed myself in the site of study in order to document the cultural field, followed by collage work of my collected drawings and research material. I consider the combination of drawing and research a type of art practice—and artwork—that crosses over into the science of social investigation. It serves as a means through which to pose new questions and lead to further research (fig. 1).



Figure 1. Joanne Hui, *Titles from my literary and theoretical studies in preparation for my fieldwork at the Shanghai Expo. 2010*, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

The study also exposes a distorted media representation of the visitor population, the organizers of the Exposition, and the international exhibitors. Each of the three case studies presented in the results of the study examines a type of visitor activity. The first case study examines the marketing of counterfeit Haibao toys that exposed sanctioned and unsanctioned—or official and unofficial—commodity cultures at the Shanghai Expo (fig. 2). The second case study examines visitors bringing packed picnic lunches, bypassing the Expo’s official eating establishments which featured food culture from all over the world. Finally, the third case study examines the high number of visitors collecting commemorative Expo Passport stamps. As I have noted, alternative or divergent visitor activity has received little scholarly attention, and certainly no research has been conducted using drawing as a research methodology. My study therefore affirms drawing as a valuable research-creation process that was able to document and expose certain social practices at the Shanghai Expo not reported by state media.



Figure 2. Joanne Hui, *Haibao dolls waving*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

My drawings present certain findings that are verifiable through media sources. However, research-creation enabled me to see patterns of visitor activities that surpassed media representations to suggest deviations from the Expo's official programs. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 until the 1980s, almost all media outlets—including television, newspapers, radio, and magazines—were state-run, and required following journalistic guidelines set by the Chinese government.⁵ According to the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), independent media outlets emerged only with the beginning of economic reform, and soon became increasingly diversified in content with reports on sports, finance, and entertainment.⁶ However, the centralized, government-sponsored media networks *Xinhua*, *CCTV*, and *People's Daily* continue to exert significant influence.⁷ Even today, complete media autonomy from the state is highly unlikely to materialize in China, with state-sponsored regulatory agencies continuing to censor subjects considered taboo by the government.⁸ Given the government's restrictions over the flow of information into and out of the country,⁹ the Shanghai Expo provided a rare opportunity for local journalists, researchers, and official exhibitors to engage directly with a mass Chinese visitor population.

⁵ “The Chinese Media: More Autonomous and Diverse – Within Limits,” US Central Intelligence Agency, accessed April 20, 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/books-and-monographs/the-chinese-media-more-autonomous-and-diverse-within-limits/copy_of_1.htm. China's main media regulatory agencies include the General Administration of Press and Publication (GAPP) and the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT).

⁶ Ibid.; Maureen Fan, “In China, Media Make Small Strides,” *The Washington Post*, World section, December 28, 2008.

⁷ “The Chinese Media: More Autonomous and Diverse – Within Limits,” US Central Intelligence Agency.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The media watchdog Reporters Without Borders (*Reporters Sans Frontières*, RSF) consistently ranks China poorly in their annual release of the Press Freedom Index. In 2010 China ranked 171 out of 178 nations; in 2016 it fell to 176 out of 180. See Wendy Zeldin, “World: Annual Press Freedom Index Published,” The Law Library of Congress, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/world-annual-press-freedom-index-published>; see also “China,” Reporters Without Borders, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://rsf.org/en/china>.

Back-to-back mega-events brought worldwide attention to China: the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing first captured the dramatic changes in China's international profile, and the 2010 Shanghai Expo showcased China's new harmonious world view for a global audience. Visitors to the Olympic Games experienced the events mainly through media broadcasts, while the Shanghai Expo was a spectacle that was also experienced personally, on the fairground. Visitors crisscrossed exhibition zones to see their favourite international pavilions. This type of movement presented one organizational principle through which to observe, participate in, and gain further insight into visitor activities. In this way, the Shanghai Expo was a dynamically fluid communal moment, global in scope but concentrated within the spatial and temporal limits of its fairground and duration.

Informed by theories of diasporic and transnational histories, I first recorded my subjective observations of events, things, people, and situations through the practice of drawing, and then followed up with written entries composed from memory work, conversations with other Expo visitors in my network of family and friends in Shanghai, and domestic English-language newspaper articles. My drawing folio, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*, is titled after an English-language newsletter of the same name (*Expo Daily*) which was distributed as an insert in Shanghai's English-language newspaper *Shanghai Daily* during the Expo. My news source in Shanghai was mainly *Shanghai Daily*, a source I also used in my first research-creation project, *Shanghai Daily: A Travel Collage* (2008), based on a collage of news reports and drawings that I collected and created while observing the visual culture surrounding the Beijing Olympic Games. Local news sources in Mandarin were not included in my study because my ability to read Chinese is not at a level required for a scholarly media survey of the Shanghai Expo.

My primary documents are the 130 drawings in *Expo Daily*, which constitute the data set analyzed; the majority of these illustrations can be found by consulting the list of figures or the appendix. My secondary sources include a wide range of official communications and promotional materials: the Expo's branding narratives and official slogan, themes, and mascots, the food shop and national pavilion menus, the officially licensed souvenir objects, the Official Expo Map of the fairgrounds, and the Expo's media relations platform of domestic newspapers, from the first reports on the Expo in August 2009—in the *People's Daily*, the *China Daily*, and the *Shanghai Daily*—to its closing day on October 31, 2010. As verified by news sources, the final months had a significantly higher rate of visitor attendance, as part of a government-

sponsored incentive to make the campaign target of 70 million visitors. By bringing these two kinds of sources together in my analysis, I demonstrate how drawing was a rigorous research methodology that enabled me to document aspects of the Expo that its organizers had not anticipated. Visitor activities highlight new considerations of China's unofficial cultures and economies, which in this instance exceeded the control of the program organizers. Furthermore, the case studies provide multiple vantage points into the issues of class and nationality in China.



Figure 3. Joanne Hui, *Shanghai's Pudong waterfront*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 4. Joanne Hui, *Chinese Visa in L-category issued for travel to the 2010 Shanghai Exposition and application photo to extend my visit*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

境外人员临时住宿登记表
REGISTRATION FORM OF TEMPORARY RESIDENCE



Figure 5. Joanne Hui, *Shanghai Registration Form of Temporary Residence*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 6. Joanne Hui, *Entrance tickets to the Shanghai Expo*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 7. Joanne Hui, *Shanghai Expo visitor (woman) with mini folding stool*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

Research-creation approaches theoretical, technical, and creative aspects in tandem, in what I imagine as a fluid exchange of knowledge in which each component is weighted equally and used according to their advantage, depending on the moment of knowledge inquiry. As a consequence, traditional scholarly practices are at times breeched for the sake of experimentation.¹⁰ One of the objectives of this study is to demonstrate a rigorous drawing methodology which acknowledges that while the artwork retains its own genealogy in material culture, it also opens an investigative conversation with other forms of material culture, such as ethnographic fieldwork, the photo album, and the graphic travelogue. Yet it is none of these individually, because it retains a dynamic relationship to the material forms, theorizations, and technical aspects of research which best motivate an exploration of knowledge.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 examines and elaborates on the main ways World Expos have been documented, especially in connection with China. It covers dominant discourses in the international context, and establishes class and nationality as key components propagated by International Expositions; this is important in understanding the official narratives of the Shanghai Expo and its impact on the visitor population. Like many previous International Expositions, the Shanghai Expo was an instrument for national promotion and maintenance of the country's official agenda. The first chapter historically situates the significance of the World Expo as an instrument used by host countries to promote a nation-building ethos for its domestic audience. It argues that International Expositions create "symbolic universes" in order to consolidate the official discourses of its host nation, and to shape visions of the future for its visitor population. A review of International Expositions in a historical perspective contextualizes the role of Asian Expos, and specifically the Shanghai Expo, in developing the popular image of China's new international brand in the twenty-first century. Throughout the first chapter I also argue for the importance of visitor activities on Exposition fairgrounds as critical research sites from which alternative or divergent perspectives can be studied.

Chapter 2 focuses on the Shanghai Expo by describing prominent features of its context, location, and population. First, "New China" and the "Harmonious Socialist Society" policy are outlined to establish the larger socio-economic conditions and policies influencing the

¹⁰ Owen Chapman and Kim Sawchuk, "Research-Creation: Intervention, Analysis and 'Family Resemblances'," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 37 (2012): 6.

organization of the Shanghai Expo. Next, the location of the Expo's pavilions and the promotion of its official programs are described. Following this, the Expo's visitor populations are detailed according to attendance, demographics, and participation responses. The last section elaborates on the phenomenon of the middle class in China and its implications in the Shanghai Expo's promotion of an international Chinese identity.

Chapter 3 explains the methods used in the study of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. It describes my general research perspective and situates my approaches within the current language of research-creation scholarship. Subsequently, descriptions of my methodology are linked to past projects leading to *Expo Daily*. I describe how my theoretical concerns with identity politics and transnationality were concretized in practice through early creative projects, *The Potato Wars* (2008) and *Shanghai Daily: A Travel Collage* (2008). The chapter concludes with a summary of the procedures followed in my research-creation project for *Expo Daily* and elaborates on drawing as a research methodology (fig. 8).

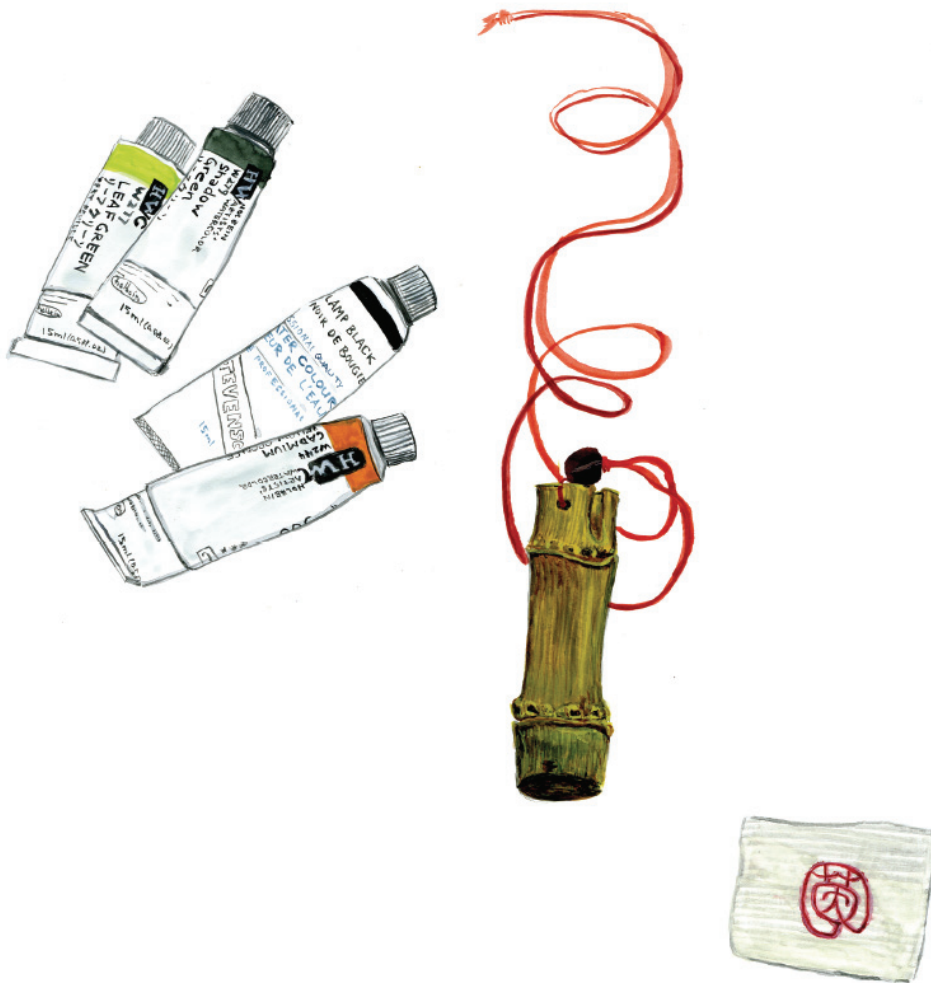


Figure 8. Joanne Hui, *My watercolour paint tubes and bamboo chop*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of *Expo Daily* as a localized interpretation of the global event of the Shanghai Expo that bore witness to aspects of class inequality and desires of trans/nationality expressed in popular visitor activities. The first case study on the marketing of counterfeit Haibao dolls documents the commercial value of the Shanghai Expo by comparing the dual markets of high-priced, officially licensed Expo souvenirs with the unofficial *shanzhai* market of lower-priced fakes, which undermined the sales and value of the official souvenirs. This first case study establishes the conditions for both an official and an unofficial culture at the Shanghai Expo.

The next case study on picnics at the Shanghai Expo brings a second element to the unofficial narrative. Picnics were important indicators of issues regarding financial and social class, and were also identifiable as an activity that exceeded the controls of the Expo's official visitor programming. For instance, several drawings in *Expo Daily* illustrate bodies resting and socializing in unbranded places, documenting visitors who were not engaged with the official programs of the Expo's food culture. This argument leads to the final case study: collecting commemorative stamps. Whereas the picnic case study explored sedentary bodies that overpopulated the official programs, the study of stamp collecting interprets animated bodies, perambulating across the fairgrounds and hurrying among many national pavilions in a desire to circulate. The Expo Passport stamp phenomenon provides a strong visual case of visitors taking pleasure in other places, and being marked by other nations in an accumulation of identities that suggest both an excess of nationality and a play of transnationality at the Expo. Altogether, this chapter argues that *Expo Daily* documented certain social practices which highlight alternative experiences of the Shanghai Expo.

In conclusion, the results identified in the previous chapters are interpreted and general findings are presented which tie together the research problem, the research methodology, and the case studies in order to discuss the implications.

Preliminary Note on Methodology

A formidable contributor to the scholarship of World Expositions is the American historian Robert Rydell.¹¹ An important aspect of Rydell's approach is his attention to public archival records, newspapers and magazine articles, guidebooks, popular novels, and oral histories of World Expos.¹² His studies include, for example, records of labour unionist reactions, African American boycotts, women's suffragette protests, and other resistance measures that challenge imperialist ideas on class, racial difference, and gender at world's fairs.¹³ Importantly, these alternative histories took place outside the control of official programming. The outcome is a record of visitor activities providing oppositional thinking to the political realities of their time.

Methodologically, Rydell used a combination of postmodern and postcolonial approaches to the study of World Expos. His research analyses therefore locate the Exposition fairgrounds as a generative and critical space, where dominant ideologies have been resisted and challenged by the activities of its visitors. Generally, the study of International Expositions have mostly been commemorative narratives, uncritical of their official histories.¹⁴ Rydell steered World Expo studies towards postmodern and postcolonial frameworks in order to pay particular attention to histories of "contested terrains" representing sites of struggle between dominant and subordinate groups within the context of world Expositions.¹⁵ My own study bears an affinity with these outcomes, being also aligned to the postmodern methodologies of interpreting the material cultures of Expositions. Rydell's historical studies and methodologies, along with Expo scholars

¹¹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, 227 (suffragists caricatured at San Francisco fair); 52–55 (Afro-Americans); 188–193 (labour unrest).

¹⁴ This is a frequently cited commemorative narrative book on International Expositions. See Kenneth Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London: The Studio Publications, 1951).

¹⁵ The term "contested terrains" is applied in history studies to discuss who makes history, and how historical records could include more voices in order to reflect diverse positions and institutional power differences in the writing of histories. See Phyllis Kahaney and Judith Liu, *Contested Terrain: Diversity, Writing, and Knowledge* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

Paul Tenkotte, Timothy Mitchell, Carol Breckenridge, and Karal Ann Marling, have been influential in the trajectory of my dissertation.¹⁶ Their contributions led me to consider further contested terrains, from which I launched my own research-creation project at the 2010 Shanghai Expo.

Key Terms and Definitions

Key terms and definitions are offered to facilitate a better understanding of the Shanghai Expo in the context of international relations and China's socio-economic conditions; these concepts will be further developed in chapter 2. The following glossary provides working definitions for terms that inform the next chapters, including dewesternization, experiential goods, income inequality, New China, post-Americanism, research-creation, and Sinocentrism.

Dewesternization: According to Argentine-American global colonial theorist Walter Dignolo, the term refers to China's rise in economic authority as part of an accumulated process of dewesternization that includes a geopolitical shift in capitalist power away from European-North American (Atlantic) economies towards China.¹⁷ Since 2000, the world order has become polycentric (also described by Dignolo as a world of pluriversalism), interconnected through a number of capitalist economies.¹⁸ As such, capitalism is no longer attached to Western

¹⁶ Paul Tenkotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World: International Exhibitions and the Concept of Culture-Place, 1851–1915." *American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1987): 5–29; Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 217–236; Carol A. Breckenridge, "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at the World's Fair," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 195–216; Karal Ann Marling, "Writing History with Artifacts: Columbus at the 1893 Chicago Fair," *The Public Historian* 14, no. 4 (Autumn 1992): 13–30.

¹⁷ Walter Dignolo, "The Prospect of Harmony and the Decolonial View of the World: Weihua He Interviews Walter Dignolo," *Critical Legal Thinking*, Counter Press, June 12, 2014, accessed April 15, 2015, <http://criticallegalthinking.com/2014/06/12/prospect-harmony-decolonial-view-dignolo/#fn-18711-1>.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

epistemologies of knowledge in history, memory, Christian values, and so forth.¹⁹ Instead, multiple economic authorities make up a co-existing pluriversal world, including the rejuvenation of Confucianism and capitalism with socialist characteristics in China.²⁰

Experiential goods: Jian Wang used the term “experiential goods” to describe how national pavilions created a distinct and positive national brand through the design of Expo-themed environments.²¹ He equates the process of visiting national pavilions to consumer practices in the consumption of pavilions as “experiential goods.”²² The outcome, Wang suggests, is a duality of visitor identities as both consumer and citizen.²³

Income inequality: The term refers to the unequal distribution of household or individual income across many participants in an economy.²⁴ The Gini index is most commonly used to measure the extent of deviation from perfect equality by plotting a distribution of incomes on a Lorenz curve of cumulative percentages of total income received against a cumulative number of recipients.²⁵ The maximum area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality therefore expresses the Gini coefficient, with 0 representing perfect equality and a coefficient of 1 implying perfect inequality.²⁶

In the years after the Shanghai Expo, a report from Peking University’s China Family Panel Studies²⁷ found that income inequality in China showed about a third of domestic wealth

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Jian Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination: Branding Nations at the World Expo* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 61.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Inequality Matters: Report on World Social Situation 2013* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2013), 26.

²⁵ Gini Index (World Bank estimates): “Data,” The World Bank, accessed February 26, 2016, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ “Introduction,” China Family Panel Studies (CFPS), accessed February 26, 2016.

<http://www.iss.edu.cn/cfps/EN/About/> (accessed February 26, 2016). An annual survey aimed to shed

belonging to approximately 1 percent of the population, while the bottom 25 percent accounted for only 1 percent of wealth.²⁸ In 2010 the China Household Finance Survey (CHFS) showed that China's Gini coefficient had reached 0.61,²⁹ a level many scholars consider alarmingly high and well above the global average of 0.44, according to the World Bank.³⁰ Generally, any country with a Gini coefficient over 0.5 is considered highly unequal and indicates that the gap between rich and poor is severe.³¹ In comparison, the most recent World Bank estimates for the Gini coefficients of the world's other top economies—the United States, Japan, and Germany—were 0.41, 0.32, and 0.3 respectively.³² The differences in international Gini coefficients shows China negatively compared to other index averages.

The implications of rising inequality in social and economic development are many. According to the *United Nations*, the adverse consequences of inequality affect the well-being of everyone, not only those at the bottom of the income distribution but also those at the top.³³ Specifically, income inequality leads to a less stable, less efficient economy that limits economic

light on the economic and non-economic well-being of the domestic population. Launched in 2010, the survey is conducted by the Institute of Social Science Survey at Peking University and funded by the Chinese government.

²⁸ Zhou Dongxu, "Top One Percent Has One Third of China's Wealth, Research Shows," *Caixin Finance & Economics*, April 8, 2014, <http://english.caixin.com/2014-08-04/100712733.html>.

²⁹ Li Gan, "Income Inequality and Consumption in China," Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas and USA Southwestern; University of Finance and Economics; Chengdu, China, August 2013, 2.

³⁰ A 2014 PNAS article argues that it was not until economists claimed that the Gini coefficient had reached 0.61 that China's National Bureau of Statistics, in early 2013, released the Gini coefficient for recent years that were slightly under 0.5. PNAS concludes with the argument that the Gini coefficient was well above 0.5 around 2010, which is high from the perspective of China's past and in comparison with other developing countries. The figure is also substantially higher than what was acknowledged by China's government statistics; Yu Xie and Xiang Zhou, "Income Inequality in Today's China," *PNAS* 111, no. 19 (2014), 6928–6933.

³¹ "Income Inequality Now Greater in China Than in US," *Michigan News*, <http://ns.umich.edu/new/releases/22156-income-inequality-now-greater-in-china-than-in-us>.

³² Gini Index, "Data," The World Bank.

³³ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Inequality Matters: Report on World Social Situation 2013* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2013), 22.

growth.³⁴ For example, with greater income inequality, high-income households control a greater share of the income and typically spend a smaller share of their income than the lower income households; the result is a reduction in demand and slower economic growth.³⁵ In addition, income inequality stifles opportunities for social mobility, including the intergenerational transmission of unequal access to healthcare and education, creating poverty traps and the increased vulnerability of lower income households to larger economic crises.³⁶ The United Nations cautions that these varied outcomes could combine to create social tension, political and civil unrest, and overall instability that are a risk to human security.³⁷

New China: The organizational structure of New China dates back to the former Premier Deng Xiaoping's market reforms in 1978, when China transitioned from a centrally planned economy to a market-based economy.³⁸ During the following two decades of economic reform, China became the second-largest economy after the US in 2010, with an average of 10 percent GDP growth per year.³⁹ This rapid economic growth, however, was offset by new demographic and societal challenges including rapid urbanization, environmental degradation, income inequality, and poverty.⁴⁰ For instance, China is home to the second-largest number of poor in the world after Sub-Saharan Africa.⁴¹ According to the *World Bank*, in 2011 China's gross national income per capita (\$4,930 USD) ranked 114th in the world, with over 170 million people living below the \$1.25-a-day international poverty line.⁴² In these respects China remains an emerging economy as its per capita income is still a fraction of that in US and European countries, and its

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "China Overview," The World Bank, last modified April 6, 2016, accessed March 26, 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/china/overview#3>.

³⁹ The World Bank, *China - Country Partnership Strategy for the Period FY13-FY16* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2012), i.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "Poverty," The World Bank, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://data.worldbank.org/topic/poverty>.

⁴² Ibid.

market reforms are incomplete.⁴³ Together with a combination of economic and demographic pressures (related to an aging population and the internal migration of labour), the Chinese government moved to amend market reform policies towards more sustainable economic growth.⁴⁴

In the new millennium, the Communist Party administration of President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao⁴⁵ (who were in office for the organization of the Shanghai Expo) was the first to address environmental issues and social inequality through significant policy adjustments ratified in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (11FYP) for the period 2006–2010. The 11FYP was rebranded for the public domain in the goals of a “harmonious socialist society”⁴⁶ (*shehui zhuyi hexie shehui*) and “common prosperity” (*gongtong fuyu*) to shift the priority away from rapid GDP growth and towards sustainable and inclusive growth at an annual growth target of 7.5 percent.⁴⁷ The 11FYP also included shifting China away from an export-oriented economy—dependent on foreign investment—to a domestic market of service sector industries vigorous enough to drive growth.⁴⁸ The goal was to enable disadvantaged groups and less developed regions to benefit from a sustainable rate of economic growth in an effort to rebalance the wealth gap.⁴⁹ However, by 2010, the last year of the 11FYP, China’s GDP saw an annual growth of a record 11 percent, surpassing the sustainable growth target of 7.5 percent suggested by the 11FYP. Efforts towards rebalancing China’s economy failed, and the gap between rich and poor in effect increased at the time of the Shanghai Expo. Today, China’s economic growth for 2015 is reported to be bolstered by growths in the consumption of domestic services, relying less on

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., i–ii.

⁴⁵ President Hu Jintao was in office from 2003 to 2013, and Premier Wen Jiabao was in office from 2008 to 2013. William A. Callahan, *China Dreams: 20 Visions of the Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 205–206.

⁴⁶ “The New 11th Five-Year Guidelines,” GOV.cn, accessed May 24, 2015, http://www.gov.cn/english/2005-11/09/content_247198.html; C. Cindy Fan, “China’s Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2006–2010): From ‘Getting Rich First’ to ‘Common Prosperity’,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 47 (2006) 708–709; Callahan, *China Dreams*, 47.

⁴⁷ Ibid; Callahan, *China Dreams*, 70.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.; Fan, “China’s Eleventh Five-Year Plan,” 708–709.

foreign investment and the manufacturing industries, and closing the wealth gap more than in previous years.⁵⁰

Post-American: Coined by American political scientist and journalist Fareed Zakaria, the term post-American describes a new world order in which the United States continues to be the most powerful nation because of its foreign policy of liberal democracy. However, Zakaria points out that since the mid-twentieth century, global liberal democracy has empowered other countries to compete with the US in economic, industrial, and cultural power.⁵¹ Zakaria suggests that while the US continues to dominate, its power will diminish with a power shift to several rising countries, particularly China and India, and to non-governmental organizations.⁵² In sum, the term post-American recognizes a global redistribution of economic power, and subsequently geopolitical shifts in the authority of knowledge and culture from which alternative world views are reflected back onto the international community.

Research-creation: The term research-creation is currently used across state funding bodies, university institutions, and interdisciplinary practices to describe theses or projects typically including “a creative process, experimental aesthetic component, or an artistic work as an integral part of the study.”⁵³ Canadian communications scholars Owen Chapman and Kim Sawchuk point out that the institutional usage of research-creation has often been counterproductive and limited. They argue that research-creation methodologies often become embedded within binary thinking of sanctioned metrics of qualitative research university programs that cause research-creation projects to be pushed into forms of apologetics. Alternatively, Chapman and Sawchuk suggest a strategic turn from earlier frameworks to reconsider research-creation as a conglomerate of approaches and activities calling attention to the hyphen between “research” and “creation”. The hyphen recognizes the conjunctive moment

⁵⁰ Mark Magnier, “China’s Economic Growth in 2015 Is Slowest in 25 Years,” *The Wall Street Journal*, World section, China News, January 19, 2016.

⁵¹ Fareed Zakaria, *The Post-American World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 1–5

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Chapman and Sawchuk, “Research-Creation,” 6.

within research-creation in order to realize its full potential as a form of intervention.⁵⁴ For instance, in a research project the creation component not only brings new audiences and contexts for dissemination, it also opens alternative ways of knowing that are performed or enacted by hands-on material practices.⁵⁵ As such, Chapman and Sawchuk steer the definition of research-creation towards the expertise and authority of the studio artist and practitioner as a way to make primary the methodological approach of “thinking through enactment” towards new knowledge.⁵⁶

Sinocentrism: The term sinocentrism means viewing China as the centre of the most advanced civilization in the world; external ethnic groups or foreign nations are therefore uncivilized to varying degrees.⁵⁷ In modern times, it sometimes describes a belief of Chinese exceptionalism or supremacy compared to other nations.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁷ Callahan, *China Dreams*, 42–43; Ricardo Duchesne, “Between Sinocentrism and Eurocentrism: Debating Andre Gunder Frank’s Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age,” *Science & Society* 65, no. 4 (2001): 432; Peter J. Katzenstein, *Sinicization and the Rise of China* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 3.

CHAPTER ONE

World Expos, the Branding of China, and the Shanghai Expo

According to the World Bank, China is currently enjoying the fruits of three decades of rapid economic growth that lifted 500 million people out of poverty.⁵⁸ In 2010, the People's Republic of China surpassed Japan as the second-largest economy in the world.⁵⁹ At least, these are the self-proclaimed tangible results cited by Beijing's central government to illustrate the success of economic reforms enacted by former Premier Deng Xiaoping (in office from 1978 to 1992) from the goals of the Four Modernizations (1963 and 1975) authored by the First Premier Zhou Enlai (in office from 1949 to 1976) to shift China's preoccupation with Maoist class struggle to concentrate on economic development.⁶⁰ In December 1978, at the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee Meeting, Deng announced the official launch of the Four Modernizations, marking the formal beginning of the reform era.⁶¹ In the 1980s, Deng characterized the reforms as

⁵⁸ "China Overview," The World Bank.

⁵⁹ The World Bank, *China 2030: Building a Modern, Harmonious, and Creative Society*, Development Research Center of the State Council, the People's Republic of China, Report No. 76299 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2013), 3.

⁶⁰ China's post-Mao Zedong leaders called for reform of every part of Chinese society, including the internal reform of the Chinese Communist Party and its political activities, followed by infrastructural reforms of government organization, the economy, the military, and finally, cultural and artistic reforms. The leaders of the People's Republic of China saw reform as the way to realize the broad goal of the Four Modernizations initiated by Premier Zhou Enlai in 1963 and 1975. The Four Modernizations of industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defence were projected to bring China on par with advanced industrial nations by the start of the new millennium. See Robert L. Worden, Andrea Matles Savada, and Ronald E. Dolan, *China: A Country Study*, Area Handbook Series (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1988), 52.

⁶¹ "Communiqué of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," *Beijing Review*, accessed February 3, 2016, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/special/third_plenum_17thcpc/txt/2008-10/10/content_156226.htm.

“Socialism with Chinese Characteristics”⁶² to describe a new scientific socialism that combined the principals of socialism with the flexibility of adapting to the conditions of China’s isolation, political instability, and high percentage of a rural poor population.⁶³ The path of scientific socialism⁶⁴ supported the creation of a socialist market economy that included the policy of opening up to the outside world in order to improve the expansion of China’s economic, technological, and trade relations with other countries.⁶⁵ On its economic front, the policy supported a multi-ownership-oriented market system dominated by public sector ownership; on the domestic front, the reforms encompassed a rational body of law and a carefully codified judicial system.⁶⁶ Together, Deng’s implemented reforms fostered a stable home front and favourable investment climate that helped China realize its modernization goals.⁶⁷ Mega-events such as the Expos were organized to celebrate the outcomes; however, the foreign press covering

⁶² According to Bob Lee, the chief writer of the *China Daily*, Deng Xiaoping, was the first to define China’s unique socialist development path on July 18, 1981, when Deng told a visiting Hong Kong media delegation, “I think there are more than 100 kinds of socialism in the world; there is no restriction. China will build socialism with Chinese characteristics.” See Bob Lee, “What is China’s Way? Rumors of the CCP’s Impending Demise May Well Be Exaggerated,” *The Diplomat Magazine*, February 16, 2015.

⁶³ Deng Xiaoping, “Building Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character (June 30, 1984),” *The People’s Daily Online*, <http://en.people.cn/dengxp/vol3/text/c1220.html> (accessed February 4, 2016).

⁶⁴ The term “scientific socialism” was adapted by the Chinese government from Friedrich Engels’ description of the social-political-economic theory pioneered by Karl Marx. The distinction of scientific socialism in Europe and in China remains the same: it is a practice of socialism based on the scientific method, its theories follow an empirical standard, observations are key to its development, and results can change and/or disprove components of the theory. See Friedrich Engels, “Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,” *Marx/Engels Internet Archive*, accessed February 4 2016, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop>. Original work was written between January and March of 1880.

⁶⁵ “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” *People’s Daily Online*, The 17th CPC National Congress, Interpretation of Congress Terms section, September 30, 2007, accessed September 29, 2015, <http://en.people.cn/90002/92169/92211/6275043.html>.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.; John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 406.

the 2010 Shanghai Expo presented a very different reality for China's population. With the increased media attention on the Expo, reports on the daily lives of people affected by and participating in the event indicated a population stressed out by high levels of economic inequality.⁶⁸

In order to understand the historical role of International Expositions, a brief description of what constitutes an Exposition is then addressed, followed by a short history of international fairs which examines the significance of World Expos in the context of the origin and diffusion of Expositions. World Expos are considered in their form, content, and function to complement host nations in the consolidation of their political and economic authority both domestically and—with participant countries—globally. Discussions then lead to a historiographical survey of how popular culture has been documented and chronicled in the study of World Expos, illuminating various approaches taken by scholars. The second half of the chapter provides a review of how China participated in the history of World Expositions. Following this, the Shanghai Expo is introduced within the context of recent literature specific to its study. This review connects the historical role of the World Expos to the Shanghai Expo in the task of branding China for the international community and its visitor population (fig.1).

⁶⁸ Tania Branigan, "Shanghai 2010 Expo Is Set to Be the World's Most Expensive Party," *The Guardian*, World News section, April 21, 2010; Malcolm Moore, "Shanghai Expo Faces £400m Shortfall as Visitors Shy Away," *The Telegraph*, May 5, 2010; "China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists," Amnesty International.



Figure 1. Joanne Hui, *Watercolour drawing of Shanghai Expo visitors*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

1.1 What is a World Expo?

Officially, the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) and the Convention of Paris are the prevailing authorities which define an international exhibition such as a World Expo. As a rule, article 1 of the BIE Convention of Paris, ratified on November 22, 1928, defines an international exhibition as a display that “has as its principal purpose the education of the public.”⁶⁹ The earliest Expositions of Europe and the US instructed audiences with displays of material gains of the industrial revolution as well as colonial ambitions, which purportedly led to the promotion of human progress and international dialogue after the World Wars.⁷⁰ Since 2000, World Expos have shifted their focus to raising awareness of issues surrounding sustainable development in global practice.⁷¹ Today, the BIE website describes the mandates of “sharing innovation, promoting progress and fostering cooperation” as the ultimate purpose of World Expos.⁷² Generally, International Expositions include a diversity of platforms such as pavilion exhibitions, diplomatic encounters, business meetings, public debates, volunteer participation, and live shows. To qualify as an International Exposition, the duration should be a minimum of three weeks and a maximum of six months.⁷³ They must also include at least one other nation and exclude the exhibition of art for commercial purposes.⁷⁴

The first World Expo took place in London in 1851. Between this Great Exhibition and the Convention of Paris of 1928 (taking effect in 1931), a cycle of International Expositions had taken place on both sides of the Atlantic. Britain, Austria, Spain, and France hosted five Expositions in Paris, while Belgium held four Expositions in Brussels (1897, 1910), Liege (1905), and Ghent (1913). The American Expositions—also called World's Fairs in the US—

⁶⁹ Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) Convention Protocol Amendment, May 31 (1988): 7. http://www.bie-paris.org/site/images/stories/files/BIE_Convention_eng.pdf

⁷⁰ “Past Expos – A Short History of Expos,” BIE, accessed February 9, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/past-expos/past-expos-a-short-history-of-expos>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² “What Is an Expo?” BIE, accessed December 1, 2015, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/about-expos/what-is-an-expo.html>.

⁷³ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 45.

⁷⁴ BIE Convention Protocol Amendment, May 31 (1988): 7.

were held in Philadelphia (1876), Chicago (1893), St. Louis (1904), and San Francisco (1915).⁷⁵ The main difference between European and American Expositions is that the US was the first to include the sponsorship of private entities and to establish separate pavilions for corporate exhibitors, whereas European Expositions continue to be organized by their national governments.⁷⁶

Intrinsically linked to the Industrial Revolution, these first Expos were opportunities for countries to showcase their culture and their power through displays of architectural and technological prowess. The US World's Fairs between 1876 and 1916 were particularly keen to debut scientific discoveries and new inventions, as part of the organizers' efforts to alleviate widespread anxiety caused by rapid industrialization, bouts of industrial depression, and outbursts of open class warfare in the country.⁷⁷ For instance, US World Fairs unveiled many common inventions still in use today, such as the telephone (Philadelphia, 1876), the Ferris wheel (Chicago, 1893), the wireless telegraph and the ice-cream cone (Saint Louis, 1904), and Kodachrome photos (San Francisco, 1915). European Expositions debuted the Colt revolver and the McCormick reaper (London, 1851), the elevator (Dublin, 1853), the sewing machine (Paris, 1855), outdoor electrical lighting (Paris, 1878), motion pictures (Paris, 1900), and the Eiffel Tower (Paris, 1889).⁷⁸

The earliest Expositions were unregulated events, with each host country working independently from other countries.⁷⁹ Thus, the periods between early Expos were irregular (ranging from one to eight years),⁸⁰ themes were sometimes repeated, and non-standard types of

⁷⁵ "Our History," BIE, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/bie/our-history>.

⁷⁶ The 1876 Philadelphia Fair was the first to feature pavilions by private companies; afterwards, pavilions devoted to corporations became prominent in American Expositions between the wars. See Robert Rydell, "The Literature of International Expositions," in *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834–1916*, Smithsonian Institution Libraries (Chicago: American Library Association, 1992), 6.

⁷⁷ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 4.

⁷⁸ "Expos Q&A," WorldsFairs.com, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://worldsfairs.com/expos-qa>.

⁷⁹ "Our History," BIE.

⁸⁰ "Expo Timeline," BIE, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/past-expos/expo-timeline>.

colonial, sectorial, or small Expos were advertised as International Expositions.⁸¹ With the popularity of International Expositions on the rise, the original host states—mainly France and Britain—agreed to establish the BIE to help formalize a standard framework to ensure the quality and continuity of an Expo; the Convention of the BIE included thirty-one signatory nations.⁸² The BIE in Paris was created in 1931 to supervise all official International Expositions, from assisting candidates in the bid to host an Expo, to choosing the host country, and finally, to overseeing that both host and participants abided by the rules of Expo outlined in the Convention of the BIE.⁸³

Since 1931 the BIE has supervised over fifty International Expositions. However, World War II marked a significant transition of public interest in World Expos among Western nations, where it had originated and flourished. The decline came largely from the fact that audiences were more attuned to the abuses of science and technology after the World Wars, making Expos that previously showcased “science-as-progress” highly suspect.⁸⁴ According to British historians John Gold and Margaret Gold, the 1967 Expo in Montreal, the 1970 Expo in Osaka, and the 1992 Expo in Seville (all BIE Category One Expos) were fraught with public misgivings about the Expo’s significant financial and human costs to the host cities; additionally, doubts about the

⁸¹ “Our History,” BIE

⁸² “How We Work,” BIE, accessed April 2015, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/bie/how-we-work>.

⁸³ The first responsibility of the BIE is to assist a country’s bid to host a World Expo. Each of the 168 member states gets one vote by secret ballot at the BIE General Assembly. The evaluation of candidate cities includes the viability of the proposal, the relevance of the proposed theme, and the international relations of the candidate country. Following this, the BIE ensures that the regulations, quality, and continuity of the World Expo tradition is followed by the host nation. The task of the host country is to observe BIE convention throughout the planning stages, construction, and operations of an expo. The first job of the host country is to send formal invitations to participating countries and international organizations through diplomatic channels. Next, the host country assists participating countries in funding their pavilions. See “How to Organize an Expo?,” BIE, accessed January 5, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/component/content/article/89-organisation/165-how-to-organize-an-expo?Itemid=1009>.

⁸⁴ “Past Expos,” BIE.

Expo's legacy of imperialist ideological conditions still loomed large.⁸⁵ Expositions within this period of 1968–1992 began to restructure themselves (with BIE's support) to reflect new themes of human progress in hopes of repairing the Expo's image.⁸⁶ Finally, Gold and Gold cite the financial failures of the 2000 Expo in Hannover as the last straw for reviving Western-based Expos for Western audiences, even though it received the BIE's coveted "Universal Exhibition" status.⁸⁷ According to the BIE, post-war Expositions tended to focus on the promotion of humanity, and functioned as peaceful platforms for international dialogue; yet technology still figured large in the Expos, not as an end in itself, but as a means for human development.⁸⁸

Several different schemes to categorize International Expositions were established by the BIE since its ratification. The current categorization of "World Expo" was formalized in 1988 and took effect in 1996. In this new category, World Expos are defined by the duration, size, and types of pavilions built.⁸⁹ The first category of "registered" Expositions take place every five years and last six months, has no limit on size, and permits exhibitors to construct their own pavilions.⁹⁰ The 2010 Shanghai World Expo is one of the first in the new cycle of registered Expos, popularly known as a World Exposition or a Universal Exposition. The second category of "recognized" Expositions runs a minimum of a three-week period to a maximum of a six-month period, is limited in size, and exhibitors install their own displays within a shared venue; these are known as International Expos and are presented between two World Expos.⁹¹ The 2012 Yeosu International Expo in South Korea and the 2017 Astana International Expo in Kazakhstan are examples of recognized Expositions. In addition to the registered and recognized categories

⁸⁵ John R. Gold and Margaret Mary Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851–2000* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 83.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ "Past Expos," BIE.

⁸⁷ Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, 83.

⁸⁸ "Past Expos," BIE.

⁸⁹ The current categorization of registered and recognized expos were approved by the BIE member states in 1988 and ratified in 1996. The 2005 Aichi Expo was the last from the previous categorization of Expos as either universal exhibitions or specialized exhibitions. See Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 46; BIE, "How to Organize an Expo?"

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

of Expos are the BIE-regulated International Horticultural Exhibitions, which take place every two years (the 2016 Antalya Horticultural Expo in Turkey and the 2019 Beijing Horticultural Expo are the upcoming Expos).⁹²

Historian Warren Susman argues that Expositions serve as rites of passage for its visitors, ritualizing national acceptance of new technologies, new consumer habits, and new narratives on class and nation.⁹³ By the time of the 2010 Shanghai Expo, more than one hundred international World Expos had been organized, with an aggregated attendance of several hundred million visitors. As such, the World Exposition defined ideas of modernity for large numbers of fairgoers, who regarded World Expos as sites of pilgrimage and sources of inspiration, guidance, and wonderment.⁹⁴ Susman points out that every individual absorbs the narratives of Expositions differently, however, like most Expo scholars, he argues the influence of World Expo cannot be avoided and that Expositions became a part of their visitors' lives.⁹⁵ The next section considers when and why the official agendas of World Expos in Europe and the US were used to service the concept of nation, and better understand how Expositions illustrate ideas of national progress.

1.2 World Expos: Official Narratives and Alternative Perspectives

International Expositions originated as a European invention and were later popularized by World's Fairs in the US.⁹⁶ As such, European and American Expositions have been marked by the legacies of Eurocentricism shaping the cultural geography of the Western world by making ideas about "progress" visible.⁹⁷ For the organizers of the Expositions, progress was framed as a universal force that human intervention could guide towards national benefit. Progress meant advances in civilization, more scientific research, improved technology, and economic growth. While these ideas may have been self-evident to the organizers of the Expositions, they were not always so obvious to the Expo's audiences and other groups in society. A review of the following

⁹² Liao Wei, "Beijing to Hold Horticultural Expo in 2019," *China Daily*, Regional section, June 13, 2014.

⁹³ Warren Susman, "Ritual Fairs," *Chicago History* 12 (1983): 4–7.

⁹⁴ Rydell, *The Books of the Fairs*, i.

⁹⁵ Susman, "Ritual Fairs," 4–7.

⁹⁶ Rydell, *The Books of the Fairs*, 6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9–10.

selected literature considers a number of divergent approaches to World Expo studies, specifically a range of different disciplinary foci exploring official narratives and their alternative perspectives from the public life of International Expositions.

Beginning in the 1970s, World Expo studies in conjunction with museum studies advanced an interdisciplinary approach to address the power relationship between International Expositions and industrializing societies.⁹⁸ Specifically, scholarship focused on the interrelatedness of artistic, scientific, and colonial displays at various Expositions.⁹⁹ While this scholarly trajectory appeared mainly in museum exhibition catalogues, in 1988 the same development led historian Paul Greenhalgh to study the sustained relationship of early World Expos to imperialism.¹⁰⁰ Greenhalgh argued that International Expositions are ideological constructions used to confirm the social order of imperialism in Europe and its colonies, as well as the ideas of “progress” and imperialism, in the case of US World’s Fairs.¹⁰¹ According to Greenhalgh, it is generally assumed that World Expos are events aimed at fostering world peace and cooperation among the global community; however, the imperialist undercurrents of the earliest Expositions indicate they also targeted an internal audience to promote the host government’s domestic image, in a bid to legitimize its leadership.¹⁰² On both continents, World Expos were opportunities for its organizers—usually including the host county’s political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders—to initiate its audiences into the values of the elite classes, eventually normalizing these values into social and political reality.

In the 1980s, the multidisciplinary scholarship of Robert Rydell (1987), Timothy Mitchell (1989), Paul Tenkotte (1987), Carol Breckenridge (1989), and Karal Ann Marling (1992) together reveal a new course of postcolonial, pluralist, and transnational critical outcomes from

⁹⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 52.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰² Ibid., 17.

the study of the material cultures of International Expositions.¹⁰³ Their studies reveal several new phenomena at play, providing a larger methodological and critical field in which to situate my study of the Shanghai Expo's official programs and the alternative perspectives demonstrated by patterns of visitor activities at the event.

As introduced in the arguments of Rydell earlier, when Exposition organizers lose control over the public life and fairgrounds of World Expos, alternative perspectives on the official narratives promoted by the Expositions are consequently revealed.¹⁰⁴ Customarily, an Exposition presents a dominant narrative arc through exhibition displays, programmed together to create a unified visual order between past, present, and future narratives which support the official discourse of the time.¹⁰⁵ Envisioning a common future often involved a revision of past and present narratives into selected histories in order to complement future projections.¹⁰⁶ The net result is a totality of meaning, or "symbolic universe" of shared symbols and rituals linking all Expo visitors together into a meaningful social experience that, in turn, is strategically linked to a larger national discourse propagated by the sponsors of an Exposition.¹⁰⁷ However, Rydell argues that most of the Expo's official discourses have not gone unchallenged, and the study of unofficial Expo-related sources (public archival records, newspapers, and so forth) reveal alternative perspectives on class, gender, and racial differences.

For instance, the political theorist and historian Timothy Mitchell demonstrated the visual culture of a postcolonial binary by studying the personal journals of an Egyptian delegation that attended the 1889 Paris Expositions Universelle.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, historian Paul Tenkotte identified

¹⁰³ Rydell's, *All the World's a Fair*; Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 217–236; Tenkotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World," 5–29; Breckenridge, "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting," 195–216; Marling, "Writing History with Artifacts," 13–30.

¹⁰⁴ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 1–8.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 217.

how initial ideas of cultural pluralism¹⁰⁹ took shape through the methodological approach of reading across a variety of cultural artifacts, documents, demographics, and personal accounts located in the documents of audience reception and off-site programs for World's Fairs in the US.¹¹⁰ Likewise, art historian Karal Ann Marling demonstrated a feminist narrative in the "discovery" of the Americas to include the collaborative efforts of Queen Isabella, who conceived of and funded Columbus' expeditions.¹¹¹ Her case studies include a variety of popular Queen Isabella objects displayed at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago that resulted in problematizing the historical origin of the US and increasing the recognition of women's rights in the US in the late nineteenth century.¹¹²

Finally, in discussing India at the World Expos (1989), anthropologist and historian Carol Breckenridge demonstrates how reimagined communities of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism¹¹³ formed from the paradoxical consumption of Indian objects on display.¹¹⁴ Breckenridge conducts one of the first empirical investigations of the material cultures of the Expo, specifically in the study of the display images (both presented and received) of India at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London, and the American World's Fairs of the same era.¹¹⁵ She argues all classes and ethnic groups, both British and Indian, were implicated psychologically, emotionally, and practically in the construction of colonial Indian objects. Breckenridge called this the "Victorian ecumene" that included Great Britain, the US, and India in a discursive space that was transnational, while at the same time keeping the cultures of each

¹⁰⁹ Tenkotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World," 13–23. Tenkotte used the term "culture-place" to describe how people associate the uniqueness of their "culture" with their "place," and how the concept of differences in regionalism and pluralism take shape.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* Some of these popular sources included a Chinese restaurant review, a Japanese tea ceremony at the NYC Woman's mission, a response to the clothes of Japanese pavilion builders, belly dancers, and the reconstruction of ethnic villages in the Midway Plaisance.

¹¹¹ Marling, "Writing History with Artifacts," 25.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 25–26.

¹¹³ Breckenridge compares the visual technologies of World Expos to Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of print media creating imagined communities which underlie the nation-state. See Breckenridge, 196.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 196–197.

nation-state highly specific.¹¹⁶ In other words, the practices of collecting and consuming India's objects, as introduced by visual technologies and rituals of the World Expos, set the conditions for the development of the nation-state and the concept of the cultural "other." However, the objects of India, Breckenridge concludes, exceeded both British and India's national boundaries in their cultural form to represent early instances of transnationalism.¹¹⁷

This review of studies by Rydell, Mitchell, Tenkotte, Marling, and Breckenridge into the material cultures of International Expositions points to their success in bringing to bear previously neglected perspectives on World Expos—postcolonial, feminist, pluralist, and transnational. My study is aligned with their methodological approaches of studying the public life and unofficial sources of World Expos; however, my methodology also includes observations of visitor activities documented in *Expo Daily*. The critical outcome of my work reveals alternative experiences of class and national identity that diverge from the official programming of the Shanghai Expo.

The next sections consider the development of China's relationship with the larger institution of the World Expo along several historical and critical paths, and establish the groundwork for my study of alternative experiences at the Shanghai Expo. First, a short history of China at World Expos is outlined, followed by a discussion of the recent rise of Asian Expositions. The task of branding China internationally and domestically will be explored through a review of literature from Shanghai Expo scholars Susan Fernsebner (2010), Ni Chen (2012), Ingrid d'Hooghe (2014), and Astrid Nordin (2012). Their studies demonstrate how branding China at the Shanghai Expo was predominantly top-down and authoritarian in its organization, public diplomacy, operations, and media relations.¹¹⁸ Lastly, the Shanghai Expo is introduced, together with the studies of China diplomacy experts Jian Wang (2013) and William

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 196, 214.

¹¹⁸ Susan R. Fernsebner, "Expo 2010: A Historical Perspective," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 3 (2010): 669–676; Ni Chen, "Branding National Images: The 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games," *Public Relations Review* 38 (2012): 731–745; D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 220–284; Astrid Nordin, "Time, Space and Multiplicity in China's Harmonious World" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2012).

Callahan (2013) discussing alternative perspectives documented from the public life surrounding the mega-event.¹¹⁹

1.3 China at the World Expo

China has an ongoing (albeit sporadic) relationship with the World Expo, marked by periods of successive governments: the Qing dynasty, the Republic of China, and the People's Republic of China.¹²⁰ China's participation in World Expos had been atypical and is a reflection of its modern history stressed by a century of civil war, foreign occupation by Western powers and Japan between 1839 and 1949,¹²¹ and the isolation of the People's Republic of China during the Mao era between 1949 and 1976.¹²² The Qing Dynasty was the first Chinese government to participate in the 1873 Vienna Expo; however, the task of organizing China's exhibits was delegated to foreigners employed in China's civil administration.¹²³ Several years afterwards, the imperial Qing court sent its first official delegation to the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition.¹²⁴ By the time of the 1904 Saint Louis World's Fair in Kentucky, the Qing court had organized China's participation in the World Expo to a more involved degree.

China exhibited at the Saint Louis World's Fair through two separate delegations.¹²⁵ The first was a group of merchants sent ahead to organize China's trade commodities of silk, tea, and

¹¹⁹ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 6; Callahan, *China Dreams*, 125; William A. Callahan, "Shanghai's Alternative Futures: The World Expo, Citizen Intellectuals, and China's New Civil Society," *China Information* 26, no. 2 (2012): 252.

¹²⁰ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 48.

¹²¹ William A. Callahan, "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism," *Alternatives* 29 (2004): 202.

¹²² Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic* (New York: The Free Press, 1999).

¹²³ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 48.

¹²⁴ Dou Ziwen, *China and World Expo: Expo 2010 Shanghai China* (Shanghai: China Intercontinental Press, 2009), 16–17; Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 48.

¹²⁵ Carol Ann Christ, "The Sole Guardians of the Art Inheritance of Asia: Japan and China's participation in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (2000): 675–709.

porcelain in exhibition displays spread throughout the pavilions.¹²⁶ Following them was an official government delegation of the Qing dynasty sent to attend the opening ceremony.¹²⁷ According to the historian Carol Ann Christ, China's exhibitors had distributed a trade catalogue listing domestic commodities according to regional and provincial origins, with subcategories of manufacturers, dealers, or collectors.¹²⁸ China's exhibitors prioritized promoting lucrative trade by building networks of trading posts, making it easy for fair-going merchants to place orders.¹²⁹ The scope of cultural displays at the 1904 Expo included replicas of the imperial family's living room and bedroom, and the reconstruction of a Chinese theatre for performances of Beijing opera.¹³⁰ The outcome of China's participation in this early World's Fair was twofold. First was the emergence of the image of China as trade-driven, and able to assert its own entrepreneurial framework onto the organizational structures of the Saint Louis World's Fair. Second was the image of China having contributed limited cultural displays in the fine arts palaces, forgoing any cultivation of a national culture expected by the Expo organizers and visitors. As evidenced by this example, from its early participation in the 1904 Expo, China did things differently.

The current research on China and the World Expos resides primarily within the fields of history, sociology, political science, and economics, with only a handful of academic articles to date. Besides participating in the World Expos as exhibitors, the imperial Qing court had also organized its first International Exposition: the 1910 Nanjing South Seas Exhibition. The 1910 Expo was small in scale, with a total of fourteen countries participating.¹³¹ As an early international exhibition, the 1910 Nanjing Expo was a pre-BIE-approved event. The host country alone thus determined the organization and thematic agenda of the Expo without consultation with other nations. According to historian Michael Godley, the moribund Qing Dynasty government organized the 1910 Nanjing Expo in a desperate effort to promote China's commerce

¹²⁶ Christ, "The Sole Guardians," 700.

¹²⁷ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 48.

¹²⁸ Christ, "The Sole Guardians," 700.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* Attention to promoting Chinese trade commodities was motivated by the country's need to bring in new capital, which had been depleted by internal strife caused by the Boxer Protocol.

¹³⁰ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 48.

¹³¹ Michael Godley, "China's World's Fair of 1910: Lessons From a Forgotten Event," *Modern Asian Studies* 12, no. 3 (1978): 503.

and industries in a new entrepreneurial framework to bring in much-needed foreign capital, and to protect the government's sovereignty.¹³² The planning stages of the 1910 Expo highlighted the dual agendas of government and commercial sectors in the organization of event.¹³³

The commercial sponsors had set the goal for increasing the nations' competitive value within the 1910 industrial global market by teaching its entrepreneurs international standards in business acumen.¹³⁴ Organizers from both local and national governments worked to promote regional, urban, and provincial pavilions—to which they contributed their own exhibitions and displays—in an effort to provide direct access to manufacturers and distributors in trade.¹³⁵ The specific regional pavilions included pavilions by overseas Chinese businesses, mainly from Southeast Asia, who were important financiers of the 1910 Expo.¹³⁶ Overseas exhibitors also provided established trade connections, successful businesses, and a dimension of transnationalism uncommon to China's previous trade relations with Japan and Britain.¹³⁷ Finally, the organizers of the 1910 Nanjing Expo recognized the event as an opportunity for the Qing government to promote a foreign trade network on their own terms, rather than succumb further to the military pressures of foreign trade interests.

The following year, the Republic of China government overthrew the Qing dynasty. The new regime continued to sponsor China's participation in the 1915 San Francisco Expo (celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal) to again promote domestic commerce and industry abroad to bring in foreign capital.¹³⁸ However, the following decades of political upheaval and foreign occupation, including the founding of the People's Republic of China in

¹³² Ibid., 506.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 520–522.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 505.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 518. Godley reports the Southeast Asian Chinese community raised 10 percent of the total on general expenditures, and another \$100,000 was contributed by an overseas Chinese capitalist after the exhibition closed to make up for its operational deficit.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 510. A treaty signed in 1896 granted Japanese business interests the right to set up factories in the treaty ports, a right simultaneously awarded to other enterprises of Western origin. The British already had long-standing unequal treaties in China signed in 1842 to mark the end of the first Opium War between Britain and China.

¹³⁸ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 49.

1949 and their independent development policy, prevented China from participating in International Expositions from 1949 to 1976.¹³⁹

Today China has a very different relationship with World Expos. In the late 1970s, China's move into the first stages of economic reform and open policy included the country's reintegration into the global economic and political system, and restored participation in international organizations and global events such as the Olympic games and the World Expositions. But it was not until 1982 that the PRC made its first debut at the energy-themed World Expo in Knoxville, Tennessee, where the China Pavilion spanned 2,000 square metres and displayed mostly arts and crafts—including artisanal demonstrations of traditional Chinese brush painting, porcelain engraving, seal cutting, and embroidery work—supplemented with demonstrations of new energy technologies.¹⁴⁰ In 1993, a decade after Knoxville, China became a BIE member. This fostered a new relationship between China and the BIE members and increased its participation in all BIE-sponsored Expositions, including China's first BIE-recognized 1999 International Horticultural Exposition in Kunming, Southwest China. China's membership in the BIE also included its expressed interest to host a registered universal Exposition in Shanghai.¹⁴¹ At the BIE's 126th General Assembly on December 8, 2000, China announced its bid to host the 2010 World Expo in Shanghai.¹⁴² Two years later, at the 132nd Meeting of the BIE in the Prince's Palace of Monaco, China won the bid, beating Argentina, South Korea, Mexico, Poland, and Russia.¹⁴³ China's winning bid would make the Shanghai Expo the first registered International Exposition to take place in a developing country.

In summary, China's relationship with World Expositions was intermittent at the start. Despite foreign and internal stresses within the imperial Qing court, the Qing government recognized the economic value of the World Expos, and encouraged local entrepreneurs to exhibit at International Expositions. However, political discord during the following period (Republic of China) inhibited regular participation in World Expos from 1915 to 1949. The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 imposed several more decades of China's

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Dou Ziwen, *China and World Expo*, 20–21.

¹⁴¹ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 49.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 50.

absence from World Expos. But Deng's economic reforms (1978) included China's reintegration into the World Expo by becoming a country exhibitor and BIE member (1993), culminating in China's increasing bids to host a number of International Expositions in the twenty-first century. Despite retaining a deplorable human rights record, it was possible for Chinese party officials to work within its BIE member state position to persuade the BIE General Assembly to vote positively on China's Expo bids. In addition to China, many new emerging economies and developing nations such as Albania, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Uzbekistan, and Argentina also became members of the BIE, representing two-year appointments within four BIE committee members.¹⁴⁴ The decision by the BIE's committee members to include new economies reflects a shift in favour of voting for alternate host countries, proven by the high number of new cities hosting their first World Expo events. This list includes Antalya's 2016 Horticultural Expo in Turkey, Astana's 2017 Future Energy Expo in Kazakhstan, Beijing's 2019 Horticultural Expo in China, and Dubai's 2020 World Expo in the United Arab Emirates.

1.4 The Rise of Asian Expositions

Prior to the Shanghai Expo, the international media described the mega-event as China's grand entry into the twenty-first century, in recognition of its growing influence on the world stage. This boosted the confidence of millions of domestic nationals, helping them to envision a future in which they held prominence in the decision-making of world affairs. However, most of the World Expos have taken place on the European continent or in the US, with only a few exceptions including Brazil (1922), Japan (1970, 1985, 2005), South Korea (1993, 2012), and Shanghai (2010) From the mid-twentieth century onwards, the process of decolonization notably allowed the introduction of new countries as Expo hosts or participants.¹⁴⁵ Since then, the number of participating countries increased from 39 in Brussels (1958), 62 in Montreal (1967), 78 in Osaka (1970), 109 in Seville (1992), 155 in Hannover (2000), and 193 in Shanghai (2010).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ "Committee Members," BIE, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/bie/how-we-work/committee-members>.

¹⁴⁵ "Past Expos," BIE.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

With an ever-increasing number of countries invested in World Expos, the BIE reformed its organization to reflect the needs of audiences from these emerging nations.¹⁴⁷

A recent list of World Expos shows a decided geopolitical shift from its original host nations in Europe and the US to a number of Expos hosted in Asia. In the last two decades of International Expositions, four out of eight World Expos were hosted by Asian countries: the 1993 Daejeon Expo in South Korea, the 2005 Aichi Expo in Japan, the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and the 2012 Yeosu International Expo in South Korea. This trend continues with other emergent economies in Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East with the forthcoming 2017 Astana Expo, the 2019 Beijing Horticultural Expo, and the 2020 Dubai World Expo.

The increasing number of non-European, non-American nations being granted Expo hosting rights represents an unprecedented shift. Consequently, the Asian Expos illustrate two recent trajectories in the history of International Expositions. First is the popularity of World Expos in emerging economies who are interested in enhancing their global image; second is the migration of World Expos away from Western centres, reflecting recent globalization movements in the redistribution and integration of economic and cultural power across multiple centres of authority. The outcomes are a global rebranding of the World Expo institution, and a geopolitical shift towards Asia in the representation of global order.

The main difference in World Expos today is that for the first time, the position of cultural authority—particularly in showcasing global issues such as cultural diversity, equality, and respect—have shifted to new geopolitical centres.¹⁴⁸ Environmental and cultural issues of global significance will be defined at upcoming World Expos by how China, Kazakhstan, and the United Arab Emirates project themselves on the world stage, and how several centres of economic power speak to different forms of capitalism. The Shanghai Expo, for example, promoted a form of “capitalism with socialist characteristics” that was adapted to meet the specific social, historical, and ideological environment of the state and its citizens.¹⁴⁹ The globalization of this sub-form of capitalism through internationally recognized mega-events—

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Barry Naughton, “Deng Xiaoping: The Economist,” *The China Quarterly* 135 (1993): 501; Jean Oi, Chris Bebenek, and Debora L. Spar, “China: Building Capitalism with Socialist Characteristics,” *Harvard Business Review*, February 14, 2006.

such as the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and the 2010 Shanghai Expo—changed relationships between international entities as they competed to build high-profile business ties with China. As such, the geopolitical breadth of International Expositions speaks to how World Expos are marked by national and corporate investments.

To summarize, successive governments from the imperialist Qing Dynasty to the democratic Republic of China, the communist People’s Republic of China, and the capitalist-socialism of New China have participated in World Expos to promote shifting forms of economic nationalism. The next section discusses how branding China at the Shanghai Expo was marked by government investment in projects of national unity and the promise of a rebalanced, harmonious society.

1.5 The Branding of China and the Shanghai Expo

The branding of China refers to foreign and domestic policies, economic goals, and Confucian values introduced by Beijing’s central government at the United Nations in September 2005, where former President Hu Jintao presented the concept of Harmonious World.¹⁵⁰ In his speech Hu described harmony as a way of thinking about the world (and global future) from the perspective of Chinese leadership, and included messages of China’s pursuit of peace, openness, tolerance, harmony, and favourable outcomes in managing China’s new policies, ideas, and principles.¹⁵¹ Accordingly, “harmonious world” is built through mutual dialogue, exchange, and cooperation that lead to mutual benefits by way of Chinese exceptionalism.¹⁵² The outcome

¹⁵⁰ Hu Jintao, “Making an Effort to Build a Sustainable, Peaceful, and United Prosperous Harmonious World – Speech at the Summit for the 60th Anniversary of the United Nations,” *The People’s Daily (Renmin ribao)*, September 16, 2005. The concept of “harmonious world” was further explained in two official documents: the “China’s Peaceful Development Road” White Paper (2005), and Hu Jintao’s “Report to the 17th Party Congress (2007). See Callahan, *China Dreams*, 47.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Callahan, *China Dreams*, 48. According to Callahan, “harmonious world” expresses the ideals of Chinese exceptionalism. He points out that Chinese history—like the histories of most countries—has seen many periods of violent expansion. However, the official text of Chinese exceptionalism ignores the historical evidence and instead describes a peaceful China that has never invaded any country and never

foresees the rejuvenation of China and its emergence as a world leader through a model of peaceful Chinese civilization, as opposed to the inherent violence of Western civilization and its legacy of colonialism.¹⁵³

Domestically, in October 2007 Hu confirmed “harmonious world” as China’s official foreign policy at the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)’s 17th Party Congress. The assembled CCP members later ratified an amendment in the CCP constitution appealing to the creation of a harmonious world sustained by peace and common prosperity.¹⁵⁴ As such, the domestic version of “harmonious world” was retitled “harmonious socialist society” to describe a state-centric intervention blending socialist modernity and Chinese tradition.¹⁵⁵ But even as early as 2004, the concept of “harmonious society” was applied as a policy narrative to address internal concerns over the negative fallout of China’s rapid economic growth.¹⁵⁶ The results were a set of government policies that worked to rebalance China’s economic and social inequality with newly funded education programs, subsidized health care, and support for rural areas.¹⁵⁷

In the case of the Shanghai Expo, “harmonious world” was introduced as part of the Expo’s official model for foreign and domestic relations. Without reservation, the Shanghai Expo was a pivotal illustration of Chinese exceptionalism presenting a different world view—the harmonious world—to both the international community and the internal population in a feat achieved effectively through the globally recognized brand of the World Expo.

CCP leaders promoted the role and responsibility of the central government in hosting the Shanghai Expo in many speeches throughout the years of preparation for the event (from 2006 to

will. To support this official narrative, the government focused instead on the pure language of Confucian philosophy to emphasize how in the classical Chinese language, the character “he” means both “harmony” and “peace.” Beijing’s 2011 policy on “China’s Peaceful Development” had therefore declared, “Under the influence of the culture of harmony, peace-loving has been deeply ingrained in the Chinese character.” Chinese civilization is therefore “exceptional” because it provided a peaceful model of a harmonious world.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 50.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 49.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

2010).¹⁵⁸ Premier Wen Jiabao called the Shanghai Expo an “economic Olympics,” providing Shanghai with the opportunity to accelerate the city’s development as an international economic, financial, trade, and shipping centre.¹⁵⁹ Visiting Shanghai in 2007, Wen Jiabao and Vice-President Xi Jinping made public statements such as the following:

Expo Shanghai will be held by China but undertaken by Shanghai. ... This positioning should be clear. Expo Shanghai itself is a messenger, while Shanghai, being the contractor of Expo Shanghai, is a ‘window,’ which ultimately displays the entire country’s image. Indeed the strength of Shanghai is founded upon the power of the entire country... the assessment of the success of Expo Shanghai will be linked to the national strategy, national decision-making, and its contribution to the country.¹⁶⁰

While official policy documents and their promotion were widespread and heavily marketed, they were not infallible. For instance, contemporary Chinese politics scholar Astrid Nordin extends the branding of China’s “harmonious world” policy to include influential academic works considering what this harmonious world might look like, given that while nation-branding at the Shanghai Expo aimed to illustrate the concept of “harmonization,” a culture of online parodies criticized, resisted, and avoided it.¹⁶¹ She argues that, when placed into context, the concept of harmony turns “harmonious world” back onto itself, re-diseasing the idea like metastatic cancer through a multiplicity of its own political uncertainty.¹⁶² As such, recent

¹⁵⁸ D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 260.

¹⁵⁹ “Wen Jiabao Visits World Expo Site,” *Shanghai Expo Magazine*, No. 6 (2007).

¹⁶⁰ “Interview of Xi Jinping by State Press,” *Shanghai Expo Magazine*, No. 9 (2007).

¹⁶¹ Nordin, “Time, Space and Multiplicity in China’s Harmonious World,” 7.

¹⁶² Nordin contextualizes the origins of her onco-operative logic within Western academic practices discussing time–space border practices, as developed by Jacques Derrida and Jean Baudrillard to describe the logic of democracy, late capitalism, and western consumer society. Nordin recognizes that these appear as the opposites of contemporary China. However, she argues that although the symptoms are different, the onco-operative logic of the disease is the same. In short, Nordin’s analysis adapts the onco-operative theoretical approach to a non-European context in hopes of developing an alliance between critical border theories and Chinese practices of translating terms within its own linguistic system. See Nordin, “Time, Space and Multiplicity in China’s Harmonious World,” 187–93.

events—occurring in the wake of the 1997 transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong and its “One Country, Two Systems” constitutional principle under threat—stressed the administrative inflexibility of the policy. Specifically, civil discontent expressed during the 2014 Umbrella Revolution and the 2016 Mong Kok riots (over electoral fraud during Hong Kong’s 2017 Chief Executive elections) confirm Nordin’s claim to the fallibility of “harmonious world.”¹⁶³

Despite external pressures on the concept of harmony as government policy, the 1910 Nanjing and 2010 Shanghai Expos were self-contained government-sponsored projects driven by foreign policy agendas which promoted Chinese businesses on the world stage. According to historian Susan Fernsebner,¹⁶⁴ World Expos have always embodied an ethos of “economic nationalism” for the promotion of increased wealth, improved commodity production, and competition in world markets.¹⁶⁵ Fernsebner’s theories specifically demonstrate my own hypothesis that China used the World Expo brand to promote its economic and national agendas at both the 1910 and 2010 Expos. The Shanghai Expo’s official narratives were subsequently bound to the central government’s economic priorities, much as the Nanjing Expo was bound to the economic sovereignty of the Qing Dynasty.

Recent scholarship on China’s public diplomacy has suggested that mega-events like the Shanghai Expo also adopted the role of targeting domestic (local) audiences in promoting positive images of China and its leadership.¹⁶⁶ Communications scholar Ni Chen surveyed university students in Hong Kong and China in order to understand audience responses on three mega-events: the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the 2010 Shanghai Expo, and the 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games.¹⁶⁷ Chen’s results described a positive relationship between people’s involvement and participation in International Expositions.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, Chen’s findings

¹⁶³ Howard Winn, “Riot Highlights Bleak Outlook for One Country, Two Systems,” *Hong Kong Free Press*, Politics & Protests section, February 23, 2016; Nordin, “Time, Space and Multiplicity in China’s Harmonious World,” 7.

¹⁶⁴ Susan Fernsebner is an American historian specializing in the material cultures of late imperial and modern China within the context of industrial exhibition and world fairs. See Fernsebner, 669–76.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 671–72.

¹⁶⁶ Chen, “Branding National Images,” 743; D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 220.

¹⁶⁷ Chen, “Branding National Images,” 743.

¹⁶⁸ Chen, “Branding National Images,” 731.

indicate that branding China through mega-events improved its domestic legitimacy by building a favourable international brand.¹⁶⁹

Along the same trajectory, Ingrid d’Hooghe, a Dutch expert on public diplomacy in China, documented the main instruments of communications used by the Chinese government to promote the branding of China through the Shanghai Expo’s official programs.¹⁷⁰ Her study described a proactive public diplomacy, including dialogue and collaboration among various groups of state and non-state actors across governments at national and local levels, steering extensive control over China’s domestic media, event advertising, and large-scale domestic outreach programs in education (figs 2–3).¹⁷¹ D’Hooghe argues that “control over actors and messages enhanced organizational efficiency and contributed to the consistency and continuity of the message, but it also strengthened China’s authoritarian image.”¹⁷² My drawing folio *Expo Daily* documents visitor behaviour typically censored by tight control of the Expo’s promotional media coverage.

D’Hooghe concluded that public diplomacy at the Shanghai Expo was largely a state-centred approach, in which the strategies and messages were “owned” by the Chinese government.¹⁷³ Returning to Nordin’s study, she describes the branding of China as an excessive proliferation of the concept of harmony that destroys itself from within, ultimately undermining its own credibility.¹⁷⁴ The value of Nordin’s pathologizing approach is that it destabilizes the branding of China within her broadened application of harmony. The resulting ambiguity, when applied to the Shanghai Expo, offsets the authority of the event’s official programs. My case studies involving the phenomenon of unanticipated visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo suggest new social practices that challenge the Expo’s official extensions of the “harmonious world” policy from within its own fairgrounds.

Fernsebner, Chen, d’Hooghe, and Nordin identify extensive national involvement—in coordination with civic committees—in the organization of the Shanghai Expo. Their studies

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 220–284.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 282–283.

¹⁷² Ibid., 283.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 282.

¹⁷⁴ Nordin, “Time, Space and Multiplicity in China’s Harmonious World,” 7.

suggests that the Expo failed to stage Shanghai as a global city that transcends the Chinese nation, but rather demonstrated the power of the central government in Beijing to exercise control over the city through the Expo. The following section provides a practical introduction to the Shanghai Expo.



Figure 2. Joanne Hui, *Two hostesses from China's joint provincial pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 3. Joanne Hui, *Shanghai Expo volunteers in uniform*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

1.6 The 2010 Shanghai World Expo

The scale of the Shanghai Expo was large in every respect, from its physical size and extraordinary cost to its record-breaking number of visitors and official exhibitors. Taking place from May 1 to October 31, 2010, the Shanghai Expo ran the maximum six-month duration allowed by the BIE for registered Expositions. The site was located within Shanghai's downtown on fairgrounds occupying waterfronts on both sides of the Huangpu River. Three-quarters of the grounds were on the east side of the river (the newly developed Pudong district) while the rest was on the former colonial port (the Bund) of Shanghai. Two major bridges spanned the grounds, the Nanpu Bridge to the north and the Lupu Bridge to the south. Almost twice the size of New York's Central Park, the site spanned a total of 5.28 square kilometres (approximately 1,305 acres), making it the largest International Exposition site in the world.¹⁷⁵ Expos in Europe and America typically occupied much smaller fairgrounds.¹⁷⁶

In the years before 2010, the organizers of the Exposition went to great lengths to ensure a smooth development progress, adhering to their building motto "keeping in mind the next 60 years' development while preparing for the six months' Exposition."¹⁷⁷ To prepare, massive infrastructure improvements were implemented in the city, including six new subway lines, an

¹⁷⁵ Andrew Higgins, "At Expo 2010 Shanghai, China Thinks Big," *Washington Post Foreign Service*, World section, Asia-Pacific, April 30, 2010.

¹⁷⁶ Previous European Expo fairgrounds had ranged from one square kilometre for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London to 2.33 square kilometres for the 1873 Austrian International in Vienna. North American World's Fairs, however, were much larger than European Expos with the two largest World's Fairs being similar in size to the Shanghai Expo. The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Expo occupied 5.14 square kilometres, while the 1939 New York World's Fair occupied five square kilometres. Most other American World's Fairs were an average of 1.5 square kilometres, or about one-third the size of the Shanghai Expo. In comparison to other World Expos hosted in Asia, the Shanghai Expo was bigger than the 1970 Expo in Osaka, Japan, that ranked previously as the biggest Expo site at 3.3 square kilometres in size. See "List of Historical Exhibitions and List of World Expos Since the Creation of the BIE," BIE, accessed April 4, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/about-expos/expo-categories/world-expos>.

¹⁷⁷ "Brief Introduction of World Expo Shanghai," *People's Daily Online*, August 12, 2009, accessed January 25, 2015, <http://en.people.cn/90002/97658/6726302.html>.

upgraded Hongqiao international airport, four thousand new Expo-themed taxis launched in the months before the opening, and buildings along the Pudong waterfront fitted with energy-efficient LEDs.¹⁷⁸ The exact cost of the Shanghai Expo is disputed among local and international sources. According to the *Shanghai Daily*, the Shanghai Audit Bureau reported two costs: 11.964 billion yuan (\$1.8 billion USD) for daily operations and 19.74 billion yuan (\$3 billion USD) for construction.¹⁷⁹ By comparison, international news sources reported a much higher cost (\$50 billion USD), including an additional tens of billions spent on accelerated improvements to Shanghai's infrastructure.¹⁸⁰ If international estimates are correct, the cost exceeded the budget of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games at \$42 billion USD,¹⁸¹ and multiple sources report that the Shanghai Expo was the biggest—and hence most expensive—World Expo in history.¹⁸²

In Shanghai, extensive improvements to urban infrastructure and transportation networks were initiated to boost its profile as the “next great world city” in the twenty-first century.¹⁸³ However, the steadfast drive to advance Shanghai brought international controversy from reports of eighteen thousand Shanghai residents who faced forced demolitions, evictions, and relocations from their homes to pave the way for the Expo site.¹⁸⁴ In addition to the considerable human cost of hosting an Expo, Shanghai residents also expressed public concern over the high financial

¹⁷⁸ “How to Beat Traffic Snarls?” *Shanghai Daily*, April 28, 2010; “Expo Opens in Shanghai – Tough Test for Infrastructure Begins,” *Siemens.com*, April 29, 2010, [http://www.siemens.com/press/en/pressrelease/?press=/en/pressrelease/2010/corporate_communication/axx20100459.htm&content\[\]=CC&content\[\]=Corp](http://www.siemens.com/press/en/pressrelease/?press=/en/pressrelease/2010/corporate_communication/axx20100459.htm&content[]=CC&content[]=Corp)

¹⁷⁹ Lydia Chen, “City's Record-Breaking Expo Turns in a Profit,” *Shanghai Daily*, print edition, October 1, 2011.

¹⁸⁰ “Living the Dream,” *The Economist*, April 29, 2010; “China Opens World Expo 2010 in Shanghai,” BBC News, April 30, 2010; Oliver Wainwright, “Expo 2015: What Does Milan Gain by Hosting This Bloated Global Extravaganza?” *The Guardian*, World section, May 12, 2015.

¹⁸¹ Geoffrey A. Fowler and Stacy Meichtry, “China Counts the Cost of Hosting the Olympics,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Sports section, July 16, 2008.

¹⁸² Branigan, “Shanghai 2010 Expo”; “China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists,” Amnesty International; Wainwright, “Expo 2015”; Chen, “City's Record-Breaking Expo.”

¹⁸³ Adam Minter, “China Rules the World at Expo 2010,” *The Atlantic*, April 29, 2010.

¹⁸⁴ “China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists,” Amnesty International.

costs; historically, one-third of all Expos fail to turn a profit.¹⁸⁵ One year after the Shanghai Expo, domestic media sources reported that it had turned a profit of 1 billion *renminbi* (\$157 million USD), due to the record number of attendees.¹⁸⁶ Whether this is true, however, is questionable, since news reports during the first month of the Expo described millions of free admission tickets being widely distributed by the Chinese government.¹⁸⁷ How much of the reported Expo profits were earned through government incentives is unspecified and largely ignored.

Since the 1990s to the time of the Shanghai Expo and into the present day, China's urban planning philosophy prioritized the economic development of Shanghai to increase the city's global economic participation and position it as a key node in the globalized market.¹⁸⁸ Shanghai no longer needed to create affordable housing for blue-collar workers. It became a "global city," characterized by participation in global affairs and international events such as the 2008 Summer Olympic Games and the Shanghai Expo.¹⁸⁹ Further human cost during such rapid development included increased rent, foreign businesses competing with local investors, and the eviction of residents from neighbourhoods approved for the Shanghai Expo park area (later developed into a cultural and commercial centre, including the World Expo Museum scheduled to open in 2016).¹⁹⁰ As demonstrated by d'Hooghe, the leadership structure and organization of the Shanghai Expo was coordinated between national and local governments to oversee all aspects of the event, including the redevelopment of Shanghai.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Keith B. Richburg, "Disneyland Project in Shanghai Spotlights Forced Evictions in China," *The Washington Post*, Asia/Pacific section, June 19, 2010.

¹⁸⁶ Chen, "City's Record-Breaking Expo."

¹⁸⁷ Moore, "Shanghai Expo Faces £400m Shortfall"; D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 277.

¹⁸⁸ Minter, "China Rules the World at Expo 2010."

¹⁸⁹ Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Global Shanghai, 1850–2010: A History in Fragments* (London: Routledge, 2009), 124.

¹⁹⁰ "2010 Shanghai," BIE, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/expos/past-expos/expo-timeline/2010-shanghai>.

¹⁹¹ D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 259–260. In 2004, the central government established the Shanghai World Expo National Organizing Committee of twenty-nine members to oversee all aspects of hosting the Shanghai Expo. Beijing's high-level involvement included prominent Party officials: Former Vice-Premier Wu Yi (in office 2003 to 2008) had headed the principal committee, and Deputy Directors that included the Mayor of Shanghai, Han Zheng, Chairperson of the China Council for the Promotion of

The tradition of an Expo theme defines the agenda of each expo, and the host country proposes the theme as part of their bidding process. According to the BIE requirements, Expo themes must address a fundamental challenge to humanity that reflects a common, universal concern or interest.¹⁹² A host country invites other countries, companies, international organizations, and the general public to participate in and respond to their theme.¹⁹³ The Shanghai Expo theme “Better City, Better Life” identified the critical subject of urbanization. According to the United Nations more than half of the world’s population had moved into urban centres by the time of the 2010 Shanghai Expo, with another 2.5 billion expected by 2050; 90 percent of the increase in urban populations is concentrated in Asia and Africa.¹⁹⁴ The thematic agenda of the

International Trade (CCPIT) Wan Jifei, Vice-Minister of Commerce, Gao Hucheng, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cui Tiankai, and Deputy Secretary-General of the State Council, Xiang Zhaolun. Other Party officials included major government stakeholders, the Publicity Department of the CCP and the Ministry of Culture. Subsequent local committees, including high-profile Shanghai officials and corporate entities, formed to execute key aspects related to maintaining dialogue with the Beijing’s National Organizing Committee, promoting collaboration with non-state commercial sponsors, and supervising the construction and operations of the Shanghai Expo fairgrounds. The Shanghai World Expo Executive Committee was responsible for direct functions delegated by the National Organizing Committee. Its Director was the Mayor of Shanghai, Han Zheng, and the Executive Director was the Chairperson of the CCPIT, Wan Jifei; both also were members of the National Organizing Committee. Additional members included local Communist Party departments of Shanghai’s Foreign Affairs Office and the Shanghai Economics Commission. Eight departments comprising the Bureau of Shanghai World Expo Coordination were responsible for the daily affairs and operations of the Shanghai Expo. Finally, the Expo General Deputy of the Chinese Government managed direct international liaison with the World Expo organization.

¹⁹² “What is an Expo?,” BIE.

¹⁹³ For instance, recent Expo themes with the most media currency internationally have been the 2010 Shanghai Expo’s “Better City, Better Life,” the 2015 Milan Expo’s “Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life,” and the anticipated 2020 Dubai Expo’s “Connecting Minds, Creating the Future.”

¹⁹⁴ “Overview on Urbanization,” United Nations Population Fund, accessed January 3, 2016, <http://www.unfpa.org/urbanization>; The United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights* (New York: United Nations, 2014), 1, accessed January 3, 2016, <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2014-Highlights.pdf>.

Shanghai Expo worked to address the world's largest wave of urban growth in history by introducing significant social, economic, and environmental transformations. Three countries in particular—India, China, and Nigeria—are projected to account for 37 percent of the world's urban population growth between 2014 and 2050; India is projected to add 404 million urban dwellers, China will add 292 million and Nigeria will add 212 million.¹⁹⁵ In step with this projected growth, the Expo theme “Better City, Better Life” promoted global dialogue on best practices concerning issues of rapid urbanization: limited resources, pollution, economic growth, sustainable green building technologies, improved urban-rural development, and cultural diversity.¹⁹⁶ According to the catalogue “Expo 2010 Shanghai China: China and World Expo,” the Shanghai Expo proposed five subthemes to broaden the Expo's thematic agenda; this allowed both developed and developing countries to share a common language of urbanization, while encouraging countries in different phases of economic development to participate with their expertise in the subthemes.¹⁹⁷

At the close of the event, a record-breaking total of 73,084,400 visitors had attended the Shanghai Expo.¹⁹⁸ According to the *New York Times*, 94 percent of visitors to the Shanghai Expo were domestic nationals that fell within China's great demographic population shift into the

¹⁹⁵ The United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects*, 1.

¹⁹⁶ Dou Ziwen, *China and World Expo*, 132.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* The Shanghai Expo's main thematic agenda was also recognized in five subthemes: “Blending of Diverse Cultures in the City,” “Economic Prosperity in the City,” “Innovations of Science and Technology in the City,” “Remodeling of Communities in the City,” and “Interactions between Urban and Rural Areas.”

¹⁹⁸ This surpassed the previous Expo attendance record of 64 million set by Expo 1970 in Osaka. The 1967 Expo in Montreal had 50 million visitors, but set the record for the highest single-day entry attendance of 569,000 visitors on its third day. The Shanghai Expo nearly doubled this number, with a single-day record of over 1.03 million visitors on October 16, 2010. In the final week, visitor numbers topped the 70 million figure anticipated by the organizers. On October 25, the *Shanghai Daily* reported that at 10:17 a.m. the previous day, the Expo had welcomed visitor number 70,000,001 since the start of the event. The goal-breaking number was relayed across information centre screens that left enthusiastic Expo staff and organizers cheering and taking photographs of the record-breaking visitors. See Zha Minjie, “Expo Tops Own 70m Visitors Estimate,” *Shanghai Daily*, A3 section, print edition. October 25, 2010.

“emerging” middle class in China.¹⁹⁹ State employees and government bureaucrats were ordered to travel to the Expo by bus, train, and plane to help break the campaign goal of 70 million visitors.²⁰⁰ Expo visitors came from every part of China, but in Wang’s estimation most visitors were from urban centres: Shanghai and other urban areas, especially from the nearby Yangtze River delta.²⁰¹ Altogether, Shanghai Expo visitors represented the Chinese middle class to various degrees of rising incomes (fig. 4).



Figure 4. Joanne Hui, *Line-up of visitors with security guards*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

¹⁹⁹ David Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record with 73 Million Visitors,” *New York Times*, Asia Pacific section, New York edition, November 2, 2010.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 53.

1.7 The Public Life of the Shanghai Expo

As set forth by d’Hooghe and Nordin, Shanghai Expo scholars Jian Wang and William Callahan additionally problematize the official discourse of the mega-event by looking to the soft power diplomacy of foreign pavilions, and to the public life surrounding the event to reveal alternative perspectives on the Shanghai Expo.²⁰² Wang, an expert on public diplomacy in China, explores the Expo as a stage for international bodies to improve soft power relations with China and to brand their nations for the domestic audience.²⁰³ Through eight case studies which clarify the role of nation-branding, he discusses the effectiveness of the Expo’s national pavilions in shaping the participant country’s image and providing empirical evidence of the visiting nations to the local public. Through experiential exhibition displays and strategic narratives, each national pavilion shaped how visitors came to view their national representations. Wang conceives the Shanghai Expo as a pedagogical site for nations to engage directly with a massive domestic audience, and for the audience to gain first-hand experience with foreign nations.

The relevance of Wang’s study to my thesis is twofold. First, Wang’s study recognizes multiple relations between several social actors in the formation of the Shanghai Expo experience. These actors included the organizers of the Expo, the domestic audience, and the foreign pavilion participants. Second, Wang’s study identifies the profile of the Expo’s local visitors of having little to no direct prior experience with foreign nations. The Shanghai Expo was the first time that many of the visitor population engaged with foreign cultures by visiting their national pavilions. His study foregrounds the Shanghai Expo’s official exhibition culture of the pavilions; in contrast, my study considers the unofficial experiences of visitors to the Expo’s pavilions, shops, restaurants, and fairgrounds.

William Callahan’s study of public life and the activities surrounding the Shanghai Expo proposes the figure of the citizen intellectual who uses creative practice to critically address the cultural monopoly of harmony at the Shanghai Expo.²⁰⁴ He cites Jia Zhangke (filmmaker), Cai Guo-Qiang (visual artist), and Han Han (novelist/blogger/race car driver) as high-profile artists working in malleable strategies both within and without party-state official expectations, notably

²⁰² Ibid., 6; Callahan, “Shanghai’s Alternative Futures,” 252; Callahan, *China Dreams*, 125.

²⁰³ Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 6.

²⁰⁴ Callahan, “Shanghai’s Alternative Futures,” 252–54; Callahan, *China Dreams*, 125.

of their own choosing and on their own terms, to illustrate alternative experiences of the Expo.²⁰⁵ The alternate voices included Shanghai's diasporic population, China's rural population of inventors, and the Weibo microblogger community.

Jia Zhangke's documentary film *Shanghai Legends (Haishang chuanqi)*, also known in English as *I Wish I Knew*, was screened at the Expo Culture Center ten times a day for one hundred days.²⁰⁶ In storyline, Jia steered away from the Expo's themes of a unified Chinese civilization-state to rather explore Shanghai through a close examination of its people. The outcome is an intimate portrait of a variegated mix of local and global factors that have left messy impacts on the personal histories of the film's subjects. Similarly, Cai Guo-Qiang's contemporary art show *Peasants: Making a Better City, Better Life* (exhibited at Shanghai's Rockbund Art Museum) focused on the activities of people by celebrating the imaginative inventions of China's peasant population.²⁰⁷ The exhibition was on display for the duration of the Shanghai Expo and featured a large collection of industrial inventions made by peasants, including rough-hewn airplanes, submarines, and robots constructed from salvaged scraps and metals. The result was a showcase of a "counter-Expo" exhibition, one that emphasized the technical knowledge and innovations of individuals. This was, according to Cai, a position conspicuously missing from the national and corporate powers connected to the Shanghai Expo.²⁰⁸ Finally, Han Han addressed his followers on topics concerning the Shanghai Expo by regularly posting on his blog *TwoCold*, which has seen half a billion hits since 2006.²⁰⁹ Han posted calculations of the cost of living in Shanghai—including rent, buying a home, food, and gasoline—for a range of household incomes.²¹⁰ Accounting for such bread-and-butter economics helped Han relate the social crisis of China's income inequality to the personal economic crisis of China's netizens. The popularity of his evaluations in cyberspace can be attributed to the fact that they recognize the human cost of China's unchecked economic growth.

²⁰⁵ Callahan, "Shanghai's Alternative Futures," 257–68.

²⁰⁶ Callahan, *China Dreams*, 129.

²⁰⁷ Lee Ambrozy, "Cai Guo-Qiang," *Artforum*, May 3, 2010, <http://artforum.com/words/id=25519>.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Callahan, *China Dreams*, 139.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Callahan makes a case for a creative model of political action that is strategically flexible, serves civil society, and at the same time, can be critical of official government constructions. He then extrapolates from the work of citizen intellectuals to consider the possibilities of a new domestic civil society which practices politicized “small-scale work” in everyday life, in a process of decentring and multiplying China’s official messages. This in turn builds parallel cultures and parallel markets, leading to a parallel society that exists alongside official party-state culture, economy, and society. According to Callahan, the outcome is the creation of a “parallel polis” that in time curtails official structures and allows a fundamentally new society to evolve from below.²¹¹

My study works to interpret the activities of people; however, it does not interpret the Expo’s visitor activities as projects calling for political action, like those described by Callahan. Rather, my case studies document the activities of visitors who worked to save money or make money when they attended the Shanghai Expo event. As such, the case studies identify new social practices at play, drawing from the activities of picnickers, stamp collectors, scalpers, and illegal vendors, all of whom exceeded the Expo’s official constructions and suggest alternative perspectives on national identity and class.

In sum, the Shanghai Expo presents a unique field of inquiry for exploring visitor activities at the intersection of the Expo’s official programs of international diplomacy and nation-branding. A critical analysis of the Shanghai Expo’s visitor activities is crucial at this time to better understand how certain social practices—which later became part of its visual culture—contributed to the popular identity of the mega-event. Chapter 2 addresses how the branding of China’s national image was central at the Shanghai Expo, shaping the future of the country’s contemporary global relations.

²¹¹ Callahan, “Shanghai’s Alternative Futures,” 253.

CHAPTER TWO

New China on the Fairgrounds: Anticipating the Middle Class in China

This chapter builds on the work of the previous chapter by further examining the global role of World Expos in connection to China and specifically the host city of Shanghai. Chapter 2 considers how the Shanghai Expo has been different from previous International Expositions by elaborating on its larger socio-economic conditions, fairground structures, official programs, and visitor populations. These profiles lead to the introduction of China's middle-class phenomenon as it plays an integral part in the analysis of visitor activities, as well as the Expo's official narratives of national unity, rising incomes, and class stability. Overall, this chapter establishes the research contexts of the Shanghai Expo as relevant for the study of visitor activities documented in *Expo Daily*.

2.1 The Context: New China and the Shanghai Expo

There are two key research contexts within which my project is situated. The first relates to the global conditions from which New China emerged and the fundamental conditions of a “capitalism with socialist characteristics” that defines New China and its government policies for a “Harmonious Socialist Society” to guide reforms in economic growth, social organization, and foreign policy. The second context concerns the physical area and official programs of the Shanghai Expo.

“Harmonious world” continues to be important because it carried forward into China's current foreign policy administration, the residing presidency of Xi Jinping (in office since 2013).²¹² As noted previously, the concept of harmony continues to be discussed by Chinese

²¹² “China's 12th Five-Year Plan: Overview.” KPMG China, accessed May 24, 2015, <http://www.kpmg.com/CN/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Publicationseries/5-years-plan/Documents/China-12th-Five-Year-Plan-Overview-201104.pdf>.

commentators and academics²¹³ to describe the integration of Beijing's foreign policy into China's domestic politics to shape a sinocentric world view that is also post-American.²¹⁴ Aspects of New China and post-Americanism (and not post-British or post-Russian, for example) are brought together in most discussions of "harmonious world" due to comparisons described between the two nations in Hu Jintao's UN speech in 2005. Hu drew a clear distinction between a world weary of US unilateralism and China's non-combative foreign policy supporting multilateralism, international law, and the United Nations, describing a New China appealing to peaceful global relations.²¹⁵ Additionally, Zakaria historically situates New China entering the global marketplace as the result of the success of the US in promoting free market capitalism and the globalization of democracy.²¹⁶ He first describes a power shift to the US because of its strong democracy and capitalist market, followed by the dispersal of its power to several other countries in an era of economic growth (1950s), empowering new players to become global powers, with China becoming the second most powerful nation.²¹⁷

Mignolo uses the term dewesternization to describe this global shift which includes the emergence of several different kinds of capitalism.²¹⁸ He identified New China's "capitalism with socialist characteristics" as arising from the development of a State capitalist economy, but which was no longer moving on a communist horizon and instead participating in the global

²¹³ According to Callahan, after Hu's speech at the UN, the CCP's official newspaper *The People's Daily* published interviews with three public intellectuals—Wang Yizhou (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Jin Canrong (Renmin University), and Men Honghua (Central Party School)—to explain the concept of "harmonious world" to the general public. Callahan posits that intellectuals in China take harmonious world seriously, and support official policy and policy alternatives in a relatively open discourse ranging from official, unofficial, and quasi-official theories, concepts, and grand strategies. See Callahan, *China Dreams*, 51–52.

²¹⁴ Callahan, 51; Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, 1–5.

²¹⁵ The American unilateralism Hu referred to in his speech was that of George W. Bush's interventionist Western-style policy that demanded reforms in other countries, specifically Iraq. Callahan, *China Dreams*, 49.

²¹⁶ Zakaria, *The Post-American World*, 2–4.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

²¹⁸ Mignolo, "The Prospect of Harmony and the Decolonial View of the World."

economy.²¹⁹ Mignolo argues that New China has increasing authority in international priorities and presents a competitor to US and European influence over institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the UN in global decision-making.²²⁰ For instance, in hosting the Shanghai Expo, China was able to manifest their world view of “harmonious world” onto the global community. Social-cultural historian Christopher J. Lee cautions, however, that New China can be a form of sinocentrism that is no better than the US or Eurocentrism, as it works to impose a centralized set of Confucian ideals of practicality, ethics, and rationalism within economic priorities that can be interpreted as a distinct form of sub-imperialism pressed by China on global politics.²²¹

As part of the formalization of New China, in the month following the close of the Shanghai Expo (November 2010) ten million census workers carried out China’s first national population census since 2000.²²² By April 2011 the National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China released a population total of 1,339,724,852 billion people residing within mainland China.²²³ Additional goals of the national census, according to the *Globe and Mail*, included getting an accurate picture of China’s aging population, increased income gap, and rural-urban migration of households. According to the census report, many of these issues are interconnected and have changed dramatically since the last census records.²²⁴ For instance, the social problems of migrant workers in urban centres far from their families are a direct

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Christopher J. Lee, “Introduction, Between a Moment and an Era: The Origins and Afterlives of Bandung,” in *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 6–7.

²²² Mark MacKinnon, “China Undertakes First National Census in 10 Years,” *The Globe and Mail*, World section, October 31, 2010; Carl Haub, “China Releases First 2010 Census Results,” *Population Reference Bureau*, accessed January 21, 2016, <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2011/china-census-results.aspx>.

²²³ People’s Republic of China, National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (No.1), 2010 Census, April 28, 2011; People’s Republic of China, National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (No.2), 2010 Census, April 29, 2011.

²²⁴ Ibid.; MacKinnon, “China Undertakes First National Census in 10 Years.”

consequence of the regional and rural/urban income gap.²²⁵ The rural/urban income gap impacts health and education inequality, because unregistered migrant workers do not have access to hospital care and schools outside their birthplace.²²⁶ Meanwhile, a large aging population relies mainly on support from their children as a consequence of degraded national and local government support, and social services are not widely available (fig. 1).²²⁷ The results of the 2010 census reported on low birth rates of approximately 1.5 children per household, which will have profound changes to China's pattern of aging, a process that will accelerate in the coming years.²²⁸ The census also reported a population with rising education levels moving from rural regions to urban centres, where job opportunities have increased.²²⁹

²²⁵ Shannon Tiezzi, "Report: China's 1 Percent Owns 1/3 of Wealth," *The Diplomat*, China Power section, January 15, 2016.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (Nos. 1 and 2) April 28–29, 2011.

²²⁹ Ibid.



Figure 1. Joanne Hui, *Mother with child at the Shanghai Expo*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

According to political scientist Jeffrey Winters, China is one of a small number of countries—Russia is the other notable example—where extreme wealth stratification was eliminated in a Communist revolution and then later re-emerged.²³⁰ For instance, China’s income inequality has been on the rise since the country embarked on its “reform and opening-up” process in 1979. In 1980, China’s income distribution pattern was described as egalitarian, with a Gini coefficient of 0.3 for rural to urban inequality.²³¹ As described in the key terms, the Gini coefficient measures inequality on a scale of 0 (perfectly equal) to 1 (perfectly unequal).²³² As of 2001, China’s National Bureau of Statistics stopped releasing Gini coefficients, saying that income data for wealthy households was incomplete.²³³ The last data the bureau published was 0.412 for 2000.²³⁴ An external study published by the US Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS) estimated that China’s Gini coefficient increased from 0.3 to 0.55 between 1980 and 2012.²³⁵

Additional economics studies cite several Chinese policy issues that have contributed to China’s income inequality, including a heavy-industry-oriented development strategy that promoted industrial growth within cities at the expense of development in China’s agriculture sector. This created a large urban-rural income gap that was further widened during the reform period by a succession of urban-biased fiscal and monetary policies.²³⁶ Second, an uneven sectoral and regional development policy created large income inequality among provinces in China, with residents and municipalities along the east coast allocated higher development investments and direct foreign investments, resulting in higher incomes for residents in cities than

²³⁰ Jeffrey Winters, *Oligarchy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 278.

²³¹ “Income Inequality Now Greater in China Than in US,” *Michigan News*.

²³² Gini Index, “Data,” The World Bank website.

²³³ Shen Hu, “China’s Gini Index at 0.61, University Report Says,” *Caixin Finance & Economics*, October 12, 2012, <http://english.caixin.com/2012-12-10/100470648.html>.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ Xie and Zhou, “Income Inequality in Today’s China,” 6928–6933.

²³⁶ Fuzhi Cheng, “Case Study #5-2: Income Disparity in China and Its Policy Implications,” in *Food Policy for Developing Countries: The Role of Government in the Global Food System: Case Studies*, ed. by Per Pinstrup-Andersen and Fuzhi Cheng (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), 1–6; Li Gan, “Income Inequality,” 2–3; John Knight, “Inequality in China: An Overview,” (Policy Research Working Paper 6482, The World Bank, 2013), 7–10.

those in inland provinces. The outcome of this concentrated coastal development—prioritized during the economic reform period for its proximity to foreign markets such as Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan—contributed to the rise of regional inequality among Chinese provinces.²³⁷

In addition to regional inequality, the reform of China's state-owned enterprises (SOEs) brought problems related to social security that further exacerbated income distribution in both urban and rural areas.²³⁸ According to Fuzhi Cheng, a Virginia Tech research fellow in economics, before the reform SOEs relied on state funding to provide social security to employees and their families.²³⁹ As the reform progressed, the responsibility for providing social security shifted to SOEs, creating a burden for these enterprises that were not able to keep pace with the timely payment of pension benefits to some retirees.²⁴⁰ As a result, the widening income gap between pensioners and others in the cities increased. Moreover, in the years leading up to the 2010 Shanghai Expo, the issue of unpaid wage arrears and a minimum wage freeze by the central government in Beijing in the wake of the 2008 global economic crisis further aggravated the political and economic factors contributing to China's income inequality.²⁴¹

Finally, urban and rural residents experience income inequality among themselves; this is because of China's *hukou* household registration system that restricts where people can live and work. According to the *Globe and Mail*, over the past three decades hundreds of millions of China's rural population have moved to the cities in search of work despite restrictions on labour mobility.²⁴² This population has been described as the migrant workers of China; they are registered to the towns and villages of their birth, but they work and live in the cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. All migrant workers live in violation of the *hukou* system; they have no access to public services outside their registered hometowns and are subject to

²³⁷ Cheng, "Case Study #5-2," 6–7; Li Gan, "Income Inequality," 5–7; Knight, "Inequality in China: An Overview," 10–13.

²³⁸ Cheng, "Case Study #5-2," 7–8.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ "Wages and Employment," *China Labour Bulletin*, August 4, 2015. Accessed September 17, 2016. <http://gb.clb.org.hk/en/content/wages-china>.

²⁴² MacKinnon, "China Undertakes First National Census in 10 Years."

government fines if caught.²⁴³ Including their families,²⁴⁴ their numbers range from 130 million to more than 200 million.²⁴⁵ The result is an urban sector with a competitive pool of undocumented labour, and a populous rural agricultural sector with a high number of surplus workers only able to receive subsistence incomes as the result of restrictions on labour migration.²⁴⁶

Returning to the 2010 census, the latest report confirmed the increase of rural to urban migration, with over 20 percent of the population having lived in a different place in the six months before the census had begun, resulting in an urban population of over 50 percent in 2010.²⁴⁷ In part, the 2010 census described the world's largest rural to urban peacetime migration,²⁴⁸ confirming the importance of urbanization for developing countries and the thematic agenda of the Shanghai Expo's "Better City, Better Life." The outcome of the census report would go on to assist the Chinese government in revising national policies on economic development, social security, pension programs, and the continued management of the *hukou* household registration system. In effect, the rural-urban migration in China's population provided the larger socio-economic conditions framing the Shanghai Expo event.

As such, the Shanghai Expo provided a platform for the Chinese government's foreign policy agendas to address international concerns over its unchecked economic growth, increasing income gap, and rapid urbanization. While these issues were tackled by the Expo's thematic agenda, the same forces may have also provoked the phenomenon of certain visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo, exposing the darker side of China's capitalism and authoritarian government.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. Mackinnon also reports that many migrant workers had second or third children in violation of China's former one-child policy from 1978 to 2015, when it started to be phased out officially. Most of the children are unregistered, leaving them without the required documentation to attend school.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Cheng, "Case Study #5-27"; Knight, "Inequality in China: An Overview," 13–19.

²⁴⁷ National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (Nos. 1 and 2) April 28–29, 2011.

²⁴⁸ MacKinnon, "China Undertakes First National Census in 10 Years."

Navigating the Shanghai Expo fairgrounds had the highest impact on the visitor experience; it showcased over seventy exhibition pavilions in spectacular architectural feats and immersive interior environments. According to *Expo Daily*, the most scenic entrance to the fairgrounds was by ferry across the Huangpu River to the M2 Water Gate leading to the main elevated pedestrian walkway bisecting the fairgrounds, the Expo Axis. From the water and the raised viewpoint of the Expo Axis, visitors took in the Expo's impressive structures: the saucer-shaped Expo Cultural Center, the China Pavilion, and the smaller national pavilions of Japan, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia. Visitors were also able to compare the disproportionately larger China Pavilion, situated on a plot of 160,000 square metres. The other exhibitors were allotted much smaller plots,²⁴⁹ with an average pavilion site in the range of 1,000 to 6,000 square metres.²⁵⁰ The pavilions belonging to Hong Kong, the Philippines, Luxembourg, and Pakistan had plots of 2,000 square metres, whereas Italy, Canada, Japan, the United Arab Emirates, Germany, China Mobile, and the Shanghai Corporate Pavilion's "Dream Cube" had sites over 6,000 square metres.²⁵¹ As such, the considerably bigger China Pavilion delivered the message of China's dominance over international and corporate participants.

As described previously, the Shanghai Expo was the largest World Expo site ever, covering 5.28 square kilometres.²⁵² On average, a healthy person takes ten minutes to walk one kilometre.²⁵³ At the Expo, a visitor walking the fairgrounds from one end to the other at a moderate pace would require close to an hour. As such, this measure of walking distance provides a sense of the sheer size of the grounds.

²⁴⁹ "China Pavilion Shanghai Expo 2010," Designboom, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.designboom.com/architecture/china-pavilion-shanghai-expo-2010>.

²⁵⁰ Bureau of Shanghai World Expo Coordination, *EXPO 2010 Shanghai China Official Album* (Shanghai: China Publishing Group Corporation, 2010); "The Dream Cube Shanghai Expo," e-architect, May 1, 2010, accessed July 3, 2016, <http://www.e-architect.co.uk/shanghai/dream-cube-shanghai-expo>; "Visitor Experience at Shanghai Expo's Information and Communications Pavilion Marks New Industry Standard," PR Newswire, October 27, 2010.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² "2010 Shanghai," Expo Museum, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.expomuseum.com/2010>.

²⁵³ "Miles and Kilometers - How Far Is That?" Very Well, accessed June 30, 2016, <https://www.verywell.com/miles-and-kilometers-how-far-is-that-3435412>.

Categories of pavilions included the national pavilions, themed pavilions, corporate pavilions, and NGO pavilions. These pavilions were organized across five zones, with Zones A, B, and C situated on the eastern Pudong side and Zones D and E on the western Puxi side, also known as the Bund (fig. 2).

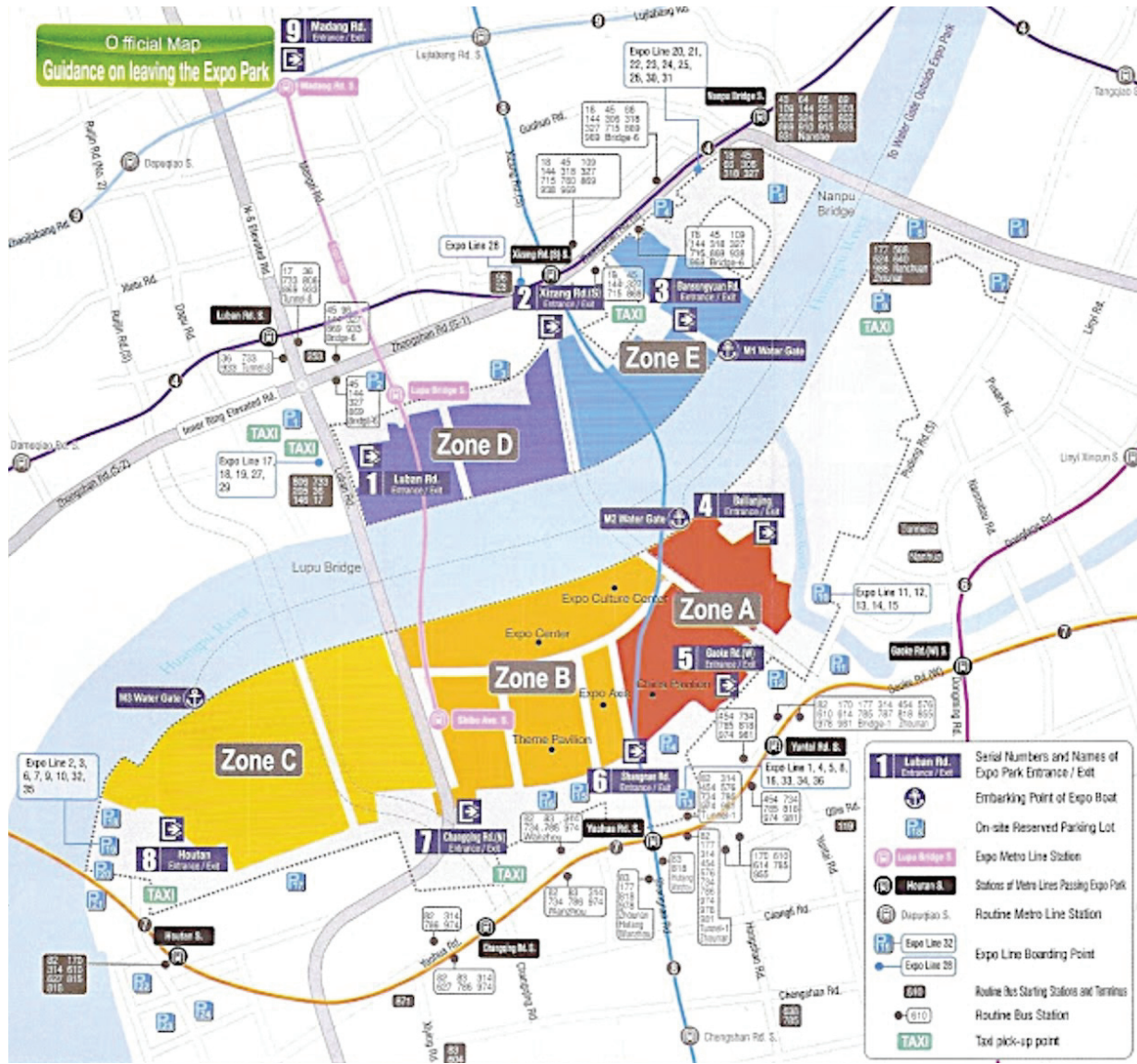


Figure 2. Official map of the Shanghai Expo's five park zones. Zones A, B, and C are located on the Pudong side, while Zone D and E are on the Puxi side (the Bund) of Shanghai.

The majority of pavilions were independent structures set in the grid of the Expo's visitor sidewalks, walkways, green parks, open squares, and other visitor service spaces. The complement of public spaces allowed more sunlight and sky to frame the Expo's pavilions. These aspects created an atmosphere of openness on the fairgrounds, in contrast to the ancient and densely packed streets of Old Shanghai, just minutes across the Huangpu River. In addition, to improve visitor's flow across the fairgrounds, sixty-one zero-emission Expo buses and the Expo Boulevard Line were provided to increase visitor circulation.²⁵⁴ The Boulevard route hugged the Huangpu River waterfront on the Pudong side; travelling along it gave visitors a sweeping view of the top international exhibitors, including the Japan, Republic of South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Spain, France, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Italy, and Africa Joint Pavilions. The end result was the model of a pedestrian-friendly future city with low-pollution urban infrastructures.

Most notably, Zone A featured the China Pavilion and its provinces, flanked by the Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau pavilions, and other Asian and Middle Eastern pavilions. Christened the "Crown of the East," the China Pavilion looked like an inverted red pyramid and was nearly three times taller than all the other pavilions on site, standing sixty-nine metres in height. According to its architect, 72-year-old He Jingtang,²⁵⁵ the China pavilion is based on an ancient architectural element, the *dougong*, an integral interlocking bracket used to join pillars and columns to the frame of the roof. He also expressed his desire for this iconic shape to symbolize "the spirit of the Chinese people against the background of a rising nation" (fig. 3).²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ "Exhibitions and Events," Sunwin, accessed July 1, 2016, http://www.sunwinbus.com/Global_Market/exhibitons_events_detail.html.

²⁵⁵ He Jingtang was named a Chief Senior Architect registered by the Chinese government. Prior to the China Pavilion (regarded as his most prominent work) he designed the wrestling and badminton venues for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and several campus buildings at Wuhan Water Resource University and Zhejiang University. His museum designs include the Opium War Memorial Hall in Humen, the Western Han Nanyue King Museum, Shenzhen Science Museum, and an expansion to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. "He Jingtang," South China University of Technology, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://en.scut.edu.cn/detail.jsp?id=1513>.

²⁵⁶ Minter, "China Rules the World at Expo 2010."

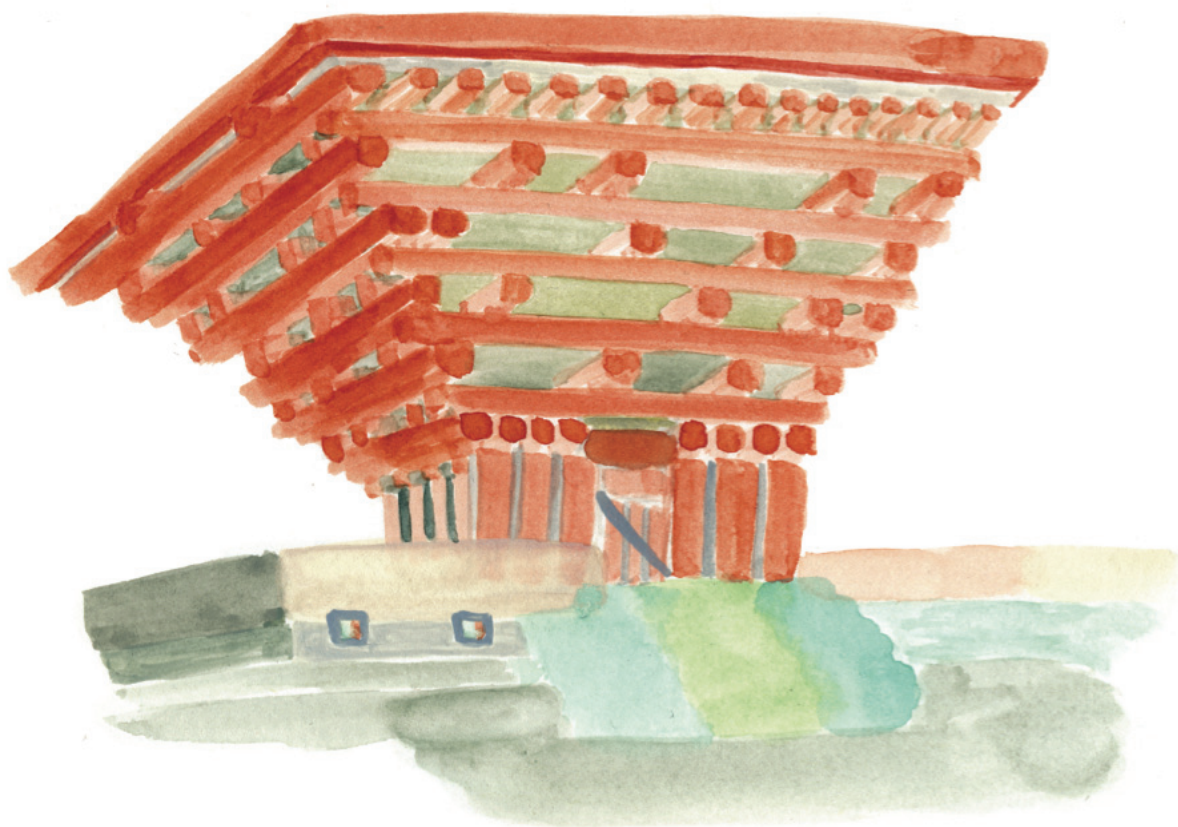


Figure 3. Joanne Hui, *The China Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

The China Pavilion's theme, "Chinese Wisdom in Urban Development," was presented in three parts highlighted by multimedia cinema experiences, exhibits, and a theme park ride featuring China's past, present, and future looking towards a rebalanced harmonious society.²⁵⁷ Upon entrance, visitors dramatically ascended a giant escalator to the uppermost level housing the main exhibition items before working their way down the pavilion to subsequent displays.

The first exhibition featured "The Story of Spring" in two seven-minute movies, *The Road to our Beautiful Life* directed by Lu Chuan and *Harmonious China* directed by Zheng Dasheng, projected on multiple screens.²⁵⁸ The films described the social and urban impact of China's economic transformation during the thirty years since Deng Xiaoping's reform and campaign of openness in 1978.²⁵⁹ They explained how China's quick development was the result of the vitality and persistence of their people wrought by fruitful dialogue between couplets of the old and the young, the past and the future, traditional wisdom and scientific innovation, and the countryside and the city.²⁶⁰

In the film *Harmonious China*, Dasheng integrated three quotations from Confucius with the themes of change, diversity, and the future in China.²⁶¹ The opening scenes show the film's title laid down by Chinese calligraphy brushstrokes that transition into a nightscape of Shanghai's Pudong skyline. The Confucian quote "What passes away is, perhaps, like this. Day and night it never lets up" mediates the skyline before the scene changes into a living room of an average city family, flanked by archived images of urban life from the 1970s to the present day.²⁶² In successive sequence, the family ages alongside a domestic interior narrative of increased consumer ownership of a television, personal computers, and finally a private residence. The next

²⁵⁷ The three parts of the China Pavilion displays include "The Footprints," "The Dialogue," and "The Vision." "China Pavilion," Shanghai Expo Online, accessed April 2, 2016, <http://pavilion.expo.cn/z0001/ssize/explainchinavenue/index.html>.

²⁵⁸ "The Footprints – Story of Spring," Shanghai Expo Online, accessed April 2, 2016. The theatre contained three folded screens (22 metres long and 7.5 metres tall) as well as a dome screen with a span of 24 metres, and accommodated 700 viewers.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

quote, “The gentleman agrees with others without being an echo,” is overlaid on a panoramic scene of Beijing from Jingshan Park. Beijing is then showcased through the storyline of a lavish white wedding of a young deaf woman and her groom. The ceremony is cut between images of China’s new high-speed rail, airport facilities, the 2008 Olympic Games, internationally recognized architectural buildings, and images from a Beijing opera performance. The last quote, “Follow my heart's desire without overstepping the line,” underscores the future decades represented by a pollution-free lakeside scene in Chinese painting that breaks out of its cinematic frame into a flock of birds migrating across the theatre’s domed screen.²⁶³ The overall message of the film is the promotion of a harmonious society through numerous Confucian aphorisms that value tradition and the family.

The next exhibits—*Footprint*, *Dialogue*, and *Actions*—led visitors through the nation’s ideas on the evolution of cities. Ancient elements of urban planning, such as bridge design, *dougong* construction, and traditional courtyards were presented to build appreciation of Chinese design. According to the *Shanghai Daily*, the biggest attraction was a 128-metre-long animated projection of a celebrated national painting, “Along the River during the Qingming Festival,” painted during the Song Dynasty (960–1279). The high-tech animation showed how the early painting continues to be relevant today, exploring concepts of a cordial social sphere in the city. The projection features seven hundred people and animals as they move about and engage in different activities, such as trading, performing magic, worshipping, and travelling.²⁶⁴ Additional displays showcased a low-carbon lifestyle that would significantly shape the future of China’s cities. This included zero-carbon concept vehicles, solar energy systems, and a facility that turns algae into fuel.²⁶⁵

Zone B hosted a number of themed pavilions connected to the mandate of the China Pavilion, including the Urbanian Pavilion, the Pavilion of City Being, and the Pavilion of Urban Planet. It also hosted a few other Asian pavilions, the pavilions of Oceanic nations, and a number of pavilions hosted by international organizations, such as the ASEAN pavilion and the WWF pavilion. Zone C was the most popular with Expo visitors because it included many eye-catching pavilions from European, American, and African nations.

²⁶³ “The Footprints – Story of Spring,” Shanghai Expo Online.

²⁶⁴ “China Pavilion,” Shanghai Expo Online.

²⁶⁵ Yang Jian, “Queuing Before Sunrise for the Crown of the East,” *Shanghai Daily*, September 30, 2010.

The structures of Zone C’s pavilions were highly original designs described as “architectural wonders” little seen in the world, let alone by the visitors of the Shanghai Expo.²⁶⁶ During a visit to the fairgrounds, architectural enthusiasts were able to see firsthand a high number of pavilions designed by the world’s top architectural firms, including Heatherwick Studio for the United Kingdom pavilion, Foster + Partners for the United Arab Emirates pavilion, and BIG for the Denmark pavilion.²⁶⁷ The pavilions were conceived as structures to be experienced in the round; they were spectacularly attractive in three dimensions, and much unlike the tightly packed pavilion façades of the more recent Expo Milano 2015.²⁶⁸

The diversity of building design inspired the Expo’s visitors—regardless of their class—to fully appreciate the combination of formal beauty and innovation in green building technologies. For instance, the 24-metre-high Japan Pavilion received public accolades for its popular appearance, giving it the nickname of *zi can dao* or “purple silkworm island” for its colour and shape (fig. 4).²⁶⁹ At the same time, the pavilion demonstrated advances in lightweight construction, with a tubular metal support system wrapped in a purple membrane with integrated solar cells.²⁷⁰ In addition to generating its own solar power, the pavilion also featured natural ventilation and energy-efficient cooling technologies.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ Seamus Payne, “10 Architectural Wonders of Expo 2010 Shanghai,” TheCoolist, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.thecoolist.com/shanghai-expo-pavilions-the-ten-architectural-wonders>.

²⁶⁷ Sebastian Jordana, “UK Pavilion for Shanghai World Expo 2010 / Heatherwick Studio,” ArchDaily, May 3, 2010, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/58591/uk-pavilion-for-shanghai-world-expo-2010-heatherwick-studio>; “UAE Pavilion Shanghai Expo 2010: Shanghai, China 2008 – 2010,” Foster + Partners, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.fosterandpartners.com/projects/uae-pavilion-shanghai-expo-2010>; “Denmark Pavilion, Shanghai Expo 2010 / BIG,” ArchDaily, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/57922/denmark-pavilion-shanghai-expo-2010-big>.

²⁶⁸ “Review the Experience of the Universal Exposition,” Expo Milano 2015, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.expo2015.org/en/rivivi-expo>.

²⁶⁹ “Japanese Pavilion at Shanghai Expo 2010,” Designboom, December 17, 2009, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://www.designboom.com/architecture/japanese-pavilion-at-shanghai-expo-2010>.

²⁷⁰ “Japan Pavilion is a Solar Energy Generating ‘Purple Silkworm Island’,” Inhabitat, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://inhabitat.com/japan-pavilion-is-a-solar-energy-generating-purple-silkworm-island>.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

Among a high number of pavilion structures, a variety of exterior architectural skins were prominently featured for their innovations in conceptual and technological designs. For instance, the Switzerland Pavilion featured an interactive and intelligent façade made from a curtain of woven aluminum (fig. 5).²⁷² Red discs of LED lights organically dotted the curtain; each disc held its own stored energy source, producing visible flashes of light triggered by surrounding activities such as other light discs and camera flashes. The South Korean Pavilion was composed of the twenty basic letters of the Korean alphabet enlarged in an amalgamation of “sign” and “space” so that each simultaneously became the other (fig. 6).²⁷³ The Chile Pavilion constructed an undulating wave of translucent glass fabricated from 65 percent recycled broken glass (fig. 7).²⁷⁴ Finally, the Spanish Pavilion was nicknamed “the basket” for its use of eight thousand handwoven wicker panels as the exterior walls (fig. 8).²⁷⁵ The appendix includes many more illustrations of the Shanghai Expo’s pavilion structures.

²⁷² “Swiss Pavilion at Shanghai Expo 2010 by Buchner Bründler Architects,” *Dezeen Magazine*, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.dezeen.com/2010/05/01/swiss-pavilion-at-shanghai-expo-2010-by-buchner-brundler-architects>.

²⁷³ Sebastian Jordana, “Korean Pavilion for Shanghai Expo 2010 / Mass Studies,” *ArchDaily*, April 15, 2009, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/19749/korean-pavillion-for-shanghai-expo-2010-mass-studies>.

²⁷⁴ “Pabellón Expo Shanghai (2010),” Sabbagh arquitectos, accessed July 1, 2016, http://www.sabbagarquitectos.cl/?page_id=373.

²⁷⁵ “Spanish Pavilion at Shanghai Expo 2010 by EMBT,” *Dezeen Magazine*, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.dezeen.com/2010/04/26/spanish-pavilion-at-shanghai-expo-2010-by-embt>.

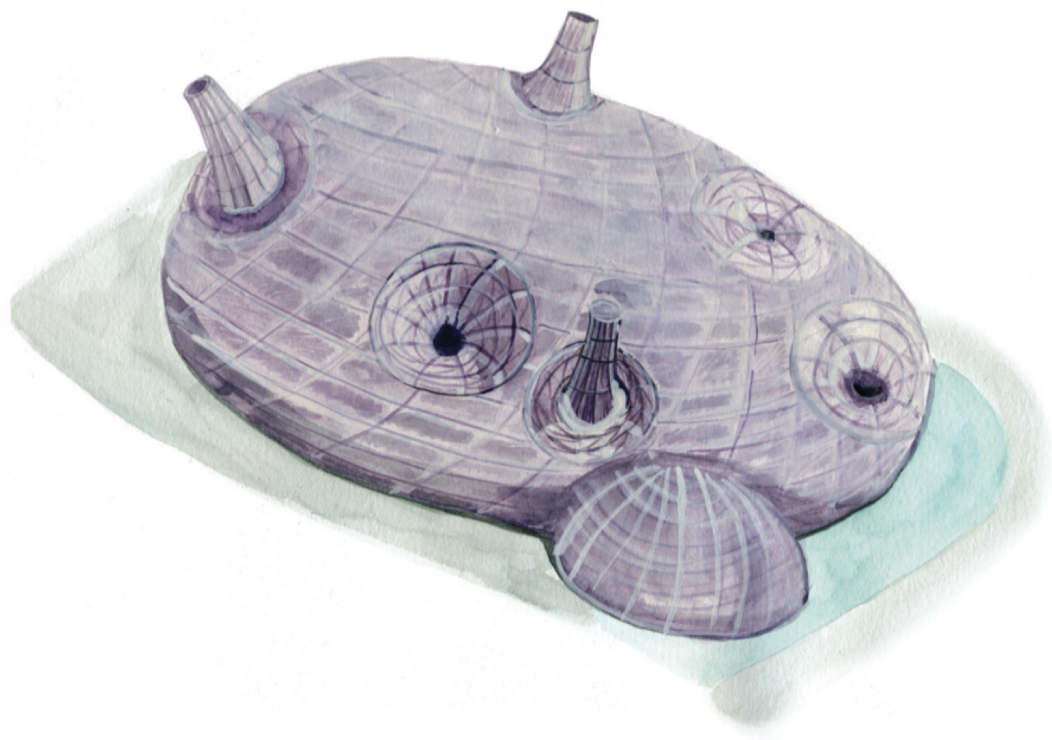


Figure 4. Joanne Hui, *The Japan Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

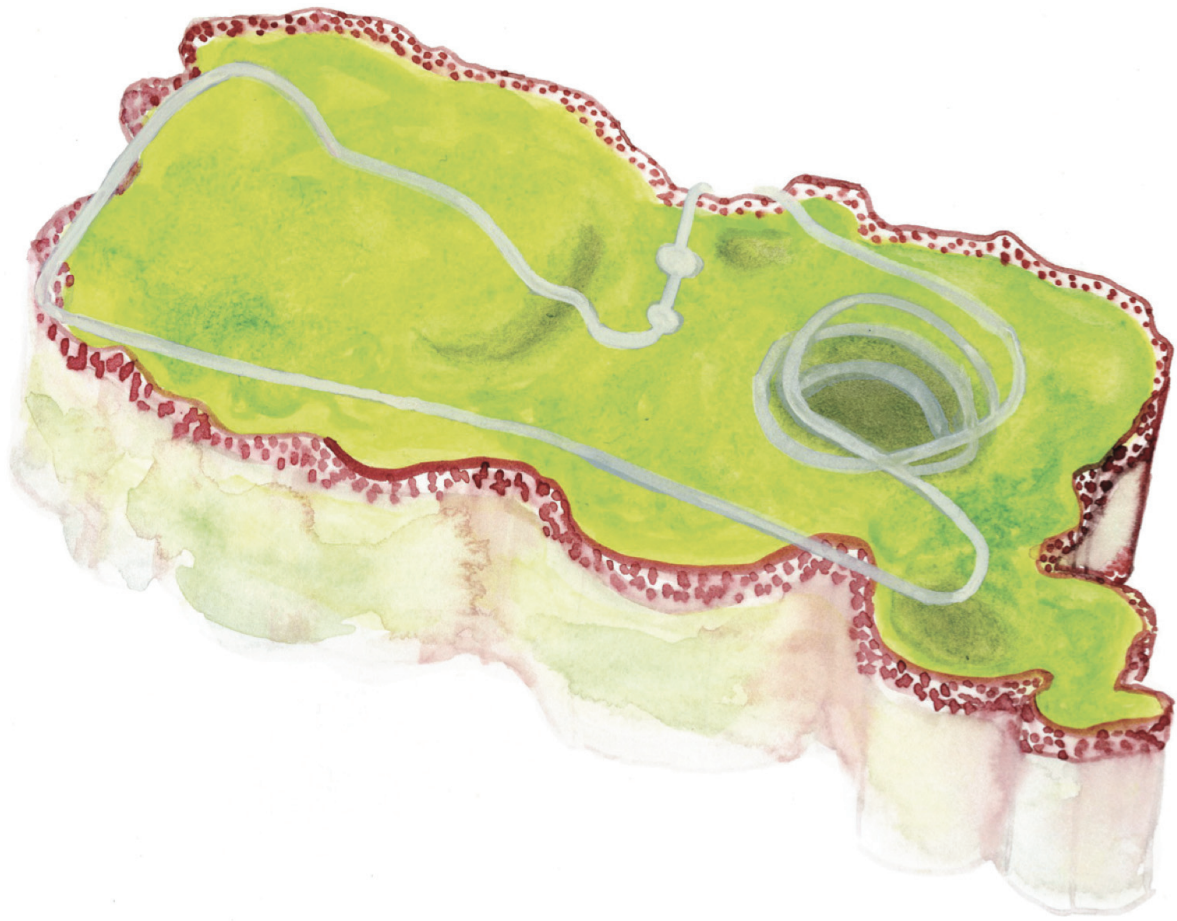


Figure 5. Joanne Hui, *The Switzerland Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 6. Joanne Hui, *The Republic of Korea Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

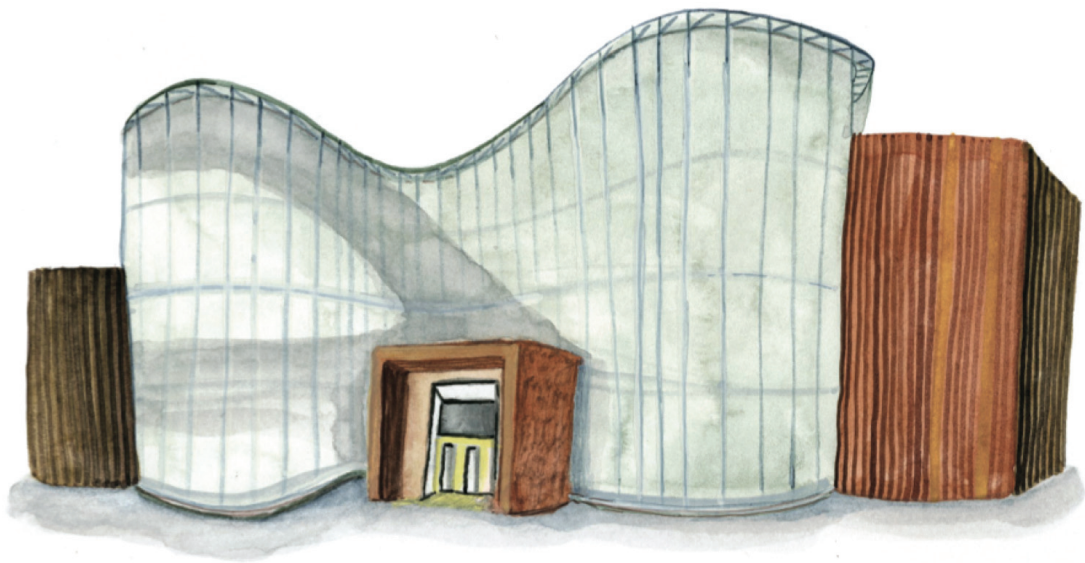


Figure 7. Joanne Hui, *The Chile Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 8. Joanne Hui, *The Spain Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

Many national pavilions also featured one-of-a-kind building forms and world-class national treasures, making the visitor experience of the Shanghai Expo a singular event. For example, the Macau Pavilion took inspiration from ancient rabbit lanterns popularized in southern China (fig. 9).²⁷⁶ A double-layered glass membrane, fluorescent screens, and two bobbing kinetic balloons formed the head and tail of the rabbit, which covered the structure. The British Pavilion was shaped like a dandelion that shimmered at night using more than sixty thousand transparent acrylic rods that encased seeds of different plants donated by the Millennium Seed Bank Project, an international conservation project launched by the Royal Botanic Gardens (fig. 10).²⁷⁷ The Netherland Pavilion was named “Happy Street” and featured a 400-metre-long pedestrian walkway and small buildings all on stilts (fig. 11). On the grounds below was an expanse of green Astroturf peppered with hundreds of different life-sized fiberglass sheep designed to function as seating for the visitors of the Dutch Pavilion.²⁷⁸ The Denmark Pavilion was structured as a double spiral made from cycling ramps and invited visitors to ride available bicycles up 12-metre ramps (fig. 12). The pavilion also housed the iconic bronze *Little Mermaid* statue, marking the first time the sculpture has ever left its home by the Copenhagen harbour to be displayed abroad.²⁷⁹ The France and Mexico Pavilions also featured world-renowned artwork. The France Pavilion featured six works on loan from the Musée d'Orsay, including paintings by Paul Cézanne, Jean-François Millet, Édouard Manet, Vincent van Gogh, and Paul Gauguin, as well as Auguste Rodin's sculpture “The Age of Bronze.”²⁸⁰ The Mexico Pavilion exhibited Frida Kahlo's painting “Self-Portrait with Monkey.”²⁸¹ Altogether, the high

²⁷⁶ Sebastian Jordana, “Macau Pavilion for Shanghai Expo 2010 / Carlos Marreiros,” ArchDaily, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/21120/macau-pavillion-for-shanghai-expo-2010-carlos-marreiros>.

²⁷⁷ “UK Pavilion Shanghai Expo 2010,” Heatherwick Studio, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://www.heatherwick.com/uk-pavilion>.

²⁷⁸ “Happy Sheep,” Zones Urbaines Sensibles, http://www.zus.cc/work/things/074_Happy-Sheep.php. The Dutch firm Zones Urbaines Sensibles (ZUS) had designed the sheep model in family units of ewe, ram, and lamb; they provided seating for the visitors of the Dutch pavilion.

²⁷⁹ “Danish Pavilion at Shanghai Expo 2010 by BIG,” *Dezeen Magazine*.

²⁸⁰ Xinhuanet, “French Masterpieces to Be Unpacked for Shanghai World Expo,” Cultural China website, accessed July 1, 2016, <http://news.cultural-china.com/20100409164833.html>.

²⁸¹ Tang Zhihao, “An Artistic Journey in Mexico Pavilion,” *China Daily*, May 14, 2010.

financial investments of both the Expo's organizers and its exhibitors contributed to an unmatched spectacle of pavilions that were beautiful in form, first-rate in cultural diplomacy, and cutting edge in sustainable building practices and materials.



Figure 9. Joanne Hui, *The Macau Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

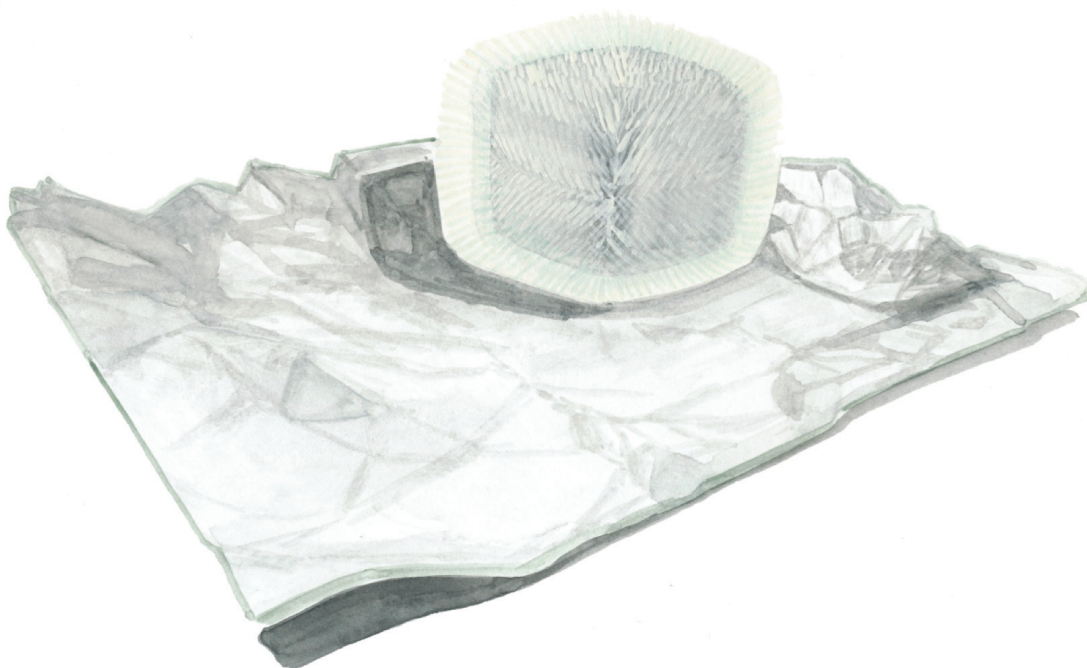


Figure 10. Joanne Hui, *The United Kingdom Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 11. Joanne Hui, *The Netherland Pavilion*, 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 12. Joanne Hui, *The Denmark Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

Corporate, city, and themed pavilions were located in Zones D and E. Zone D included the Urban Footprint Pavilion, while Zone E featured the Urban Best Practices Area (UBPA). Both zones featured corporate pavilions of global brands such as Coca-Cola, Cisco, GM, Siemens, and China's state-owned companies China Railway and the China State Shipbuilding Corporation. NGOs such as the Red Cross, the United Nations, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) were also located in Zones D and E. The inclusion of corporations, international organizations, NGOs, and city participants reflects increased globalization of the World Expo as a platform for entities other than nations to assert their stake in the world's global future.

Altogether 246 official exhibitors participated in the Shanghai Expo, including 190 countries and fifty-six international organizations.²⁸² In the history of International Expositions, the Shanghai Expo had the highest number of participants, and more than half of the exhibitors constructed their own stand-alone pavilions.²⁸³ Official participants who could not afford their own pavilion received funds from a budgeted \$100 million from the Chinese government to assist countries—particularly developing nations—with their exhibition design and operations.²⁸⁴ This high amount of funding is atypical of host countries. However, in the early stages of bidding, the Shanghai Bid Committee emphasized in its proposal and publicity that China would be the first developing country to host a World Expo, and it was from this unique position that the Shanghai Expo would inspire other developing countries in urban development and the organization of their own mega-events.²⁸⁵ According to d'Hooghe, China promised to provide developing countries aspiring to participate in the Expo with aid in the form of rental, design, and the construction of joint exhibition halls, transportation of exhibition material, and staff for the event.²⁸⁶ Most of these nations set up their exhibits in large joint pavilions built by the Expo organizers.²⁸⁷ For instance, the Africa Joint Pavilion included forty-two African nations, and the Pacific Pavilion housed the exhibitions of fifteen Pacific Island nations such as French Polynesia,

²⁸² Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 51.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 52.

²⁸⁵ D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 258.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 258.

²⁸⁷ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 52.

Fiji, and Samoa. The financial assistance from the Chinese government helped to increase participation from many developing nations that would otherwise not have been represented at an International Exposition. As a result, the Shanghai Expo organized a truly global representation of the world, including twenty-two nations without previous formal diplomatic relations with China.²⁸⁸

As noted earlier, the majority of domestic citizens, including the Expo's visitors, had little to no international travel experience despite recent increases in China's outbound tourism.²⁸⁹ The national pavilions provided the visiting public with an expansive introduction to the global community beyond China. According to Wang, the pavilions attest to the mobility of culture²⁹⁰ by becoming specifically branded cultural spaces infused with national narratives and symbols.²⁹¹ As branded spaces, the country pavilions are built as themed environments aimed at creating a positive and distinct national identity.²⁹² The national pavilions of the Shanghai Expo therefore projected an element of real travel in their representation, particularly through the introduction of the Shanghai Expo Passport and its commemorative stamps. In a sense, the Expo allowed stamp collectors to visit different places in a symbolic play of crisscrossing soft international borders. In Wang's analysis,

The process of visiting national pavilions – the consumption of pavilions as “experiential goods” – actualizes the visitors' dual identities as consumer and citizen. ...The visitor's own national identity is in turn made salient during the ‘consumption’ process. It is in the space of the pavilion that people and ideas from different countries become linked and connected. The Shanghai Expo represents such a site for the production and consumption of national brands.²⁹³

²⁸⁸ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 51.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 61.

The outcomes of a visit to the pavilions are, in essence, “experiential goods” which transform the visitors’ experience into enjoyment of the countries represented.²⁹⁴ Yet contrary to Wang’s interpretation of nation branding, his research data also demonstrated that Expo visitors only spent an average of twenty-six minutes inside each national pavilion, and that most visitors overlooked exhibition displays in favour of posing for photos and shopping at the gift stores.²⁹⁵ If bypassing exhibition displays was the modus operandi of Expo visitors, this calls into question how much of the “experiential good” is derived from informative display sources, and how much from activities such as photography and shopping.

Expo Daily documented visitors circulating in public spaces between national pavilions. These interstitial spaces included the Expo Axis, souvenir kiosks, food shops and restaurants, information centres, labyrinthine queue gates, Expo passport stamp tables, water stations, public toilets, smoking stations, VIP lounges, private entrances, and other social spaces serving the needs of the Expo’s visitors. Coupled with unanticipated visitor activities, many of these transitory spaces exceeded the control of the Expo’s official programs. For instance, on October 29, 2010, *Expo Daily* documented how water stations dispensed only cold water, while most Shanghai residents were accustomed to boiled water for tea, or drinking water at room temperature. The result was sometimes a mess of green tea leaves unceremoniously disposed of at the water stations. It is these unofficial sites that are studied in this dissertation. They were located in all zones of the fairgrounds, and the visitor activities in these spaces constitute a significant component of the Shanghai Expo experience that deserves scholarly attention. Besides my study, images of the unofficial sites were also prominent in domestic and international news items, showing, for example, visitors queuing to visit the pavilions (fig. 13).

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ This is averaged from Wang’s sample of eight national pavilions strategically chosen to represent a broad sample of a country’s wealth and status. The countries under Wang’s study were Brazil, India, Israel, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States. Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 63–86.



Figure 13. Visitors queuing at a 2010 Shanghai World Expo pavilion. Source: ChinaSmack. Digital image. www.chinasmack.com. Accessed March 31, 2016.

In addition to the pavilion structures the Expo also featured standard events intended to introduce an individual country's cultural heritage, and forums organized around the Expo's thematic agenda. The events included a range of cultural entertainment programs, including live dance, song, and theatre performances. Most of the larger national pavilions programmed daily performances to showcase their cultural traditions. For instance, Germany featured live woodchopping shows, where quick-footed men in *lederhosen* drew handsaws through logs and juggled axes. The United Kingdom Pavilion featured roaming puppet troupes sing-songing their

way through the crowds. The Canada Pavilion featured Cirque du Soleil acrobats riding unicycles along ramps to entertain weary crowds waiting in long entrance queues.

The component of forums started with revisions in post-war Expos themes, promoting peaceful global dialogue and fostering cooperation.²⁹⁶ The Expositions in Montreal 1967 and Osaka 1970 are the foremost examples of incorporating forums in their official programs.²⁹⁷ Since then, Expo forums have been important public diplomacy tools allowing country participants to actively contribute in intellectual discussion with regard to the Expo theme.²⁹⁸ According to the BIE's Secretary General Vicente Gonzalez Loscertales, changes initiated by the BIE General Assembly on June 8, 1994 recalibrated World Expos to evolve further into theme-based platforms for an international community of scholars, experts, professionals, and ordinary citizens to debate, probe, share best practices, and explore new solutions to global challenges.²⁹⁹ Loscertales also pointed out that the Expo forums showcased the host city's leadership on organizing the forums around core Expo themes.

In 2010, with the theme "Better City, Better Life," Shanghai took a leading role in discussing possible ways to solve urbanization problems through three categories of forums. They included: six themed forums, a series of public forums, and a Summit Forum.³⁰⁰ Altogether over sixty public forums took place between April 2009 and April 2010 throughout China, Hong Kong, and Macao.³⁰¹ According to d'Hooghe, attendance at the public forums fell short of the organizers' expectations of one hundred thousand visitors, and so were regarded as less successful than anticipated.³⁰² The theme forums took place during the Shanghai Expo and were hosted across six major Chinese cities.³⁰³ The Summit Forum, on the theme of "Urban Innovation

²⁹⁶ "Past Expos," BIE.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 270.

²⁹⁹ Vicente Gonzalez Loscertales, "World Expos Open the Door to the Future," *World Finance*, Nov–Dec 2012.

³⁰⁰ D'Hooghe, "Proactive Public Diplomacy," 270.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 270.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid.

and Sustainable Development,” took place on the last day of the Expo, October 31, 2010.³⁰⁴ According to my *Expo Daily* entry for that day, it was a gathering of international government heads, business leaders, and scholars to share and review case studies of urban best practices, with the goal of summarizing key points for building a sustainable city.³⁰⁵ The final points included prioritizing the environment, more economic investment in green energy, prudent financial regulations, and better academic research and development.³⁰⁶ Nearly 2,000 participants attended the summit, including high-level officials, Nobel laureates, CEOs of important international companies, and United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who delivered the keynote address.³⁰⁷ The outcome was the publication *Shanghai Manual: A Guide for Sustainable Urban Development in the 21st Century*, advising city planners on effective policy tools and best practices for the sustainable development of urban centres.³⁰⁸ While the Shanghai Manual received joint support from the United Nations, the BIE, and the Shanghai 2010 World Exposition Executive Committee, the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UNDESA) contributed the lead authors.³⁰⁹

Ironically, the regional government of Shanghai exercised unmitigated power to requisition land without public hearings and environmental impact statements within its own city. In total, the organizers of the Exposition cleared 2.6 square kilometres along the east side of the Huangpu river, displacing many more than the 18,000 families noted previously. An additional 270 factories, including the prominent Jiang Nan Shipyard (employing 10,000 workers), were

³⁰⁴ Wen Jiabao, “Full Text of Premier Wen’s Speech at Expo 2010 Shanghai China Summit Forum,” *China Weekly*, October 31, 2010.

³⁰⁵ Joanne Hui, “Last Day of Expo,” *Expo Daily: Field Log*, October 31, 2010.

³⁰⁶ Wen Jiabao, “Full Text of Premier Wen’s Speech.”

³⁰⁷ Joanne Hui, “Last Day of Expo.”

³⁰⁸ “Shanghai Manual: A Guide for Sustainable Urban Development in the 21st Century,” UNDESA, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?page=view&type=400&nr=633&menu=1515> (accessed March 1, 2016).

³⁰⁹ The lead authors include Federica Busa, Warren Karlenzig, Prasad Modak, Jose Monroy, Carlos Felipe Pardo, and Mohan Peck. United Nations, BIE, and Shanghai 2010 World Exposition Executive Committee, *Shanghai Manual: A Guide for Sustainable Urban Development in the 21st Century* (Shanghai: USDESA, 2010), 6–7.

relocated.³¹⁰ Activist outcry for fair compensation over the displacement of households and businesses was reported locally in city papers such as the *Shanghai Daily*, but was tightly censored during the Shanghai Expo event.³¹¹ For the residents of Shanghai, the construction of the Shanghai Expo site did not exemplify the best practices outlined by its own globally distributed *Shanghai Manual*. In fact, the Expo had its most immediate negative impact on the lives of local citizens, leaving the Expo theme “Better City, Better Life” ringing hollow considering the drastic forced relocations and policing of public dissent and activism.

While I was aware of the actions of the Shanghai Expo’s official programs, my studies were primarily concerned with unanticipated visitor activities. The following section delves into key aspects profiling the Shanghai Expo visitor population.

2.2 The Visitor Population: Observation and Documentation

Before the Shanghai Expo opened, the organizers of the Exposition projected a record attendance of 70 million visitors.³¹² At the close of the event, over 73 million visitors had attended the Shanghai Expo over the duration of the six-month event, making the Shanghai Expo one of the largest events staged in human history.³¹³ It is unclear how much the Shanghai Expo impacted the popular consciousness of its host nation, since its 73 million visitors equaled only 5.6 percent of China’s population of 1.3 billion people. However, the distribution and promotion of the Expo’s messages across China were improved through the speeches of national leaders, an interactive

³¹⁰ “China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists,” Amnesty International.

³¹¹ According to Amnesty International, domestic news sources reported on the great loss of homes, businesses, and neighbourhoods in Shanghai to clear land for the Expo site. Local government officials stated that almost all Shanghai residents were compensated to move elsewhere, and a fair price was agreed upon to replace their houses. However, women housing activists in Shanghai had spoken out to journalists and organized anti-eviction protests. Shanghai police authorities responded by harassing, arresting, and mistreating the activists. This news story was subsequently censored from media reports during the Shanghai Expo. See Amnesty International, “China Silences Women Housing Rights Activists.”

³¹² “Brief Introduction of World Expo Shanghai,” *People’s Daily Online*, August 12, 2009.

³¹³ Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors.”

experience of the Shanghai Expo Online,³¹⁴ the travelling exhibition *The Path to World Expo* (which toured six major Chinese cities), a range of educational Expo books published for students across China, and the interlocutors of television broadcast and print media.³¹⁵ The impact of the Shanghai Expo on the citizens of its host city, on the other hand, was much more substantial. The Shanghai municipal government implemented an Expo development plan called “Welcoming the Expo by Proper Behaviour.”³¹⁶ It included eleven work projects, such as “One Million People Learn Two Languages” (Putonghua and English) and “Millions of Families Learn Good Manners.”³¹⁷ Twenty community cultural centres were built to facilitate Expo-related community activities, and a 600-Day Action Plan was realized to improve the city’s image, its services, city management, urban civilization, and spiritual civilization.³¹⁸ Even if residents could not physically visit the Shanghai Expo fairgrounds, the activities described provide a good indication of the enormous scale of the Shanghai Expo’s promotional programs.

Despite the high number of pre-Expo outreach programs, the first months showed poor attendance numbers. *Bloomberg* reported the Expo’s visitor attendance was low due to the combination of the high prices of admission tickets and food shops on site.³¹⁹ Before the Expo opened, *The Guardian* reported that the high cost of the Expo would exclude Shanghai’s migrant workers from attending. According to a sixty-year-old street peddler, the Shanghai Expo belonged to the realm of big businesses and government officials. A migrant toy seller without residential documentation could not register to receive free tickets issued by the government, nor could he afford to visit when a standard entry ticket cost 160 yuan (\$24 USD)—a considerable sum given that the average urban disposable income in 2009 (the year before the Expo) was only

³¹⁴ “Site Tour,” Expo Shanghai Online, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://en.expo.cn/index.html#&c=home>.

³¹⁵ D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 275–276.

³¹⁶ D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 275.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ “Shanghai Expo to Cut Long Queues, Food Prices to Draw Visitors,” *Bloomberg News*, Business section, May 21, 2010.

17,175 yuan (\$2,635 USD).³²⁰ The article also expresses concerns over the Expo's high cost of admission to Shanghai's registered residents, often considered China's middle class.

According to *The Telegraph*, the Expo's attendance record was so embarrassingly low that the Chinese government censored a live graph of visitor numbers on the Expo's official website.³²¹

At the moment it was taken off the website, in the mid-afternoon, it showed that only 69,700 visitors had turned up, less than a fifth of the projected attendance. In the four days that the graph had been active, it showed numbers halving from the opening day total of around 200,000, and then halving again. ... Meanwhile, leaked memos from the Central Propaganda department showed the government's sensitivity to any criticism of the Expo. 'In reporting the visit of the leaders to the Expo, all media need to use reports from *Xinhua* [the state-run news agency]. No other media should do its own reporting. No following or stopping leaders for interviews allowed,' said a dispatch from the weekend. 'Media should not follow the Western media in criticizing the World Expo, such as its excessive costs,' it added.³²²

According to the *New York Times*, rumours surfaced that workers in state-owned companies were ordered to travel to Expo to help fulfill the campaign target of 70 million visitors projected by the Chinese government,³²³ a target intended to shatter the record of 64 million visitors set in Osaka, Japan for the Expo 1970.³²⁴ The article also reported that some state employees had been threatened with loss of wages if they did not comply.³²⁵ A high number of Shanghai Expo visitors were organized into groups of one thousand tourists gathered from state-owned companies and

³²⁰ Branigan, "Shanghai 2010 Expo Is Set to Be the World's Most Expensive Party," April 21, 2010.

³²¹ Moore, "Shanghai Expo Faces £400m Shortfall."

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Barboza, "Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors."

³²⁴ Malcolm Moore, "China Breaks Record after 70 m People Visit Shanghai Expo," *The Telegraph*, October 24, 2010.

³²⁵ Barboza, "Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors."

regional travel agencies partnering with the organizers of the Expo to reach visitor quotas.³²⁶ Some visitors travelled as long as eight hours by bus to visit for only one day.³²⁷ *The Telegraph* described visitors from Hunan—including students from the province—who reported attending with free tickets.³²⁸ The article also reported that over half the tickets were free, given to employees of government departments and state-run companies, Shanghai residents, and as gifts from department stores.³²⁹ At the same time, a persuasive marketing campaign with advertisements across all of China’s major cities brought millions more regional visitors to the Expo.³³⁰

Additional government incentives of free admission tickets and travel vouchers were handed out to twenty million Shanghai residents to help curb the attendance shortfall.³³¹ By early summer, the stimulus of government handouts had put the Shanghai Expo on track to reach its campaign target. On October 16 a record 1.03 million people jammed the Expo fairgrounds, breaking the single-day attendance record also set by the Expo 1970 in Osaka.³³² Finally, on October 24 the *New York Times* reported the Shanghai Expo welcoming its 70,000,001st visitor since the start of the event in May.³³³ The goal-breaking figure was relayed on information screens across the fairgrounds.

The *New York Times* and the *Shanghai Daily* reported on Chinese government data stating that 5.8 percent—or about 4.2 million—of Expo visitors were foreigners.³³⁴ This means the vast majority of the Shanghai Expo’s 68.8 million visitors were from the mainland

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Moore, “China Breaks Record after 70m People Visit Shanghai Expo,” October 24, 2010.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record with 73 Million Visitors”; Ren Zhongxi, “Shanghai Households to Get Free Expo Tickets,” *China.org.cn*, April 22, 2010.

³³² Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors.”

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Chen, “City’s Record-Breaking Expo”; Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors.”

population.³³⁵ Few sources cite the exact figure of domestic visitors. Wang and d’Hooghe identify the Expo’s de facto audience as the emerging Chinese middle class³³⁶ with most visitors coming from Shanghai and other affluent urban areas on the Yangtze River Delta.³³⁷ Wang notes that the exact size of the middle-class population is under debate because of varying modelling criteria.³³⁸ Yet *McKinsey & Company* reported that while most urban household in 2010 belonged to the lower middle class, more than half of those same households would rise to the middle class by 2022.³³⁹ As depicted in *Expo Daily* and reported by the *New York Times*, there was another class of China’s domestic audience who visited the Shanghai Expo: factory workers from state-run industries.³⁴⁰ As logged in my *Expo Daily* entry for October 18, 2010:

At the time of writing this, the average annual income for employees in Shanghai reached about 65,000 yuan (\$9,500 USD). The income of factory workers had increased in 2010 because the government raised the minimum wage, but it is still low in comparison to wages in North America and to Europe. A factory worker’s wage in southern China is

³³⁵ Tom Doctoroff, “Shanghai’s World Expo: The Curtain Falls,” *The Huffington Post*, Asia Pacific section, November 1, 2010; Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 53.

³³⁶ According to *McKinsey Quarterly* for 2010, many of China’s advanced cities in this area had annual household incomes considered upper middle class and mass middle class. Specifically, the upper middle class made up 24% of the urban population that earned 106,000 to 229,000 renminbi (\$16,000 to \$34,000 USD), while the mass middle class comprised 67% of the urban population that earned 37,000 to 106,000 renminbi (\$6,000 to \$15,999 USD). These numbers indicate that in China’s advanced cities such as Shanghai, overall poverty was at a relatively low level. See Yuval Atsmon and Max Magni, “Meet the Chinese Consumer of 2020,” *McKinsey Quarterly* (March 2010), 5.

³³⁷ Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 53–56; D’Hooghe, “Proactive Public Diplomacy,” 274–276; Shanghai and the Yangtze River Delta are described as the golden triangle of the Yangtze, comprised of the municipality of Shanghai, the southern province of Jiangsu (Nanjing, Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, Nantong) and the northern province of Zhejiang (Hangzhou, Jiaxing, Shaoxing, Huzhou, Ningbo), and additional cities that form the Yangtze River Delta Economic Coordination Association.

³³⁸ Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 53.

³³⁹ Dominic Barton, Yougang Chen, and Amy Jin, “Mapping China’s Middle Class,” *McKinsey Quarterly* (June 2013): 1.

³⁴⁰ Barboza, “Shanghai Expo Sets Record With 73 Million Visitors.”

about eighty cents per hour. And workers from rural provinces usually earn about \$200 USD (1360 yuan) a month, if they work six or seven days a week.

In one description of visitors at the Expo, the *New York Times* reported the appearance of entire villages of farmers dressed in matching Tang Dynasty-era jackets.³⁴¹ In my observations documented in *Expo Daily*, visitors dressed in loose-fit causal clothing of cotton shirts and slacks softly creased from drying by clothesline. Elderly men and women moved in large tourist groups, echoes of former work units or *danwei*;³⁴² they were joyful, familial, and strong-bodied, with voices that barked across the queuing crowds. In my *Expo Daily* entry on stamp collecting, I described an exchange I had with two such elderly ladies who were amused by my clipped Cantonese-inflected Mandarin and delighted by my fluency in English. This exchange indicated how bilingualism, a large part of Shanghai's cosmopolitan character, was unfamiliar to some of the Expo's visitors. Further observations include how younger women did not wear make-up, fine jewellery, or hair that was permed or coloured. Instead, they wore their hair pulled back in ponytails and, like the young men at the Expo, t-shirts, short pants, and seemingly American brands of running shoes. Youthful visitors moved in small groups of family and friends. They also owned a number of personal tech accessories such as mobile phones and digital cameras. Generally, it was less common to see visitors wearing international brands such as Adidas, Nike, or Apple iPhones, and visitors carrying European luxury handbags were few. However, I was able to spot, and later draw, one such dedicated "Shanghai auntie" within the busy Expo crowds (fig. 14).

Based on my observations, visitor participation at the Shanghai Expo produced a wholly different phenomenon of social practices than those anticipated by the organizers of the

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² The term *danwei* refers to urban work units of employees belonging to state-owned enterprises in China's socialist era. The majority of China's urban population were organized in work units, making the *danwei* the principal method of implementing party policy. Workers were bound to their work unit for life, and each *danwei* created their own housing, childcare, schools, clinics, shops, services, post offices, etc. See E. M. Bjorklund, "The Danwei: Socio-Spatial Characteristics of Work Units in China's Urban Society," *Economic Geography* 62, no. 1 (1986): 19.

Exposition. My observations of the casual dress of Expo visitors suggests they had less purchasing power for high-value consumer items such as foreign brands of clothing or lifestyle accouterments: make-up, salon-styled hair, and personal tech items for more senior visitors. Even though visitor attendance numbers improved through an extensive network of state incentives, the higher number of visitors only amplified their activities which were often contrary to the Shanghai Expo's official programming. International and domestic news sources continued to report on visitor activities such as ignoring exhibition displays, preferring the lower prices of fake Expo souvenirs, scalpers and illegal vendors infiltrating the fairgrounds, the surge of stamp collectors and concerns over crowd security, and visitors bypassing the Expo's food shops, for example.³⁴³

³⁴³ Malcolm Moore, "Shanghai Expo: Take a Stroll Down to Axis of Evil Square," *The Telegraph*, World News, China section, May 1, 2010; "A Wildly Weird and Wonderful Event: Interview with Adam Minter," *The China Beat Blog*, posted May 5, 2010, <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?p=2048>; Ni Dandan, "Fake Haibao Goods Still Being Sold," *Global Times China*, Metro Shanghai section, July 9, 2010; Qian Yanfeng, "Fake Souvenirs Real Business," *China Daily*, June 23, 2010; Yao Min-G and Xu Chi, "Fake Souvenirs Seized," *Shanghai Daily*, June 28, 2010; Sophie Beach, "Shanghai Bids Farewell to Massive World Expo Fair," *China Digital Times*, October 30, 2010; "Shanghai World Expo Breaks Million Mark for Visitors in a Single Day, First Time Officials Discourage Visitors [from attending]," *ChinaSmack*, posted October 19, 2010, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://www.chinasmack.com/2010/pictures/shanghai-world-expo-sees-1-million-visitors-in-a-single-day.html>; Adam Minter, "End of Expo: Malcolm Moore, Expo Critic, Is Undeterred," *Shanghai Scrap Blog*, posted October 29, 2010, <http://shanghaiscrap.com/2010/10/end-of-expo-malcolm-moore-expo-critic-is-undeterred/>; C. Custer, "Han Han: Answering Questions About Shanghai World Expo," *ChinaSmack*, posted April 22, 2010, <http://www.chinasmack.com/2010/bloggers/han-han-answers-questions-about-2010-shanghai-world-expo.html>.



Figure 14. Joanne Hui, *A sartorial Shanghai lady in pink silk jumpsuit, jewellery, make-up, kitten heels and an intricate crown of permed hair*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

In sum, combining the documentation in *Expo Daily* with statistics on China's household incomes suggests that the economic class of the Expo's visitor population included a range of lower middle-class households, usually from China's second-tier urban centres, to the middle class, usually from Shanghai and nearby eastern coastal cities. The considerable mismatch between the Expo's high cost of admission and the average local resident's disposable income demonstrates that the Expo overestimated the purchasing power of its target audience, the emerging (also described as "mass")³⁴⁴ middle class. As such, the adjective "emerging" to modify the middle class is necessary to unpack. This next section elaborates on the middle-class phenomenon in China and its implications for the Shanghai Expo's promotion of an international and national identity.

2.3 The Middle Class and Inter/national Identity

Strategically, the central government timed the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games with the 2010 Shanghai Expo in a one-two punch to knock out old conceptions of China: humiliated by the Treaty Port era, occupied by Imperialist Japan, and isolated by the Mao era. This new image of China, branded by these mega-events, proposed a thoroughly dynamic, unified nation confident in its economic rise and the increased value of the *renminbi*.³⁴⁵ Therefore, an event like the Shanghai Expo served to recast a self-confident mindset for its own population and represented a globally-minded China for the international community. All this, of course, was underscored by the growth of the middle class in China and the prospect that its demographic significance—both economically and politically—will impact how China relates to the international community.

According to the *McKinsey China* report, the definition of the middle class in China is measured by household income adjusted for purchasing power. To qualify as middle class in China, a person must have an annual income between 60,000 and 229,000 *renminbi* (\$9,000 to \$34,000 USD).³⁴⁶ Within this segment in 2012, household incomes in the 106,000 to 229,000 *renminbi* (\$16,000 to \$34,000 USD) range were described as upper middle class; they represent

³⁴⁴ Barton, Chen, and Jin, "Mapping China's Middle Class," 2.

³⁴⁵ Wasserstrom, *Global Shanghai*, 124.

³⁴⁶ Barton, Chen, and Jin, "Mapping China's Middle Class," 1.

just 14 percent of urban households and were dwarfed by a much larger mass middle class with household incomes from 60,000 to 106,000 *renminbi* (\$9,000 to \$16,000 USD).³⁴⁷ By 2020, households in the mass category are projected to dwindle to 25 percent of the population; most of these will join the upper middle class to account for 54 percent of urban households and 56 percent of private consumption.³⁴⁸ According an earlier *McKinsey China* report, the per-household disposable income of domestic consumers will double from \$26,000 *renminbi* (\$4,000 USD) in 2010 to \$52,000 *renminbi* (\$8,000 USD) in 2020.³⁴⁹ This means that at the time of the Shanghai Expo, the average two-person household in the mass middle class would spend a high percentage of their annual income—approximately 20 percent—to meet the average disposable income of local consumers in 2010. Comparatively, the absolute level of wealth of the middle class in China will remain low relative to European and North American countries.³⁵⁰ My case studies later reveal that diverging visitor activities on the Expo’s fairgrounds suggest evidence of a conspicuously missing population of middle-class consumers at the Shanghai Expo. Yet still, the rising wealth and numbers of middle-class households allow domestic consumers to afford a family car and small luxury items, making their demographic the standard-setters for consumption.³⁵¹ Multinational corporations and the international community take keen interest in the new purchasing power of China’s consumer market, especially as their population is projected to grow to twice as much the US population in the decades ahead.³⁵²

McKinsey China also reported that many of the middle-class changes taking place in China are common features of rapid industrialization: rising incomes, urban living, better education, postponed life stages, greater mobility.³⁵³ According to Wang, China’s middle class is

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ According to the *McKinsey China* report, urban household disposable income is the result of the combined disposable income of all members of a household. It is defined as total household income minus income taxes and contributions to social security. Atsmon and Magni, “Meet the Chinese Consumer of 2020,” 2.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 54.

³⁵³ Atsmon and Magni, “Meet the Chinese Consumer of 2020,” 2.

much younger in comparison to other countries; it is also a heterogeneous group with careers in government, entrepreneurship, professional practices, and other cultural institutions.³⁵⁴ Overall, the middle class desire social stability and work towards lifestyle improvements.³⁵⁵ Japan experienced similar changes during industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s, as did South Korea and Taiwan in the 1980s.³⁵⁶ My observation of visitor activities at Shanghai Expo suggest the economic profile of the Expo visitors is in fact an aspirational lower middle class, with counterfeit souvenir-purchasing and picnics indicating alternative consumption habits.

The changing economic profiles of the middle class in China, in combination with increased urbanization, are key factors shaping China's consumer markets and, consequently, China's evolving national identity. For the most part, the topic of China's national identity has been a long-standing and contentious subject marked by multiple—and sometimes conflicting—national identities. Callahan, for example, describes China as a “pessoptimist” nation that is defined by the interplay of positive and negative feelings of pride and humiliation.³⁵⁷ Tianbiao Zhu argues that China has no single national identity today, but rather a series of competing identities, ranging from compressed development that combines political flexibility with formal polices and informal practices reflected in China's multiple traditions.³⁵⁸ Similarly, international relations scholar Peter Katzenstein describes Zhu's characterization of China's national identity as one of “recombination”³⁵⁹ that includes historical examples of the remarkably accommodating ways China dealt with the demands of tributary states in order to maintain long-term peace and stability in East Asia.³⁶⁰ Despite available alternative models of China's national identity as

³⁵⁴ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 54.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Atsmon and Magni, “Meet the Chinese Consumer of 2020,” 2.

³⁵⁷ William Callahan, *China: The Pessoptimist Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1.

³⁵⁸ Tianbiao Zhu, “Compressed Development, Flexible Practices, and Multiple Traditions in China's Rise,” in *Sinicization and the Rise of China*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Routledge, 2012), 99–119.

³⁵⁹ Katzenstein, *Sinicization and the Rise of China*, 19.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

argued by Callahan, Zhu, and Katzenstein, the Shanghai Expo did little to represent other perspectives in its official programming.³⁶¹

This section discussed the Shanghai Expo as a project of nation-branding, encouraging China's emerging middle class to head toward the kind of future urban utopia envisioned by the Expo's "Better City, Better Life" theme. Like the early US World's Fairs, World Expos are vehicles through which the host country can promote official narratives on class and nation, and platforms from which government elites can express great urgency for social reform in the search for national order. The thirty years after Deng's economic reforms resulted in new challenges of class disparity and social unrest. The Shanghai Expo was timed strategically to obscure China's domestic issues with the spectacular promise of a New China, re-envisioned through the official narrative of a harmonious socialist society serving the people. This chapter establishes a more comprehensive picture of the government and corporate agendas which sponsored the Shanghai Expo's official programs. My study contributes alternative perspectives on class and nation observed through visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. The next chapter describes the methodology of study used in *Expo Daily* to document these activities.

³⁶¹ Journalist Adam Minter identified the Shenzhen Case Pavilion as a subversive pavilion that somehow dodged the censorship of the Expo's official programming. The pavilion is described as a shipping container exhibiting fake Van Gogh paintings and photographs of the young, shirtless forgery painters responsible for them. According to Minter, Shenzhen became China's first Special Economic Zone in 1980, and is regarded as a laboratory for free market reform that often finds itself a volatile symbol of China's successes and failures as a market economy. The exhibit chooses to highlight low-paid Old Master copyists rather than the high-tech manufacturing industry which Shenzhen is known for. See Adam Minter, "Exquisite Fakes and Real Caesareans: Shenzhen's Subversive Expo 2010 Pavilion," *Shanghai Scraps* blog, posted August 5, 2010, <http://shanghaiscrap.com/2010/08/exquisite-fakes-and-real-caesareans-shenzhens-subversive-expo-2010-pavilion>.

CHAPTER THREE

Locating Expo Daily

This chapter focuses on my creative practice while drawing on the theoretical discourse and research context regarding the Shanghai Expo established in the previous chapters. More specifically, this chapter describes the nature of my practice and theory, and reflects on how they inform each other and the methodological approach for the study of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. First, it locates the main unit of study, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue* (2010), within the current discourse of research-creation as both artwork and research data that recognizes the productive conjuncture between them. Next, I elaborate on how the drawing practice mediates theoretical concerns in identity politics and transnationality informing my studio practice. This is further demonstrated through descriptions of past projects leading to *Expo Daily*. Finally, I suggest the research-creation outcome of drawing as a new methodology of graphic intervention and detail the methodological procedures used for *Expo Daily*.

From the outset, the methodology was an evolving one, and took shape as the study progressed. My research began with the documentation of primary qualitative data in the folio of drawings, *Expo Daily*, followed by quantitative data (statistics) to interpret the qualitative data. Taking the case study approach, this study had been concerned with exploring, describing, and explaining the contemporary phenomenon of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. My role as researcher in the field was of participant-observer. My analysis included reducing, reporting, and interpreting the raw data, often along with the verification of sources that included media reports and historical and sociological studies. The results of the case studies are a triangulation of multiple perspectives and data sources, with which to generate a new theory on alternative experiences of the Expo.

Drawing from ethnographic research of the autobiographical record in drawing introduced by American anthropologist Michael Taussig, I fully immersed myself in the site of study to document the Shanghai Expo as participant and observer.³⁶² As a visual practice, my drawing activity first engaged the research field as a way to experience the event, and later to think about

³⁶² Michael Taussig, *I Swear I Saw This: Drawing in Fieldwork Notebooks, Namely My Own* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 22.

the site. My study employed the documentation of my observations of events, things, people, and situations through the practice of drawing. Accompanying the drawing folio are field logs recording my daily activities and news stories published by domestic newspapers, mainly in English.³⁶³ Finally, the production of a graphic travelogue (or artist's book) to make sense of the raw data was employed to analyze the phenomenon of visitor activities. The outcome of the data analyses served two purposes: first as a creative work, in the form of the graphic travelogue for publication and exhibition, and second as results for the case studies.

Overall, the combination of drawing and artist-book production reactivated an interaction with the field that I consider a type of art practice and artwork, one that poses new questions leading my research.

3.1 The Drawing Folio *Expo Daily*: Research and Creation

Chapman and Sawchuk offer four new models of research and creation: research-for-creation, research-from-creation, creative presentations of research, and creation-as-research.³⁶⁴ My own research-creation project, *Expo Daily*, shares a resemblance with the last mode, creation-as-research, in its evolution of theoretical, technical, and creative aspects.³⁶⁵ However, the processes involved in the making of *Expo Daily* can be conceived across all four modes articulated by Chapman and Sawchuk. I focus on the category of creation-as-research because it is the only model that covers the terrain of the first three models. Chapman describes this interplay of theory and practice as akin to running along a Mobius strip:

[A] process that folds back on itself, with no beginning and no end, but a continuous flow of curiosity, instinct, intuition, investigation, inspiration, faith, creative production, reflexion, research study, analysis, knowledge contribution that spawns further inquiries.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ My principal news source in Shanghai was the English-language newspaper *Shanghai Daily*.

³⁶⁴ Chapman and Sawchuk, "Research-Creation," 15.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

The outcomes of *Expo Daily* are twofold: first as an artwork, and second as a drawing folio of research data, collected as case studies of social practices observed at the Shanghai Expo. Both utilized drawing as the primary method of observation towards different—but also complementary—outcomes. The following discusses the successful interplay of research and creation components which located the project within the generative “hyphen” described by Chapman and Sawchuk.

Making an artwork and creation-lead-research share similarities. For instance, they begin with a reliance on intuition, flexibility, and the desire to make meaning through creative expression. Similarly, anthropology and ethnography resemble an intuitive self-reflexive procedure, as in the practice of art.³⁶⁷ However, the use of drawing differentiates my procedures by way of allowing the eyes to discover the research site and the hand to interpret those perceptions. The eyes and the hand are united in a process: observe, experience, witness, and record the perceived research site. The act of drawing became a way to embody the field of study, which was a salient way to observe the Shanghai Expo’s spectacular displays, immersive environments, and visitor activities. Intrinsically, drawing mirrored the physicality of the event, particularly as an approach that matched the flow of drawing to the energy of song, dance, and visitor movements that was a large part of Shanghai Expo. The creative practice was one of the tools of documentation I used as I navigated the fairgrounds in a thoughtful state of active-presence, with the faith that the things I observed would become an extension of experiencing self in the expression of drawing.

On the fairgrounds in Shanghai, I increased my movements through participation in the popular visitor activity of collecting commemorative pavilion stamps in an Expo Passport. The many stamps collected within the pages of my Passport are a record of my participation in (and observation of) the visitor activity of collecting stamps, and each stamp is a record of the circuits, trajectories, and paths traversed in collecting it (fig. 1). Collecting stamps allowed me to gain closer insight into the motivations, emotions, and even desires of the typical Expo visitor. The

³⁶⁷ Other influential works on the approaches of visual anthropology and ethnography include Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

stamps also provided me with a rationale to make sense of the countless trajectories and circuits that constituted the overwhelming spectacles of the Expo's official programs.

After collecting the last stamps of my Passport on the Expo's closing day (October 31, 2010), I redrew all the pages of my booklet in order to reactivate and remember the experience of collecting stamps. In drawing the Expo Passport, the normally separate practices of creation, documentation, and analysis came together in an interplay of meaning-making. The outcomes were threefold: an artwork, a raw data set, and an interpretation of stamp collecting that was more complex than at the start of the interplay. The outcome of my social investigation will be discussed in depth in the chapter 4. For now, while my drawings present certain findings that are verifiable through media sources, the research-creation process enabled me to see patterns of visitor activity very different from the ones presented by the Expo's official culture.

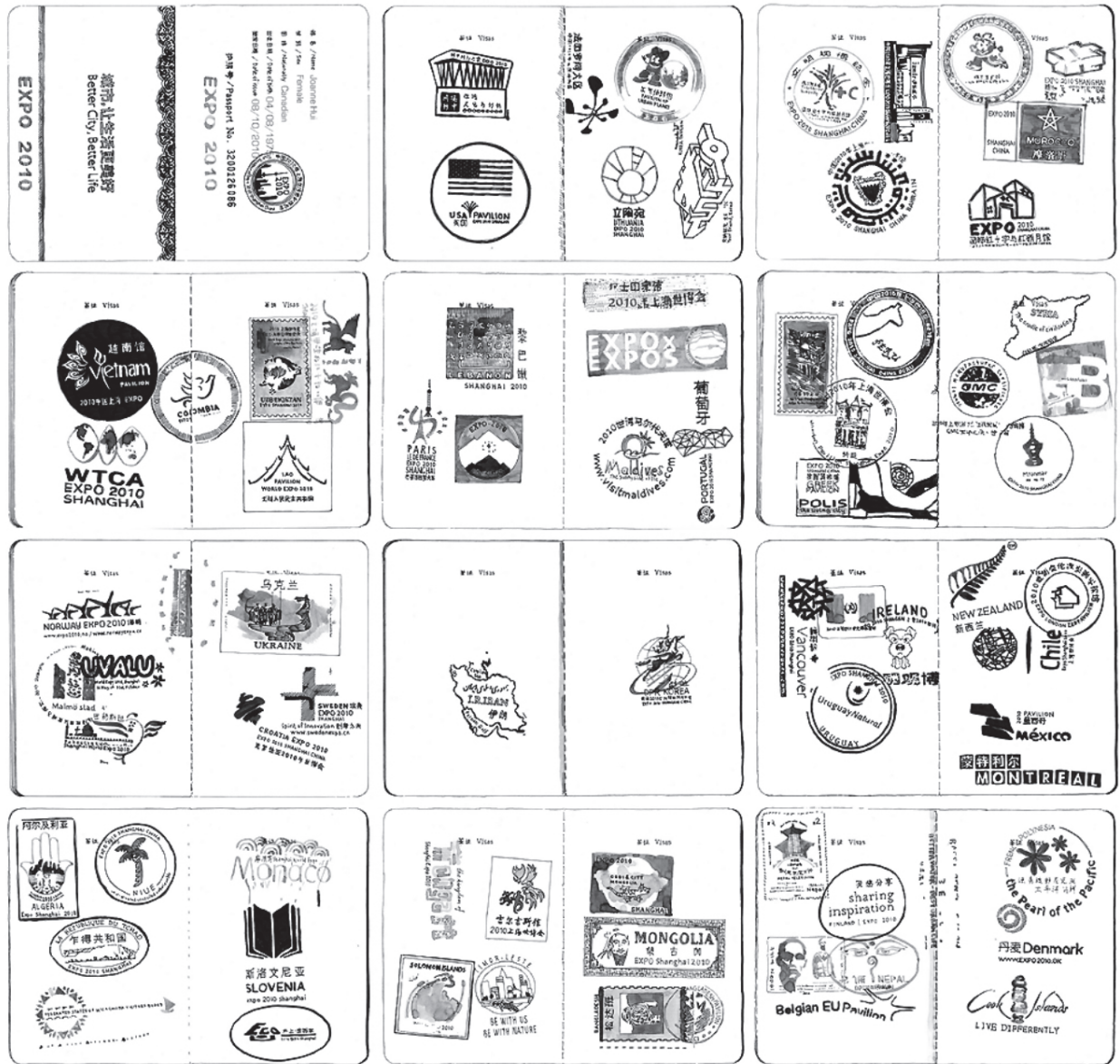


Figure 1. Joanne Hui, 24 pages from my Shanghai Expo Passport and pavilion stamp collection. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

3.2 Drawing as a Transnational Practice

For me, drawing is a lifelong project that precedes *Expo Daily*, and continues beyond my studio practice. Drawing is a way to bring me closer to knowing my family history of diaspora and transnationality. During the period of my Expo fieldwork, I had a direct family connection to Shanghai through my sister, who had been living in the city for ten years, working as a professional architect upon graduation from McGill University in Montreal. My family history is a diasporic story of intergenerational immigration: eight family households have moved from Hong Kong (then still a British colony) to Toronto. The second generation was expected to make their futures in Canada; the narrative of returning to Hong Kong, no less the PRC, was not often discussed. However, several family members maintained an immigration law consultancy practice based in Hong Kong and Toronto; this led to travel between the two countries, and therefore frequent updates on the latest Hong Kong soap operas and popular music. My sister's sustained residency in Shanghai, as well as my frequent visits, brought a new dimension of transnationality to my personal narrative, or rather, a transnational perspective in my studio practice, and an affinity for the theoretical concerns that have come to inform it.

The theoretical concepts informing my pursuit of a transnational perspective begins with the ideas of “topophilia” and “sense of place.” American humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan first introduced topophilia as a way to look at cultural and physical landscapes by way of family background and personal experience in order to investigate the transnational component in one's knowledge and love of place.³⁶⁸ According to Alan P. Marcus, topophilia encompasses two approaches to knowing one's sense of place, the “indirect gaze from the past” and the “direct gaze from personal experience.”³⁶⁹ Marcus describes the following as a model for experiencing sense of place:

The “indirect gaze from the past,” the gaze from the outside in, conveys an indirect experience of place through the (re)production of literary and visual images by virtue of

³⁶⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan coined the term “topophilia” in 1974. See Tuan, *Topophilia*, 4.

³⁶⁹ Alan P. Marcus, “Transnational Rio de Janeiro: (Re)visiting Geographic Experiences,” in *Growing Up Transnational: Identity and Kinship in a Global Era*, ed. May Friedman and Silvia Schultermundl (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 26.

not being present at the time of these (re)productions. The “direct gaze from personal experience,” the gaze from the inside out, articulates an auto-biogeography of place through direct experiences and recollections. In this case, the position of being inside allows a different dimension to perspective and experience of place.³⁷⁰

Through the concept of topophilia, I see the function of drawing as a fluid mode of inquiry blending both inner and outer worlds, allowing time for a two-way movement of the indirect gaze from the past and the direct gaze from personal experience. In fact, the most poignant description of drawing for *Expo Daily* is a fluidity in practice, one that is invested with the act of looking closely at the subject, that allows time to think through and make meaningful those Expo observations continuing to influence me. In creating the drawing folio, I worked through a process of recalling from memory both emotional and rational ties to the event. In this way, drawing serves two functions as a methodology. In the first stage, drawing is used as graphic anthropology, to make a visual record of the thing or scene observed. The second stage deploys drawing as an exercise of memory work; in this process, the act of drawing connects the mind to other ideas, concepts, and desires. Taken together, the drawings (as a travelogue or research data) serve as a complex mix of record-making and memory-making, a document that blends both inner and outer worlds. Ultimately, drawing enables multidirectional movements that better serve the sensibility of a transnational subject.

3.3 Past Projects: Comic Arts and the Graphic Travelogue

The previous discussions introduced how theory and practice have worked in an entwined process to at once concretize the theory, while also exciting the practice. Capitalizing on this dynamic exchange, I was able to translate my studio practice into a methodology of drawing which documents certain social practices otherwise unrealized through other disciplinary approaches. Before the main unit of this study (*Expo Daily*), I undertook several other research-creation projects which helped shape this methodology of study. This next section elaborates on the evolution of these past projects in regards to identity politics, transnational histories, and

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

mobile subjectivities. Overall, I describe the nature of my practice and theory, how they informed each other, and how they led to a creation process that in some cases reiterates—and often surpasses—current theories.

During the first stage of my doctoral studies I experimented with the processes of research-creation intuitively, employing comic narratives as a creative medium to convey difficult histories of racial exclusion in Canada. At the beginning of my research component I was attuned to the formal qualities in comic art as an effective medium to expand narratives that rely on the combination of text and images. The key aspect of comics is the ability for images to undermine text, a tactic used productively by notable cartoonists Art Spiegelman and Alison Bechdel to expose both familial and historical lies.³⁷¹ The combination of comic arts with historically situated autobiographies has been an effective tool for writing revisionist histories. I experimented with this narrative strategy in my first comic poster project, *The Potato Wars: Chinese-Canadian Resistance during the Exclusion Era* (fig. 2).

The Potato Wars (2008) brought to light a previously unknown account of social justice activism in relation to a planned policy of racial exclusion against Chinese-Canadians in the province of British Columbia. The poster describes the active resistance taken by Chinese potato farmers who went to the court in British Columbia (from 1935 to 1937) to defend their rights to sell potatoes in the city markets, in the effort to curb forthcoming restrictions exclusively targeting Chinese farmers.

³⁷¹ Art Spiegelman, *Maus I: A Survivor's Tale: My Father Bleeds History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986) and *Maus II: A Survivor's Tale: And Here My Troubles Began* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992); Alison Bechdel, *Fun Home: A Family Tragicomic* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006).



Figure 2. Joanne Hui, *Potato Wars: Chinese-Canadian Resistance during the Exclusion Era*. 2008, ink plotter print on paper, 45.7 x 61 centimetres.

The project originated in collaboration with fellow doctoral student Ruth Mandujano-Lopez, whose history paper on the subject was the main feature of the comic narrative.³⁷² In *The Potato Wars* poster, I featured a narrative progression in the characterization of myself as a student in the activity of reading, learning, and engaging the field of Asian Canadian studies. The humoristic turn stems from the slow unfolding of what I considered a heroic progress, that in the world of comic narratives is the opposite of the muscle-bound superhero stories. Yet *The Potato Wars* somehow carried the same weight in storytelling.

The Potato Wars reached readerships across several platforms of distribution in academic journals, comic art conventions, and art gallery exhibitions. As a standard-sized black and white poster, *The Potato Wars* was readily reproducible for exhibition and comic conference events. The ease of reproduction and the low cost of distributing of the poster increased its distribution potential, thereby improving the exposure of its unique historic content.³⁷³ As an art object it was displayed in a poster stack, whereby exhibition visitors were invited to take a copy for their personal display and reading.³⁷⁴

The exhibition of *The Potato Wars* in the group show *DIASPORArt: Strategy and Seduction by Canadian Artists from Culturally Diverse Communities* (Rideau Hall, Ottawa,

³⁷² Ruth was a doctoral student in the history department of the University of British Columbia. Her paper was presented as part of the Pacific Worlds in Motion conference, held by the faculty and graduates of Green College and St. John's College, University of British Columbia.

³⁷³ Overall, in its distribution history, *The Potato Wars* had a wide array of audiences in its publication: from the literary journal *West Coast Line* in 2009, to several comic arts conventions and bookstores in Montreal and Toronto, and finally to multiple exhibitions in contemporary art galleries in Montreal, Sherbrooke, Ottawa, and Toronto.

³⁷⁴ Altogether, *The Potato Wars* was exhibited by the Montreal Arts Interculturels (MAI) (2008), the Montreal Comics Festival (2009), and the Canadian Asian Studies Association in Vancouver (2009). It was purchased by the Canada Council Art Bank in 2009 and selected for further exhibition at *DIASPORArt: Strategies and Seduction by Canadian Artists from Culturally Diverse Communities* at Rideau Hall, Ottawa (2009), the Gendai Gallery in Toronto (2010), the Toronto Comic Art Festival (2010), and the Foreman Art Gallery at Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, Quebec (2011). Colleagues report that the poster is displayed in the offices of local social activist organizations.

2009)³⁷⁵ was pivotal to my thinking about the nature of my studio practice.³⁷⁶ The *DIASPORArt* exhibition, curated by Andrea Fatona (Ottawa Art Gallery Director), foregrounded new forms of post-colonial histories experienced after the Canadian Multicultural Policy came into effect in 1971. The exhibition emphasized diasporic and transnational experiences to demonstrate how artists and their creative practices engage with histories of transnational ties, border thinking, and cultural production outside the idea of one nation. Artists already working within the conditions of the transnational sensibility included the Canadian painter and poet Roy Kiyooka, American conceptual artist Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, and Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa.³⁷⁷ In critical

³⁷⁵ Artists' works selected for *DIASPORArt: Strategy and Seduction by Canadian Artists from Culturally Diverse Communities* came from the collection of the Canada Council Art Bank. September 21, 2009, <https://www.gg.ca/gallery.aspx?ID=796>.

³⁷⁶ The success of *The Potato Wars* prompted two more comic art works on the untold or unknown histories of racial injustice in Canada; these were the mini-comics *Drawing from what Berel Bokser Said* (2009) and *White Mice* (2010). *Drawing from what Berel Bokser Said* is an original graphic treatment of Holocaust survivor Berel Bokser's testimonial of his experiences, which is retained as a video recording in the archives of the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre. This biographical recording was loaned to the students of Dr. Erica Lehrer for her course "Curating Difficult Knowledge." I acted as their media instructor and cowriter. The follow-up on this work was further distribution in local bookstores and the co-writing of an academic paper, "Reflections on the Life of a Story,"³⁷⁶ which discusses the process of creative translation in an effort to re-envision remembrance. This paper was presented at the interdisciplinary conference Bearing Witness: Memory, Representation, and Pedagogy in the Post-Holocaust Age, held April 11–13, 2010 at Shenandoah University in Virginia, co-sponsored by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. *White Mice* is a graphic adaptation of Canadian playwright Darren O'Donnell's work by the same name ("White Mice," 1998). The work was co-authored by students of Gisele Amantea's ARTX class at Concordia University (final dimensions of the photocopied, printed booklet were 21.6 x 27.9 centimetres). The *White Mice* project was developed to fulfill several objectives; the key interest for me was to allow for the creative fusion of a cultural production that originated in English-speaking Toronto in the late 1990s with a group of multilingual art students in Montreal in 2010.

³⁷⁷ Roy Kiyooka, *StoneDGloves* (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1970, repr. 1983); Roy Miki, ed. *Pacific Windows: Collected Poems of Roy K. Kiyooka* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1997); Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, *Dictée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, repr. 1982); Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987).

and creative ways, these artists—and those in the *DIASPORArt* exhibition—positioned their voices between two nations (and the mobility network there within) to make a new transnational identity. Highlighting the necessity of “strategies and seductions” suggests a continued challenge for transnational artists to find creative ways of expressing themselves between two or more nations.

Even before *DIASPORArt*, the trajectory of my creative practice turned toward the mobilization of my studio practice in Shanghai as an experiment to test the limits of current theorizations on identity politics, which in my practice had yet to be untethered from the Canadian context. Mobilization meant leaving Canada to travel to my birthplace and ancestral homeland of Hong Kong and the People’s Republic of China. In the weeks before the opening of the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games, I set up a studio practice in the guest room of my sister’s apartment. It was a bare-bones studio, furnished only with a small suitcase of drawing tools I had packed. Additional art materials were purchased on Fuzhou Lu, in the Jingan district, just beyond the People’s Square in the old part of Shanghai. The street had many shops that sold both traditional Chinese brush art materials and Western art materials. My studio practice in Shanghai and the evolution of my comic art practice concretized my theoretical concern to put in practice new transnational sensibilities led by the instinctive drive of creative expression first. The new trajectory emphasized mobility, multiplicity, and transnationality in a condition that I identified as mobile subjectivity.

Work on my first graphic travelogue, *Shanghai Daily*, started in May 2008, in the days after I had exhibited *The Potato Wars* at the MAI Gallery in Montreal, Quebec, and continued upon my arrival in Shanghai. The entire research and production components—fieldwork, drawing and book design, and printing—of *Shanghai Daily* were completed in Shanghai. The travelogue documented my observations and participation in the daily activities of Shanghai residents during the events surrounding the Beijing Olympics Games. The final outcome was a 96-page graphic book of seventy-nine small (21 x 29.7 centimetres) black and white drawings of vignettes of the city, my travel documentation, and character-based comic pages. Interspersed throughout my drawings was a collection of newspaper clippings from the English-language paper *Shanghai Daily*, on which the title of my graphic travelogue was based.

In production, several aspects of comic art I expected to use in practice were abandoned. Instead, my studio component had taken a surprising turn to concentrate on the processes of

drawing singularly, as it brought my thinking closer to the conditions of topophilia identified by Tuan and Marcus.³⁷⁸ Specifically, I had experimented with the formal language of drawing to put into practice the theoretical conditions of evolving my own fluid subject formation in an autobiographical travelogue. As such, the provisional motivation of *Shanghai Daily* was to experiment with the possibility of redefining my understanding of a Chinese Canadian identity to include histories of transnational returns. The following section will delve into the methodology of drawing as it was interpreted in the *Shanghai Daily* project.

My initial comic practice had at that time identified the graphic travelogue as an art form attuned to the narrative currents of diasporic and transnational histories. Several graphic travelogues in print, including Gilles Delisle's *Pyongyang: A Journey in North Korea* (2007), Jessica Abel's *La Perdida* (2008), and Peter Kuper's *Diario de Oaxaca: A Sketchbook Journal of Two Years in Mexico* (2009) already demonstrated the transformational aspects of autobiography and travel writing.³⁷⁹ Further developed from the authors' studios in Quebec City, Brooklyn, and New York City respectively, their works embodied the synchronous desires to observe, engage, and translate the liveliness of a place in order to record a newly gained perception that then transformed the observer. I, first and foremost, relied on drawing as the initial engagement with the field. In *Shanghai Daily* I exercised two distinct, yet complementary, practices of travel and drawing in a strategy that generated a productive dialogue between the constant flow of new landscapes and the desire to observe and document them in drawing.

In the drawings of paper ephemera for *Shanghai Daily*, I redrew a collection of personal paperwork to narrate the official, and documentable, chronology of my travel. The collected drawings progress from my Chinese government-issued L-Visa documents, flight tickets and boarding pass, my police registration form for temporary residence (fig. 3), train tickets, hotel receipts, rental invoices, hand-drawn maps, taxi chits, and so forth. In drawing these documents, I provided a visual record of the paperwork that legitimized my residence in Shanghai.

The fine liner pen I used to fill out the initial application forms was later used again to create the illustrated versions of them. My formal decision to extend the written line into the

³⁷⁸ Tuan, *Topophilia*, 4; Marcus, "Transnational Rio de Janeiro."

³⁷⁹ Guy Delisle, *Pyongyang: A Journey in North Korea* (Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2007); Jessica Abel, *La Perdida* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2008); Peter Kuper, *Diario de Oaxaca: A Sketchbook Journal of Two Years in Mexico* (Oakland: PM Press, 2009).

drawn line represented an act of translation, from the local and official milieu of residency documentation into narrating my self in graphic form. In tracing the *Registration Form of Temporary Residence*, for example, drawing performed an intimate observation of the official document meditating the borders and fluidity of being both a Canadian resident and a temporary Chinese resident. Overall, this set of drawings of paperwork documented a unique autobiographical record of temporary dual citizenship.

境外人员临时住宿登记单
REGISTRATION FORM OF TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

编号: L20080704000756

英文姓 Surname in English	HUI		英文名 Name in English	JOANNE	
性别 Sex	女性	出生日期 Date of Birth	1975 年 8 月 4 日 (Y) (M) (D)	国家地区 Country or Region	加拿大
中文姓名 Name in Chinese		入境日期 Date of Entry	2008 年 6 月 29 日 (Y) (M) (D)	入境口岸 Port of Entry	北京首都机场
上海住址 Address in Shanghai	江苏路813号3C室		居住日期 Date of Arrival at Present Residence	2008 年 6 月 29 日 (Y) (M) (D)	
证件类型 Type of Travel	证件有效期 Validity of	证件类型 No. of Travel	签证/签证种 Type of	签证/签证有效期 Validity of Visa/Embarkment	
外国人 Foreigners					
台湾居民 Taiwan Residents					
华侨、港澳居民 Oversea Chinese Hong Kong/Macao Residents					
备注 Remarks	联系电话 Tel.	15021034823 62126812	签证日期 Date of Leaving Present Residents	2008 年 7 月 29 日 (Y) (M) (D)	
	申报处理情况				

申报日期: 2008 年 (Y) 7 月 (M) 4 日 (D)

派出所盖章
Police Stamp

江浦路派出所
B050002

上海市公安局出入境管理局监制
Supervised by Bureau of Exit-Entry Administration
Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau

Figure 3. Joanne Hui, *Drawing of a Registration Form of Temporary Residence issued by the Shanghai Police Offices*. 2008, ink on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. Published in the *Shanghai Daily* (September 1, 2008), 57–58.

Another set of drawings in *Shanghai Daily* included circular vignettes of Shanghai's residential neighbourhoods, fit in the circumference of a rice bowl's frame (figs. 4–6). The *hutong* documented in figure 4 was a neighbourhood in transformation, as most *hutongs* were under demolition orders to make space for constructing the Shanghai Expo site. Once again, a black fine liner pen was used to illustrate the vignettes, blurring the distinction between written text and drawn images. The lines used to fill out a registration form translate into drawing the curve of a cat's tail, and piles of rubble in the *hutong* alleyways.

The commonality among these vignettes is an intense social transformation in public life represented not only by the architectural and infrastructural changes within the city, but also the significant government-endorsed socialization programs preparing Shanghai residents for the 2010 Expo. For example, one such program improved public hygiene by increasing the number of public toilets throughout the city. The washrooms were small, stand-alone shelters. Figure 5 illustrates a young woman wearing a facemask to help prevent the spread of the cold virus she harbours. The drawing, as recorded in *Shanghai Daily*, documents the considerable value in promoting public hygiene in the attempt to improve Shanghai's city image for the Olympic Games. Figure 6 observes two people pulling a handcart piled high with wooden planks and debris from local demolition.



Figure 4. Joanne Hui, *Drawing of stray cat in hutong alleyway*. 2008, ink on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. Published in the *Shanghai Daily* (September 1, 2008), 60.



Figure 5. Joanne Hui, *Drawing of Shanghai woman wearing a medical facemask*. 2008, ink on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. Published in the *Shanghai Daily* (September 1, 2008), 10.



Figure 6. Joanne Hui, *Drawing of mother and son pulling construction debris through the streets of the former French quarters in Shanghai*. 2008, ink on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. Published in the *Shanghai Daily* (2008), 66.

Shanghai Daily illustrates the evolution of my research-creation project in productively utilizing aspects of comic arts, travel, and drawing to visually represent my story of a transnational Chinese Canadian identity as a figure of mobile subjectivity. *Shanghai Daily* also demonstrated how the formal language of a graphic travelogue—storytelling in image and text—supported the fluidity of terrain and subjectivity as part of the transnational experience. My first travels to China helped reposition my Chinese Canadian identity between two nations, challenging constructions of identity rooted to a single geographic origin. Secondly, my pedestrian movements within Shanghai generated a new dialogue between my self and the constant flow of new places expressed in drawing. In many ways, the creative production of my own graphic travelogue added to and informed the trajectory of research and creation. As well, I allowed the material practice to advance the direction of research, rather than simply allowing theory to dictate the conditions of the work’s creation. The outcome of my experimentation with the graphic travelogue form is both an artwork and the beginning of a research methodology in drawing, one that regards the travelogue as verifiable data for a thesis-based research-creation project. The next section introduces the main unit of study, *Expo Daily*, as it bridges the transition from artwork to drawing as a research methodology.

3.4 *Expo Daily*: A New Methodology of Drawing as Graphic Intervention

Typically, the researcher in the field keeps a notebook on the events of the day and then reviews multiple entries in search of patterns in behaviour that may lead to some insight towards their research subject. For disciplines of anthropology and ethnography, this record of the field is textual. According to Taussig, in this process the researcher looks away from the thing observed to jot down notes and apply descriptions that are sometimes predetermined by the rationality of language.³⁸⁰ Taussig cautions against the shortfalls of this process; in looking away one is simultaneously absorbed in the construction of descriptive language that can potentially deviate from the actual events in the field.³⁸¹ Drawing is “looking” at the field *and* the subjects of study; it does not look away from the thing it documents. Rather, the eye becomes engaged with the

³⁸⁰ Taussig, *I Swear I Saw This*, 22.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

movements of the subjects of study, as “it looks intimately at their flows and details and flows again, and simultaneously mimics these movements in the gestures of the hand, laying modulations in lines on the page.”³⁸² Taussig concludes that drawing becomes embodied in the things and the environments drawn, and that drawing expresses an act that is pre-lingual, pre-colonial, trusting the senses of the hand as well as the eye.³⁸³

In drawing *Shanghai Daily*, I was able to signal the conditions of travel in order to get beyond the idea of a geographic origin and experience circuits of movement describing a new identity, or mobile subjectivity, through negotiations in perception and drawing. As such, drawing became a kind of experimentation in a form of research methodology that followed the drawn line (as it is never complete) towards becoming more than the contours of the thing drawn. As a record of movements, drawing left a multiplicity of lines that became intermingled and entwined with an overall meshwork of lines towards other stories. Thus, the mobile subject and her storyline is only one circuitous trace among many others.

In order to track visitor activity at the Shanghai Expo, several instruments of observation and processes of recording were used as part of the data collection process. First, my participation was an organic process of tourist activities that included traversing the fairgrounds to visit a high number of pavilions, scheduling visits to more popular pavilions in the early mornings or late evenings for shorter entrance queues, and talking to fellow visitors to gain tips on accessing more exclusive pavilions. With regards to the confirmation of access to the field, I visited the Shanghai Expo undercover, with no contact with official Expo organizers or notification of my research activities in my L-Tourist Visa application to visit the PRC. Intentionally, I acted like a domestic tourist by way of my physical attributes, to visibly blend with and understand the social cues of the local visitor population on the Expo fairgrounds. My fieldwork consisted of observation and participation (drawing) followed by writing as the main documentation process. I did not conduct surveys or interviews, an important part of the ethnographic practice, because from the outset my research objective was to give primacy to the visual aspects of the Expo. My approach to the field helped safeguard the methods of participant observation and drawing for my research-creation project.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

On my site visits, I used a point-and-shoot camera to take photographs of the sites, including foreign pavilion exteriors, interior exhibition displays, and the localized activities of visitors on the fairgrounds (fig. 7). This process was common to the social codes of tourists, many of whom took photos on the Expo fairgrounds. I also collected and read local print newspapers to keep abreast of the news stories on the Shanghai Expo (fig. 8). From this combination of photographs, my experiences in the field, and the timely news items, I was able to identify some prominent visual aspects of the Expo and its visitor activities to then explore in the process of drawing. Finally, in drawing, I was able to show a more intimate portrait of Expo visitors that are different from the tourist albums and could not be found in news items reporting on the Shanghai Expo (fig. 9).



Figure 7. Visitors having a picnic lunch by the French Pavilion. 2010. Digital photograph by Joanne Hui. From the personal collection of the photographer

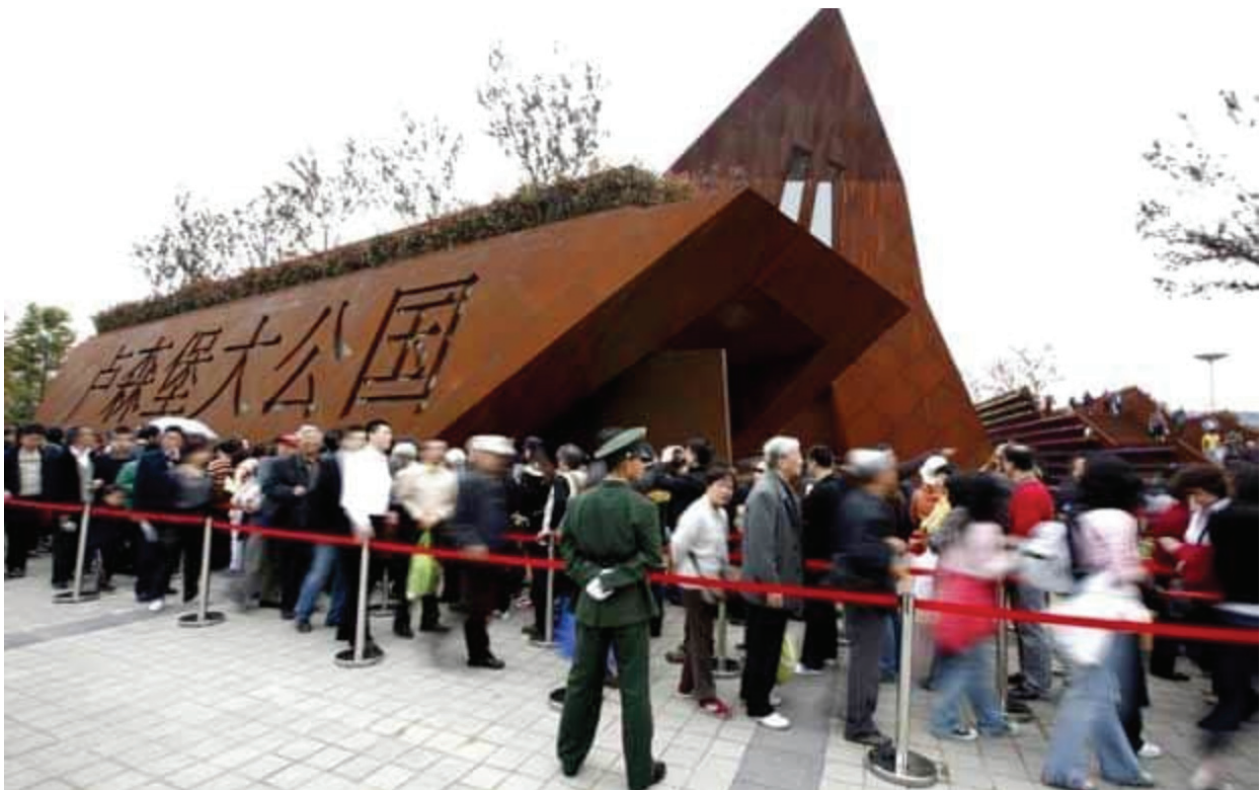


Figure 8. In Pictures: Shanghai World Expo, Visitors wait to enter the Luxembourg Pavilion at Shanghai World Expo site. Source: The Telegraph. Digital image. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/7629555/In-pictures-Shanghai-World-Expo.html?image=10>. Accessed September 16, 2016.



Figure 9. Joanne Hui, *Shanghai Expo visitors on mini folding stool*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

In carrying out the research design for *Expo Daily*, several specific procedures were followed. The drawings and written entries documenting the activities of the Expo's visitors were collected during full-day and half-day visits, from 9 am to 12 am and 7 pm to 12 am, on standard entry tickets to the Expo site. The majority of my visits—thirteen out of fourteen—were made over the course of full-day visits. This allowed me to observe changes in the patterns of visitor activities from the morning opening hour, into the peak hours of the afternoon, and finally the evening hours when visitors exited the fairgrounds. Consequently, *Expo Daily* documented several observable differences between night-time and daytime visitor activities, however this study concentrates on the study of daytime visitor activities. In brief, *Expo Daily* documented the predominance of seniors, families, and out-of-town visitor activities in the Expo's daytime hours. Alternatively, night-time visitors included a smaller number of foreign expats and working professionals engaged in nightlife activities such as dining in foreign pavilion restaurants, pub crawls, wine-tasting and after-parties organized by exhibitors such as the Ireland, Canada, Moldova, and Angola pavilions respectively.³⁸⁴

My visits to the Expo fairgrounds were based on a schedule that required a minimum of two visits per week and worked around the accessibility constraints of China's two major holidays, the Mid-Autumn Festival (September 22, 2010) and the 61st anniversary of the People's Republic of China (October 1, 2010).³⁸⁵ According to the *Travel China Guide*, the most comfortable time of the year is early autumn, from September to early October, with temperatures throughout China at 10 to 24 degrees Celsius and low amounts of rainfall.³⁸⁶ Additionally, throughout the full six-month duration of the Expo, Shanghai's city officials ensured clean air and blue skies by suspending work in the city's factories and construction sites,

³⁸⁴ Morgan S., "Getting Pissed at the Expo," *Shanghai Smart*, Nightlife Section, July 23, 2010, <http://www.smartshanghai.com/articles/nightlife/getting-pissed-at-the-expo>.

³⁸⁵ Domestic citizens are generally given two weeks of holidays. Over the course of the Shanghai Expo, admission to the fairgrounds increased for Peak Day tickets (costing 200 yuan instead of the standard 160 yuan), which were required for the holiday dates of October 1–7 and October 25–31, 2010. See "Tickets of Shanghai Expo," *Travel China Guide* online, accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.travelchinaguide.com/cityguides/shanghai/worldexpo/ticket.htm>.

³⁸⁶ "Best Time to Visit China," *Travel China Guide* online, accessed June 29, 2016, <https://www.travelchinaguide.com/essential/when-to-come.htm>.

as well as limiting the number of vehicles on the streets.³⁸⁷ The combination of seasonal temperatures and Shanghai's temporary measures to reduce air pollution created optimal weather conditions under which to make my observations for *Expo Daily*. Finer weather conditions may have also contributed to the higher number of visitor activities such as picnics, which took place out of doors on the fairgrounds. However, my documentation of visitors picnicking on the Expo's fairgrounds in *Expo Daily* are corroborated by news items reporting on visitors abstaining from the high prices of food on the Expo site, suggesting visitor activities were subject to economic preferences for lower-priced consumption habits. As such, my case studies of visitor activities detailed in the following chapter provide further evidence of this position.

My drawings were made on the alternate days that I was not visiting the Expo site. A single drawing took from one to three (or more) hours to complete. The physical effort to complete an elaborate drawing required that I use my mind, eyes, hands, and body in coordination to draw the strange new contours of the Expo site. In an immediate way, the act of drawing a site that was yet to be understood helped me settle into the new surroundings. My folio of drawings and accompanying field notes were produced in a private residential space, a family apartment in an upper middle-class neighbourhood in the former French Concession of Shanghai. Components of the workspace comprised a portable light box, pens, watercolours, inks, paper block, a laptop computer, and an inkjet printer. Some of these items were set up during work on an earlier book of drawings, *Shanghai Daily: A Travel Collage* (2008). I was already familiar with working as a self-directed artist in the city of Shanghai, having explored it several times on numerous trips.

All of my Expo admission tickets were gifted through a *guanxi* network, a term that refers to the reciprocal benefits gained from an extended social network of family, school friends, work relations, and other organizational memberships customary to locals and overseas Chinese communities. I received all my Expo admission tickets through family connections who obtained them from business associates and visiting friends, who had unused entrance visits remaining on three-day or seven-day passes. Altogether, I made a total of fourteen site visits to the Shanghai Expo over the course of forty-two days, from September 21, 2010 to November 1, 2010.

³⁸⁷ Farah Master, "Air Pollution Engulfs China's Shanghai After Expo," *Reuters*, Technology section, November 30, 2010, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-chian-pollution-idUSTRE6AT0W520101130>.

My study analyzed the data using several strategies. First, I grouped the raw data using a combination of field log and topical entries such as picnics, the China Pavilion, stamp collecting, and the Haibao doll, which reduced the data. A mixture of media in the drawings, accompanying text entries, Expo ephemera, and newspaper clippings were added to the chronological order of the field log entries. Field entries were ordered by date (see appendix) with additional information identifying the amount of time spent in the field of study, the Expo Zones visited that day, and the title of the topical entry. A total of thirty-one topical entries were identified.

The next stage of analyzing the data was the production of an autobiographical artist's book in the form of a graphic travelogue manuscript. The main studio work included writing a larger narrative about my experience of the Shanghai Expo as recounted through the collection of topical entries. In most cases, drawings were accompanied by text that described, informed, reflected on, or spoke back to the drawn images. Finally, the graphic design production of the travelogue book constituted the final display of the data. This process involved scanning all the drawings at photo-quality resolution and cleaning each image file in Adobe Photoshop to remove irregularities such as minor dirt marks, under-drawings, and inconsistencies in paper textures. Colour corrections for each image were employed to enhance quality. The manuscript text was copyedited by a professional. Then both the text and images were laid out in Adobe InDesign according to predetermined design constraints of margins, page size, resolution, and font style to set a clear appearance of quality throughout the document. A prototype copy of the travelogue was printed for evaluation purposes during my PhD studio exam. The travelogue remains in this preliminary copy stage, although further development is forthcoming.

The next chapter brings *Expo Daily* further into the realm of a research project by way of considering the data as evidence for alternative experiences of the Shanghai Expo event.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Results of the Study: Three Case Studies

This dissertation has established the theoretical discourse, research context, and creative-research methodology important to the study of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. As such, this chapter brings back the problematic introduced at the outset of the study: How did the Shanghai Expo's visitors activities bring aspects of the Expo's alternative experiences into view? Chapter 4 argues that my drawing folio *Expo Daily* documented recurring social practices diverging from the official programs of the Shanghai Expo. As such, the following case studies analyze the marketing of fake Haibao dolls, picnicking at the Expo, and collecting commemorative stamps, as they constitute the outcome of my study. The folio of drawings and field log entries are reintegrated into the written critical component to assist in the analysis of how visitor activities were very different from the Expo's official constructions.

My observations of visitor activities were initially made prior to being exposed to media reports on the Shanghai Expo. Therefore, correlating news stories on the Expo's visitor activities elaborated my documentation in *Expo Daily* in a process Nicholas Mirzoeff called "critical visuality."³⁸⁸ This pushed me to be critically aware of all Expo-sanctioned media output, questioning how most of these media frames belong to an official system of Expo branding. To a certain extent, my drawing folio serves as an alternative document to the official media representations of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo, as it comes from the perspective of a visitor and an observer.

The visitor activities represented in *Expo Daily* bring forward interpretations of certain social practices that were unanticipated by the Shanghai Expo's organizers. For example, figure 1 is a drawing of Shanghai Expo visitors I saw seated on the grounds of the Netherlands Pavilion in October 2010. There were many more people in picnic groups on the same grounds of the Dutch pavilion, and still more on the Expo's fairgrounds under the shade of trees and canopies of other pavilions.

³⁸⁸ Nicholas Mirzoeff, "What is Visual Culture?" in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 1998), 3.



Figure 1. Joanne Hui, *Visitor picnic group at the Netherlands Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

The Expo fairgrounds had eight secured entrance/exit gates in total. Visitors were required to acquiesce to a full-body pat-down and bag search. Not much entered the park without passing the inspection of security guards. Disposable water bottles and cigarette lighters were banned from the fairgrounds due to the increased rubbish they brought on-site. Food, however, was not banned, and so packed lunches passed through the security gates.

I saw men and women, grandparents and children, whole families happily organized around tote stools supporting lunch boxes. Most of the lunches looked homemade, whereas others were purchased from food vendors on-site. I saw all this on my first day at the Shanghai Expo. While visiting neighbourhood parks is a common form of outing for city residents, most parks are used for socializing and exercising in groups. The public activity of sitting on the ground, however, is less common. The picnics thus aroused my curiosity immediately. The phenomenon was so widespread that it soon became a part of the visual landscape of the Expo fairgrounds. I noted on my official Expo map: “Picnics, and a lot of them.” After that, I made more elaborate drawings to document the prominence of the picnic phenomenon. When I turn the pages of my drawing folio now, pictures of the Expo’s picnickers jump out. This intrigued me, as it raised the question: What is the difference between seeing a high number of picnics on the fairgrounds, and what I had seen on display throughout the Expo’s pavilion exhibitions? It is in this difference, in the mismatch between the Expo’s official constructions and its visitor activities, that the drawing of picnickers became more than the result of seeing. The drawing became a point of reference, surpassing the experience (both in the field and in the act of making the image) to generate its own path of social investigation. Subsequent combinations of drawn images with secondary sources and additional research led to a process of thinking about *Expo Daily* as an interpretation of visitor activities.

I found that outside the officially branded spaces there was something very different and interesting happening on the grounds of the Expo.³⁸⁹ It is within the unofficial spaces that I found a thriving economy of counterfeit Shanghai Expo souvenirs (fake Haibao dolls, a paler blue than the officially licensed toys), improvised picnic lunches on the green Astroturf of the Dutch pavilion grounds and siestas shaded by topiary, and camaraderie among the Expo Passport stamp

³⁸⁹ According to Jian Wang, positive national branding through pavilion design is one of the key mandates for both host and participant countries at World Expos. See Wang, *Shaping China’s Global Imagination*, 2.

collectors despite the weariness of pavilion queues lasting four to eight hours. What these spaces recognized was an incompatibility between visitor activities and the Expo's official programs and branded narratives of "harmonious world" promoted by the organizers. As such, my documentation of the Shanghai Expo in *Expo Daily* revealed visible differences between the Expo's official scripts and the reality of visitor activities at the event. Further analysis of these sites is crucial to better understand how national and class differences were experienced beyond the officially branded spaces. The following case studies provide an analysis of three visitor activities documented in *Expo Daily*.

4.1 Case Study 1: Marketing Fake Haibao Dolls

Before the Shanghai Expo officially opened, the Expo's visitors made little distinction between buying counterfeit Haibao dolls and the Expo's officially licensed souvenirs, preferring the lower prices of the knock-offs. The marketing of fake Haibao toys spotlights how the Shanghai Expo imposed an official tourist economy, encouraging visitors to buy Expo-licensed products. Officially, Expo-certified products promoted the branding of China with narratives of national unity, increased wealth, global participation, and "harmonious society." The licensed Expo stores sold souvenirs ranging from Haibao figurines with dolls of China's ethnic minorities, a gold Haibao lugging a money sack, talking Haibao dolls, low-energy compact fluorescent Haibao light bulbs, and a miniature model of China's high-speed train branded with the Expo slogan "Better City, Better Life" (fig. 2). However, I found an alternate economy of counterfeit Expo souvenirs and fake Haibao dolls. This case study provides evidence of the phenomenon of counterfeit Haibao toys, first documented in *Expo Daily* and later verified by local and international media reports.



Figure 2. A range of officially licensed souvenirs available for sale in Shanghai Expo stores, 2010. Digital photographs by R. Armstrong. From the personal collection of the photographer.

4.1.1 The Paradox of Plagiarism

Haibao, the Shanghai Expo’s official mascot, resembles the Chinese character 人 (*rén*, meaning “person” and “people”), which is made from two strokes supporting one another (fig. 3). In the branding of the mascot, Haibao was conceptually linked to the Expo theme “Better City, Better Life” to represent the idea that a “good life” is not achieved alone, but among people who support one another through their individual efforts.³⁹⁰ Through observations documented in *Expo Daily*, I found something very different from the “good life” that Haibao was meant to symbolize. I noted a lack of respect—from both the Shanghai Expo’s official brand and fake market producers—for copyright protection. According to British newspapers the *Telegraph* and the *Epoch Times*, even before the Expo opened it received international criticism over concerns of plagiarism of two Expo brands, the Haibao mascot and the official theme song.³⁹¹ The Expo organizers faced accusations that the song was a copy of a hit Japanese pop song from 1997.³⁹² In the end, Expo organizers withdrew the song and paid \$3.2 million USD to the Japanese songwriter.³⁹³ Likewise, the concern over the mascot was the originality of its design, with some claiming that Haibao resembled the American animated character Gumby too closely.³⁹⁴ In addition, pictures circulated online of the Henan Xinxiang Haibao Electric Appliance Company’s mascot. The owners claimed that the Expo’s mascot was an exact copy of theirs, including the use of the name Haibao.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ In my folio, I noted that the blue of the Haibao mascot represented water—which connects it to Shanghai, a prominent coastal city—and that Haibao’s hair is the crest of a wave, which designers felt evoked a spirit of generosity and hospitality further emphasized by his two thumbs up. See Appendix: *Expo Daily* Fieldwork Logs for the entry made on October 15, 2010.

³⁹¹ “Shanghai Expo Pays \$3.2 Million for Plagiarized Japanese Song,” *The Epoch Times*, May 20, 2010; Malcolm Moore, “At the Shanghai Expo, Imitation Is the Sincerest Form of Flattery,” *The Telegraph*, World section, *Telegraph* blogs, May 4, 2010.

³⁹² “Shanghai Expo Pays \$3.2 Million,” *The Epoch Times*.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ “The Gumbygate Scandal: China’s Haibao Versus America’s Gumby,” *Weird Asia News*, May 12, 2010.

³⁹⁵ Moore, “At the Shanghai Expo.”

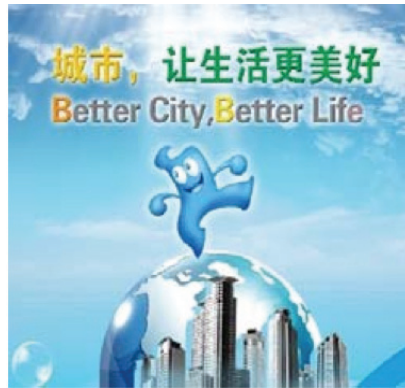


Figure 3. Haibao and the theme of the Expo: “Better City, Better Life.”

My first impression of Haibao was one of uncertainty, as I logged in *Expo Daily* on October 15, 2010 that “he came across as a squeeze of toothpaste with large cartoon eyes and a super-elated hand wave. To the foreign eye, Haibao looks incomparable to any popular character in North America, except possibly Gumby.” Several media sources verified Haibao’s similarity to Gumby; one headline—“The Gumby Gate Scandal”—accused Haibao’s creator of blatantly plagiarizing Gumby, with speculations that the source was a poster featuring the cartoon character seen on the American sitcom *Growing Pains* (1985–1992), which was later popularized in domestic broadcasts.³⁹⁶ Issues of copyright infringement suggest continued perceptions of China as a country where plagiarism and piracy is rampant. However, alternative perceptions of counterfeit culture, or *shanzhai*, considers the transitional role of fakes as the residue of China’s socialist attitudes of egalitarianism relating to a new global era of market reform.³⁹⁷ *Shanzhai* was historically used to describe a bandit stronghold outside government control.³⁹⁸ Today, *shanzhai* refers to businesses based on fake or pirated products. However, an increasing number of China’s

³⁹⁶ Concerns over Haibao’s resemblance to Gumby first came to light on April 23, 2010, when foreign correspondent Louisa Lim (NPR) accused Haibao’s creator, Wu Yongjian, of plagiarizing Gumby during a Shanghai Expo press conference. See “The Gumbygate Scandal: China’s Haibao Versus America’s Gumby,” *Weird Asia News*, May 12, 2010.

³⁹⁷ Ackbar Abbas, “Faking Globalization,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London: Routledge, 2012), 282–295.

³⁹⁸ William Hennessey, “Deconstructing Shanzhai – China’s Copycat Counterculture: Catch Me If You Can,” *Campbell Law Review* 34, no. 3 (2012): 611–614.

shanzhai businesses starting out with high-risk, fast, flexible, and innovative practices have since become formidable market leaders in their own right.³⁹⁹

Nevertheless, the irony of the Expo organizers enforcing strict copyright protection over reproduction of the Haibao trademark (itself under international scrutiny for alleged plagiarism) is not lost on scholars. Nordin argues that the Expo's plagiarism scandals indicate that a reality was being masked, and the purpose of denouncers (or critical work, in this case) was to reveal this reality through exposing the fakery.⁴⁰⁰ The scandal of Haibao therefore suggests a systemic blindness which allowed the Expo's organizers to exercise copyright violations with no repercussions, while stringently enforcing the same laws on low-level, counterfeit suppliers (fig. 4).

Despite efforts by Expo organizers to the contrary, a bustling *shanzhai* economy of counterfeit souvenirs emerged to meet the enormous demand of some 70 million visitors shaping the Expo's buyers' market. The *shanzhai* souvenir market quickly outpaced sales of the Expo's licensed souvenirs, causing a problem for organizers.⁴⁰¹ For instance, the Haibao doll was the most sought-after souvenir item, and high demand for the considerably lower prices of the slightly fatter and paler blue fake dolls created a parallel network of fake producers and vendors to fulfill the demands of buyers (fig. 5). I documented in *Expo Daily* that most purchasers of Haibao dolls bought the fakes on purpose, citing the significantly lower price of 15 RMB (\$2.19 USD) as the key incentive, where the authentic dolls sold at a fixed price of 95 RMB at the official Expo-sponsored stores only. A customer might purchase the equivalent of seven fake items for the same price as a single authentic Haibao doll.⁴⁰² As Yang Jian reported in the *Shanghai Daily* on September 1, 2009, "most of the fake Haibao buyers (a large number of them tourists from other provinces) are not really victims. Most of them buy the fake items on purpose and the low prices is the biggest attraction."⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 612.

⁴⁰⁰ Nordin, "Time, Space and Multiplicity in China's Harmonious World," 152–154.

⁴⁰¹ Yang Jian, "Business Brisk for Sellers of Fake Haibaos and Souvenirs," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, September 1, 2009.

⁴⁰² See Appendix: *Expo Daily* Fieldwork Logs, for the entry made on October 15, 2010.

⁴⁰³ Yang Jian, "Business Brisk for Sellers of Fake Haibaos."



Figure 4. Joanne Hui, *Abandoned Haibao dolls in boxes and other Expo souvenir items on a fairground bench at the Shanghai Expo*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

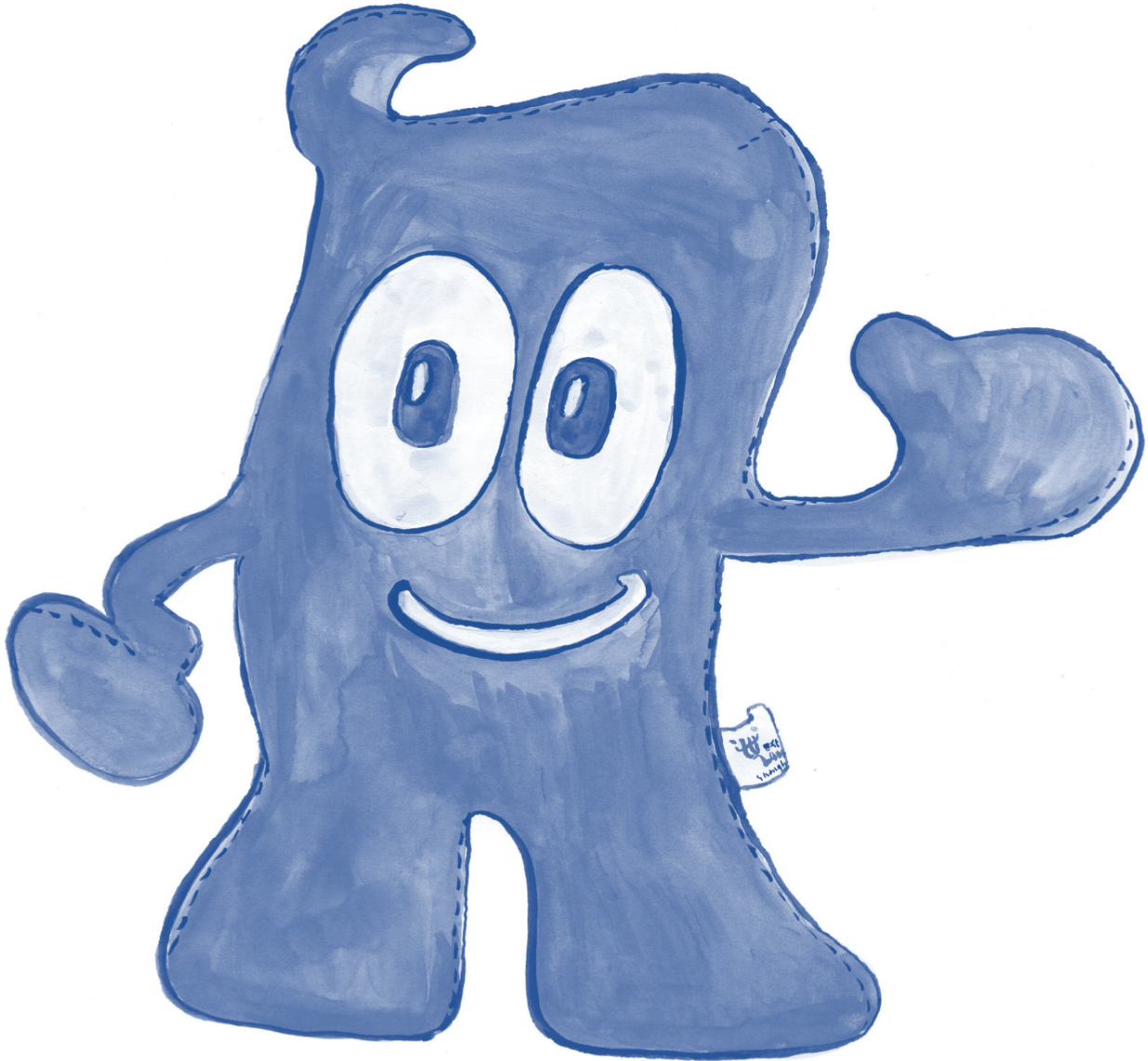


Figure 5. Joanne Hui, *A fake Haibao plush doll that is a lighter shade of blue than the officially licensed Haibao doll*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

This evidence demonstrates that the Expo's visitors preferred the lower prices of the counterfeit souvenirs and this consequently undercut the sales volume of the Expo's officially licensed stores. At the time I noted in my journal:

Haibao could only be purchased at officially sponsored souvenir shops on the Expo grounds, or at off-site stores in popular shopping districts of Shanghai, such as Nanjing Lu. At the time of my visit, [this was over last months of Expo in September and October 2010] there no longer were any counterfeit Haibao dolls available. I went to the Yuyuan Garden market with a couple of friends to seek out fakes, only to find shopkeepers giving me knowing nods, saying the time for fake Haibao deals are over. Go to the official stores and pay the big bucks, they said. — *Expo Daily*, October 15, 2010

The *Shanghai Daily* reported that an average 1,000 fake Haibao dolls could be sold every day, whereas licensed stores in the same area could sell at most one hundred Haibao dolls a day.⁴⁰⁴ The reporter also noted that since five licensed Expo stores had opened in the Yuyuan Garden area in May 2009, each store averaged sales of about 10,000 yuan every day.⁴⁰⁵ But soon afterwards more than one hundred fake Haibao vendors opened businesses in the same area, causing a dramatic drop in the sales of licensed stores to about 3,000 yuan a day.⁴⁰⁶ Yet another of the Expo's flagship stores—located on Nanjing Road, a popular shopping area—reported that sales decreased by more than 30 percent due to the fake Haibao peddlers.⁴⁰⁷

In Shanghai's tourist markets, the Expo's shopping visitors made little distinction between the fake dolls and the authentic ones; in fact, they willingly empowered the *shanzhai* market so they could purchase more items at lower prices. In sum, the lucrative business of selling Haibao dolls created an ongoing competition between the Expo's licensed souvenir stores

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

and sellers of counterfeit Expo items, and tensions only increased as higher numbers of fake vendors populated the same shopping districts of licensed stores.⁴⁰⁸

The *shanzhai* economy seems to suggest that Expo visitors were either prudent about how they spent their money or unable to afford the official souvenirs. For the latter, the thriving businesses of the *shanzhai* Expo markets suggests the ingenuity of low-income households to resist cultural marginalization, asserting their participation at the Expo by buying low-priced fake souvenirs in lieu of high-priced licensed souvenirs. Elaborating on the Haibao mascot supports my argument that actual visitor activities at the Expo suggest a very different experience from those promoted by the Expo's official theme of "Better City, Better Life." In fact, the high prices of the Expo's licensed souvenirs challenged the idea of "Better Life," exposing issues of income inequality and a preference for counterfeit merchandise. The evidence outlined in the next section shows how the Shanghai Expo imposed an official economy of souvenirs to get visitors to buy Expo-licensed products; it also describes the disciplinary actions taken by the Expo organizers to stem the counterfeit economy and regain control over the Expo brand.

4.1.2 Crackdown on Fake Haibao Dolls

Instead of lowering the prices of licensed souvenirs,⁴⁰⁹ the Expo organizers worked to end the business of counterfeit Expo products by accusing their manufacturers and sellers of copyright violation:

As early as August 12, 2009, the crackdown on counterfeit Haibao dolls by Shanghai authorities had been reported. A raid on Nanjing Lu confiscated two hundred fake Haibao dolls during the first joint effort between local authorities and the Expo organizers, citing that the bogus dolls infringed on the event's intellectual property rights. This raid took

⁴⁰⁸ Expo souvenirs were available in Shanghai as early as December 2007; the constant undercutting in the sales of officially licensed souvenirs became particularly strained leading up to the Expo's opening on May 1, 2010. See Marc Arnold, *expo2010*, August 18, 2010.

⁴⁰⁹ Before Expo opened, more than 630 official Expo souvenir shops were established around China, altogether selling more than 8,000 types of souvenir items. See Lu Feiran, "Crackdown on Fake Expo Souvenirs," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, February 5, 2010.

place only after local newspapers published reports of vendors selling counterfeit Haibao toys. — *Expo Daily*, October 15, 2010

In fact, many disciplinary actions taken by the Expo organizers were enforced through local police authorities. This was verified by a number of media reports from February 2009 to August 2010 with headlines describing increasingly punitive measures.⁴¹⁰

At first the Expo organizers worked collaboratively with industry authorities to stop the sale of fake items. The *Shanghai Daily* reported local industries targeting small gift and garment markets to crack down on fake Expo souvenirs, with the Shanghai Industrial and Administrative Bureau working to target areas around the Expo site and popular shopping areas.⁴¹¹ Counterfeit vendors were given a warning the first time they got caught, followed by a second warning that they would be “driven out of the market” if caught again.⁴¹² As documented in *Expo Daily*, efforts to stem the sale of fake Haibao dolls at the tourist markets were a success. On October 15, 2010, I described in *Expo Daily* that shopkeepers had removed all displays of fake dolls, and were even unwilling to sell a fake Haibao in secret.

The small-scale fake Expo souvenir vendors received warnings and light fines, whereas the Expo organizers worked with police to target suppliers, rooting out factories and warehouses, confiscating unsold fakes, and detaining both vendors and producers of large-scale counterfeit operations. The *Shanghai Daily* reported that in 2009, three out of the top ten cases of copyright violation in China were related to infringement of the Expo brand and trademark.⁴¹³ One such

⁴¹⁰ Lu Feiran, “Crackdown on Fake Expo Souvenirs”; “Bye Bye, Fake Haibao,” *Shanghai Daily*, print edition, September 4, 2009; Xu Fang, “Fine for Fake Haibao Firm,” *Shanghai Daily*, print edition, April 19, 2010; Xu Fang, “Three Face Charges Over Counterfeit Haibao Toys,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 6, 2010; Angela Xu, “Fake Haibao Sellers Get Jail,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 27, 2010; “Expo & IPR Protection: Crackdown Continues on Phony Expo Items,” *Qiao LAB*, August 23, 2010; Ni Yinbin, “Five Gangs Busted for Selling Fake Expo Goods,” *Shanghai Daily*, August 27, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/metro/Five-gangs-busted-for-selling-fake-Expo-goods/shdaily.shtml>.

⁴¹¹ Lu Feiran, “Crackdown on Fake Expo Souvenirs.”

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ The article described how officials of the Minhang District Industrial and Commercial Administrative Bureau seized fake Haibao sculptures and several of their moulds in a workshop in July 31, 2009 after

case was a local company producing fake Haibao sculptures, which were then sold on the Internet.⁴¹⁴ The company was fined 30,000 yuan (\$4,391 USD) and unsold sculptures and moulds were confiscated by the authorities.⁴¹⁵ Two months later, the *Shanghai Daily* reported three men charged by Huangpu District prosecutors for violating the Expo's registered trademarks and selling fake plush Haibao toys for a total 440,000 yuan (\$64,407 USD).⁴¹⁶ By the end of the month, the men were sentenced to between one to four years in prison for having sold nearly 260,000 fake Haibao toys, from August 2009 to February 2010.⁴¹⁷ To truly drive the message home, Shanghai authorities ended five more counterfeit operations, seizing 27,500 fake Expo souvenirs in a police raid the following month.⁴¹⁸ Finally, Shanghai police confiscated more than 60,000 unsold fake Haibao dolls (fig. 6).⁴¹⁹

Yet peddlers of fake Expo items continued to work their way onto the Expo fairgrounds, as fines for low-volume sellers were less severe.⁴²⁰ These vendors changed their tactics from hawking the conspicuous Haibao dolls to selling smaller, more discreet items, such as counterfeit key rings, entrance tickets to the Expo, or reservation slips for the popular China Pavilion.⁴²¹ The *Shanghai Daily* reported that these illicit products were rampant across the fairgrounds.⁴²² Vendors could be seen on the Expo Axis (the elevated pedestrian footpath) near the Expo Culture Center selling counterfeits; they hid their fakes in bags and walked lengthy queues outside

receiving a tip from the Bureau of Shanghai World Expo Coordination (the same Bureau in charge of regulating visitor flow on the fairgrounds through use of the Expo Passport and stamps). See Xu Fang, "Fine for Fake Haibao Firm."

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Xu Fang, "Three Face Charges Over Counterfeit Haibao Toys."

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ni Yinbin, "Five Gangs Busted for Selling Fake Expo Goods."

⁴¹⁹ Angela Xu, "Fake Haibao Sellers Get Jail."

⁴²⁰ Yang Jian, "Armed Police Guard Fences Against Fake Souvenir Sellers," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, August 6, 2010.

⁴²¹ Yang Jian, "Unlicensed Vendors Targeted," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 17, 2010; Yang Jian, Xu Chi, and Yao Min-G, "Vendors Still Sell Fakes," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 20, 2010.

⁴²² Yang Jian, "Unlicensed Vendors Targeted."

pavilions, being sure to move around in the daytime to avoid being caught.⁴²³ Under the cover of large crowds and after dark, illegal sellers peddled their fakes more confidently.⁴²⁴ In this case, the Expo organizers issued a notice to all visitors, saying that the security guards at the entrance gates had been instructed to limit the number of items visitors could bring on-site, to confiscate multiple items, and to refuse entry to visitors who declined to deposit extra items (fig. 7).⁴²⁵

This case study on marketing fake Haibao merchandise questions the paradox of plagiarism and disregard for copyright law by both Expo organizers and *shanzhai* producers. The results point to strong capitalist drives among all involved. For instance, Expo visitors were indifferent to the officially licensed souvenirs, preferring to buy a higher number of low-priced knock-off souvenirs rather than pay the price of the authentic ones. Counterfeit producers and vendors paid no heed to the Expo trademark, in order to make a fast profit. Finally, the Expo organizers took authoritarian measures to regain control over the Expo trademark—amidst international criticism—and to earn back lost revenue. Through *Expo Daily* and the media stories on the marketing of fake items, this case study demonstrates a dynamic exchange between official and unofficial cultures at the Shanghai Expo.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Xu Chi, “Scalpers Use Crowds as Cover on Weekends,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 27, 2010; Yang Jian et al., “Vendors Still Sell Fakes.”

⁴²⁵ Yang Jian, “Unlicensed Vendors Targeted.”



Figure 6. Joanne Hui, *Counterfeit Haibao dolls in residue smoke from a bonfire incineration of thousands of confiscated fakes*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 7. Joanne Hui, *A line of security guards on the fairgrounds of the Shanghai Expo*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

4.2 Case Study 2: Picnicking At The Expo

Most visitors brought packed lunches to the fairgrounds, as logged in my *Expo Daily* entry dated October 18, 2010:

Countless Expo visitors arrive with picnic meals in tow. Family and friends gather for picnics throughout the day, their mini-stools serving as both tables and seats. ... With the increase of government-required visits by factory workers (usually from outlying cities) to boost attendance to new records in Expo's final months, the high price of food accelerated into a contentious issue. For this reason, I saw more people having picnics and bringing instant noodle cups than in the pavilion restaurants.

The best brand of instant noodle cup costs 6 RMB, or 88 US cents. The price of an Asian "Expo Meal Set" was eight times more. At the cost of 48 RMB, the dinner consisted of broth soup, five dumplings, and three pickled vegetable appetizers. Other Asian meals included a plate of curry chicken and an orange juice for 60 RMB, a Korean bibimbap for 55 RMB, and fried noodles for 38 RMB. The price of an average Western-style lunch at one of the themed pavilions was more expensive, well over 200 RMB. I ate a salad at the Italian pavilion for 78 RMB, well over ten times the cost of an instant noodle cup.

This second case study discusses the unanticipated visitor activity of picnics as it connects with the visible observation of bodies exceeding the Shanghai Expo's official program of food shops and pavilion restaurants. The difference between the inflated prices of the Expo's food vendors and the price of a regular Master Kong Instant Noodle cup⁴²⁶ led many visitors to bring their own packed lunches to the Shanghai Expo. Documenting the phenomenon, the *Expo Daily* drawings suggest there were more visitors eating picnic lunches on the fairgrounds than dining in the Expo restaurants. In my folio, I documented groups of picnickers at rest and enjoying their packed lunches on the fairgrounds (fig. 8). In all likelihood, most visitors did not dine in the Expo's food

⁴²⁶ Master Kong is one of the top brands of instant noodles (Kang-shi-fu, 康師傅) in the domestic market. It is commonly sold at convenience stores and supermarkets in Shanghai.

venues for several reasons: the extremely long pavilion queues cut meal times short, the food items were too foreign, and food prices were simply too high.



Figure 8. Joanne Hui, *Visitor picnic group at the Switzerland Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

In the first month of the Expo, *Bloomberg* reported that visitor attendance was low because of the combination of high-priced entrance tickets and on-site food.⁴²⁷ The local fast food chain *Fresh Pure* was operating at about 80 percent capacity whereas high-end restaurants were struggling to keep their businesses open.⁴²⁸ The Expo organizers would not budge on cutting entrance ticket prices or handing out more free tickets, thereby forcing the organizers to readjust their fairground operations by dropping food prices as much as 10 percent in order to increase visitor attendance numbers.⁴²⁹ In the end, the Expo's food vendors had to contend with reduced sales and a struggling business in some cases.⁴³⁰

Officially, the organizers planned that visitors would be able to afford its many food shops, issuing an Expo food map, or culinary tour, of the wide range of regional and international cuisines available on-site. *Flavor & Fortune* described chefs at national pavilions cooking traditional dishes with ingredients from their home countries; they also noted the higher prices of foreign food. In general, national pavilion menu items cost 100 to 400 yuan (\$15 to \$60 USD) per dish.⁴³¹ The Expo's food map introduced the Expo's visitors to the culinary achievements of foreign countries (and the Chinese provinces) through the experience of delighting the palate and satiating the stomach, but since most of the Expo's visitors could not afford to eat at its restaurants, millions of visitors were excluded from this cultural exchange underscored by the Expo subtheme "Blending of Diverse Cultures in the City."⁴³² Therefore, the phenomenon of picnics also brought factors of income inequality to light by exposing the high number of visitors who could not afford to—or chose not to—participate in the Expo's official culinary cultural exchange.

The evidence seems to suggest that cutting food prices was not enough; visitors still needed to bring packed lunches to manage the high cost of attending the Expo. In sum, the visitor activity of picnics confirms that the Expo's official food culture was priced too high and did not

⁴²⁷ "Shanghai Expo to Cut Long Queues, Food Prices to Draw Visitors," *Bloomberg*, May 21, 2010.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ Huang Heyu, "Shanghai World Expo: A Fine Food Fair," *Flavor & Fortune* (2011): 11-13.

⁴³² Expo 2010 Passport, "Sub-Themes," *Expo 2010 Shanghai China Passport* (Shanghai: DOW Culture Media Co., 2010), 2.

reflected the purchasing power of its visitors. It also seems that organizers turned a blind eye to picnic activities, perhaps in an effort to improve attendance records; even though security guards had orders to confiscate all outside beverages and cigarette lighters at the gates, the packed lunches still passed through.⁴³³ The result was a high number of visitors eating packed lunches out in the open fairgrounds, making visible the phenomenon of bodies exceeding the food shops and pavilion spaces, outside the control of the Expo's official programming even into the final months of the event.

4.2.1 No Place To Rest: Tote Stools and Instant Noodle Cups

Expo Daily noted the tote stool (fig. 9) and the instant noodle cup (fig. 10) as corollary objects further informing the visual landscape of the Expo's picnic culture. The huge demand for tote stools—used as portable seats for the long queues of pavilion visits, and at picnics—attest to the Expo's failure to provide sufficient designated rest areas for visitors in need of a break and a place to picnic.

⁴³³ "Visitors' Rules Issued for Expo," China.org, April 28, 2010, http://www.china.org.cn/travel/expo2010shanghai/2010-04/28/content_19923577.htm.



Figure 9. Joanne Hui, *Four small foldable tote stools at the Expo. 2010*, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 10. Joanne Hui, *The Shin Ramyun instant noodles cup at the Expo. 2010*, watercolour on paper, 21.9 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

I noted that Shanghai citizens did not mix eating with sitting on the ground, universally regarding the ground as one big garbage can. The activity of picnicking on fairgrounds is foreign to local customs and a contentious issue resolved by the mediation of the tote stool, the popularity of which was clear from the reported increase in its production.

The *China Daily* reports that the mini-folding stool had become the Expo's unofficial souvenir – on par with the mascot, Haibao, and the souvenir passport. . . . The best sellers reported selling 120 to 180 stools a day just in front of the Expo gates. These merchants asked the official Expo-licensed shop to sponsor the stools, but were turned down despite their popularity.

Manufacturers of plastic goods around Shanghai have been making the mini-stools since 2005, but it was only with the Expo demand that manufacturers kicked up production. One entrepreneur with ten employees described how at the time of the Expo his company's output increased four or five times compared to the same time the previous year, and how about 90 percent of the total output went to Shanghai. He was able to produce 700 to 800 folding stools daily by running all four of his machines eight hours a day.⁴³⁴ — *Expo Daily*, October 12, 2010

Despite increased production, there also emerged an illegal trade of tote stools during the Expo. According to the *Shanghai Daily*, after restrictions were put in place on the number of items visitors were allowed to carry onto the Expo site, vendors adopted the clever ruse of maneuvering around officials by buying seats from visitors exiting the site for 5 yuan and selling them at 15 yuan to those just entering.⁴³⁵ Without adequate food services and seating areas for visitors who chose not to eat at the official food shops, the tote stool became a prominent visual marker of the Shanghai Expo experience.

It was not just inadequate eating areas; the shortage of visitor services was a general problem at the Expo. From May to July, *Bloomberg* and *Xinhua* reported that the Expo's coordination offices continued to provide better visitor services, including spray mist on

⁴³⁴ Shi Yingying, "Tiny Folding Stools, Summer's Hottest Expo Item," *China Daily*, July 7, 2010, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010expo/2010-07/07/content_10074209.htm.

⁴³⁵ Yang Jian, "Seat Sellers Won't Be Beat," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 22, 2010.

walkways, shaded shelters, additional doctors and temporary medical clinics to treat people with heat stroke, more chairs, more drinks, electric fans, and shuttle buses.⁴³⁶ However, the case of the instant noodle cup showed an additional neglect. Expo organizers failed to provide facilities with hot water stations for those who brought packed lunches. The lack of hot water was exacerbated by the fact that the instant noodle cup is a very common lunchtime meal for the domestic traveller.

While there had been many water stations on the Expo grounds, they did not dispense hot water – a major oversight. In order to meet the demands of the people and their dry noodles, impromptu electric hot-water dispensers were set up between an information booth and the weirdly spiraling Nepal pavilion. Momentarily confused, I mistook the line-up leading to such a dispenser for one leading to the pavilion. I soon became aware, however, how there were no pedestrian gates to keep order, and then I noticed the waist-high row of instant noodle cups. ...At that moment, I felt sympathy for the people in the line-up, and disappointment with the Expo authorities for having neglected such a necessity. — *Expo Daily*, October 18, 2010

The result of picnicking at the Expo was an increased number of observable bodies outside the control of the Expo's official food programs. The added visibility of tote stools displayed further excesses of bodies engaged in the illegal market of these stools, and instant noodle cups speak to bodies displaced by ill-equipped fairground facilities and design.

This case study on picnicking at the Expo suggests several findings. First, picnics were a prominent part of the visual culture of the Shanghai Expo. Second, the activity of picnicking candidly points to a two-tiered experience of class privilege for visitors who could afford to eat at official Expo food shops, and the economic and cultural marginalization of those who could not. Further consideration of tote stools and instant noodle cups as part of the documented picnic phenomenon reveals a lack of low-priced food options, rest areas, and hot water facilities,

⁴³⁶ “Shanghai Expo to Cut Long Queues, Food Prices to Draw Visitors,” *Bloomberg News*, May 21, 2010; “Shanghai World Expo Attendance Hits 20 Mln Mark,” *Xinhua*, June 28, 2010; “Shanghai World Expo Attendance Passes 20 Million,” *Bloomberg*, July 2, 2010.

compounding the visible observations of bodies exceeding the Expo's official programming and pavilion spaces.

4.3 Case Study 3: Collecting Commemorative Stamps

I described my initiation into collecting commemorative stamps as an activity learnt from watching other Expo visitors:

On the morning of my second visit, I decided to spend some time observing the official souvenir shops. At a kiosk on the Expo Axis, which was the pedestrian walkway above the exhibition grounds, I overheard the commotion of visitors demanding that the shopkeepers give them a special-issue Mid-Autumn Festival stamp showing the mythical Lady in the Moon. At first I did not really understand what the fuss was about, but soon I understood the love for these Expo souvenir passport stamps. Inheriting a passion for collecting from my father—who helped me to amass a healthy collection of coins, international postal stamps, and miniature perfume bottles—I took to the Expo Passport and stamp collecting like a fish to water.⁴³⁷

The evidence provided here on the activity of collecting commemorative stamps demonstrates a phenomenon that goes beyond the Expo's official programs towards wholly different narratives of nation and class. Officially, the Shanghai Expo Passport was introduced by organizers to attract more visitors to the event through a promotional campaign marketed by the slogan "Tour around the globe without going abroad."⁴³⁸ In the first week of the Expo's opening, *Xinhua* reported, "[i]f you want to travel around the world in one single city, you should visit the Shanghai Expo. ... But if you want to prove you have travelled around the world, you must have an Expo Passport with seals of different pavilions of participating countries at the Expo site."⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ See Appendix (*Expo Daily*: Field Logs) for the entry made on November 1, 2010.

⁴³⁸ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, "Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, July 14, 2010.

⁴³⁹ Xinhua, "Passports Center Stage," *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, May 4, 2010.

From the opening day, almost every Shanghai Expo visitor took part in the phenomenon of collecting commemorative stamps.

Over the course of fourteen Expo visits and the jostling of stamp-collecting crowds, I too participated in the activity by collecting 156 souvenir stamps that filled every page of my Expo Passport (figs. 11–12; appendix). The Expo Passport was an officially licensed souvenir that the Expo coordination bureau used as a way to regulate the flow of visitors to more pavilions because they believed collectors would go to the pavilions to collect stamps.⁴⁴⁰ As an activity, visitors holding passports could get inked stamps from each pavilion, with every commemorative stamp possessing a distinct identity and cultural characteristics (fig. 12). The phenomenon immediately outpaced the expectations of the Expo organizers, and the high demand for stamps brought local and international scrutiny over the endless queues for Expo passports. Foreign pavilions found themselves in need of better security to deal with increased crowds at their stamp tables. In concentrating on the visibility of collecting commemorative stamps, my study identified this visitor activity as one of several alternative experiences of the Shanghai Expo which later became a large part of its visual culture.

⁴⁴⁰ Xinhua, “Passports Center Stage.” In the article, deputy director of the Bureau of Shanghai World Expo Coordination Huang Jianzhi states, “[f]or organizers, the passport enables us to help regulate tourist flow. ... Visitors will go to more pavilions to collect seals.”



Figure 11. Joanne Hui, *The standard issue Shanghai World Expo Passport with a blue cover*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.



Figure 12. Joanne Hui, *A collection of commemorative stamps*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

4.3.1 Foreign Pavilions and Public Diplomacy

China's English-language news media portrayed the high demand for Expo Passports as a phenomenon taking everyone by storm, in swells of "mania" and "stamping fever" that whipped pavilion staff into a fever pitch of unpreparedness when faced with crowds so large that foreign staff fled in fear.⁴⁴¹ This was the story in the domestic media: playing up stamp collectors as a constant threat while at the same time exaggerating positive public opinion of the Expo's organizers. For example, a number of reports detail the cooperation of the organizers with foreign pavilions in finding solutions to mitigate the high demand for stamps. The news media reported countless descriptions of foreign pavilion staff members and foreign visitors baffled, unable to understand why domestic visitors wanted the stamps so much.

The phenomenon of building a stamp collection is a national obsession misunderstood and ridiculed by the foreign community of volunteers and Expo visitors. Expo volunteers observed that many people skipped past the exhibits altogether just to get to the stamp table. I did this several times myself. One just stood still a moment, and listened for the endless cha-chunking to figure out where to make a beeline. It was cha-chunk, cha-chunk, cha-chunk, all day long.⁴⁴²

The cultural misunderstanding among foreigners was confirmed in several news items. The *Shanghai Daily* noted, "[t]he stamp frenzy angered some pavilion staff, who discontinued stamping services so that visitors would take time to view pavilions."⁴⁴³ An American tourist commented that "some visitors don't even remember which venues they visited... they only show off how many stamps they have. I can't agree with such a strange passion... if people don't care about the exhibitions in the pavilions or different cultures, why are they so fond of stamps?"⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, "Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People"; He Fei, "Stamping Fever at the Expo," *China Drive English*, June 10, 2010. CRIEnglish.com is a China-based daily news and lifestyle radio show targeted at a UK audience.

⁴⁴² See Appendix (*Expo Daily*: Field Logs) for the entry made on November 1, 2010.

⁴⁴³ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, "Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People."

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Other articles described foreign pavilion staff members overtired by the monotony of issuing stamps, under threat of violence from frustrated stamp collectors, and turning to the Expo organizers to provide operational guidelines for issuing stamps and additional security for crowd control (fig. 13).



Figure 13. Joanne Hui, *An Expo volunteer stamping Expo Passports with a commemorative stamp*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

One Expo pavilion worker spoke anonymously to CNN Shanghai, saying, “[w]e’ve had to limit the number of passport stamps per person since people are coming up with stacks of them. When we’ve turned people away they’ve become violent, physically pushing and hitting those guarding the stamps.”⁴⁴⁵ The radio show *China Drive English* reported that the Liverpool stand limited the number of stamps per visitor, while the US Pavilion⁴⁴⁶ (fig. 14) and Ireland Pavilion stopped stamping altogether.⁴⁴⁷ On July 14, 2010, a *Shanghai Daily* article reported the Expo organizers ruled a single visitor could only get five passports stamped at a single pavilion.⁴⁴⁸

The most telling report on the collaborative efforts of the Expo organizers and the foreign pavilions comes from a survey asking visitors for ideas to improve the Expo’s operations. The *Shanghai Daily* reported that a dozen ideas were responsively implemented by the Expo organizers to improve visitor services.⁴⁴⁹ Some of these ideas were in use at the time of my visits. They included allowing visitors to make pavilion reservations by mobile phone,⁴⁵⁰ allowing visitors to gain a Fast Pass by collecting stamps at less popular Puxi-side pavilions first (in exchange for reservation tickets at popular pavilions),⁴⁵¹ and regular public announcements on the fairgrounds describing pavilion queue times and weather forecasts.⁴⁵² The full extent of the Expo

⁴⁴⁵ “Expo Passports Sold for RMB 5,580,” *CNN Shanghai*, June 30, 2010.

⁴⁴⁶ There is little information available regarding the US Pavilion’s decision to decommission their pavilion stamp, but my own field notes describe an official announcement made by the Americans, who felt that the Expo authorities had not provided adequate security for the crowds that stamp collecting created (see Appendix: *Expo Daily* Fieldwork Logs, October 31, 2010). I was able to get a US Pavilion stamp in my Expo Passport through a friend’s connection, an illustration of which is included in the appendix.

⁴⁴⁷ He Fei, “Stamping Fever at the Expo.”

⁴⁴⁸ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

⁴⁴⁹ Yang Jian, “Ideas for Improvement,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, August 12, 2010.

⁴⁵⁰ Yao Minji, “An Inside Look at 10 Popular Pavilions,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, June 16, 2010.

⁴⁵¹ Yao Minji, “Lowdown on Zone C – The Good, the Bad and the Shortcuts,” *Shanghai Daily*, June 15, 2010, Metro section, Print edition; “Faster Access Planned,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, Print edition, May 15, 2010.

⁴⁵² Yang Jian, “Ideas for Improvement.”

organizers' responsiveness also included an Expo hotline taking calls for ideas to improve Expo operations; the service was available in both Mandarin and English.⁴⁵³

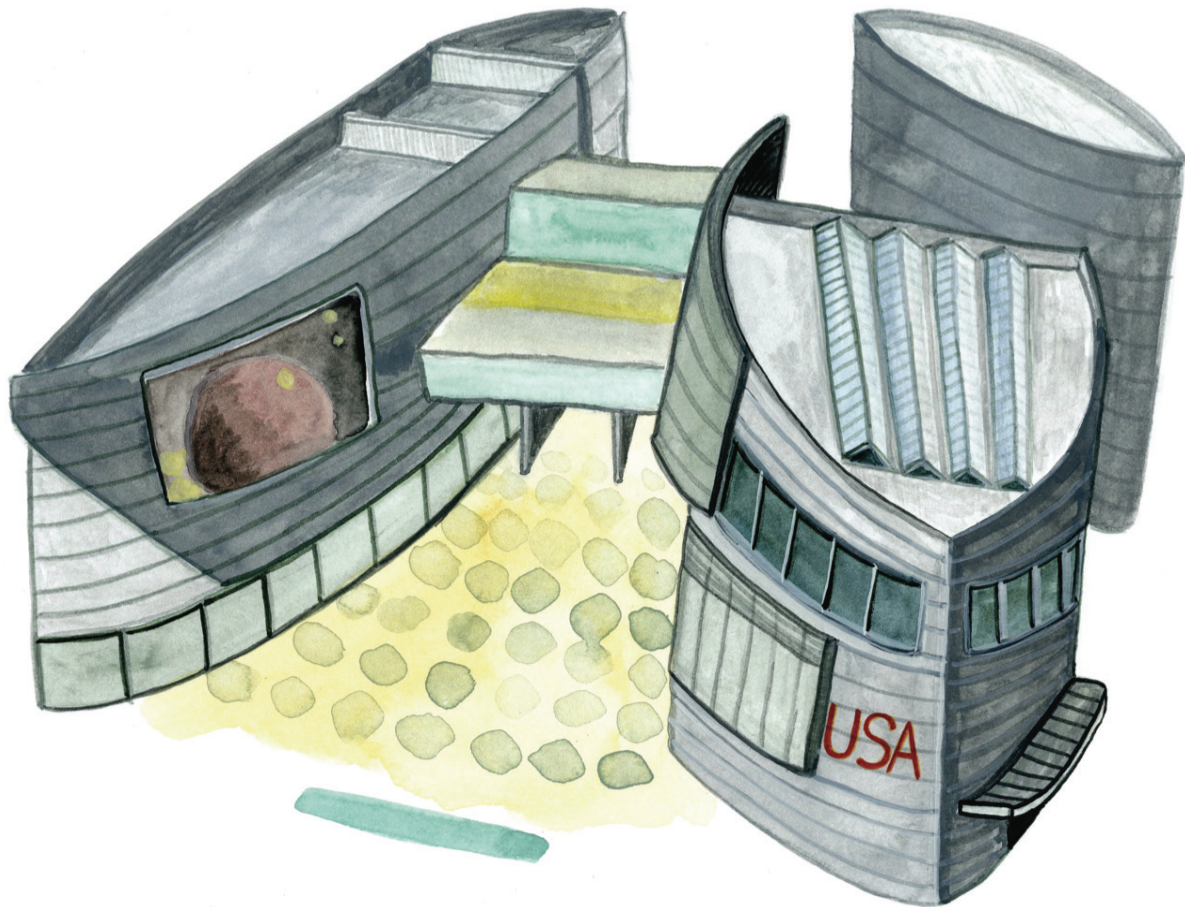


Figure 14. Joanne Hui, *The United States of America Pavilion*. 2010, watercolour on paper, 25.4 x 30.5 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

China's public diplomacy at the Expo encouraged a process of mutual benefits for its visitors, the Expo organizers, and foreign pavilions to ensure several things. First, visitors got their Expo Passports stamped as a memento of the Shanghai Expo. Second, foreign pavilions could feel confident in the security of their staff members (even if there was no real threat), and, by working collaboratively with the host country, feel their official messages were getting through to the public with the end goal of establishing mutually cooperative foreign relations. Finally, the Expo organizers could keep control over the crowds by using stamp collecting as a mechanism to regulate the flow of visitors on the fairgrounds.

The media reported a high number of distorting characterizations of stamp collectors as a potential risk to the security of foreign pavilion staff, and an overall source of disruption for the Expo's operations. Foreign pavilions worked collaboratively with the Expo organizers in a platform of public diplomacy initiated by the central government, and more in line with international standards than is the norm for China. A new regime of public diplomacy in China was portrayed as functioning in accordance with international media standards of transparency in its operations and responsiveness to meet the high demands of visitors for Expo Passports and stamps.

4.3.2 Strategic Regulation of Stamp Collectors

Additional media reports further characterized the stamp-collecting phenomenon as a "craze" and a pathology of "mania" that was reined in by the Expo organizers. The following evidence describes the logistical strategies used by the Expo organizers to regulate the flow of visitors, disperse crowd congestion, and move visitors through pavilion spaces, ultimately allowing organizers to better control visitor movements while collecting stamps.⁴⁵⁴

A large part of the media focus on collecting souvenir stamps was due, for the most part, to the sheer unexpected numbers of visitors participating in the activity.

⁴⁵⁴ As the entry "China Pavilion" in the appendix notes (*Expo Daily*: Field Log, September 30, 2010), there were exceptions of friendship connections, or *Guanxi* networks, that allowed a privileged class of visitors to gain faster entrance to pavilions, bypassing long queues and crowds through loopholes in tourist access. However, this was not the norm.

The Shanghai World Expo was the only event where the popularity of the booklets soared to record numbers ... Reports said that around 80,000 souvenir passports were produced each day, and about 70 million had been sold by the end of the Expo—almost one for each of the Expo’s 73 million visitors. ... At the start of the Expo, souvenir shops had sold out of passports. Soon afterward, to avoid disappointment, frenzied visitors would dash through the Expo Gates upon entry to take their place in line at one of the many kiosks to buy their passports. Each vendor, it was later reported, sold more than a thousand passports a day.⁴⁵⁵

In the first week of the Expo, media headlines described stamp collecting as a positive activity.⁴⁵⁶ *Expo Daily* (November 1, 2010) also notes the first contributing factor to the popularity of collecting stamps was the relatively low price of 30 yuan (\$4.40 USD) for an Expo Passport, which was affordable for most Expo visitors compared to high-priced, officially licensed Expo souvenirs. Later on, however, this dissolved into news coverage describing scalpers cashing in on Expo Passports for 3,000 yuan (\$440 USD), and the increasingly aggressive behaviour of visitors.⁴⁵⁷ Overall, the activity of visitors demanding stamps was described as a “frenzy,” with the visitors being “pushy,” “violent,” disruptive, and in conflict with the Expo’s brand of good citizenship and polite social behaviour.⁴⁵⁸

In visual representations of stamp-collecting crowds, the media frequently printed photos of stamp collectors waiting in queues for hours, describing “line-jumping, pushing and flared tempers,” with stereotypes of visitors in “hordes” causing a “virtual stampede to get Expo

⁴⁵⁵ See appendix (*Expo Daily*: Field Logs) for the entry made on November 1, 2010.

⁴⁵⁶ Xinhua, “Passports Center Stage”; Tang Zhihao, “Passports Become Hot Items at Expo,” *China Daily*, Nation section, print edition, May 6, 2010.

⁴⁵⁷ Liu Xiaolin, “Scalpers Offer Expo Souvenir,” *Shanghai Daily*, May 7, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/metro/Scalpers-offer-Expo-souvenirs/shdaily.shtml>; He Fei, “Stamping Fever at the Expo,” June 10, 2010; Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

⁴⁵⁸ He Fei, “Stamping Fever at the Expo”; “Expo Passports sold for RMB 5,580,” June 30, 2010; Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

Passports and pavilion stamps.”⁴⁵⁹ The *Shanghai Daily* reported witnesses in awe of collectors jumping queues with stacks of passports that they stamped themselves after taking the stamp away from the issuer at the pavilion, further claiming that “[m]any people just get the stamps and don’t bother with the exhibition” and “Chinese people just think it’s a cool country memento though most cannot visit the country itself.”⁴⁶⁰ These news items report a racial stereotype of stamp collectors that is also associated with a classist reading of “Chinese” people as unworldly and unable to afford international travel.

As a counterbalance to the damaging press on stamp collecting, a number of news items spoke to multiple strategies taken by the Expo organizers to meet the high demands for Expo Passports and stamps. The actions taken by the Expo organizers were noted in articles announcing improvements to visitor services. *China Daily* noted that visitors could avoid the congestion of the European and Asian pavilions by visiting the African joint pavilion⁴⁶¹ and China’s joint provincial pavilion first, as Passports there could be stamped in fewer than five minutes.⁴⁶² The article also reminded visitors that the Corporate and Theme pavilions in the Puxi zone were now allowed to stamp passports for the first time, with the China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation Pavilion preparing ten different stamps for visitors.⁴⁶³ As the joint pavilions were on opposite ends of the fairgrounds, and the corporate pavilions were across the Huangpu River on the Puxi side of the park, this early report shows the Expo’s coordination bureau increasing regulation of visitor movements by increasing the number of stamps widely distributed across the fairgrounds (fig. 15).

⁴⁵⁹ Justin Bergman, “Expo Fever Mixed with Disillusion in Shanghai,” *Time*, June 5, 2010; Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

⁴⁶⁰ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

⁴⁶¹ Yao Minji, “Check Out These Underrated Pavilions,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, print edition, June 21, 2010.

⁴⁶² Tang Zhihao, “Passports Become Hot Items at Expo.”

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

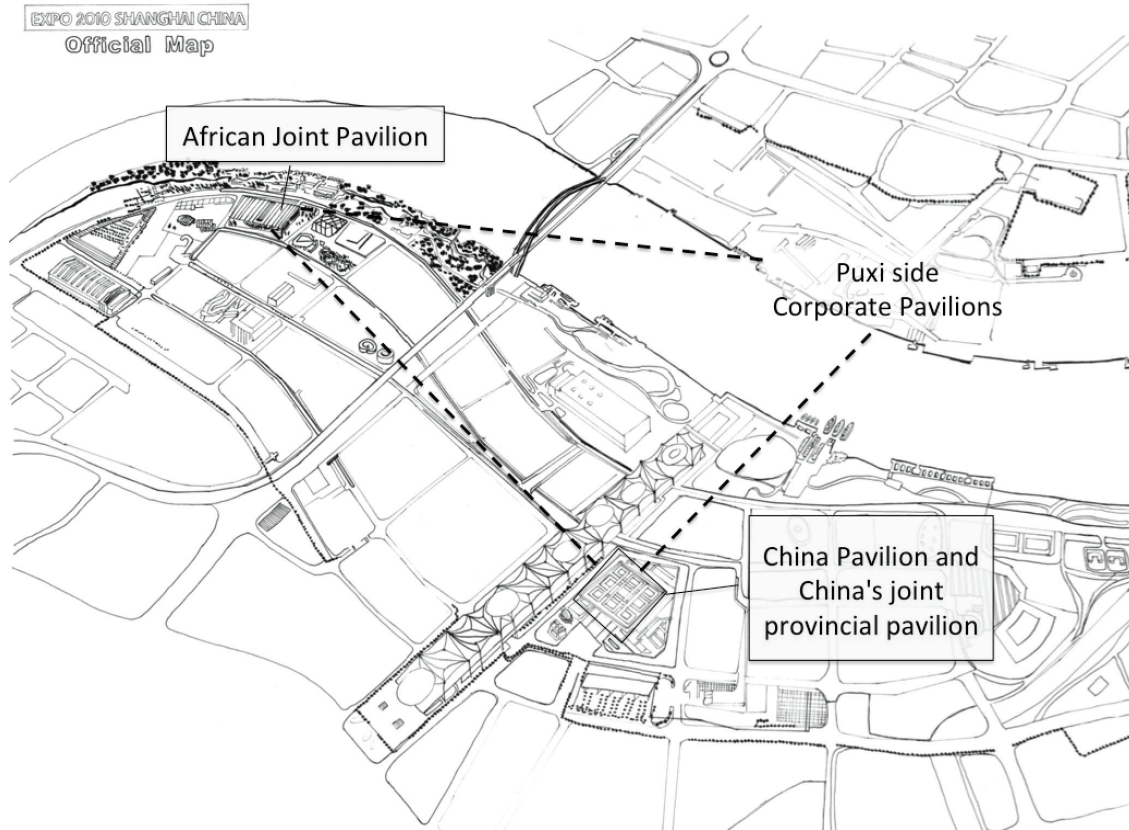


Figure 15. Joanne Hui, *The Official Expo Map showing the Joint African Pavilion and the China Pavilion at opposite ends of the fairgrounds* (with type superimposed). 2010, watercolour on paper, 55.9 x 76.3 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

Local articles from May to the end of June reported on the increased production of Expo Passports to meet the demands of visitors, who, in the first weeks, were disappointed by a significant shortage.⁴⁶⁴ *China Drive* reported on June 10, 2010 that the only official supplier of the Passports, the Shanghai DOW Culture Media Co., increased their distribution volume to 300,000 per day to meet demand, and that they planned to increase their original production of 15 million to 70 million.⁴⁶⁵ The *Shanghai Daily* reported that the Shanghai Industrial and Commercial Administration Bureau and the Expo organizers agreed to facilitate sales of Expo Passports in official souvenir stores in Shanghai, thereby taking pressure off on-site shops that had sold out. From the point of view of the Expo organizers, favourable reviews of their logistical management of stamp collecting provided some much needed-improvements in public opinion, especially in the light of previously mentioned controversies, such as the forced relocation of Shanghai residents during Expo site construction, and perceptions of plagiarism in the Expo's Haibao mascot and official theme song.

News media played an important role in the representation of the visitor activity of stamp collecting, reporting on stamp collectors caught up in a pathology of their desire for stamps, followed by the favourable representation of the Expo organizers aligned with the new face of China's public diplomacy (albeit a defensive one). While the activity of stamp collecting began as an officially sanctioned activity, its popularity in numbers went beyond the control of the Expo's organizers. In response, the Expo organizers used proactive media strategies and better logistical planning (rather than police enforcement, as in the case of the fake Haibao toys) to regain control over the activity. In sum, the Expo's media framing played an active role in shaping the distortion of facts describing stamp collectors, in an effort to improve the authority of the Expo's organizers over fairground security.

⁴⁶⁴ Tang Zhihao, "Passports Become Hot Items at Expo"; Liu Xiaolin and Ellen Jia, "Cashing In on the Expo Passports," *Shanghai Daily*, print edition May 8, 2010; Lu Feiran, "Expo Passports Now On Sale," *Shanghai Daily*, June 29, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/metro/Expo-passports-now-on-sale/shdaily.shtml>. Tang Zhihao noted that on the first day of Expo "110,000 available Expo passports were sold out within a few hours, leaving more than 100,000 visitors disappointed."

⁴⁶⁵ He Fei, "Stamping Fever at the Expo."

4.3.3 The Stamp Collector's Experience

My documentation of the stamp collector's experience at the Expo demonstrates how visitor activities extended beyond the Expo's official programming into alternative narratives of nationhood. The stamp collector's experience revealed a high level of creativity that in the end produced one of the Expo's most enduring souvenirs, as well as registered a high degree of circulation, collection, and pleasure in the activity. I would argue that stamp collectors at the Expo produced their own adaptation of an Expo symbol, and created a new community rather than accepting the Expo's official souvenir-related constructions and messages.

In what appears to be a conflict of interest, several media articles described very different experiences of collecting stamps. For instance, for the average domestic citizen, the experience of foreign cultures and world travel was previously unknown before the Shanghai Expo. According to one article, for the majority of the population in attendance the Expo was as close to foreign travel as they might ever get, and the Passports were key to embodying the experience.⁴⁶⁶ As Jenny Zhu, a 28-year-old Mandarin instructor, described her stamp collecting experience, “[w]hat’s great is it does bring different cultures into people’s lives,” and “[o]f course, what they see is just a snapshot of a country, but it’s still a great opportunity for ordinary Chinese to come into contact with the world.”⁴⁶⁷ First-hand accounts of stamp collectors described feelings of joy and pleasure in the uniqueness of each stamp, and national pride at having attended the Expo.⁴⁶⁸ These experiences seem to contradict the Expo's own headlines that reported pushiness, indifferent visitors, and risks to the security of foreign pavilions.

An interview with a Shanghai office worker about the collective passion for stamp collecting revealed how it had been adopted as way for domestic nationals to show their pride at the Expo. As the office worker recounted, collecting stamps was a means for her compatriots to commemorate their nation hosting this international event for the first time. She further explained how travellers have usually acknowledged new terrains by

⁴⁶⁶ Bergman, “Expo Fever Mixed with Disillusion in Shanghai.”

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People”; He Fei, “Stamping Fever at the Expo”; “Expo Passports Sold for RMB 5,580,” *CNN Shanghai*.

proudly writing or carving their names at places they visit for the first time. Since this is nowadays considered vandalism, this commemorative act had been transferred to the use of passport stamps, in a novel, alternative way for a person to verify that they had visited the Expo.⁴⁶⁹

Han Yi, 27, a Shanghai office worker, recalls:

Each stamp is a rare memento. ... I take pride in my country's great achievement, hosting the World Expo. Like many Chinese visitors, I collect every stamp I can at each pavilion. I won't sell a fully stamped Expo Passport at a high price – I'll keep it as the greatest memory of my life. Westerners can't understand why we are lining up in the hot sun for several hours just to collect stamps. Actually, what they can't understand is the passion we Chinese feel when we witness our developing country hosting such a magnificent event for the first time, with so many other countries coming to my hometown. And we bear witness with our own participation.⁴⁷⁰

Collecting stamps was a means to commemorate her nation's rise on the world stage, hosting a World Expo for the first time. My own experience speaks to strong memories of happiness.

I set myself the goal of collecting as many stamps as I could as a way to experience the Expo as locals did. Unlike foreign visitors, I did not frown upon the stamp mania, dismissing it as a waste of time. Instead, I took pleasure in the aesthetics of each stamp design, and later in the collage of overlapping stamps, as my booklet filled up. Stamp collecting also gave me the means to engage fellow enthusiasts who were in line with me. In every case, I would speak in my limited Mandarin, and then speak fluently in English (or Cantonese), to the amazement of the domestic visitors. The spectacle of a Chinese woman speaking a foreign language was truly mind-blowing for those visiting from the provinces. I found myself entertaining many local ladies in long line-ups simply

⁴⁶⁹ See appendix (*Expo Daily*: Field Logs) for the entry made on November 1, 2010.

⁴⁷⁰ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, "Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People."

by being myself. Amusingly, one lady asked me why my hair was so black! ... In retrospect, I would not have visited so many pavilions, if not for their stamps.⁴⁷¹

These days, leafing through my Expo Passport, I am impressed again by the beautiful collage of stamps and generous creativity in cultural exchange which these pages reveal, most forcefully demonstrated by my Ukraine pavilion stamp accompanied by national coins and folk drawings (fig. 16). I am also uplifted by stamps with messages such as “Live Differently” (Cook Islands), “Spirit of Innovation” (Sweden), “Your Friend, Korea” (South Korea), “Together for Humanity” (International Red Cross), “Sharing Inspiration” (Finland), and “Be with Us, Be with Nature” (Timor-Leste).⁴⁷²

The activity of collecting souvenir stamps at the individual level took on a wholly sincere and commemorative meaning that was downplayed in the media. I suggest that this alternative experience of stamp collecting conflicts with the overplayed media portrayal of collectors as unruly crowds. This calls into question the Expo’s constructed narrative of interest in public diplomacy, as it foregrounds the potential risk of stamp-collecting crowds over the national pride of individual collectors. On the whole, the media seemed to strategically dismiss the productive imaginations and creativity of the stamp collectors in order to secure the Expo’s control over fairground security and official branding.

⁴⁷¹ See appendix (*Expo Daily*: Field Logs) for the entry made on November 1, 2010.

⁴⁷² Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue* (Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010).

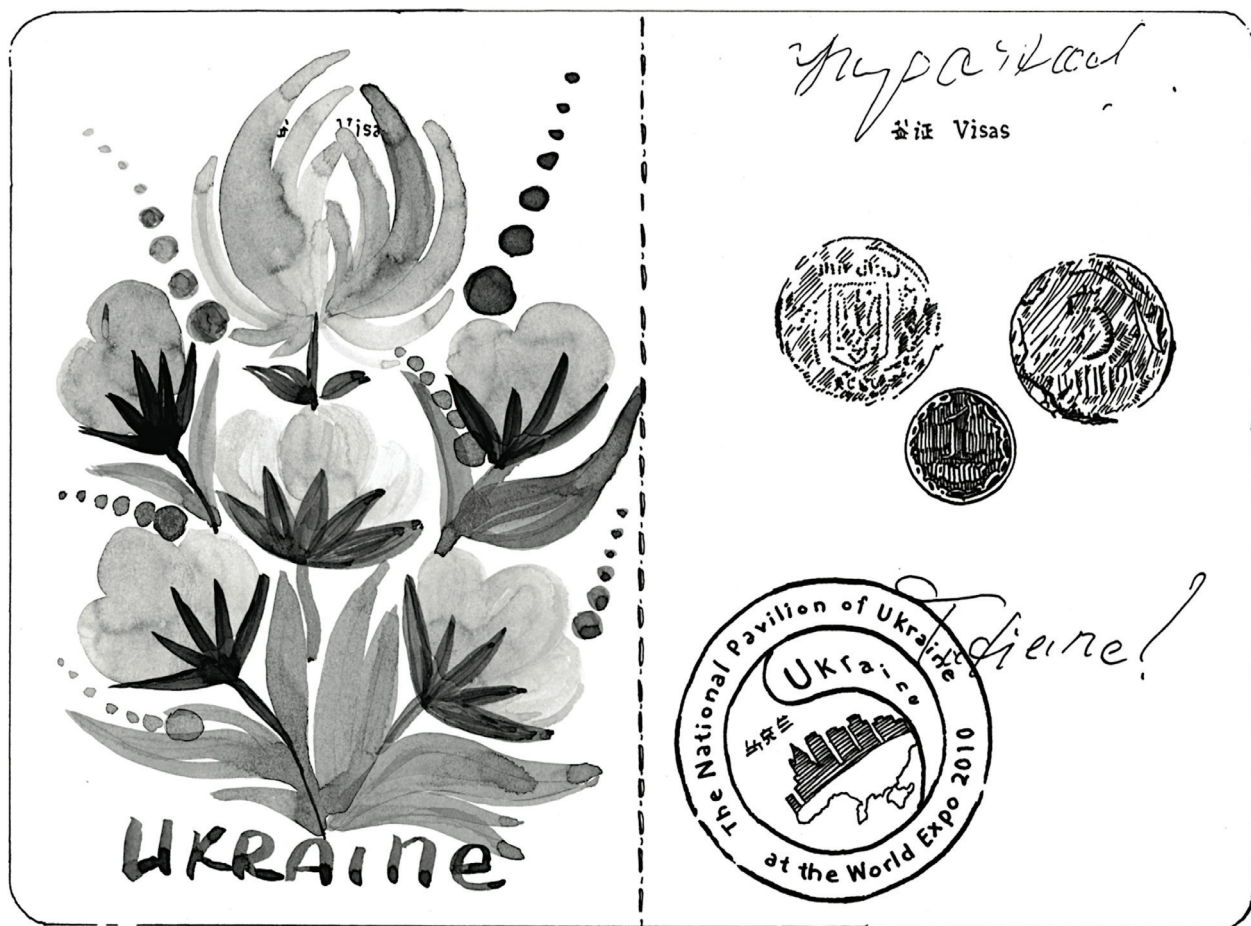


Figure 16. Pages 8–9 of Joanne Hui’s Expo Passport showing the Ukraine commemorative stamp, Ukrainian coins and a floral decorative painting by a Ukrainian craftswoman. 2010, watercolour on paper, 21 x 29.7 centimetres. From: Joanne Hui, *Expo Daily: A Graphic Travelogue*. Montreal: Self-published drawing folio, 2010.

This case study highlights aspects of China's new public diplomacy, and specifically how the Expo's foreign pavilions and the Expo organizers were represented in the media as working collaboratively to manage the high demands for Expo Passports and stamp collecting. Expo organizers gave equal priority to the needs of foreign participants and visitors in media stories that favourably described the public diplomacy of the organizers. However, foreign pavilions were portrayed as being in need of assistance when it came to managing stamp collectors, and media reports characterized collectors as an unruly crowd blinded by their passion for stamps. This seemingly biased portrayal of foreign pavilions and stamp collectors demonstrates yet another aspect of the Expo's authority over the power of representation, whereby the organizers had influential control over the instruments of domestic media and communications.

In contrast, I argue that the stamp collector's experience is an alternative narrative of the Shanghai Expo. In the activity of collecting stamps, visitors described genuine joy and appreciation, a creativity of expression through the stamps themselves, and camaraderie among collectors in sharing their unique Expo Passport experiences. These case studies demonstrate how the Shanghai Expo's official program in branding China was often contested by its own domestic constituents through visitor activities at the Expo. In conclusion, the implications of the alternative experiences brought to light by these case studies will be discussed.

CONCLUSION

This final chapter restates the research problem, reviews major methods used in the study, summarizes the results, and discusses their implications. This dissertation has argued that visitor activities depicted in *Expo Daily* bring alternative experiences of the Shanghai Expo into view. The research problem evolved from a research-creation process that allowed the creation component to precede the problematic. The research-creation included the drawing folio *Expo Daily* and field notes gathered over a forty-two day period of observing, drawing, and following local news coverage, all allowing me to fashion a testimony to my participation at the Expo. In using drawing as a methodology, I was able to document the Expo's unofficial visual culture to show patterns of visitor activities that were different from the officially designated uses of the Expo's pavilions and fairground spaces. Moreover, through critical examination of *Expo Daily*, the drawings became part of the field of social investigation and research data for this dissertation.

5.1 Drawing and Alternative Experiences: Practices

Different creative approaches came into focus while documenting visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. Working on this project, I have learned practical lessons that are applicable for artists and researchers of future World Expos, as well as to the general study of public life. The following are several practices that stand out, and which I believe are important in order to successfully use an unconventional medium—such as a drawing folio—as a data set for the study of visitor activities.

5.1.1 Participant Observation as Foundation

Participant observation was the foundational research approach I found necessary in order to understand visitor experiences at the Shanghai Expo. In sequence of Taussig's practice in the autobiographical record in drawing, I fully immersed myself as participant and observer before

the subsequent use of drawing as a complementary method of documenting the research field.⁴⁷³ For example, my participation in the particular visitor activity of accumulating stamps for Expo Passports allowed insight into the communal experiences of excitement, enthusiasm, and delight in acquiring new stamps: the physicality of quickening steps, being jostled by crowds, and seeing the flummoxed faces of stamp issuers. Participant observation allowed for a first-hand account (as both collector and researcher) in documenting the activity of stamp collecting and the imaginative play of collectors, which could otherwise have been obscured by distorted representations reported by the Expo's official media outlets.

5.1.2 Drawing from the Fairgrounds: Visitor Experience and Perception

Drawing from the fairgrounds allowed me to see the Expo from the pedestrian's point of view, and provided direct perception and experience of the official spaces of the Shanghai Expo's pavilion and grounds. Whereas park designers and pavilion architects envisioned the Shanghai Expo using the ordered logic of building plans, drawing from the visitor's perspective allowed me to recognize a multi-directional partnership between the official spaces and visitor activities; this changed how the mega-event was documented. For instance, drawing visitor activities at the Expo revealed that most of the pavilion designers had not prepared for the extremely long queues, or the congestion of stamp-collecting crowds upon exiting the pavilions. These design flaws caused a high number of waiting visitors, allowing documentation of those who were dehydrated, heat-stricken, overwhelmed, and displaced by the high number of people underserved by the pavilion spaces. In drawing from the fairgrounds, the researcher gains direct insight into actual visitor activities in a graphic intervention, outlined by Taussig, that gives primacy to the "hand" and the "eyes" to engage with the movements of the fairgrounds.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Taussig, 22.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

5.1.3 Intertextual Play: Drawing and News Clippings

Equally important was keeping abreast of the media reporting on the Shanghai Expo, as it represented the myriad ways the Expo's official organizers responded to ongoing daily conflicts that arose from visitor activities at the Expo. Collecting media stories was necessary to broaden my research and hone the critical evaluation of the Expo's official positions in reporting on visitor activities, and also helped identify visitor experiences which conflicted with official reports. Of particular prominence in my fieldwork were the problems associated with counterfeit Haibao merchandise and the Expo Passports, as these issues received a high amount of international and domestic media coverage. As a practice, I saved and cited Expo news stories in my field notes, using an intertextual play of image and text to integrate news clippings into an overall record. I believe the process of using drawing, news reports, and my own journal entries cultivated a multi-voiced form of reporting that critically highlighted the primacy of my observations of the Shanghai Expo. Intertextual documentation also allows each field log entry to remain open to additional perspectives and subsequent research in a way that reactivates the field for further creative and interpretative potential.

5.1.4 Sustaining the Process: Patterns of Visitor Activities

Sustaining an open drawing process underscored the evolutionary nature necessary for a broadened understanding of visitor activities at the Shanghai Expo. One-time entries limit perception of the topic, whereas a collection of working entries (in a field log) allows the researcher to revisit her observations, review documentation with additional materials, and continually synthesize the meaning of visitor activities and her perceptions of them. Sustained attention and investment in drawing also allows for patterns of visitor activities to emerge.

5.1.5 Drawing as a Point of Entry into the Shanghai Expo

This section looks at *Expo Daily* in retrospect, in order to clarify how my choices in drawing and images provided a different point of entry into the Shanghai Expo mega-event than only

analyzing media and tourist images being produced. From the start of my fieldwork, the creative practice preceded the problematic; drawing was prioritized, and subsequently led to my research. For instance, the flow of people on the fairgrounds continued in my formal expression of drawing different types of visitor activities. As such, drawing brought into focus visitor activities that emerged from my first-hand experience of the Shanghai Expo event.

As I previously described in the chapter on methodology, I used a point-and-shoot camera to take photographs of the fairground's pavilions and visitors. Many of the Expo's tourists used cameras to photograph and preserve images as proof that they had attended. However, the photos I took—and the images I wanted to preserve—were very different from my fellow visitors and their tourist albums. My photos documented images of visitors making their own visual records that were meaningful to them. *Expo Daily* then curated these photos into drawings of visitors showing care for each other: posed intimately together in groups of friends and family. My drawings also include a mother and child, elderly visitors being fast tracked, and couples holding hands, which speak to aspects of *guanxi* overshadowed by the media portrayals of the queuing masses. In my relationship to my images, I captured a repertoire of visitors showing how much they cared for each other and how meaningful attending the Expo was for them.

My visual record therefore separates *Expo Daily* from the tourist photo albums, and my images serve as a model for how I too engaged in the activities of the Expo. Fundamentally, the use of drawing adds a new level of engagement that speaks to my observations and participation at the mega-event in my role as artist and researcher. For instance, in my drawing folio I used a background of white space as a way to foreground the visual prominence of individual visitors, separated from the confusion of the masses. In this way I was able to spend more time looking at the uniqueness of a visitor and render into drawing a careful portrait of them. My drawing folio then reflects back to the Expo visitor a truthful image of their activities over the duration of the Shanghai Expo, as opposed to the vetted images promoted through the centralized, government-sponsored media networks of *Xinhua*, *CCTV*, and *People's Daily*. The Shanghai Expo provided a rare opportunity for me to engage directly with a mass domestic visitor population.

The Expo's spectacular flows of song, dance, and the movements of visitors across the fairgrounds were echoed in the gestural movements of my representation of these visitor activities into drawing. My drawings are therefore a partial embodiment of the Expo experience,

as elaborated by Taussig,⁴⁷⁵ allowing my drawing folio to be seen as a tool that humanizes the visitor population by adding complexity to their formal artistic representation. In my desire to connect to the Expo's visitor experience through drawing, I also demonstrate that I shared the same spaces with my fellow visitors, and that I felt part of the familial *guanxi* network of care within the visitor experience.

5.1.6 The Intimacy of Drawing and the Construction of the Chinese Subject

The drawings are not just proof of alternative experiences; they also speak to who I was in relation to the Expo's visitor population. For instance, the two case studies of fake Haibao dolls and picnics made me realize that I shared the same spaces with fellow Expo visitors. I too was solicited to buy fake souvenirs, and I found my own place on the fairgrounds to rest among picnickers. However, where I really connected to the experiences of local visitors was in the last case study: collecting commemorative stamps. I was part of the jostle of stamp crowds, I too rushed past exhibition displays only to push my passport booklet onto the desk of the stamp issuers. Documenting my collection of 156 stamps by drawing them allowed me to represent how close I was to other visitors on the fairgrounds each day, and I feel that this intimacy of engagement is successfully expressed through my art, showing how much I shared in the strong bond of the Expo passport experience.

Ultimately, in using art to represent visitors at the Shanghai Expo, I was able to interrogate the position of being a researcher in the study of visitor experiences set by the relationship of "me" and "them" in the construction of the Chinese subjects I studied. For instance, my *Expo Daily* entry dated November 1, 2010 recognizes a disruption in the researcher and subject relationship by way of a shared enthusiasm for stamps in a pavilion queue. Within this exchange, I broke from my practice of blending in with other visitors by exposing both my inability to speak Mandarin and my ability to speak English. This moment underlined my position of difference, where the language barrier separated me from the other visitors. The impact of my voice identified me as a foreign tourist and an overseas Chinese with a Canadian

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

passport. In retrospect this fracture attests to differences within myself, and highlights the fact that my representation of visitors was dependent on how I chose to see the visitor subjects.

Finally, I must address the construction of the Chinese subject illustrated in my drawing folio. Before this project began, I often thought of (1.3 billion⁴⁷⁶) Chinese nationals as a group, oversimplified into a unified notion of “Chinese” for the sake of reporting results in the study of China and its society. Countless domestic and international newspaper articles cited in this study use the homogenous term “Chinese.” Over the course of my study I learned to think beyond this oversimplified construction of the Chinese subject by highlighting aspects of individual choice and alternative consumer values. However, my strongest case for portraying the Expo’s many visitor individualities is through the illustrations I created. In my meticulous processes of drawing—paying close attention to the sensitive details of faces, clothing, hair, and so forth—my representation of visitors contains a sensibility of human touch in the drawings that is different from photographic images. Finally, this intimacy of drawing allowed me to endear myself as a researcher to the visitors I documented, which speaks powerfully to the experience of being both a “participant” and an “observer” of Expo visitor activities.

5.2 Visitor Activities: Perspectives

The Shanghai Expo was promoted as a global gathering; however, the predominance of domestic visitors spoke to its primacy as a local event. Therefore, it is meaningful to consider the Shanghai Expo from the perspectives and experiences of its visitors. At the start, I noted there were no studies that identified the profile of visitor behaviours at the Shanghai Expo. My case studies contribute to this knowledge gap by providing evidence of how the Expo’s visitors (specifically local visitors) undermined several of the Expo’s official programs, preferring instead to participate in alternative ways. The following discussions consider the larger implications of the Shanghai Expo’s alternative visitor experiences.

⁴⁷⁶ People’s Republic of China, National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (No.1), 2010 Census, April 28, 2011; People’s Republic of China, National Bureau of Statistics, Communiqué on the Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (No.2), 2010 Census, April 29, 2011.

The first and most straightforward implication is that the study of visitor activities brings different perspectives into view, and allows for the emergence of counternarratives to the Expo's official programming, as well as the host country's nationalistic priorities. In the first chapter I refer to Rydell's argument that the first International Expositions were organized according to national and economic priorities, which sought to shape the views of its mass audiences on a variety of social values involving class, gender, and race.⁴⁷⁷ Rydell and his colleagues Tenkotte, Mitchell, Breckenridge, and Marling looked to the public life and material cultures of International Expositions in order to yield alternative perspectives which challenged the official scripts of Expositions and their host States.⁴⁷⁸ Nordin, Wang, and Callahan have also pursued alternative scholarly perspectives on the Shanghai Expo, offering a critical examination of China's official policies in regards to the event.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, my close examination of visitor activities in combination with media stories about the Shanghai Expo has produced an alternative account of the experience of the event for its local visitors.

My case studies show that local visitors considered the Expo's official prices high in comparison to their usual consumption habits. Examining media stories about the brisk business of lower-priced, counterfeit Haibao merchandise and the popularity of collecting free stamps for cheap Expo passports revealed economic disparities between the conservative purchasing power of the majority of visitors and the high prices of the Expo's officially sanctioned culture. Additionally, the high numbers of picnics documented in *Expo Daily* observed that many people chose to forgo the Expo's official food options. In stepping onto the Expo's fairgrounds, the observation of these visitor activities substantiates alternative experiences of economic and cultural marginalization in contrast to the images of home ownership, white weddings, and leisure travel featured prominently in the China Pavilion's exhibition displays. While there is no doubt that issues of class difference already existed in China's cities, clear figures of China's income gap were censored by state-sponsored regulatory agencies. Even in 2016 China continues

⁴⁷⁷ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 1–8.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 227, 52–55, 188–193.

⁴⁷⁹ Nordin sought an alternative perspective by being attuned to inconsistencies in official statements, allowing repetition to be its own undoing. Wang examined other nation's soft power influences from their pavilion nation branding strategies with domestic audiences. Callahan looked to the concurrent cultural works of China's artists responding to the organization and official culture of the Shanghai Expo.

to struggle with issues of income inequality, according to Li Jianxin, the chief author of China's statistics bureau in the "Chinese People's Development Report 2015," published by Peking University.⁴⁸⁰ The report did not issue a new Gini coefficient, the commonly used measure of income inequality, for household income in 2015 for fear that it would cause social unrest; in its place, an already broadly held assessment that the gap was widening was put forward by its authors.⁴⁸¹ In 2010, divergent visitor activities initiated by different economic priorities communicated a palpable visual testimony to China's wealth disparity.

In her study of the Shanghai Expo, historian Fernsebner drew pointed similarities between the imperialist models of early Expositions and the Shanghai Expo's promotion of New China's economic and social priorities.⁴⁸² D'Hooghe affirmed the Shanghai Expo as a state-owned event, prioritizing that China be perceived by both international and domestic audiences as successful. She described the promotion of harmonious socialist society as a proactive form of state control exercised through a high number of educational outreach programs, the Expo's licensed souvenir economy, and the Expo's media outlets.

When the Expo's organizers did not approve of certain visitor activities, their response was to impose authoritarian control over those involved. The case of the fake Haibao toys demonstrates how the Expo's organizers worked with Shanghai police to take punitive action against producers and sellers of counterfeit Expo souvenirs in an effort to eliminate competition. By comparison, the high number of picnickers suggests that the Expo's organizers made exceptions to its security policy, allowing packed lunches to pass security checks while outside beverages and cigarette lighters were confiscated. This may point to motives by the organizers to counterbalance low attendance caused by the high cost of food shops while reducing the imposition of a food shop economy on visitors.⁴⁸³ Lastly, stamp collecting illustrated how the Expo's organizers proactively constructed the appearance of information transparency in the Expo's media frames through a high number of favourable news stories describing improvements to fairground security. Despite an air of transparency, the Expo's media coverage also included

⁴⁸⁰ Chuin-Wei Yap, "In an Unequal China, Inequality Data Lack Equal Standing," *The Wall Street Journal*, China Real Time Report section, January 17, 2016.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Fernsebner, "Expo 2010," 671–72.

⁴⁸³ "Visitors' Rules Issued for Expo," China.org.

distorted representations of stamp collectors that reinforced the image of the organizers' authority. Yet the excess of divergent visitor activities continued to highlight the tight regulations of the Expo's park operations. It is within this excess that I locate a larger meaning in the importance of visitor activities as it connects to aspects of loss of control, opposition, plurality, differences in values, and alternative communities significant to the study of the Shanghai Expo (in particular) and World Expos (in general).

A second conclusion of the study of alternative experiences at the Shanghai Expo points to the mutual benefits of both the official and unofficial cultures at the Shanghai Expo. For instance, fake Haibao souvenirs worked to promote and increase the prominence of the Shanghai Expo at local markets of tourism more amenable to China's domestic population, consumer culture, and purchasing power. Specifically, the *shanzhai* Expo market increased the visibility of the Haibao mascot through high volumes of fakes, which in large part served to proliferate the visual culture of the Shanghai Expo. Ironically, while the organizers of the Expo considered the high visibility of fake Haibaos a threat to the Expo's official culture and thematic mandates, these official constructions would not have gained such popularity without the black market of the knock-off Expo souvenirs.

The fact that a high number of Shanghai Expo visitors sought opportunities to buy *shanzhai* souvenirs demonstrates that the official culture of the Expo could not be fully imposed. As Abbas argues, *shanzhai* culture is the norm for China's urban consumers, and the punitive measures of the Expo's organizers is also part of China's script in meeting consumer desires to participate in a globalized market of goods.⁴⁸⁴ Thus, the practice of buying counterfeit Expo souvenirs over officially licensed ones later became a part of the visual culture of the Expo, and as a consequence contributed to bringing issues of China's income gap to light. This exposed the sober reality that while the mega-event brought globally branded goods to the doorsteps of its domestic population, it is the domestic black market which best illustrates China's increasing income gap. The demand for counterfeit Expo merchandise demonstrated that the complex factors involved in income inequality and globalization are closer to home than ever in the host city of Shanghai.

⁴⁸⁴ Abbas, "Faking Globalization," 282–295.

5.3 The Prospects of a Missing Chinese Middle Class

The Expo's visitors preferred more economical ways for participating in the Shanghai Expo. Fake Haibao toys and bringing packed lunches reflect modest spending preferences on the surface, however a larger cultural undervaluing of service goods, the regulation of copyright, and the recognition of officially licensed trademarks were also at play. An important subtext of this dissertation is the visual discrepancy between the missing domestic middle class visitors on the Shanghai Expo's fairgrounds, even though many aspects of the middle-class lifestyle were displayed in the official pavilion exhibitions and in the marketing of the Expo's food shops.

The prospects of the middle class in China are significant, both economically and politically. As Jian Wang pointed out, they are “poised to transform the Chinese consumer market and, more importantly, to shape China's world views and its evolving international identity.”⁴⁸⁵ Logically, domestic audiences were the main targets of the Shanghai Expo's official programs to promote middle-class values within a harmonious socialist society. For instance, the China Pavilion displayed images of increased household wealth and national stability through multiscreen films showcasing the cosmopolitan appeals of a middle-class family and urban society. A critical issue addressed at the Shanghai Expo—for China and the global community at large—is how China will support the growth of its middle class by transitioning the nation's manufacturing and export-based industries towards domestic service goods industries. As such, the emergence of the middle class in China is bound to Ackbar Abbas' discussions of the changing nature of the commodity in China. Abbas writes:

Th[e] change in the commodity has often been described as a split ... into manufactured goods on the one hand and service goods on the other... [The] class of service goods, ... defined as objects with a large design or informational component built into them ... whose value is not mainly determined by the materials they are made of but by the amount of research and design necessary for their production, as well as all the work of promotion, distribution, and packaging. ... [When] service goods has a large cultural element built into it, it becomes increasingly difficult to speak, as we used to, of the

⁴⁸⁵ Wang, *Shaping China's Global Imagination*, 54.

“commodification of culture;” rather, it is a matter now of *the acculturation of commodity*.⁴⁸⁶

The fake Haibao toys, picnics, and stamp collecting speak to consumption habits still tied to the commodity value of manufactured goods, or the commodification of the Shanghai Expo culture as valuable relative to their material worth. In this case, visitors paid 15 yuan (\$2.19 USD) for counterfeit Haibao dolls because the plush materials and manufacturing labour were considered to be worth that price. In contrast, the Shanghai Expo’s official culture promoted a new class of service goods that included large amounts of research, design, and cultural elements including the World Expo brand and China’s national narratives as investments towards Abbas’ theory of “the acculturation of commodity.” The Expo’s organizers expected its visitors to buy into their official programs, and therefore become acculturated into the priorities of “harmonious world” at the Expo. However, the lack of participation by visiting consumers—as well as the domestic middle-class market—was made manifest through the visitors’ actual economic preferences, and may also be the result of consumer uncertainties regarding China’s transition from being a global manufacturer to being a developer of local commodities and design. On the whole, the intersection of an emerging middle class in China with the spectacle of domestic service goods on the Shanghai Expo fairgrounds identified a tangible failure to meet China’s transition to a service goods economy.

As such, visitors to the Shanghai Expo were witness to a protracted interval in the emergence of the local middle class. *McKinsey Quarterly* projected it would take another decade for 54 percent of China’s urban households to achieve middle-class incomes.⁴⁸⁷ Yet, as I have shown, the preference of Expo visitors for lower prices and fair material value of commodities suggests that the visitor’s engagement with the State’s official culture was non-conformist, and characterized more by the preferences of *shanzhai* and self-reliance, already at play but reshaped through their Expo experiences.

Still, the exposure to domestic middle-class values and international cultures was meaningful for the Expo’s visitors, allowing for increased familiarity with other cultures and sensitivity to national differences. Take the case of collecting commemorative stamps: the Expo

⁴⁸⁶ Abbas, “Faking Globalization,” 292.

⁴⁸⁷ Barton, Chen, and Jin, “Mapping China’s Middle Class,” 1.

Passport phenomenon provided strong visual documentation of visitors taking pleasure in other places, and being “marked” by other nations in an accumulation of excessively nationalistic identities. As has been noted, almost every Shanghai Expo visitor purchased an Expo Passport, with a reported 70 million booklets sold.⁴⁸⁸ In 2012, *Xinhua* reported an annual growth rate of nearly 20 percent in the number of actual Chinese passport holders, with a total of thirty-eight million domestic citizens owning a Chinese passport.⁴⁸⁹ These figures suggests that among the Expo’s visitor population, a high number of stamp collectors may not have actually owned government-issued Chinese passports themselves. Thus, collecting other nationalities in the form of Expo Passport stamps was truly an alternative experience for many domestic visitors, one that spoke to aspects of previously unexplored transnationality and global citizenship.

For instance, stamp collecting recognized the salient physicality of visitors gathered together, powerful in their numbers and in the desire to circulate a symbolic world of soft international borders, registering a fluidity of national identity when in action. The experiences of stamp collectors questions whether the practice echoes Callahan’s scenarios of a “parallel polis,” decentring and multiplying the Expo Passport’s official intentions to form a fundamentally new symbolic meaning from the popular activity.⁴⁹⁰ Perhaps the safety found in large numbers of stamp collectors—the thorn in the side of the Expo’s organizers—encouraged visitors to cultivate a sense of imaginative autonomy in their play at transnationality.

Altogether, the case studies suggests that visitor activities subverted a number of the Shanghai Expo’s high profile programs in favour of establishing alternate economies, income inequality narratives, and collector communities that better reflect the consumption habits and desires of the Expo’s visitor population. The alternative experiences of visitors, influenced by economic preferences for lower prices and fair material value of commodities, suggest that efforts to curb China’s capitalist drive and steer the nation into a prosperous form of socialism in a globalized market were unrealized at the time of the 2010 Shanghai Expo event. I have argued that the Expo’s many displays of future promises towards a harmonious socialist society would

⁴⁸⁸ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People.”

⁴⁸⁹ “38 Million Chinese Citizens Holding Ordinary Passports Issued Official Passports to Enable Electronic,” *Xinhuanet news*, May 15, 2012, accessed July 3, 2016, http://news.xinhuanet.com/legal/2012-05/15/c_123134110.htm.

⁴⁹⁰ Callahan, “Shanghai’s Alternative Futures,” 253.

still takes some time to achieve—if achievable at all—in the forms devised by Chinese government initiatives.⁴⁹¹ On the whole, the alternative experiences of counterfeit merchandise, picnics, and stamp books are significant because they show how within these visitor activities, broader issues of China’s income inequality, different consumption habits, and desires of transnationality have been expressed, putting stress on the symbolically ordered national space of the Shanghai Expo.

Using drawing as a research methodology, this dissertation has argued that the study of visitor activities at International Expositions can speak to alternative experiences that challenge the official narratives of the mega-events. It is vital to remember that the main unit of study, *Expo Daily*, began as a research-creation graphic travelogue presented in a number of exhibitions and publications prior to the written component of this dissertation.⁴⁹² Submitted in full in the Appendix, *Expo Daily* brings the integral creative component full circle in the research-creation process.

⁴⁹¹ Patrick Whiteley, “The Era of Prosperity is Upon Us,” *China Daily*, October 19, 2007.

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2007-10/19/content_6243676.htm

⁴⁹² Joanne Hui, *SIGHTINGS VI: Pacific Pilgrims* (March 7–June 30, 2013), Leonard & Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Concordia University, Montreal; Joanne Hui, *IGNITION 8* (May 18–June 16, 2012), Leonard & Bina Ellen Art Gallery, Montreal; Joanne Hui and Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas, *Haida Manga Reading Room and Comic Jams* (May 2011), Gendai Gallery at the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre, Toronto. Publications and online mentions include: Liz Park, *Haida Manga Reading Room and Comic Jams* (Toronto: Gendai Gallery, May 2011); Robert Haines, “Happenings – Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas and Joanne Hui in Toronto,” *The Joe Shuster Awards Canadian Comics News & Links*, April 28, 2011; Malcolm Guy, “Ignition: Exhibit Features Work by Joanne Hui, Illustrator for «Être Chinois au Québec»,” *etrechinoisauquebec.net*, May 12, 2012, <http://etrechinoisauquebec.net/ignition-exhibit-features-work-by-joanne-hui-illustrator-for-etre-chinois>.

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Appendix: *Expo Daily*, Field Logs

Joanne Joe Yan Hui

2010 Shanghai World Expo

PhD Student, Concordia University

September 21–November 1, 2010

Tuesday, September 21, 2010

Shanghai, former French Concession

The day after my landing in Shanghai, Karen walked me to the local police station. As my sponsor, it was up to her to see to the submission of my Registration Form of Temporary Residence within forty-eight hours of my entry into the People's Republic of China. Karen, three years shy of my age, is my sister.

We were in the neighbourhood called the French Concession. Early that month, the police station had moved to a new office on the main road. Without the address of the new station, we skirted along the side roads toward the old one, shaded by the single-storey Post-Liberation Shanghai houses. The old station was stripped of its authority, its sliding glass doors padlocked as if to hold in its humiliation. A handwritten note to the replacement station greeted us. Between this and a frenzy of text messages to friends, we found our way there.

I have always entered the PRC on a double-entry L-Visa, valid for three to six months from the date of issuance. For this kind of visa, the carrier must leave and re-enter the country every thirty days following their first and second entries. The second entry can happen anytime while the visa remains valid. Altogether, the L-Visa adds up to two months' stay in China, distributed across the three months' allowable time.

Applying for a one-month visa extension within China is one way to extend a visit. I applied for such an extension a week before my thirty-day mark, thereby extending my stay into November without the interruption of having to exit and re-enter.

All said and done, travel visas to China require earnest maintenance. Paperwork, restless queues, processing fees, rueful government desk workers, and high-pitched translators bookend every visit.

Referrals to specialized visa offices mean shorter wait times and faster turnovers. The office for the Taiwanese expatriate is one such office. Tidbits like these are often shared at dinner parties or late nights out at the DJ clubs.

The ‘Registration Form of Temporary Residence’ is an aggregate of small rectangles that represent my diasporic history and transnational present. But if you squint slightly, the form looks like one of Paul Klee’s checkerboard compositions.

My gender (女性 = female) and nationality (加拿大 = Canadian) are entered in ‘Jianhuazi,’ a set of simplified Chinese characters introduced in the early 1950s by Mao Zedong to increase literacy, while my name is spelled in Roman characters. My Chinese name does not appear. My date of birth, date of entry, L-Visa document and passport numbers, and my date of departure, are also filled in. After a quarter-hour of sitting stiffly, intently watching the registration officer make phone calls and check in with her superior, the doors to the back office opening and closing, I received a ‘Police Stamp’ of validation in red ink. This is the only colour on the form. My paperwork in order, I began my two-month visit in the closing months of the Shanghai World Expo 2010, the first World’s Fair to take place in a developing country.



Chinese Visa in L-category issued for travel to the 2010 Shanghai Exposition

境外人员临时住宿登记表
REGISTRATION FORM OF TEMPORARY RESIDENCE



Shanghai Registration Form of Temporary Residence



Shanghai Expo visitor (woman) with mini folding stool

Tuesday, September 21, 2010

Shanghai, former French Concession

My expectation of the Expo was that it would be a game-changing world event, and I contribute my analysis of it through first-hand observation. I had expected the Expo would take the world stage as had the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games just two years earlier. But in truth, it was a fairly contained event for the citizens of the People's Republic of China.

My hope and excitement for the Expo had been high even before it opened to the public on May 1, 2010. In the years leading up to it, I had experienced China's 'hype' for Expo while in Shanghai and Beijing. A lot of promotional material had made its way into the popular consciousness and the cityscape. These expectations were heightened further by a network of friends and family in Shanghai and Canada, who shared their plans and reflections on visiting the World's Fair.

Overall, my expectations had been to engage the Expo as a fully immersed participant/observer – somewhat native yet also somewhat foreign, depending on which position served my needs from moment to moment.

To produce this memoir, *Expo Daily*, which offers my culture-based reading of the event, I aimed to build upon an earlier graphic narrative project about the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games. Remarkable situations and their stories motivate my desire to find out more about them. By way of thinking through various aspects of my topical entries, I developed my investigations further through drawing and research to produce this collection of graphic travel memoir entries.



Watercolour drawing of Shanghai Expo visitors at the China Pavilion and international pavilions.

Wednesday, September 23, 2010

Shanghai, former French Concession

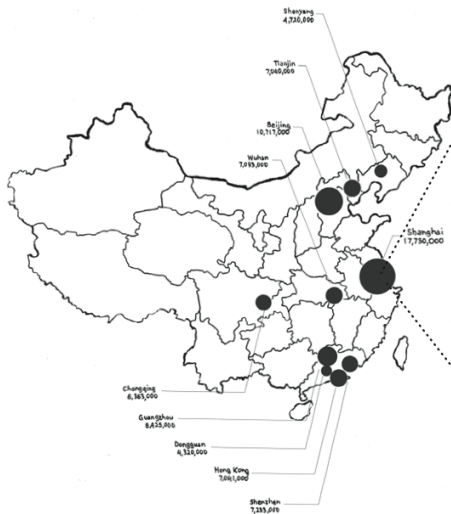
EXPO'S HOST CITY OF SHANGHAI: A brief description of the city of Shanghai is in order, the better to understand the context and conditions of the 2010 World Expo – its economy, residents, and general civic and cultural spheres.

Shanghai lies at the end-point of the Yangtze, the longest river in China. It flows for 6,418 kilometres (3,988 mi) from the glaciers of the Tibetan Plateau eastward across southwest, central, and eastern China before emptying into the East China Sea at Shanghai. The city stretches across a total area of 6,350 square kilometres, occupying 0.06 percent of China's total territory. Its population tops twenty million.

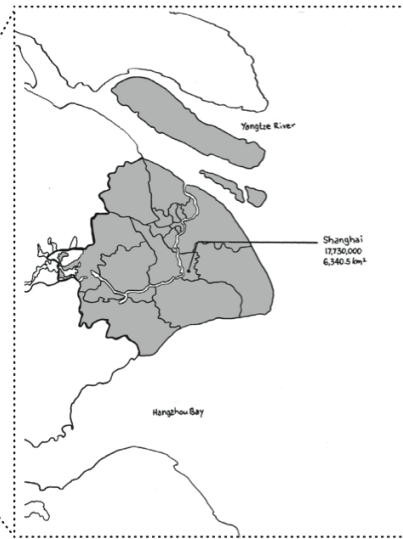
The city of Shanghai is undergoing one of the fastest growing economic expansions in the world. While Shanghai may not have as impressive a history as Beijing, it makes up for this by its unique modern history and its cosmopolitanism. It is an active creative and commercial hub for all spheres of the creative industries: art and design, music, fashion, architecture, and gastronomy.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹³ "A Sketch of Shanghai," *chinagate.cn*, September 8, 2011, http://en.chinagate.cn/features/worldexpo2010/2010-01/11/content_19214920.htm.

This is a map of the People's Republic of China.

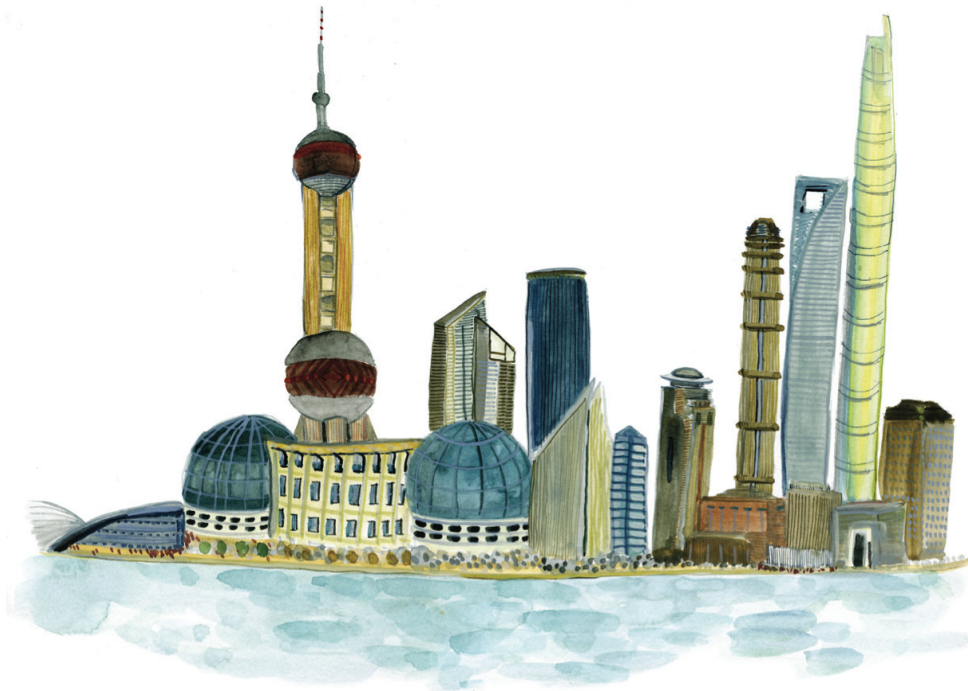


This is the geography of Shanghai.



The population of its major cities is indicated by dot size.

Map of the People's Republic of China and Shanghai



Shanghai's Pudong waterfront



Mother with child at the Shanghai Expo

Thursday, September 24, 2010

Shanghai, former French Concession

BIDDING AND PLANNING FOR EXPO: In December 2002, at the 132nd Meeting of the International Exhibitions Bureau in the Prince's Palace of Monaco, Shanghai won its bid to host the 2010 World Exposition. In the eight years leading up to the Expo's opening day on May 1, 2010, the city had spent more than \$50 billion in preparation, surpassing the cost of the Beijing Summer Olympic Games in 2008. In the history of world fairs, this was the most expensive Expo to date.

The Expo was located within the inner ring of Shanghai, situated on both sides of the Huangpu River between two major bridges, the Nanpu Bridge and the Lupu Bridge. Shanghai cleared 2.6 square kilometres along the Huangpu, displacing 18,000 families and 270 factories, including the Jiang Nan Shipyard, which had employed 10,000 workers. The Expo's final size made it the largest World's Fair site ever; it covered 5.28 square kilometres – twice the size of Monaco.

One impact of Expo on Shanghai's development was the improved movement of people to and from, as well as within, the city. Shanghai Hongqiao International Airport was upgraded, and six new subway lines brought the total to eleven, significantly enhancing the flow of citizens within the city.

Like many Expos before it, the Shanghai World Expo 2010 was a six-month-long event to introduce China to the world. Also, this event promoted the status of China as a growing influence on the global stage, boosting the confidence of many domestic nationals and helping them envision a future in which they will be participants in world affairs.

The Expo, of course, also represented a chance for participating countries to form stronger partnerships with China. Altogether, 192 countries and fifty international organizations took part – a record number of participants in the history of world fairs.

Monday, September 27, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

Heading off on my first Expo visit, I boarded a bus at a stop near Karen's apartment. It took me forty-five minutes to get from there to the No. 2 Gate Entrance off Xizhang Road South, on the Puxi side of Expo. Altogether, there were thirteen entrances to the Expo park; eight ground gates (five in Pudong, three in Puxi), four water gates (two in Pudong, two in Puxi), and one metro gate in Puxi.

At the gates there were several enclosures for security checks. The first area was distinguished by a series of plastic bins holding gas cigarette lighter fluids and a sign indicating that all cigarette lighters were banned and should be dropped into a bin.

The crowd was organized into weaved rows of a single-file line hemmed in by the white entrance gate. Though similar to airport security checks, these measures failed in many cases to enforce orderliness upon excitable crowds of visitors. Few tourists missed the opportunity to jockey forward and sidestep others to get further ahead in line.

The next security measure was groups of three young male and female officers in navy-blue uniforms. I had to show my day pass and then raise my arms so the guard could run a metal detector along the inner lines of my body. Another guard wearing blue latex gloves kneaded my handbag and asked me to open it for further inspection.

Upon passing these checks, I was directed to a row of turnstiles where cheerful Expo volunteers called out enthusiastic greetings. I passed my ticket into a slot, which sucked it in and then spit it back out with newly embossed rows of text – 'EXPO 2010' – on its edges.

More volunteers distributed maps of the park in a selection of international languages. I took an English-language one to use, and a Chinese-language one as a souvenir.

The M2 Water Gate offered the most scenic entrance: an elevated pedestrian walkway offering a bird's eye view of both the Puxi and the Pudong sides of the Expo Park. Situated on opposing banks of the Huangpu River, the Pudong side was two times larger than the Puxi side – plus it featured the architectural wonders of the National Pavilions. The Puxi side was well less attended but equally interesting. It presented the pavilions of worldwide corporations, such as the Coca-Cola Happiness Factory, the Asahi Beer Garden, and the Shanghai Corporate Pavilion,

which displayed their vision of the ‘Robotic Kitchen of the Future.’ Also on the Puxi side was the ‘Urban Best Practices Area,’ which allowed cities – as opposed to nations – to demonstrate their successes in the construction of livable cities, sustainable urbanization, protection and utilization of historical heritage, and the use of technological innovation in built environments.

Visitors moved between the two riverbanks via ferries, which disembarked every quarter-hour or so. On the ferry, passengers stood on the exterior decks for photo ops with the Pudong side buildings, the most popular being the white, spaceship-like disc of the Expo Culture Center, and the red behemoth of the China pavilion.

The ferry trip also ran alongside the Lupu Bridge, showcasing the magnificent reconstruction of the ancient bridge that had once facilitated the city’s trade and riches. This bridge was featured as a significant part of the opening ceremonies, with a grand fireworks show in which rainbow rows of comet tails spilled over it into the river.



Line-up of Shanghai Expo visitors with security guards and volunteers

Tuesday, September 28, 2010

Shanghai, Sister's apartment

PANDA STORIES: The panda has long been cherished as a popular national symbol of China. In the news at the beginning of my visit to Shanghai was an announcement about the final twelve candidates in an international competition to win the coveted job of 'panda keeper' at the Chengdu Research Base for Giant Panda Breeding. The finalists were from eleven countries, having been selected from 62,000 applications by wildlife conservation experts and an on-line poll. The finalists had been flown to the Chengdu Research Base for a month-long training session in panda care. Their task included cleaning and sterilizing panda enclosures, feeding the bears, and methodically weighing their excrement.

Keeping good records of panda excrement was crucial, as the quality, colour, and form of the stool are indicators of health. Most of the finalists were surprised to find that five panda cubs could produce sixteen kilograms of excrement a night.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Xinhua, "The Joys of Weighing Pandas' Excrement," *Shanghai Daily*, September 27, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/nation/The-joys-of-weighing-pandas-excrement/shdaily.shtml>.



"The Joys of Weighing Pandas' Excrement" and "Work Begins on World's Highest Railway," Shanghai Daily, 2010; "Sitting Pretty," Shanghai Daily, 2010

Thursday, September 30, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (Eight hours)

THE CHINA PAVILION: Entrance to the red China pavilion required a most maddening exercise of effort and national pride. Volunteers hand out a limited number of tickets, only 30,000 each day. Queuing up for a visit begins as early as 5 a.m., with diehards sleeping overnight at the Expo site's entrances. At the 9 a.m. opening hour, the masses sprinted toward the China pavilion and typically snapped up all the tickets within five minutes.⁴⁹⁵

Enthusiasm to visit the China Pavilion never diminished, despite repeated national broadcasts saying the pavilion would continue to remain open as a commemorative icon of the event long after the Expo wrapped up. I visited the Expo site ten times and was not able to visit the China pavilion once. A friend suggested that I pay an additional six hundred yuan to buy my way into an affluent Hong Kong and Taiwanese tour group arranged by the Portman Ritz Carlton Hotel. I pictured myself neatly folded among pressed baby-pink shirts and Italian handbags, and decided against this. Mostly, I could not muster up the extra cost.

Christened the “Crown of the East,” the pavilion looks like an inverted red pyramid and is nearly three times taller than all the pavilions on site, standing sixty-nine metres in height. According to its architect, the 72-year-old He Jingtang, the China pavilion is based on an ancient architectural element, the *dougong*, an integral interlocking bracket used to join pillars and columns to the frame of the roof. He also expressed his desire for this iconic shape to symbolize “the spirit of the Chinese people against the background of a rising nation.”⁴⁹⁶

Despite many visitors having been shortchanged a China pavilion visit, news coverage of the structure was extensive. Reports described the pavilion's theme as “Chinese Wisdom in Urban Development,” with displays inside that reflected traditional Chinese philosophy regarding humanity and harmony with nature. Three sections – Footprint, Dialogue, and Actions – lead visitors through the nation's ideas on the evolution of cities.

⁴⁹⁵ Yang Jian, “Queuing Before Sunrise for the Crown of the East,” *Shanghai Daily (Expo Daily)* September 30, 2010: 4-5.

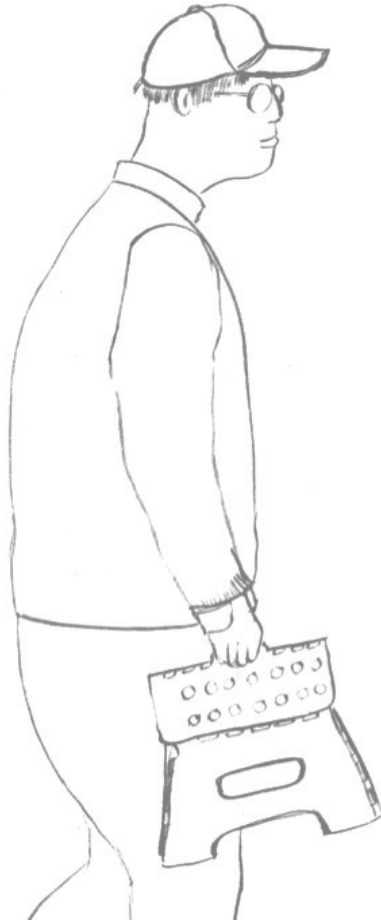
⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

Ancient elements of urban planning, such as bridge design, *dougong* construction, and traditional courtyards, were presented to build appreciation of Chinese design. At the same time, the exhibition also showcased a low-carbon lifestyle that would significantly shape the future of China's cities. This included zero-carbon concept vehicles, solar energy systems, and a facility that turns algae into fuel.⁴⁹⁷

According to an article in *Expo Daily*, a dedicated news insert folded within the local paper *Shanghai Daily* (as well as the title of my travelogue), the biggest attraction is a 128-metre-long animated projection of a celebrated national painting, 'Along the River during the Qingming Festival,' painted during the Song Dynasty (960–1279). The high-tech animation showed how the early painting continues to be relevant today, exploring concepts of a cordial social sphere in the city. The projection features seven hundred people and animals as they move about and engage in different activities, such as trading, performing magic, worshipping, and travelling.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid.



Shanghai Expo visitor (man) with mini folding stool



Visitors taking tourist photos of the China Pavilion



The China Pavilion

ENCOURAGING PHILANTHROPY: China is home to the world's second-largest number of billionaires. Because of this, Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates and billionaire investor Warren Buffett hosted a private dinner in Beijing to meet China's new elites and promote and share their passion for philanthropy. Some invitees were reluctant to attend, because they did not want to be pressured to give away their wealth so soon.⁴⁹⁹ Mainland China's super-rich grew in number by 31 percent in a single year to nearly 500,000 in 2009. The combined wealth of 'high net worth individuals' also increased 31 percent to \$9.7 trillion US in the same year, surpassing Europe's

⁴⁹⁹ Xinhua, "Buffett Declares Dinner 'Success'," *Shanghai Daily*, September 30, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/nation/Buffett-declares-dinner-success/shdaily.shtml>.

super-rich. Meanwhile, to the south, Hong Kong's super-rich population doubled to 76,000, the highest percentage gain in the world.⁵⁰⁰

Friday, October 1, 2010

Former French Concession

61ST BIRTHDAY OF PRC: The National Holiday begins October 1 to honour the sixty-first anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. This national celebration was a seven-day holiday. Festivities were carried over from the Mid-Autumn festival, which took place just weeks earlier. As usual, this holiday turns out a sea of red flags along the major city streets, as national pride is celebrated everywhere. People also celebrated with lightshows along the Bund (the first port of call for visitors) and along traditional laneways in the downtown districts, and by fruit-picking in the suburbs. Flower exhibitions were also on show all over the city.

⁵⁰⁰ Li Xinran, "Big-Money Class Grows," *Shanghai Daily*, September 30, 2010, <http://enicb.ebnew.com/news.jhtml?method=detail&channelId=280&docId=198874181>.



Newspaper article on William Buffet and Bill Gates visiting Beijing in September 2010



Shanghai Daily Metro reports on the city getting ready for the week-long national holiday



Shanghai Daily front page report on the increased pageantry of flags in Shanghai to honour the 61st anniversary of the founding of the People's Republics of China

COUPLES HOLDING HANDS: Romance blossomed in the final month of Expo. Hand-in-hand couples weaved through Zones A to E, hugging each other just before a temporary separation to pursue different spectacles.

Throughout the country, the government encourages love and romance through a week-long holiday, the Mid-Autumn Festival, known as Zhong Qiu Jie. It is one of the most important festivals of the year, and is also known as the “Festival of Reunion,” in which the full moon of the harvest season is celebrated by visiting family members and eating moon cake. Children stay up past midnight, parading lanterns and eating sweet osmanthus flower candies, while adult couples take long evening walks and go to scenic water spots to gaze at the full moon. Also by the same moonlight, literati gather to drink and to write poetry. This is commonly the most feminine of holidays. Women take extra care in their beauty and make appointments to socialize with other women over evening meals or during temple worship.⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰¹ Zhai Lu and Zhang Qian, “Celebrations Draw on Cultural Traditions,” *Shanghai Daily*, September 27, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/district/jiading/Celebrations-draw-on-cultural-traditions/shdaily.shtml>.



Couple holding hands

Monday, October 4, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

SECURITY MEASURES: Shanghai adopted Beijing Olympics-calibre security measures including metal detectors at subway entrances and screening of cars entering the city. Expo security staff were mostly discreet, except for when it came time to change the guards. This process featured two lines of young men marching along the main roads to their new posts—a token of the military state entering civic space.

Security was tight within the Expo grounds and across the city. Shanghai had 46,000 police officers, with an additional 8,000 drafted from outside the city, and a thousand more officers brought out of retirement. In the opening months, the People's Liberation Army was enlisted to help control the long queues at the more popular pavilions. Also, pairs of soldiers had been stationed outside of subway station entrances across the city—another reminder of the ideology of the police state. Some Shanghai residents complained that security in the city was downright oppressive, especially for those living near the Expo site. Long, white traffic gates, running from the Expo entrances into the surrounding neighbourhoods, made it hard for residents go about their daily errands.



Shanghai Expo security guards

Thursday, October 7, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

VOLUNTEERS: On a weekday Expo visit with my sister, Karen described how the local Shanghainese had given the Expo volunteers the nickname “xiao bok choy.” This means “young bok choy,” a popular vegetable in the local diet.

Two attributes explain this nickname: the relatively young age of the 1.7 million volunteers (most are university students who have taken a semester off to work at the Expo); and the fresh white-and-green colours of their uniforms. White pants blend into a green polo shirt, similar to the colour transition of the bok choy.

THE HAIRDO OF A MIDDLE-AGED SHANGHAINESE LADY: A basket of intricately teased hair sat above the head of a swanky, middle-aged Shanghainese lady. She was quite a sight—a rival to any of the national pavilions. This crown of hair was complemented, neck-down, by a pink silk suit and gold stiletto heels. Husbands of such finely turned-out women showed their devotion by carrying the women’s designer handbags. They were also ready at any moment to cushion any slip-ups, if by mischance a needlepoint heel should catch the lip of a sidewalk crack.



Shanghainese lady in pink silk outfit



Shanghai Expo volunteers in uniform

Tuesday, October 12, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

PAVILION LINE-UPS: Visitors rest on mini-folding stools and look on with optimism as the rest of the bipedal day-trippers waft past. Every quarter-hour, a rumble causes their line-up to stand up, one hundred or so enter the pavilion, and everyone else shuffles forward, their ribcages enclosing fast-beating hearts. Once more, the stools go slack on being picked up and then unfolded to accommodate bottoms that are seated once again. Increased anticipation for new spectacles worry away at their patience.

Overall attendance reached its highest numbers in the final months of the Expo, with a single-day attendance record on October 16, 2010, of more than 1.03 million visitors. Wait times in line-ups reached upward of eight hours for the more popular exhibitions, like the French, German, United Kingdom, and American pavilions.



Line-up at the popular United Arab Emirates Pavilion



Expo visitor pushing baby stroller

FAST-TRACK LINES: Fast-track lines are reserved for visitors with restricted mobility, such as the disabled and the elderly. In the PRC, one must have attained the ripe age of seventy-five to qualify for this concession.

The fast-track lines are in plain sight of those standing in the regular lines. Sometimes the fast-trackers cut through the waiting crowd brazenly, with a sense of entitlement. Nevertheless, “fast-track line” is a misnomer, in that much of the time these lines are comprised of shuffling seniors leaning on walking canes or nestled in wheelchairs pushed by their adult children.



Shanghai Expo visitors pushing senior citizens in wheelchairs to the fast-access queues

MINI FOLDING STOOLS: Pork-stuffed adults sit huddled together on folded-out mini-stools. Knees are close to hearts; some stomachs untuck themselves over waistlines. These portable mini-stools became the most vital necessity for the long pavilion line-ups.

The mini-stool measures about 25 x 20 x 22 centimetres in length, width, and height, respectively. They are comparable in size to the four-slice toaster common to many households in Canada. The stools come in cheerful colours of red, blue, yellow, magenta, and green, with white polka dots on top. I bought four as souvenirs of my World Expo experience.

The *China Daily* reports that the mini-folding stool had become the Expo's unofficial souvenir—on par with the mascot, Haibao, and the souvenir passport. A stool sells for ten yuan (about \$1.50 in Canadian dollars). But prices can run higher; an annoyed Chinese-American blogger reported on her hard-won, haggled-down price of fourteen yuan—about seventy cents higher than average.

The best sellers reported selling 120 to 180 stools a day just in front of the Expo gates. These merchants asked the official Expo-licensed shop to sponsor the stools, but were turned down despite their popularity.

Manufacturers of plastic goods around Shanghai have been making the mini-stools since 2005, but it was only with the Expo demand that manufacturers kicked up production. One entrepreneur with ten employees described how at the time of the Expo his company's output increased four or five times compared to the same time the previous year, and how about 90 percent of the total output went to Shanghai. He was able to produce 700 to 800 folding stools daily by running all four of his machines eight hours a day.⁵⁰²



Shanghai Expo visitor seated on mini stool

⁵⁰² Shi Yingying, "Tiny Folding Stools, Summer's Hottest Expo Item," *China Daily*, July 7, 2010.
http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010expo/2010-07/07/content_10074209.htm



The popular mini folding stools at the Shanghai Expo



Shanghai Expo visitor on mini folding stool

Friday, October 15, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

HAIBAO MASCOT: The Haibao mascot was introduced to the public several years in advance, the first prominent trademark for the Shanghai World Expo. Haibao means “treasure of the seas,” and his A-frame shape resembles the Chinese character for *ren* (meaning person or people).



The Haibao mascot

The first Haibao was introduced as a public sculpture in February 2008 on the zigzagging Bridge Square of Yuyuan Garden, a popular restored Old Town Shanghai shopping mall that receives 37 million tourists each year. I encountered my first Haibao there, in the late spring of 2008, just months before the opening ceremonies of the Beijing Summer Olympic Games.⁵⁰³ In the time between the Olympic Games and the World Expo, Haibao fever dominated the visual culture of the city.

By 2009, more than two hundred Haibao sculptures have been placed in urban centres, with some traveling to cities overseas as Expo ambassadors. In 2010, Haibao was a fully animated character, with gyrating, superfly dance moves on mini-T.V. screens embedded into the headrests of Expo-sponsored taxicabs.

To the foreign eye, Haibao looks incomparable to any pop culture character in North America, except possibly Gumby. My first impression of Haibao was one of uncertainty. He came across as a squeeze of toothpaste with large cartoon eyes and a super-elated hand wave. To impress my sister, I once brought along my toothbrush to pose for a staged photo showing Haibao in the distance, small enough in size to sit properly on my toothbrush.

As I have mentioned, and in line with many former World Expo mascots, Haibao is an imaginary creature inspired by the Chinese character for “people.” The trend for mascot design in recent Expos has tended to run toward similar abstractions. Expo 2000 in Hanover, Germany, offered Twipsy—a multicoloured creation with a large mouth, a big nose, a plant for the left arm, a human hand for the right arm, and a man’s foot and a woman’s foot to propel him forward. Later, Expo 2005, in Aichi, Japan, introduced Morizo and Kikkoro, a mascot pair of little yellow and green shrubs described by their organizers as little fairies of the forest. The dialectic of this duo—one wise and knowledgeable, the other young and impressionable—forms the crux of their identity. Perhaps the mascot that most resembles Haibao is the Expo 2008 mascot, Fluvi, who debuted in Zaragoza, Spain. Fluvi is a translucent water creature with a jelly-like body. He resembles E.T., with eyes set on the sides of his head like the hammerhead shark. His *modus operandi* is to leave behind footprints that spawn new Fluvi and nourish new life.

⁵⁰³ Haibao debuted on December 18, 2007 on the Shanghai Grand Stage. Performers dressed as Haibao danced on stage to celebrate this unveiling gala. Soon afterwards, more than 100 licensed products of Haibao—ranging from plush toys to stationary items and garments—were made available in five authorized shops in the city.



Other World Expo mascots, including Fluvi (2008 Zaragoza Expo, Spain), Morizo and Kikkoro (2005 Aichi Expo, Japan), and Twipsy (2000 Hanover Expo, Germany).

Haibao is conceptually linked to the Expo mandate. Consequently, designers and sponsors suggested that Haibao show a “people-oriented” spirit that tells the public that it is they who must act as good citizens to create the foundation of a “Better City, Better Life.”⁵⁰⁴

The Chinese character is made from two strokes, which support one another. This enforces the idea that a “good life” is not achieved alone, but among people in support of one another through their individual efforts.

⁵⁰⁴ The structure of Chinese character, in which two strokes support each other, manifests the concept that a good life should be created by all people. The world should be supported by people, and people should have harmonious relationships with nature and society, so that life in cities would be better.

The blue colour represents water, which identifies Shanghai as a coastal city. Haibao's hair is the crest of a wave, which designers felt evokes a spirit of generosity and hospitality—a spirit further emphasized by his two thumbs up.

The character Haibao was selected following a four-month, worldwide public solicitation for mascot ideas launched January 17, 2007. The competition garnered 26,655 entries. Organizers from the mascot selection office travelled to more than fifty cities in China, and even across the world, and organized a door-to-door campaign to reach more than 80,000 people, asking them to submit ideas for the Expo mascot. They also talked to well over 1,500 design companies, 800-plus advertising agencies, 1,000 animation firms, and 200-plus colleges to get support for the mascot solicitation. The age spread among competition contributors ranged from three to eighty-three. Children under the age of ten designed 7 percent of total entries.

Mascot concepts were sent in by people of all professions and walks of life; students, athletes, nurses, designers, clerks, painters, writers, teachers, actors, and retirees. Interestingly, nearly 70 percent of the contestants were from eastern coastal cities.

A selection jury of eleven judges—all men, strangely—chose the winning submission, created by Shanghai design company Yokan Corporate Identity. The judges were experts in art and design from the cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Taipei, as well as Japan, Italy, and Portugal. To maintain a fair and objective jury procedure, an official institution was created to oversee the selection process.

A subsequent revision jury, led by local designer Shao Longtu, spiffed up the original entry into the current Haibao mascot, following three further months of discussion. Final designs for Haibao was passed at the fifth meeting of Expo's Organizing Committee, with Chinese Vice Premier Wu Yi presiding, on September 24, 2007.

Even though Haibao is a simple-looking mascot, he is presented in significantly variable positions and costumes. At the time of my Expo visit, Haibao was undeniably plush and huggable—a desirable toy and souvenir for the international event. The standard-sized Haibao doll measures 35 centimetres tall and came packaged in a designer box with an acetate window showing him within, waving out at the buyer. This doll was sold at the fixed price of 95 RMB (around eight Canadian dollars) so that everyone could take one home, particularly workers who came in from the provinces.

At the time of the Expo, Haibao could only be purchased at officially sponsored souvenir shops on the Expo grounds, or at off-site stores in popular shopping districts of Shanghai, such as Nanjing Lu. At the time of my visit, there no longer were any counterfeit Haibao dolls available. I went to a market with a couple of friends to seek out fakes, only to find shopkeepers giving me knowing nods, saying the time for Haibao deals are over. Go to the official stores and pay the big bucks, they said.

As early as August 12, 2009, the crackdown on counterfeit Haibaos by Shanghai authorities had been reported. A raid on Nanjing Lu confiscated two hundred fake Haibaos during the first joint effort between local authorities and the Expo organizers, citing that the bogus dolls infringed on the event's intellectual property rights. This raid took place only after local newspapers published reports of vendors selling counterfeit Haibao toys.⁵⁰⁵ Expo souvenirs had already been on sale in Shanghai as early as December 2007.

The knock-off Haibao sold for 15 RMB (\$2.19), whereas authentic ones sold for 95 RMB. The fake is lighter in colour and fatter than the real doll. According to storekeepers, about a thousand fake Haibaos could be sold on an average day, whereas at the officially sponsored stores in the same area, no more than one hundred Haibao dolls left the shelves daily. Managers of these stores claimed to have seen sales drop off as much as 30 percent because of counterfeits peddled in the area.

The authentic stores were few and quite difficult to find, whereas the outlets selling fakes were more conspicuous at the time of the crackdown. By March, just before the opening of the Expo, 4,000 official stores opened in China, over half of them (2,500) located in Shanghai. By May, visitors to the Expo could buy souvenirs at any of the eighty stores within the event

⁵⁰⁵ Marc Arnold, "Local Authorities Crack Down on Counterfeit Haibaos," *expo2010*, August 18, 2009, en.expo2010.cn. Two hundred counterfeit versions of the World Expo mascot Haibao have been confiscated in the first joint effort between local authorities and the Expo organizer to seize bogus Expo 2010 products that infringe on the event's intellectual property rights. Shanghai's Huangpu District urban management staff confiscated the counterfeit Haibaos in a recent raid on downtown Nanjing Road Pedestrian Street. The raid came after reports were published in local newspapers claiming that street vendors were selling counterfeit Haibao toys.

grounds. Just thirty-seven days before Expo opened, sales of Expo souvenirs had already exceeded eight billion yuan (over \$1 billion CAD).⁵⁰⁶

Most Haibao buyers bought the fakes on purpose, citing the significantly lower prices as the incentive. A customer who bought fakes might purchase the equivalent of seven Expo items for the same price as a single authentic Haibao doll. As well, most peddlers would give discounts of five to ten yuan if the buyer quibbled over price. The officially sponsored stores sold their Expo products at fixed costs only.

⁵⁰⁶ Expo Shanghai Newsletter No. 56, March 25, 2010.



A high number of souvenir Haibao plush toys in boxes

HAIBAO SOAP DISH: A soap dish depicting Haibao in the bathtub is my most prized souvenir. In this scenario, he washes away the whirl of another Expo day. One arm extends a thumbs-up to bathtub crashers. The other arm waves goodbye to the hula skirt, top hat and cane, sombrero and maracas, turban and loincloth, string of firecrackers, and other accoutrements intended to show off Haibao's cosmopolitanism.

Haibao also sports professional attire. A plush doll on China's version of eBay shows the mascot in the blue overalls of a house painter complete with paint can and brush in hand. In the official souvenir shops, a keychain shows Haibao in an artist's frock, palette and oil brushes in hand, to show his sense of creativity and sensitivity to the arts.

In the bathtub, Haibao sheds his national and professional attributes. He is stripped down to his birthday suit, worn out from weary days of Expo song and dance. Chest-deep in rippling bath water, Haibao is his true, blue self.



Souvenir Haibao plastic soap dish

Monday, October 18, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

PICNICS AND INSTANT NOODLE CUPS: Countless Expo visitors arrive with picnic meals in tow. Family and friends gather for picnics throughout the day, their mini-stools serving as both tables and seats. Others took refuge in the vast shade of the Swiss pavilion, provided by its large canopy roof.

Shanghai locals do not mix eating with the ground, universally regarding the latter as a big garbage can. On my first visit to Shanghai in the summer of 2006, one entire city block was dedicated to garbage sorting, with dumpster divers digging through bags for anything of value. It was remarkable to see a change in city values by way of the picnic. Citizens are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of clean public urban spaces, especially with the increase of migrant workers into the cities of China. Park and city developers are considerably creating pedestrian-friendly social spaces for picnic lunches and other public uses.



Group of elderly Shanghai Expo visitors picnicking on the fairgrounds

The instant noodle cup is a lightweight favourite among domestic travellers. While there were many water stations on the Expo grounds, they did not dispense hot water—a major oversight.

In order to meet the demands of the people and their dry noodles, impromptu electric hot-water dispensers were set up between an information booth and the weirdly spiraling Nepal pavilion. Momentarily confused, I mistook the line-up leading to such a dispenser for one leading to a pavilion. I soon became aware, however, how there were no pedestrian gates to keep order, and then I noticed the waist-high row of instant noodle cups. Like yogurt cups, but bigger, their covers had been peeled back. At that moment, I felt sympathy for the people in the line-up, and disappointment with the Expo authorities for having neglected such a necessity.

The best brand of instant noodle cup costs 6 RMB, or 88 US cents. The price of an Asian “Expo Meal Set” was eight times more. At the cost of 48 RMB, the dinner consisted of broth soup, five dumplings, and three pickled vegetable appetizers. Other Asian meals included a plate of curry chicken and an orange juice for 60 RMB; a Korean bibimbap for 55 RMB; and fried noodles for 38 RMB. The price of an average Western-style lunch at one of the themed pavilions was more expensive, well over 200 RMB. I ate a salad at the Italian pavilion for 78 RMB—well over ten times the cost of an instant noodle cup.

At the time of writing this, the average annual income for employees in Shanghai reached about 65,000 RMB (\$10,000 CAD). The income of factory workers had increased in 2010 because the government raised the minimum wage, but it is still low in comparison to wages in North America and to Europe. A factory worker’s wage in southern China is about eighty cents per hour. And workers from rural provinces usually earn about \$200 a month, if they work six or seven days a week.⁵⁰⁷

And so, with the increase of government-required visits by factory workers (usually from outlying cities) to boost attendance to new records in Expo’s final months, the price of food was significantly unaffordable. For this reason, I saw more people having picnics and eating instant noodle cups than in the pavilion restaurants.

⁵⁰⁷ Average Salary Survey 2010/2011, March 15, 2011, www.averagesalarysurvey.com/article/average-salary-in-china/15201531/income.aspx.



Instant noodle cup



Group of Shanghai Expo visitors picnicking on the Dutch pavilion fairgrounds with model sheep

In an unusual news report five days before the close of the Expo, the *Shanghai Daily* printed the headline, “Chopstick removed from stomach.” According to the story, upon being rushed to the city hospital complaining of severe stomach pains, a fifty-year-old Shanghai man had half a chopstick removed by doctors. The man testified to have swallowed the chopstick twenty-eight years earlier under extreme stress; because he had a fear of surgery, he had decided to leave the chopstick where it was.

Upon investigating, the doctors found that the chopstick had warped and gone rotten so that it could not be removed through the throat. By this time, the chopstick had severely damaged the wall of the man’s stomach and caused internal hemorrhaging. A small cut was made in the

wall of the stomach, and, with the guide of a gastro-scope, the chopstick was delicately removed.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁸ Cai Wenjun, “Chopstick Removed from Stomach,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 26, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/metro/health-and-science/Chopstick-removed-from-stomach/shdaily.shtml>.

Thursday, October 21, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

CANADA AT THE EXPO: The Canadian pavilion gave its citizens automatic entry, provided they show valid passports at the gate. On the day of my visit, the regular line was not very long, and so the privilege was not as rewarding.

For the Expo, participating nations were each asked to develop their own nationally specific theme that supplemented the wider Expo themes. Canada's idea for the Expo was "The Living City: Inclusive, Sustainable, Creative," which responds to the overall Expo motto, "Better City, Better Life."

In the pavilion, a looping cinematic montage showed nightscapes of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, which blended them into a single city. Our pavilion's theme points to three pillars that make our Canadian cities unique. First, inclusiveness allows our cities to be built upon democratic self-expression and participation. This is best reflected by Canada's multicultural diversity, which respects the equality and rights of individuals. Second, sustainability refers to how our cities strive to attain a green consciousness, finding a balance between the needs of people and the environment. The interdependence of rural and urban life is evident. And finally, creativity identifies our urban hubs as places of innovation and imagination, where the fine arts, cutting-edge science and technology, as well as business acumen assert a healthy interconnection.

Even though I knew the pavilion was funded (and managed) largely by the Quebec-based group Cirque du Soleil, I was truly surprised to see a great amount of Quebec arts presented by the Canadian pavilion. The National Film Board of Canada, also based in Montreal, was showcased as a vital example of Canada's contribution to the global arts.

The Cirque du Soleil oversaw the Canadian pavilion's design, and because of this its conception received negative reviews from Canadian architecture enthusiasts. Some felt that the \$45 million CAD funds earmarked for building the project had been misspent on a pavilion designed by "clowns."

Unfettered by such criticism, the Cirque du Soleil did what it did best and put on public performances of circus acts within the pavilion courtyard. As well, the Cirque du Soleil organized a contemporary art competition, which received more than eight hundred submissions from

Canadian artists. I myself submitted a proposal, as did many of my peers, a year prior to the event. A corridor just before the gift shop and the pavilion exit displayed the selected works.

Outside in the courtyard was a chalet-style restaurant and patio with hand-hewn wooden tables and chairs. The greasy but much-loved Quebec dish, poutine, was offered on the menu. I placed an order, excited with the China debut of Quebec's popular cheese curds. My poutine arrived on the service counter: unappetizing, translucent yellow cubes lay among embarrassed fries and gravy.

Heavy with disappointment, I informed the cashier that this poutine was not the real thing. She then called for her manager, a middle-aged man, who revealed his small-town Quebec birthright. We then proceeded to pound our chests as to who had the more entitlement to call themselves Quebecois and thus have the final say about the poutine. Having lived in Montreal for more than a decade, I was capable of waving a whole toque-full of my opinions on food and service without pause. The plate was taken back, my money was returned, and we parted on a reprimand, as the manager stated that the cube cheese was from New Zealand and had been specially selected by him; if only I would allow myself to try it, I would be well satisfied.

A week later, I revisited the Canadian pavilion with my sister and described my poutine story to her. Karen was as pleased as I was with the dissonance of the exchange, in which a Chinese Montréalaise argued with a fellow Québec expat over poutine at the PRC's most significant globalizing event! Ha ha!

Also on this visit, a short line of local visitors led to a photo-op with an RCMP officer. Karen and I lined up and posed together for photos with the officer. We learned from him that he was from Cornwall, Ontario, which is the middle ground between our home cities of Toronto and Montreal.



My sister posing for a picture with a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer at the Canadian Pavilion



Poutine dish from the Canadian Pavilion restaurant

Monday, October 25, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

SIESTA AT THE EXPO: In Celebration Square, in the shade beneath manicured topiary trees, park benches in the form of rectangular slabs and doughnut-shaped stones made welcoming beds for siestas. Shoes off and neatly stowed away, visitors dozed, chins nuzzled into chests, arms shaped into pillows, and eyelids made heavy by worldly spectacles. They shut out the bright, globalizing forces as they napped, and the torrent of the Expo's sights and sounds were held at bay.

On Monday, October 25, the *Shanghai Daily* reported on a 62-year-old Ecuadorian man winning Spain's first siesta championship. Organizers proclaimed him a winner for sleeping seventeen minutes in the midst of a teeming Madrid shopping centre. His snoring was registered at an astonishing seventy decibels—the same volume as a drunken person talking loudly. This won the Ecuadorian additional points from the judges, allowing him to beat the runner-up, who had slept for eighteen minutes.

According to the organizers, the event was to promote a return to the tradition of the siesta. It was believed that this refreshing pastime was in danger of vanishing under the increasing demands of the pace of life in the modern city.⁵⁰⁹



Shanghai Expo visitors sleeping on the fairgrounds

⁵⁰⁹ “Snoring His Way to Be Siesta Champion,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 25, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/world/Snoring-his-way-to-be-siesta-champion/shdaily.shtml>.



Three Shanghai Expo visitors resting on the fairgrounds



Two Shanghai Expo visitors resting under the shade of a tree on the fairgrounds

Tuesday, October 26, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

TWIN GIRLS: In the PRC, twin girls are symbolic of good fortune. At China's Joint Provincial Pavilion, on the ground floor of the popular China Pavilion, twin girls acted as greeters. These young ladies were in their early twenties, and were dressed in the regional attire of their provinces.

It was hard to tell if these hostesses were truly twins. They were more likely just similar-looking girls who were given matching hairstyles and make-up. That these "sisters" nevertheless looked so much alike, however, struck a chord with me. To explain, sibling kinship is significantly absent on the cosmopolitan streets of Shanghai because of the enforced one-child policy, officially called the "Family Planning Policy." This law came into being in 1978, and was applied to first-born children the following year.

Of my friends in Shanghai, many of them have brothers and sisters in the city because they were born in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Canada, or any combination of these before 1978. Had she been my parents' first child born, she would not have had brothers or sisters to look forward to playing with.



Two children playing

I had not the insensitivity to press this delicate topic with Shanghai born friends, knowing that most locals were tired of being asked what life is like without siblings. What was clear, however, was that the one-child policy had unintended social consequences, most notably China's current gender imbalance. Some media descriptions had gone so far as to nickname the post-1980s generation the "Little Emperors," an unfair appellation that only applies within the urban settings and not throughout the PRC.

It has been suggested that the only-child phenomenon is not exclusive to China, but is in fact a global condition. For example, Canada's fertility rate has been in decline since the 1980s, currently standing at 1.63 children per family. In the year 2000, it descended as low as 1.49. Thus, China and Canada share the lowest birth rates in comparison to the rest of the world.⁵¹⁰

The latest phenomenon changing the social fabric of Shanghai today is the two-child family. Those born under the one-child policy supported a change to the law. Shanghai couples have now been given the special local privilege of having a second child. Passed in 2003, the second-child plan is formally called the "Shanghai Population and Family Planning Regulation."

⁵¹⁰ Trista Baldwin and Debbie Yong, "Stop talking about that: The 10 things foreigners and Chinese wish each other would just shut up about," CNN, April 18, 2011.

It states that, “couples who do not have children from a previous marriage, and who are both born the only child in their respective families, are permitted to have a second child.” While this option has been in effect for eight years, few Shanghainese couples have expanded their small families. One important reason is the responsibility of having to care for their aging parents. Such a duty has them reconsidering the financial feasibility of having a second child.⁵¹¹

Twins, of course, are the exception to the policy. They are the few members of the domestic social fabric able to form sibling relationships. On Monday, October 25, 2010, at the start of the new week, *Shanghai Daily* readers learned that Celine Dion had given birth to twin boys in West Palm Beach, Florida, one month earlier than expected. One boy weighed 2.55 kilograms, the other 2.38. News of her hard-won struggle to become pregnant again, with several rounds of in-vitro fertilization, made international press.⁵¹²

⁵¹¹ Helen He, “One Family, Two Kids: Pioneering Chinese Parents Break with the One-Child Policy,” *CNN*, June 29 2011, <http://travel.cnn.com/shanghai/life/two-child-family-new-shanghai-family-model-931876>.

⁵¹² “Celine Dion Has Twins,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 25, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/world/Celine-Dion-has-twins/shdaily.shtml>.



Two hostesses from China's joint provincial pavilion carrying their Shanghai Expo Passports

POSING FOR PICTURES: Many locals born after the 1978 one-child policy are now married and having small families of their own. And so, when it comes to taking pictures, there is an innate sensibility to hold lengthy poses and to tease the camera with overly happy smiles. Very often within the hubbub of the Expo's flow of people, a family would stop, hold still together, and pose for a picture in front of spectacular pavilions.

It is probable that these family photos taken at the Expo site will give the children in the pictures a sense of selfhood and of being China's new global citizens. In the next twenty years, these children will be directly impacting the global economy.

A report from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences predicted that by 2050 China would be the world's second-most economically competitive country, after the United States. Currently, China is listed seventeenth in the world, up from seventy-third in 1990, according to data collected from public sources, including the World Bank. Reports predict that it will take China a decade to enter the top ten, but to be considered one of the top three takes more time because of the much wider gap.

China became the world's second-largest economy this year, outdoing Japan, but it lags behind in competitiveness. To increase China's competitive edge, its governments stressed steering a middle ground between rapid economic growth and sustainable social development. To meet this goal, a Five-Year Plan for 2011–15 pledges to increase people's spending power by 15 percent per year over the next five years. It also aims to raise the income level of households to ease the imbalance between rich coastal cities and poor inland areas.

The top most competitive countries today are the United States, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and France.⁵¹³

In late September, the *Shanghai Daily* reported the latest numbers on China's population growth. The last estimate in 2007 put China's population at 1.32 billion people, making it the most populous country to date.⁵¹⁴ This number is projected to reach 1.5 billion by 2033, based on an annual increase of 7 million over the next decade. By 2016, China will have the world's

⁵¹³ Wang Yanlin, "China '2nd Most Competitive by 2050'," *Shanghai Daily*, October 26, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/nation/China-2nd-most-competitive-by-2050/shdaily.shtml>.

⁵¹⁴ Cyril Li, "China's Population to Hit 1.5 Billion by 2033," *Shanghai Daily*, September 29, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/nation/Chinas-population-to-hit-15-billion-by-2033/shdaily.shtml>.

biggest labour pool of one billion people. Today, some 200 million people have moved into towns and cities, and in the next twenty years some 300 million more will emigrate into urban centres, as well. With such rapid urbanization and economic growth, Shanghai and Beijing will each have populations over 50 million by 2050, doubling their current numbers.



Shanghai Expo visitors taking photographs



A family of Shanghai Expo visitors posing for a photograph at the British Pavilion

Wednesday, October 27, 2010

Former French Concession

PAUL THE OCTOPUS: In late October, the media reported on the death of the famed oracle octopus Paul, who made his fame by accurately predicting the outcome of Germany's soccer matches. Before a match, two containers of food, each bearing the flags of the teams about to play, had been placed in Paul's tank. The container he chose first determined the winner of the match.

Paul was found dead in his tank in Oberhausen, a city in western Germany. After Germany's semi-final defeat, Paul went on to predict Spain's win over the Netherlands in the 2009 World Cup championship finals.

German zookeepers were devastated to return to work to find Paul lifeless. However, they were consoled by the knowledge that Paul, age 2, had had a good life and passed away peacefully of natural causes.⁵¹⁵

The following week, the *Shanghai Daily* reported the introduction of "Paul II." This new Paul was born in France, and then transferred to the Oberhausen Sea Life Center so that the original, Paul I, could teach him his mystical ways of soccer match predictions. Unfortunately, the first Paul died before he could pass on his skills to his successor.

That said, doubts were entertained regarding the new Paul's ability to predict the winning teams of the upcoming World Cup.

⁵¹⁵ Reuters, "Eight-Legged World Cup Star Dies," *Shanghai Daily*, October 27, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/world/Eightlegged-World-Cup-star-dies/shdaily.shtml>.



World Cup octopus oracle dies

TOP NEWS/A2

Newspaper clipping reporting the death of the World Cup octopus oracle



Newspaper clipping reporting the debut of the new World Cup octopus oracle

Thursday, October 28, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

BEST AND WORST PAVILIONS: Two hundred and fifty countries and international organizations participated in the Expo, each of them presenting their own ideas about “green” urban design. Through an eclectic variety of “edutainment” presentations, Expo became a pedagogical site for the most current ideas on sustainable city design. Some pavilions were clearly leaders in both conceptual and technological development, while a handful of others missed the mark, in my opinion.

El Salvador did not have its own pavilion; instead, the country took part in a “Joint Pavilion for Central and South American Countries,” which also included Ecuador, Uruguay, Paraguay, and others. El Salvador’s presence there was humble, but memorable. Its kiosk was like a moody stage set, with the erupting volcano and, oddly enough, a night market selling soap-sized pumice stones. While in no way comparable to the French, Swiss, or German pavilions (which cost millions of dollars each), the El Salvadorian exhibit nevertheless had an endearing impact on me by way of its simple message. Volcanic eruptions make pumice stones, which scour away calluses on the soles of our feet, in turn caused by long walks around Expo.

Coincidentally, about this time there appeared a report in the news about Indonesia’s most volatile volcano eruption. Some 11,400 villagers who lived on Mount Merapi were asked to evacuate, while those within seven kilometres of the crater were ordered to leave their homes. Most of the elderly and children fled to safe ground, while adult farmers remained behind to tend to their homes and farms.

Scientists had warned for years of the pressure accumulating beneath the dome of the volcano, and had even forecasted a significant eruption several years earlier. In 2006, an avalanche of hot gases and rocks hurled down from the volcano and killed two people. An earlier eruption in 1994 had killed sixty people, while a blast in 1930 took the lives of 1,300 Indonesians.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁶ “Volcano Flares Up in Indonesia,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 27, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/world/Volcano-flares-up-in-Indonesia/shdaily.shtml>.

My uncle Joe and his wife Anne had visited the Expo several months earlier. Being jokesters, they reported to my sister that the North Korean pavilion was their favourite. They appreciated, they said, how the line-up was much shorter than at the other pavilions. They were fascinated, they added, by the display of North Korea's closed-circuit television programming, made up of soap-opera-like images, saturated colours, and heavily made-up actors. I observed this myself on a visit with Karen, and found that, like El Salvador, North Korea shared the "less is more" approach, except in this instance "less" was the result of an extremely closed-off, totalitarian state.

As expected, the North Korean gift shop sold Communist pins, buttons, and ideological books. All that was missing, to our surprise, were images of the country's "Dear Leader," Kim Jong-il.

In spite of this, Kim Jong-il still made himself conspicuous by being in the news. Reports on the promotion of his youngest son, Kim Jong-un, to the office of four-star general—a gesture toward grooming the country's next leader—were heard. The son had until now been well hidden from the outside world, even though reports said he had studied in Switzerland. He is reported to be between 27 and 30 years old, and is expected, as a general, to take charge of 1.2 million military personnel. His father, it was noted, was 31 when he won the number-two post of governing the Worker's Party in 1973.

Kim Jong-il, now 68, is reported to suffer from diabetes, kidney problems, and a recent stroke. Kim has two older sons, but his youngest is said to be his favourite. Kim Jong-un is politically inexperienced, and will be guided by his father's younger sister, Kim Kyong Hui, who is 64, to oversee the transfer of power, if need be.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ "Youngest Son Gets Kim's Nod," *Shanghai Daily*, September 29, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/world/Youngest-son-gets-Kims-nod/shdaily.shtml>.

Friday, October 29, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

WATER STATIONS: Hamburgers and ice cream cones debuted at past Expos. At this Shanghai World Expo, Belgium promoted fries with mayonnaise, while France held court with champagne tasting. In my opinion, however, the most rewarding item of consumption on site had to have been the fresh water available from the taps.⁵¹⁸

Water stations were available throughout the Expo grounds—rectangular units similar to the silver luncheon trucks from the 1980s. Several faucets were available at each unit, under which a water bottle can be filled. You get water by pressing a button. Exactly 158 such fountains were installed on the Expo site.

Later, after Expo, these fountains would be relocated about the city of Shanghai—a novelty, since water in Shanghai cannot be consumed directly from the tap. Residents must boil water first or else purchase bottled water to drink. Water for the city is treated with special coagulants for filtration and sterilization that destroy harmful substances but can also sometimes be hazardous themselves.

I recall that only cold water ran from the taps. I noticed this because someone had dumped her spoiled green tea leaves onto the seat of a dispenser—perhaps in disappointment or in protest over the lack of hot water. Still, by early September, Expo visitors had consumed 100,000 tonnes of drinkable tap water from these stations.

The Expo water stations used new technology to provide access to free, drinkable water on the Expo grounds. Organizers reported that the same water stations may go citywide in Shanghai bus stations, theatres, and sports stadiums. The new technology would revolutionize the city's drinking habits, using ultraviolet sterilization and carbon-absorbing micro-molecules to clean the water in accord with international standards. Most importantly, the implementation of water stations would help reduce the millions of plastic bottles trashed by the city.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ D'Arcy Doran, "Shanghai World Expo Throw Open Doors," *The Age New South Wales*, May 2, 2010.

⁵¹⁹ Wang Hongyi, "Potable Water Stations for Public Spots," *China Daily*, October 29, 2010, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010expo/2010-10/29/content_11476493.htm.

The Expo mandate is, “Better City, Better Life,” and many of the public facilities were carefully monitored and cleaned to promote good public hygiene as a step toward this ideal. Prior to the Beijing Olympics, as early as 2004, massive operations were introduced to upgrade public toilets in Shanghai and to educate users for the Olympics and Expo. In spite of these efforts, public toilets still remain less than sanitary.⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Trista Baldwin and Debbie Yong, “Stop Talking About That: The 10 Things Foreigners and Chinese Wish Each Other Would Just Shut Up About,” *CNN*, April 18, 2011, <http://travel.cnn.com/shanghai/life/stop-talking-about-876120>.



A Shanghai Expo water station

CIGARETTE SMOKING: Cigarette smoking was strictly regulated on the Expo grounds, regardless of the high number of smokers locally. Implementation of this regulation began at the Expo entrance, where bins of collected cigarette lighters, not permitted inside the site, made a colourful impression. To respond to the need to light up cigarettes, however, lighter stations were located next to the public toilets, cementing the notion that a clean Expo site also meant designated public toilets and smoking areas.

The Expo was the first event of its kind in China to enforce a strict smoke-free environment. Restrictions include the ban of lighters and matches, plus smoking was restricted to

designated spots, usually by the public toilets. To further this cause, volunteers had been mobilized to discourage visitors and staff from smoking. As well, souvenir shops had no tobacco products for sale.

To their credit, Expo organizers declined a 200-million yuan (\$30 million CAD) sponsorship from a major tobacco company. The smoke-free Expo was part of the city of Shanghai's efforts to control tobacco use in public places. A new law took effect just prior to Expo prohibiting smoking in public places, including kindergartens, schools, hospitals, stadiums, public-service locations, shopping malls, libraries, theatres, and museums. Fines were handed out to those who did not comply.

The global impact of the reduction of smoking in China is considerable. At the moment, China is the world's largest tobacco-producing and -consuming nation, with over a billion packets of cigarettes sold each year. Some 350 million people are smokers, which is one-third of the world's total smoking population.⁵²¹ Yuck, right?

⁵²¹ Xinhua, "A Smoke-Free Success," *Shanghai Daily (Expo Daily)*, October 26, 2010, <http://www.shanghaidaily.com/metro/A-smokefree-success/shdaily.shtml>.



A plastic bin of confiscated cigarette lighters at security checks into the Shanghai Expo fairgrounds

SUMMATION FACTS: At the close of the event, a total of 73,084,400 visitors had attended. This surpassed the previous attendance record set by Expo 70, held in Osaka, Japan, of 64 million visitors. Earlier, Montreal's Expo 67 had set the mark at 50 million visitors; on its third day it had the highest single-day entry attendance of 569,000 visitors. The Shanghai Expo nearly doubled this number, with a single-day record of over 1.03 million visitors on October 16, 2010. I was not on site that day, but our friends, the Lee sisters, went, contributing three more to this record-breaking total. They later text messaged their regret at having done so, as the line-ups were slow going all day, and even more so at closing time.

In official reports, approximately 94 percent of visitors were domestic nationals. My visits fell within the remaining 6 percent of foreign national visitors. Controversy presided over Expo's final months, when it was rumoured that state employees, mostly workers in state-owned companies, had been ordered to travel to Expo by bus, train, and plane to help fulfill the target of 70 million visitors projected for the event by the government. Supposedly, some of these employees were threatened with loss of wages if they did not attend.

In the final week, visitor attendance topped the 70 million figure anticipated by the organizers. On October 25, the *Shanghai Daily* reported that at 10:17 a.m. the previous day, the Expo had welcomed visitor number 70,000,001 (since the start of the event in May). This goal-breaking figure was relayed on the information centre screen, causing Expo staff to cheer and take photographs.⁵²²

⁵²² Zha Minjie, "Expo Tops Own 70m Visitors Estimate," *Shanghai Daily*, October 25, 2010, A3.

Saturday, October 30, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Full day (eight hours)

KIDS RESTING, KIDS WALKING: Young parents transport their children in strollers throughout the Expo grounds. The kids are mostly nonplussed about the exhibitions, yet unbeknownst to them they will be the chief benefactors of this globalizing event.

The line-up at the Hong Kong Pavilion took more than two hours. As I waited, I noticed a toddler reclining in his stroller just twenty people behind me. As I weaved back and forth through the line, I kept crossing him and his parents. This child was as bored as me, but he passed the time with his dad's new iPhone, launched just weeks earlier.

Another slighter older boy whimpered while in line. He was desperate to pee, but his mother did not want to lose their place in the queue. To remedy the situation, she had her son relieve himself in a rainwater sewage grate in full sight of us all. Little puddles remained around the grate, which we gingerly stepped over.

The problem of missing children on the Expo grounds had not occurred to me until I came to a "lost child" placard in the Spanish pavilion line-up. The sign described procedures to take if a child was found lost and disoriented. Funny enough, the placard presented a teary, blue-eyed blond boy instead of a local child, rather at odds with the 94 percent of attendees who were domestic residents of China.

The day before Expo closed, the *Shanghai Daily* reported that 31,410 new babies in China have been given the name Shibo, meaning "World Expo," in honour of the event's success. According to the National Citizen Identity Information Center, the Expo namesakes were born between 1999 and 2010, with some 30,397 of Shibos being male. The first baby to be given the honorary name had been born in 1999, the year China first placed its bid for the 2010 event.

The first nine months of 2010 were the most popular for this name, with 6,247 babies being named Shibo. Even though Shanghai hosted the event, however, only eighty-two children in the city were so named. Meanwhile, in Henan, China's most populous region, new parents embraced the name, with 10,537 Shibos registered. Beijing had 255 children with the name, sixteen of them girls.

The character *shi* refers to “world,” “lifetime,” or “generation,” while *bo* means “prosperous,” “vast,” and “knowledgeable.” Many citizens often mark national events with infant names as a way to show pride in their country. A similar phenomenon was reported for the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics, where more than 3,000 new babies were given the name “Aoyun,” which means “Olympics.”⁵²³

⁵²³ Li Xinran, “Event Will Live On in 31,410 ‘World Expos’,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 30, 2010, A3.



Shanghai Expo child napping in stroller



Lost Child sign at the Shanghai Expo featuring a blonde, blue-eyed child

Sunday, October 31, 2010

Shanghai Expo Site

Half day (six hours)

LAST DAY OF EXPO: A gathering of international government heads, business leaders, and scholars met on the last day of Expo at the 2010 Shanghai World Expo Summit Forum to review concepts on urban innovation and sustainable development. Care for the environment, more economic investment in green energy, prudent financial regulations, and better academic research and development, they agreed, were the key points to building a sustainable city. Nearly 2,000 participants attended the summit, including Nobel Prize winners, mayors of major cities, business leaders, and United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, who delivered the keynote address. The conclusion of the forum included the release of the “Shanghai Declaration” to review plans for the sustainable development of urban centres.⁵²⁴

The last day of Expo was a mixed blessing for organizers, the city, and such visitors lucky enough to have secured tickets for the closing day. It was a sobering day, as Shanghai prepared to bow out of the international spotlight. The final week was a countdown that took stock of Expo’s achievements. Tickets for the last day sold out five days in advance. People were advised to not go to the site if they did not have a Last Day entry ticket.⁵²⁵

In the final week, attendance required peak time tickets, which cost forty yuan more than the standard ones sold previously. The number of visitors that final week was limited to 400,000 to 500,000 per day.⁵²⁶

At the very last minute, I was able to attend the closing day of Expo by way of tickets from my friend Sacha; he had charmed his way to them in an American volunteers party the night before. Throughout the Expo months, Sacha dated the shop manager of the American pavilion. Thanks to her position, she was able to obtain the coveted Last Day tickets.

Prior to this, in an even more exclusive act, the girlfriend had pinched the USA pavilion stamp that had earlier been decommissioned in an official announcement by the Americans

⁵²⁴ Zhang Fengming, “Sustainable Development in Focus,” *Shanghai Daily (Expo Daily)*, October 31, 2010, P1.

⁵²⁵ Expo Essentials, “Final Day Sold Out,” *Shanghai Daily (Expo Daily)*, October 27, 2010, P1.

⁵²⁶ Zha Minjie, “Expo Tops Own 70m Visitors Estimate,” *Shanghai Daily*, October 25, 2010, A3.

because they felt that Expo authorities had not provided adequate security for the crowds that stamp collecting created. Somehow, Sacha via his girlfriend, had been able to bring this stamp off-site to issue the USA PAVILION impression along with its images of the American flag followed by a mini firework to his stamp obsessed friends. A fellow stamp collectors in a line up soon afterwards noticed my USA stamp and begged that I let him know where I got it, and how they may also get it. I responded with my deadpan ‘méi yǒu la’ and quickly disappeared into the exhibition crowds worried that some mini-protest would erupt.

News reports of the closing day described events that were nothing like what I experienced that night. The news reported that the site would stay open until midnight to allow for closing ceremony performances after all the pavilions closed at 10:30 p.m. The ceremony was to be shown on LED screens around the park, but I did not see any of them, and thus missed the broadcast list of China’s top entertainers and athletes. They included Shanghai’s 110-metre hurdler Liu Xiang, Hong Kong singer Jackie Cheung, and Expo ambassador and international superstar Jackie Chan.⁵²⁷

That evening, Karen, her husband Israel, and I were caught up in the emotion of Expo’s closing. Several times during the ceremony, we shared tears and wistful breaths of pride with the other visitors for our collective Expo experience. Also, bittersweet farewells to friendships forged by the intense experience chimed throughout the evening. Volunteer groups of “xiao bok choy” piled together for one last group picture in front of the China pavilion. Many hands made peace signs to frame their be-dimpled smiles.

Bus shelters filled with exiting visitors only hours earlier now sheltered several South American pavilion volunteers sitting astride their stuffed suitcases. The overhead lights seemed dimmer, as the volunteers waited on the next bus to deliver to them to the Expo Gates, so they could quickly make their way to the airports for homebound planes.

Another touching moment occurred at the Japan Pavilion. Thanks to good timing, Karen, Israel, and I made our way across the Europe Zone toward the Asia Zone on a gamble that we could get into the purple puckered silkworm dome of the Japanese pavilion. This was just before 8 p.m. By good fortune, we entered the pavilion line-up before it closed behind us, making our

⁵²⁷ “Big Send-Off for Final Day,” *Shanghai Daily (Expo Daily insert)*, October 31, 2010, P1.

group the very last to enter and exit the pavilion. Japanese T.V. reporters soon trained their cameras and spotlights on us.

The pavilion volunteers, young Japanese women in matching pink-and-white uniforms, gave our group special treatment. Their caps had two pink fabric leaves that sat perched like banana peels on their heads with a longer pink-ribbon bow draping down the back.

Every time my group was led toward a new exhibition space, volunteers lined up on both sides of the corridor bidding us “Domo arigato!” as they bowed and wiped away tears. In most situations, local Shanghai residents feel hostile toward visitors from Japan because of their historical relations. The Japanese pavilion, however, addressed such tensions by promoting the image of the Crested Ibis throughout its displays and performances as an example of the two nations working together to overcome past differences. The Crested Ibis is a wetland bird once widespread in China, Taiwan, Russia, and Japan. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the wild population was significantly diminished to the point of extinction in Japan. By chance, in 1981, seven wild Crested Ibis were found in Shaanxi, China. Over the following decades, extensive protection and breeding programs were developed by both China and Japan to re-establish the bird’s population in both countries. 2008 marked the first time a viable Crested Ibis colony was returned to the Japanese wilderness.

A two-hour presentation in the Japan pavilion made use of the Ibis motif. The spectacles included a child-sized robot that played the violin with humanlike dexterity, and a video of an old Japanese ornithologist watching the return flight of the Ibis. Also, a Kabuki theatre show had performers dressed in Ibis-inspired costumes zipping around the stage in wheeled scooters that allowed the standing riders turn the vehicles by leaning at forty-five-degree angles to the ground.

Halfway through our visit to the pavilion, we could no longer hold back our tears. Neither could the other visitors. Camera crews on both the front and tail ends of our group captured our every emotion. We were particularly touched when we saw an older Shanghainese woman give kind pats of encouragement to teary-eyed Japanese girls who held onto each other. When K-bear and I describe this heartfelt scene to others, they often ask us for photos that show the girls, the crowd, and the media. Caught up in the swell of feeling, however, we forgot to take pictures.

Just before midnight, a velvety female voice made some closing remarks about the Shanghai World Expo 2010 through the site’s speakers. Karen, Israel, and I walked together along the emptied, elevated pedestrian walk, taking in views of the tops of the Danish, Finnish,

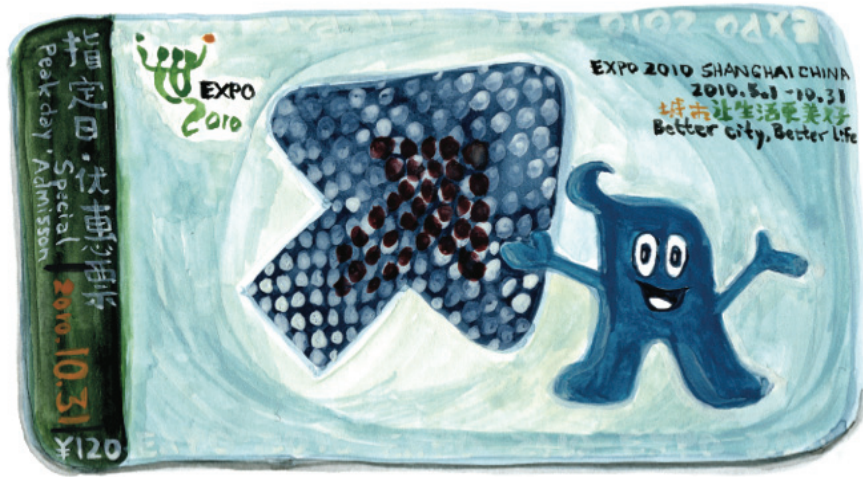
and Swedish pavilions. The announcer listed the official stats of the event—its dates, participants, visitor numbers, etc.—and then gave thanks to all the volunteer teams who had made the Expo possible. Finally, she announced in a halting voice that at that moment, the stroke of midnight, the Shanghai World Expo 2010 was officially closed.

It felt like the end of school to me. All the fun was over, and we would now have to address the real-world issues of global relations. Promises were made that night to remember and make meaningful the friendships we had struck. These words were carried along on the Shanghai coastal air.

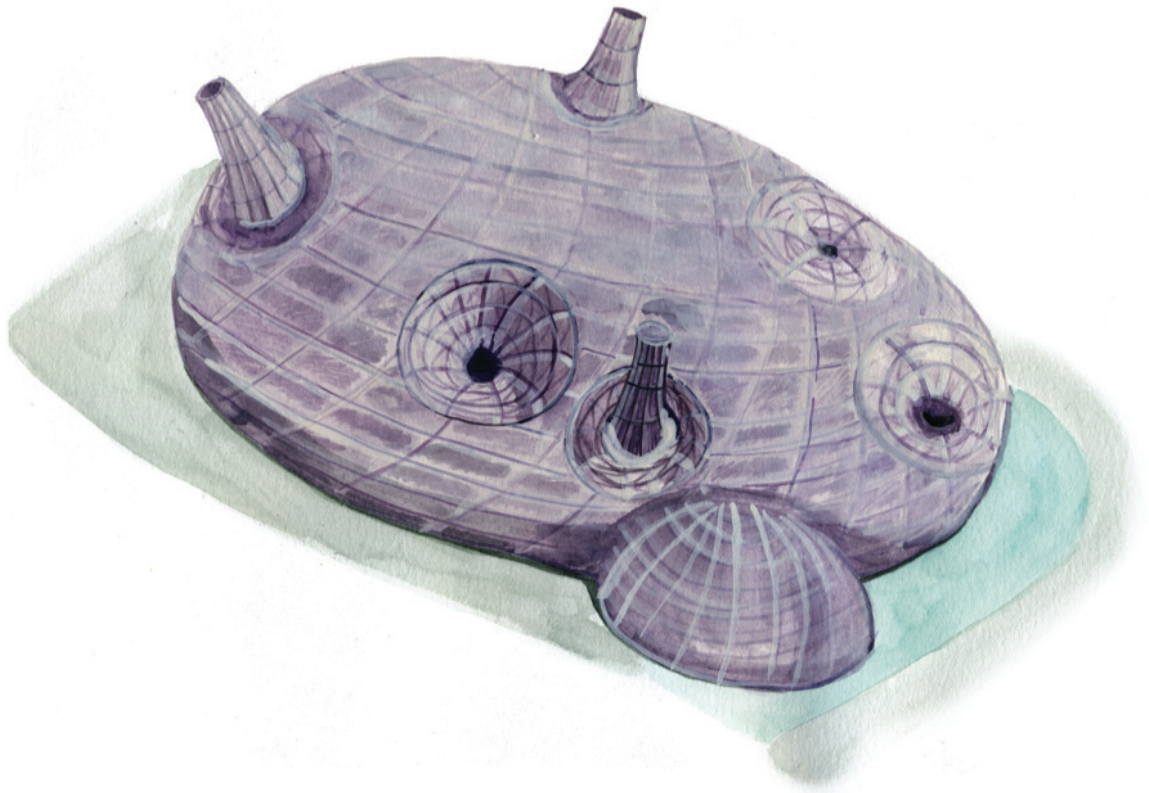
To shake off the melancholy, several pavilions held open-air dance parties. Karen and Israel's DJ colleague had mobilized the crowd in dance at the Switzerland pavilion. The pavilion restaurant set up a food stand to serve all the remaining wheels of raclette cheese and baby potatoes for a midnight snack. The German and Spanish pavilions had celebrations, too. The Spanish pavilion played Lady Gaga's dance remix, while the Germans danced to the beats of percussive electronic dance music. Most of the attendees were twenty- and thirty-something locals, international pavilion volunteers, and expats out to celebrate.

Probably sometime after midnight, park security ended its shift and went home. According to my sister, the security directors had gleefully disconnected their cell phones, glad to be free of the innumerable headaches of crowd management. With the guards gone, some incidents of hooliganism did take place, with mini-golf cars commandeered by joyriders. The white Smurf outside the Belgium pavilion was pulled off its base and straddled for risqué photo-ops! No doubt more high jinx took place to relieve the stress of the final weeks. I did not stay to see more.

Although a little worse for wear, I departed the Expo site with the confident zeal that I had collected enough fieldwork to make a curious travel book. My spirit had been jubilant from having participated in Expo's unique initiation into the global era, and I hope to have conveyed something of these impressions through my Expo entries.



Shanghai Expo Peak Day admissions ticket



Japanese Pavilion



Volunteer announcing the last showtime of the Japan Pavilion



White Smurf sculpture at the Belgium Pavilion

Monday, November 1, 2010

Former French Concession

EXPO STAMP BOOKS: On the Expo grounds, catlike agility was required to sidestep the oncoming crowds without being run over or pushed aside—and all this only to rush head-first into the crush and jostle of enthusiastic stamp lines.

Early on in my field research, I was aware that I had many site visits to make. I knew that the energy required to navigate the huge crowds would be a bitter pill to swallow. And so I kept a look out for different things to maintain my motivation. A few years earlier, I had read a seminal essay by Jürgen Habermas, from his ‘The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and Rationalization of Society’ (1981), for a philosophy class. His idea of the “participant observer” in ethnographic reporting was a concept I wished to use to become more engaged with the Expo’s unique community.

On the morning of my second visit, I decided to spend some time observing the official souvenir shops on the grounds. At a kiosk on the Expo Axis, which are the pedestrian walkways above the exhibition grounds, I overheard the commotion of visitors demanding that the shopkeepers give them a special-issue Mid-Autumn Festival stamp showing the mythical Lady in the Moon.

At first I did not really understand what the fuss was about, but soon I comprehended the craze for these Expo souvenir passport stamps. Inheriting a passion for collecting from my father – who helped me to amass a healthy collection of coins, international postal stamps, and miniature perfume bottles – I took to the Expo Passport passion like a fish to water.

Reports said that around 80,000 souvenir passports were produced each day, and about 70 million had been sold by the end of the Expo – almost one for each of the Expo’s 73 million visitors. For 32 RMB, I purchased a navy-blue souvenir passport that looked rather like my Canadian one. With my new travel document in hand, I joined in the mania to gather as many pavilion stamps as I possibly could.

The phenomenon of building a stamp collection is a national obsession misunderstood and ridiculed by the foreign community of volunteers and Expo visitors. Domestic travellers have always had a tradition of collecting travel souvenirs as mementos, and so, in the case of the

souvenir passports, collectors took to heart the ubiquitously posted slogan, “Tour around the globe without going abroad.”⁵²⁸

At some pavilions, the length of the queue to get passports stamped equalled the length of the line to enter. Expo volunteers observed that many people skipped past the exhibits altogether just to get to the stamp table. I did this several times myself. One just stood still a moment, and listened for the endless cha-chunking to figure out where to make a beeline. It was cha-chunk, cha-chunk, cha-chunk, all day long.

My mania for stamp collecting was highly motivated by future bragging rights and later a friendly competition (goaded on by my sister) to out-do a friend who was also collecting stamps. In retrospect, I would not have visited so many pavilions, if not for their stamps.

After fourteen visits, I was able to collect 156 pavilion stamps, along with two additional special-issue ones that were harder to come by (the location of issue was varied daily). Some special-issue stamps included the countdown stamps that commenced ten days before the end of Expo. I have both the “Lady in Moon” and “Shanghai Skyline” commemorative stamps, which initiated my collection. Altogether, Expo issued more than three hundred different stamps. A souvenir passport with more than forty pavilion stamps was considered complete.

The World Expo of 1967, which took place in my home base of Montreal, Canada, first introduced the Expo souvenir passport. The gimmick was that they had the appearance of real passports. Each pavilion issued its own unique stamp, which looked like an immigration entry stamp. Subsequent Expos continued the tradition, selling passports alongside other souvenirs. On average, only 3 percent of visitors bought them. The Shanghai World Expo was the only event where the popularity of the booklets soared to record numbers, where more than 80 percent of visitors had purchased a passport.⁵²⁹

At the start of Expo, souvenir shops had sold out of passports. Soon afterward, to avoid disappointment, frenzied visitors would dash through the Expo Gates upon entry to take their place in line at one of the many kiosks to buy their passports. Each vendor, it was later reported, sold more than a thousand passports a day.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Yao Minji and Xu Chi, “Expo Passport Passion Pulls in Pushy People,” *Shanghai Daily*, Metro section, Print edition, July 14, 2010.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

According to the assistant manager of the flagship souvenir store in Pudong, passport customers were virtually all locals. Foreign visitors purchased only about one out of every 150 passports sold. Interestingly enough, no foreign visitors had been seen in the passport-stamping queues. When asked why, they said it was difficult to understand why so many Expo visitors would want to spend their time lining up for fake stamps. However, foreign nationals were impressed but their fervour to do so.⁵³¹ In the final count, foreign nationals did not attend Expo in great numbers; altogether they made up only 6 percent of Expo's 73 million visitors.

I set myself the goal of collecting as many stamps as I could as a way to experience the Expo as locals did. Unlike foreign visitors, I did not frown upon their stamp mania, dismissing it as a waste of time. Instead, I took pleasure in the aesthetics of each stamp design, and later in the collage of overlapping stamps, as my booklet filled up.

Stamp collecting also gave me the means to engage fellow enthusiasts who were in line with me. In every case, I would speak in my limited Mandarin, and then speak fluently in English (or Cantonese), to the amazement of the domestic visitors. The spectacle of a Chinese woman speaking a foreign language was truly mind-blowing for those visiting from the provinces. I found myself entertaining many local ladies in long line-ups simply by being myself. Amusingly, one lady asked me why my hair was so black! This was a perfect example of how language, rather than outward appearance, was the determining factor in one's "Chinese-ness" in China.

The Expo souvenir passport could easily be mistaken for a real one. The size is exactly that of my Canadian passport: 9 x 12.5 centimetres. I chose the blue cover, from the available choices of green, blue, and burgundy. I considered buying the yellow cartoon edition cover and the deluxe version with the executive grey cover, but eventually I passed on both. All passports had the Expo logo embossed in gold, and contained twenty-four finely textured pages of quality paper, having the crispness of new banknotes.

An interview with a Shanghai office worker about the collective passion for stamp collecting revealed how it had been adopted as way for domestic nationals to show their pride at Expo. As the office worker recounted, collecting stamps was a means for her compatriots to commemorate their nation hosting this international event for the first time. She further explained how travellers have usually acknowledged new terrains by proudly writing or carving their names at places they visit for the first time. Since this is nowadays considered vandalism, this

⁵³¹ Ibid.

commemorative act had been transferred to the use of passport stamps, in a novel, alternative way for a person to verify that they had visited Expo.⁵³²

I must assert that I had complicated my collection of passport stamps somewhat by redrawing every page of my souvenir booklet. I am not entirely clear as to why I had decided to do this. Perhaps it was a way to allow myself to be more intimately connected with the booklet.



Blue cover of the Shanghai Expo Passport booklet

⁵³² Ibid.



Shanghai Expo volunteer issuing Expo Passport stamps

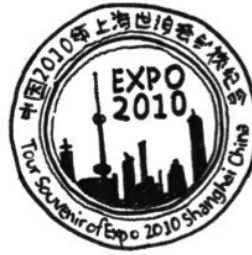
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性别 / Sex Female

国籍 / Nationality Canadian

出生日期 / Date of birth

签发日期 / Date of issue



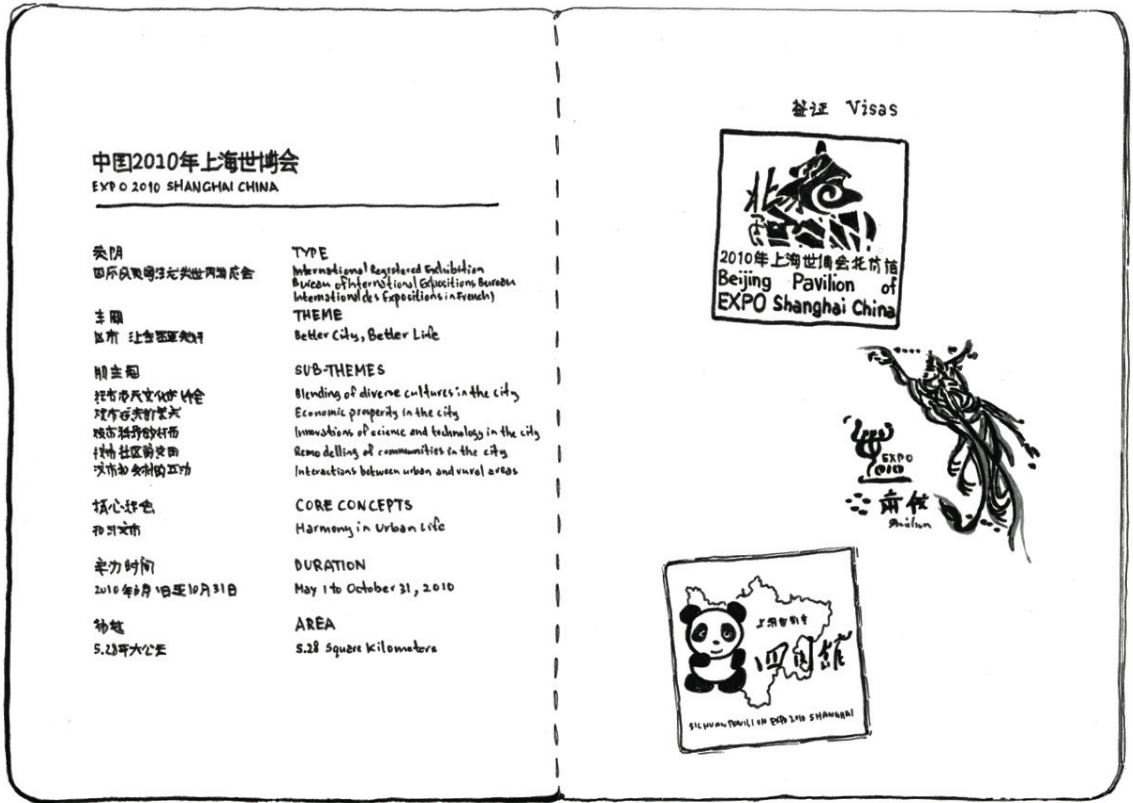
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EXPO 2010

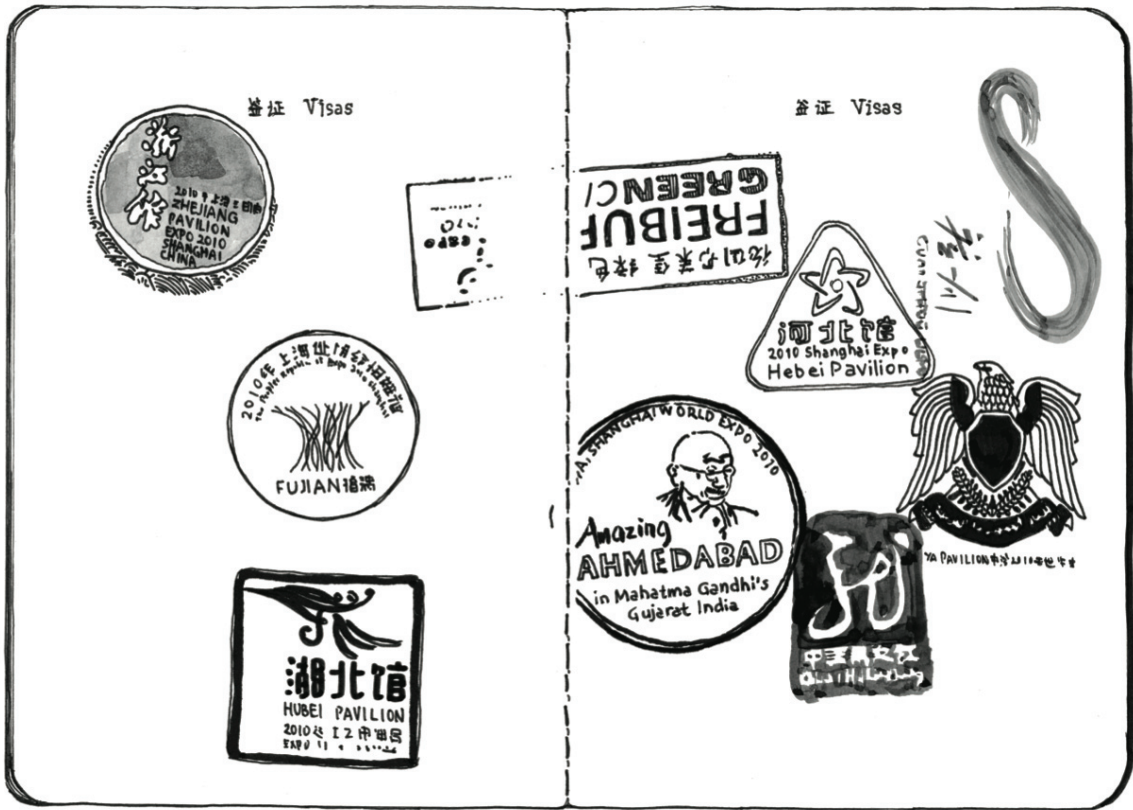


城市,让生活更美好
Better City, Better Life

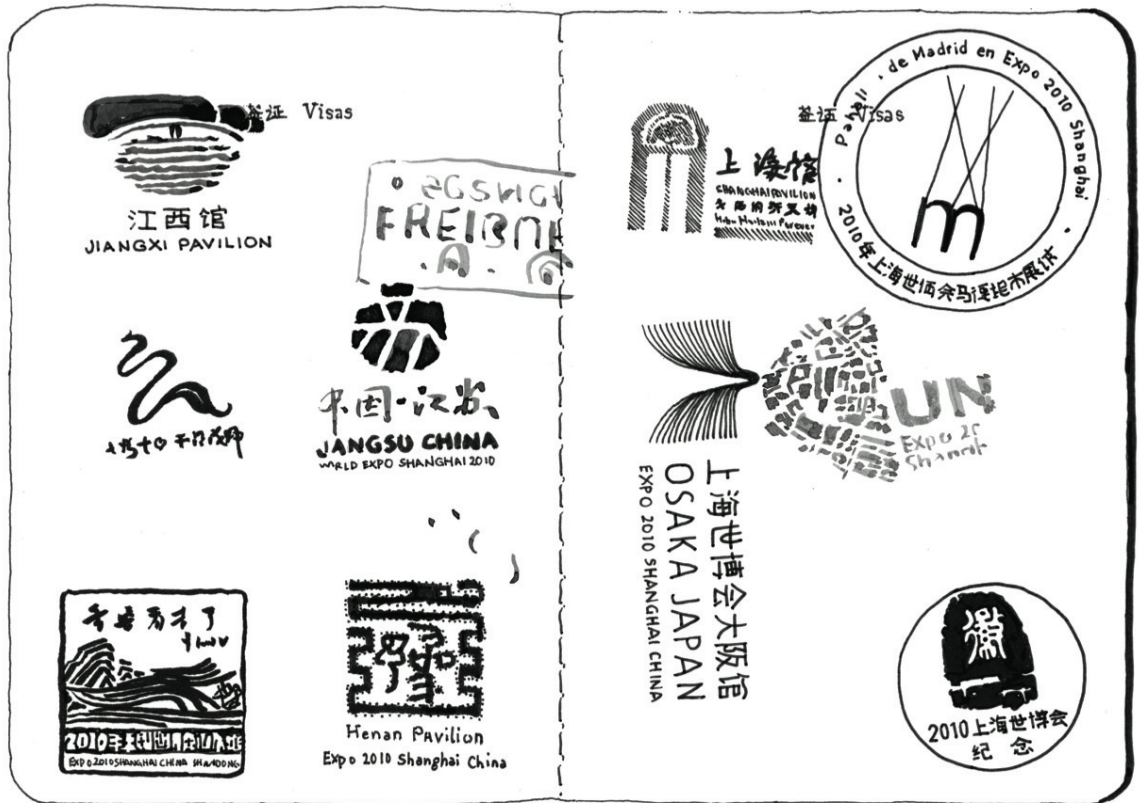
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2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 4-5



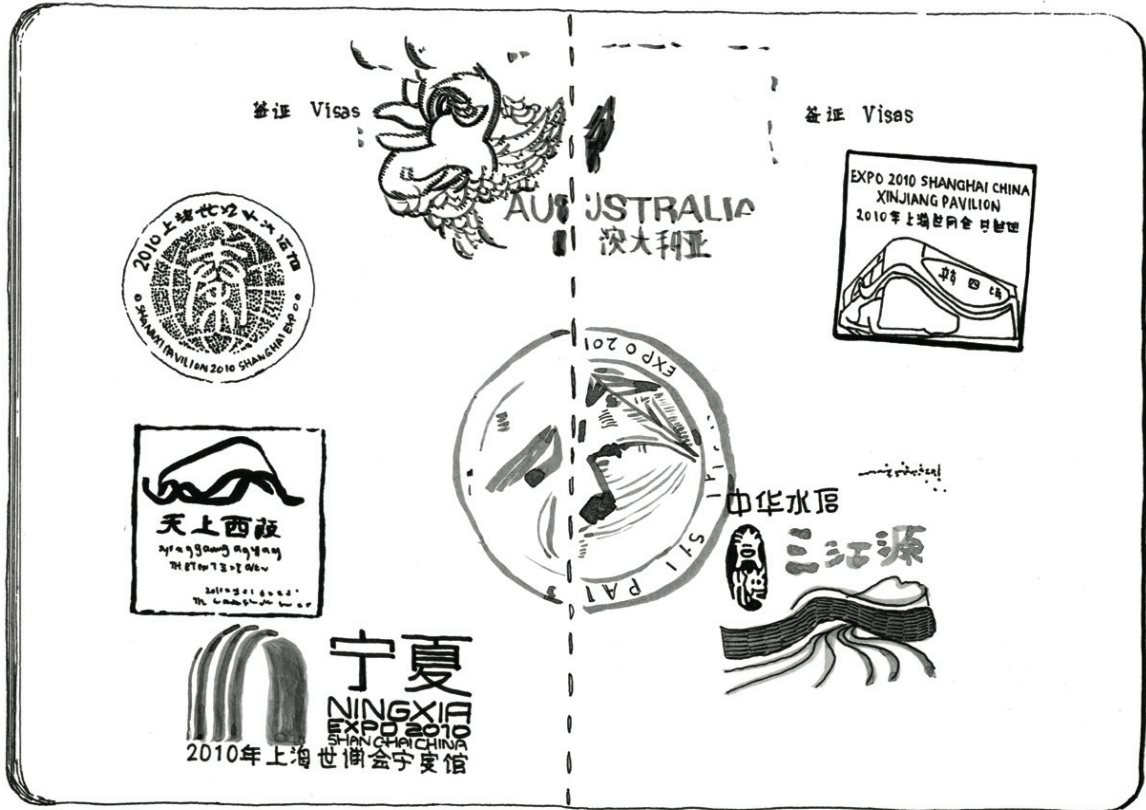
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 6-7



2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 8-9



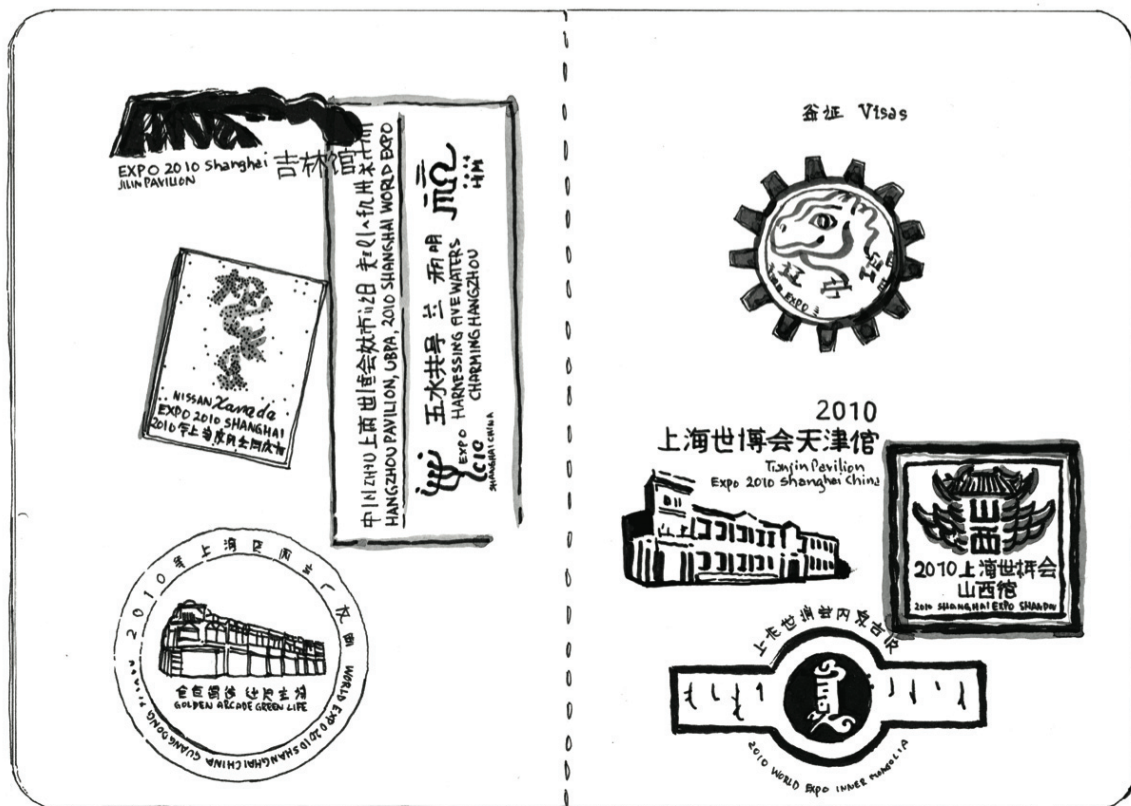
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 10-11



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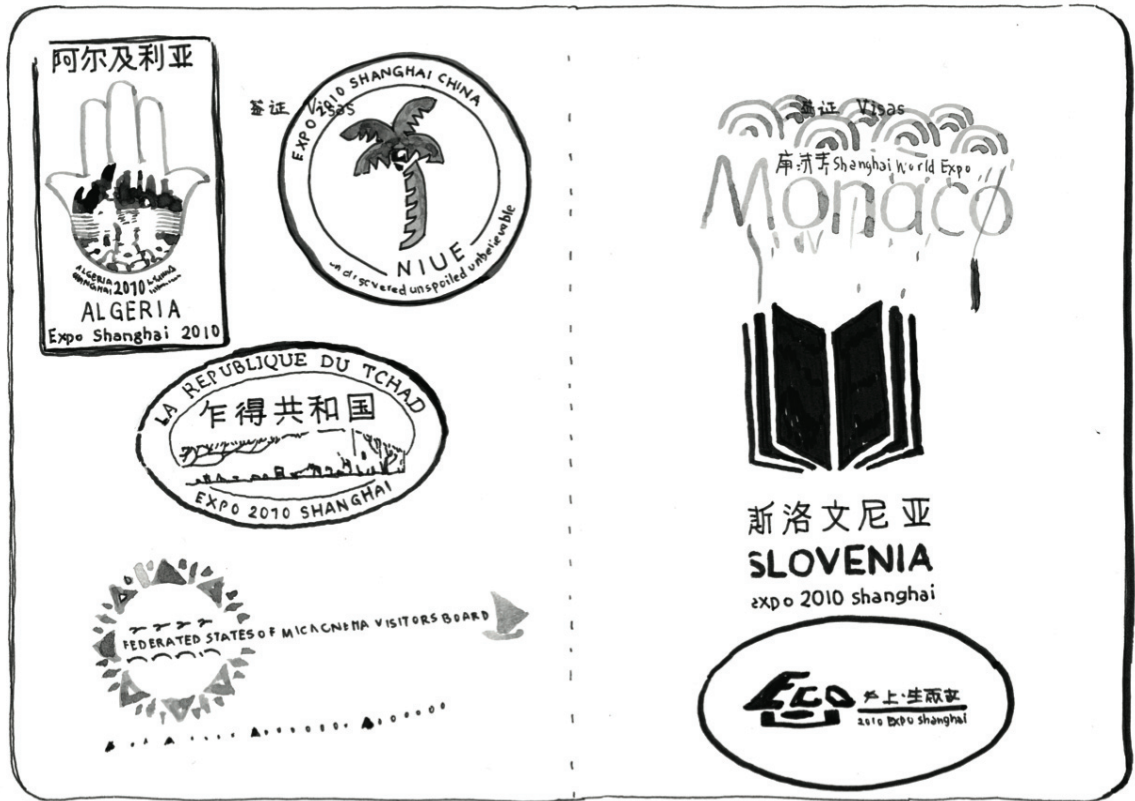
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2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 22-23



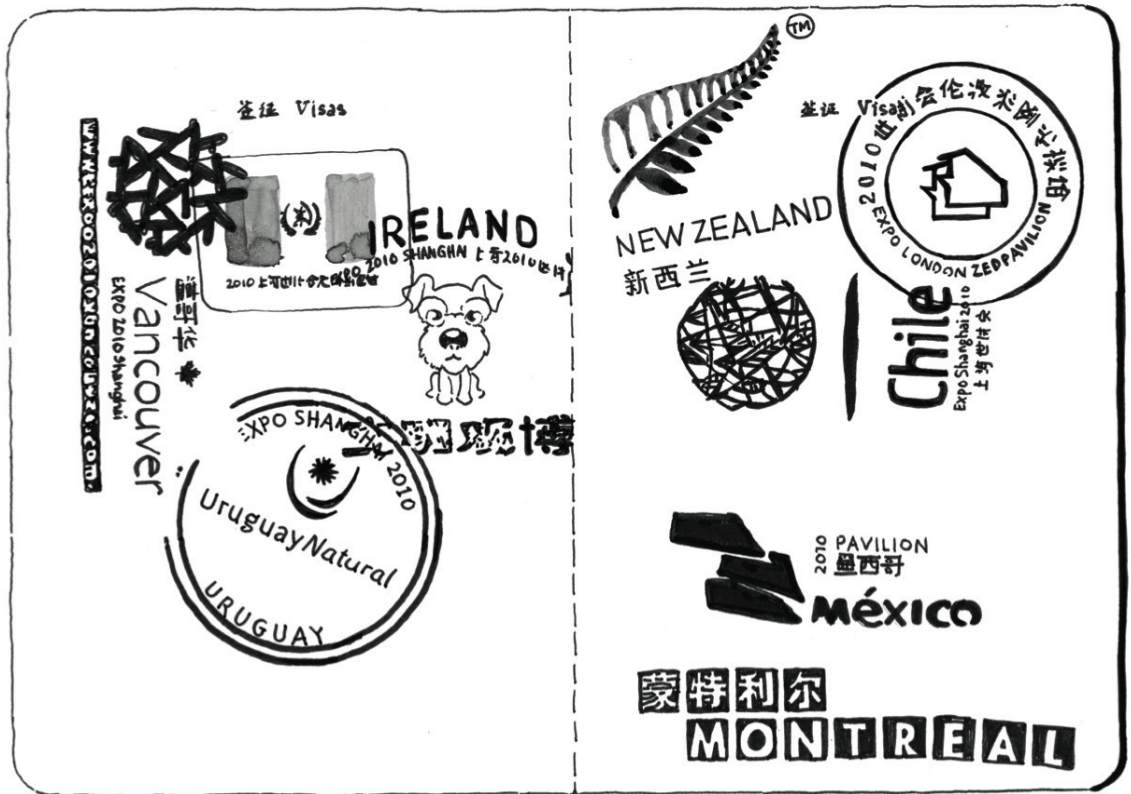
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 24-25



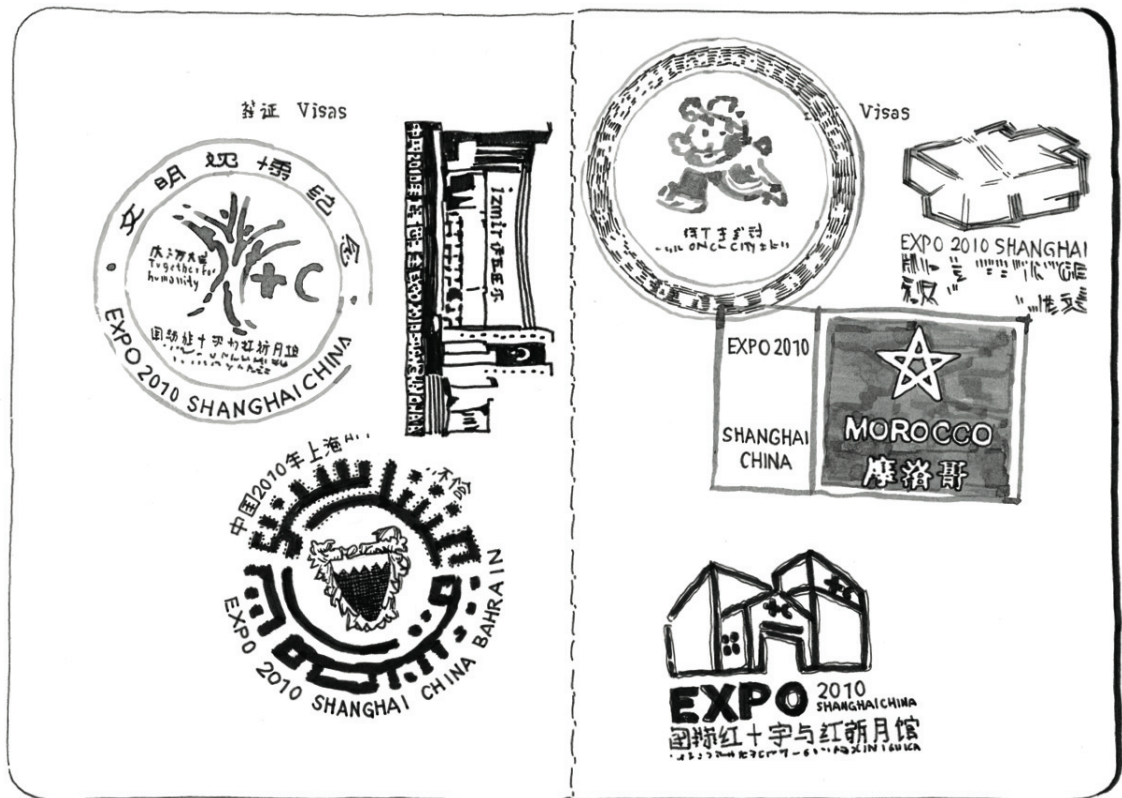
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 26-27



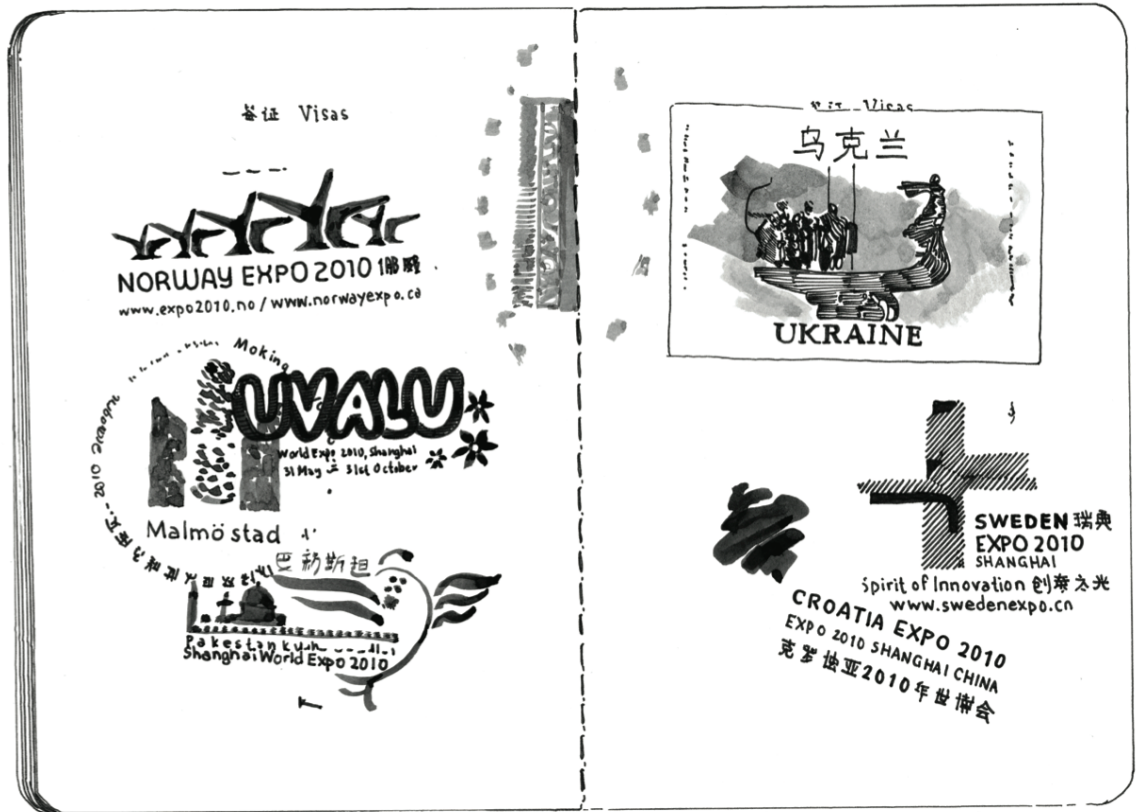
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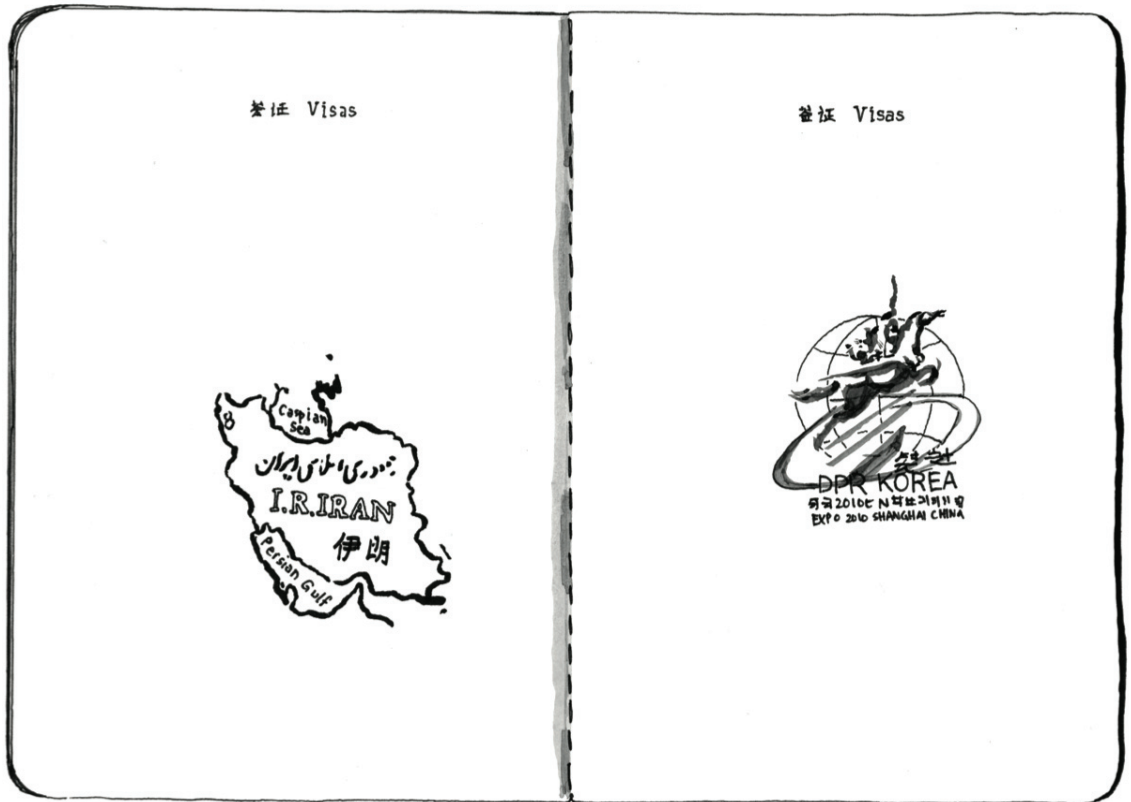
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 34-35



2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 36-37



2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 38-39



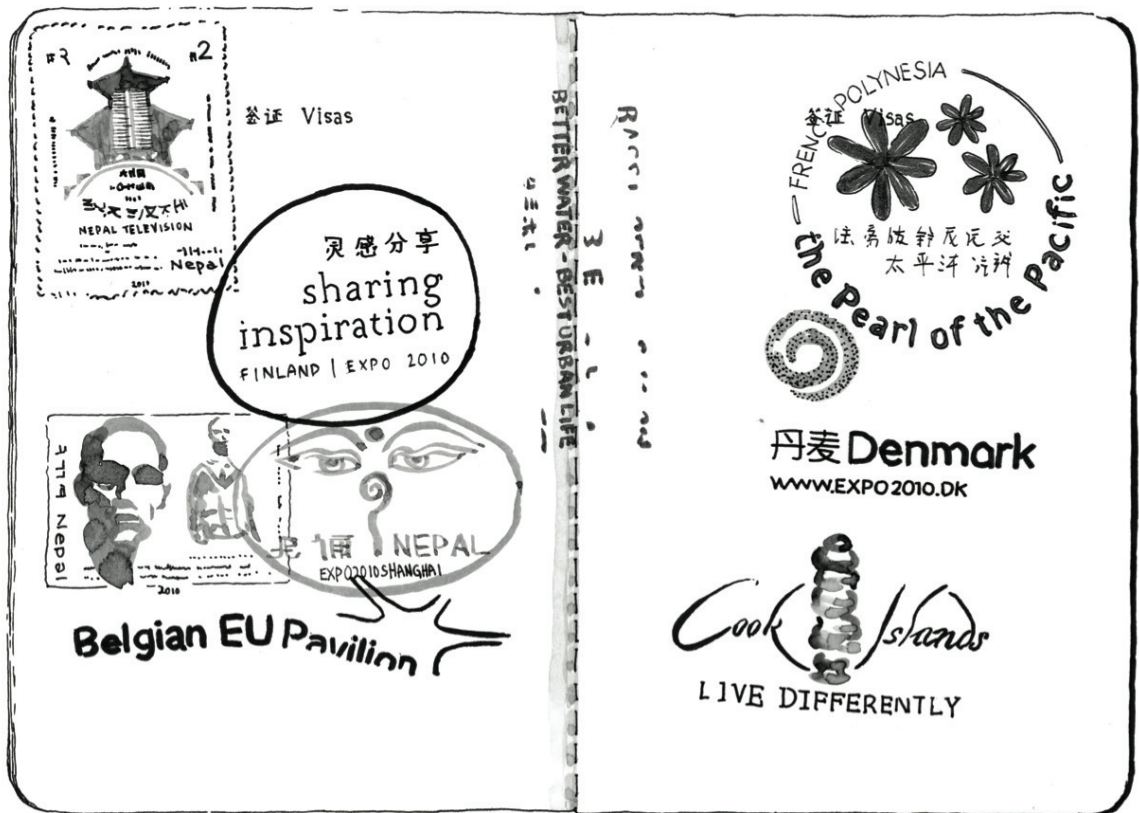
2010 Shanghai Expo Passport, pages 40-41



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护照说明

1. 中国2010年上海世博会唯一官方指定护照。
2. 收集世博会展馆纪念印章的专用护照，在参观世博会场馆时因该护照，享受纪念。

Instruction

1. This is the sole official passport for Expo 2010 Shanghai China
2. One of the functions of this passport is collecting commemorative stamps. Visitors can get a commemorative stamp by presenting this passport upon entering in each pavilion.

世博会平台: www.dowexpo.com
 For more information please visit www.dowexpo.com

护照人签名
 BEARER'S SIGNATURE

Tuesday, November 2, 2010

Paris, France

Total Hours Logged: 110

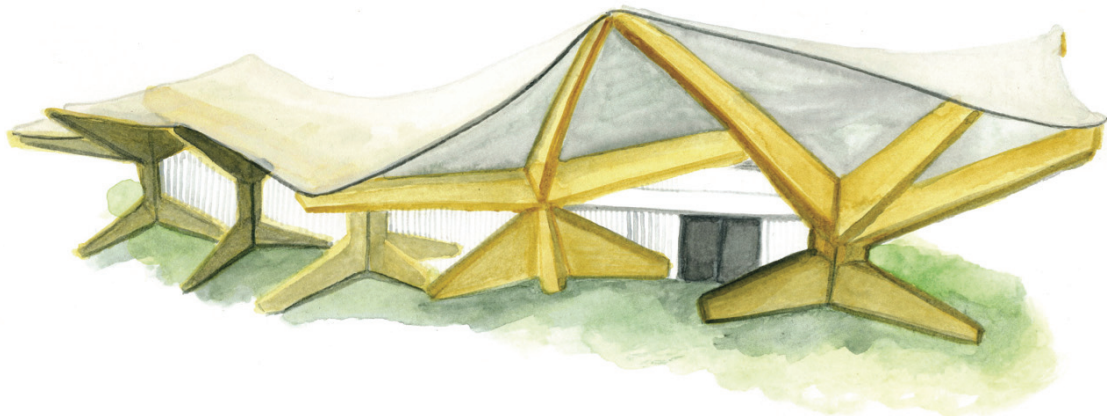
Shanghai Expo National Pavilion in Drawings



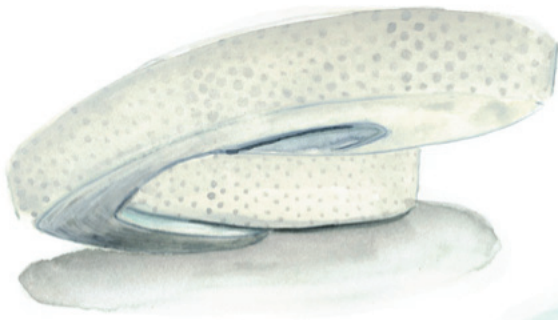
LUXEMBOURG PAVILION: Small Is Beautiful



BELGIUM-EU PAVILION: Movement and Interaction

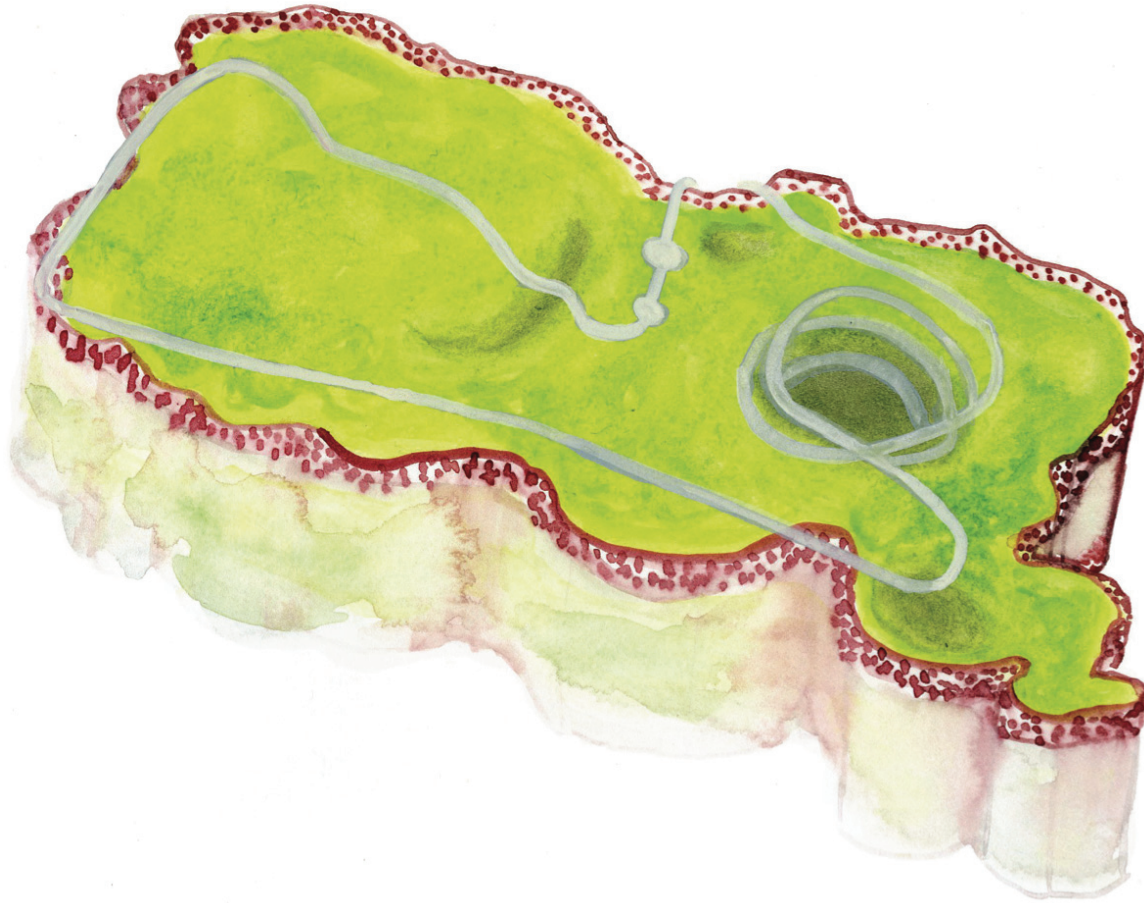


NORWAY PAVILION: Norway, Powered by Nature

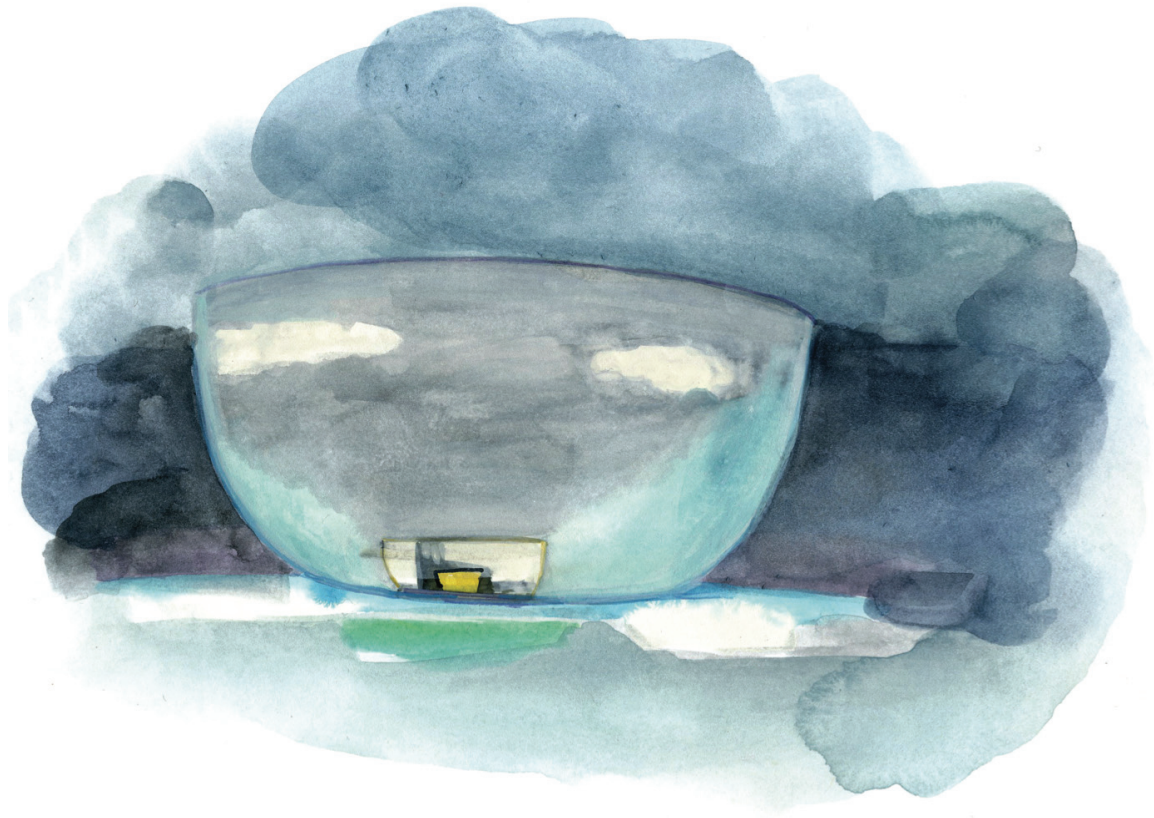


Top left: DENMARK PAVILION: Welfairytales

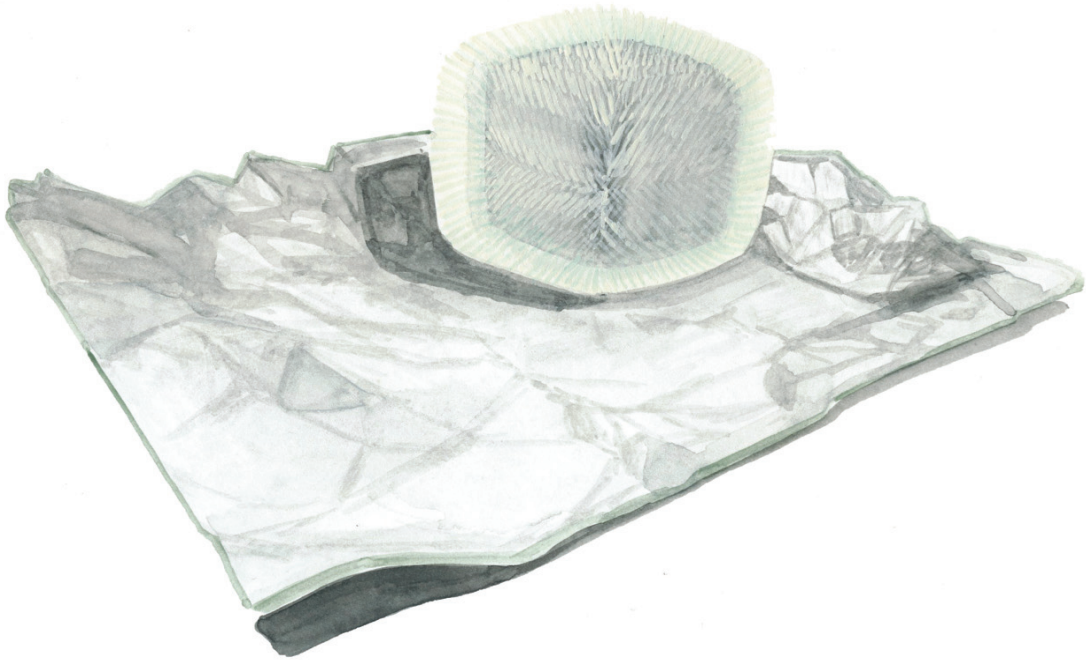
Bottom right: Little Mermaid sculpture at the Danish Pavilion



SWITZERLAND PAVILION: Rural and Urban Interaction



FINLAND PAVILION: Well-Being, Competence, and Environment



UNITED KINGDOM PAVILION: Building on the Past, Shaping Our Future



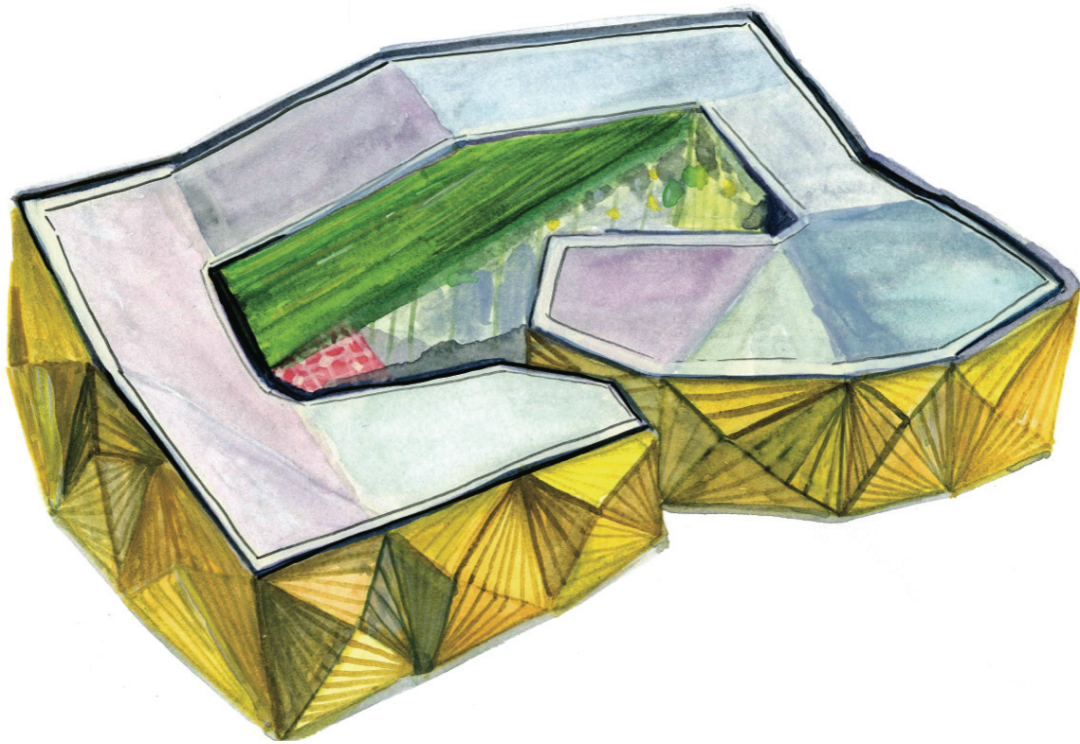
NETHERLANDS PAVILION: Happy Street



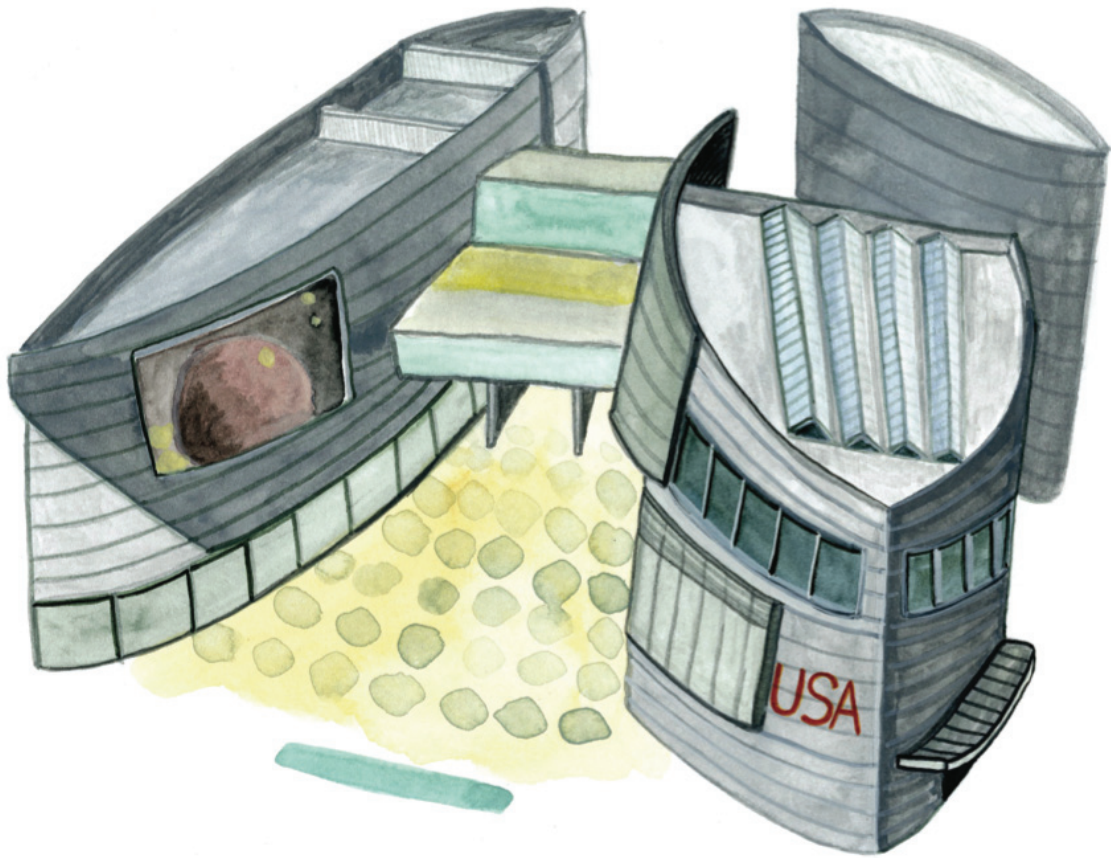
Giant robotic baby Miguelin (6.5 metres tall) at the Spain Pavilion



SPAIN PAVILION: From the City of Our Parents to the City of Our Children



CANADA PAVILION: The Living City: Inclusive, Sustainable, Creative



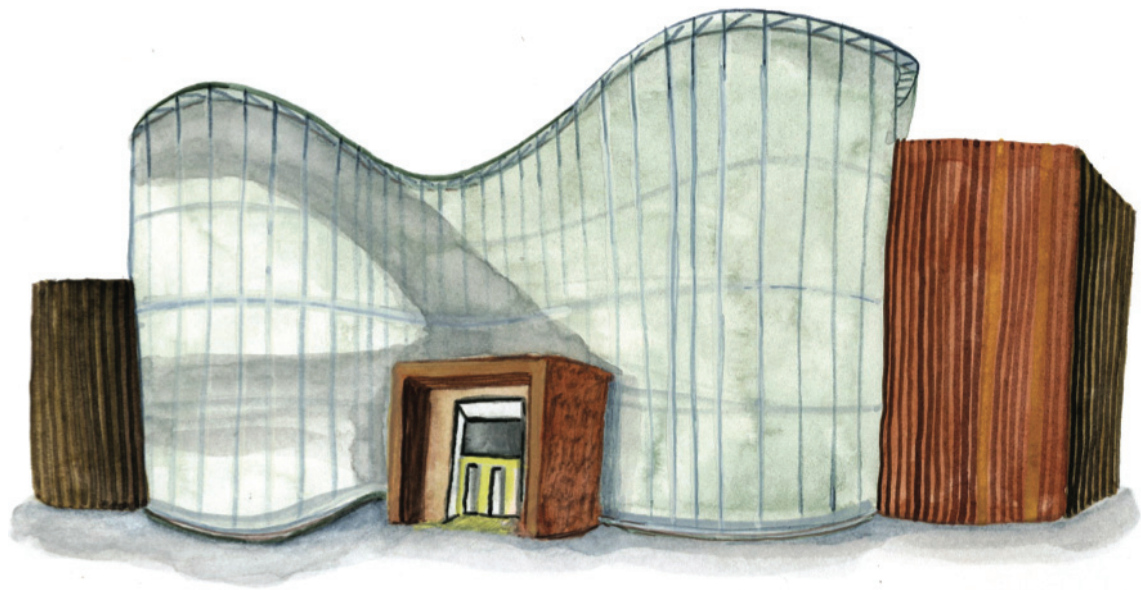
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA PAVILION: Rise to the Challenge



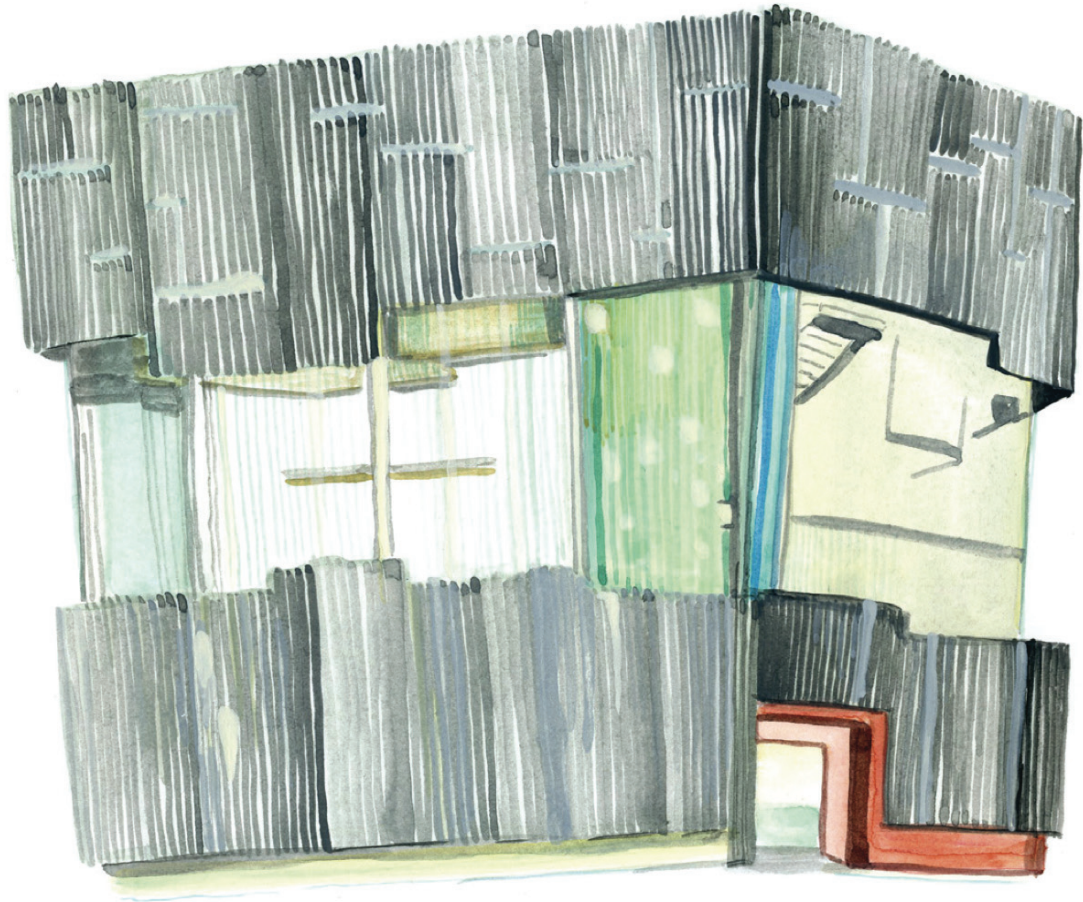
MEXICO PAVILION: "Living Better"—History and Future



EL SALVADOR PAVILION: El Salvador, Country of Volcanoes



CHILE PAVILION: City of Relations



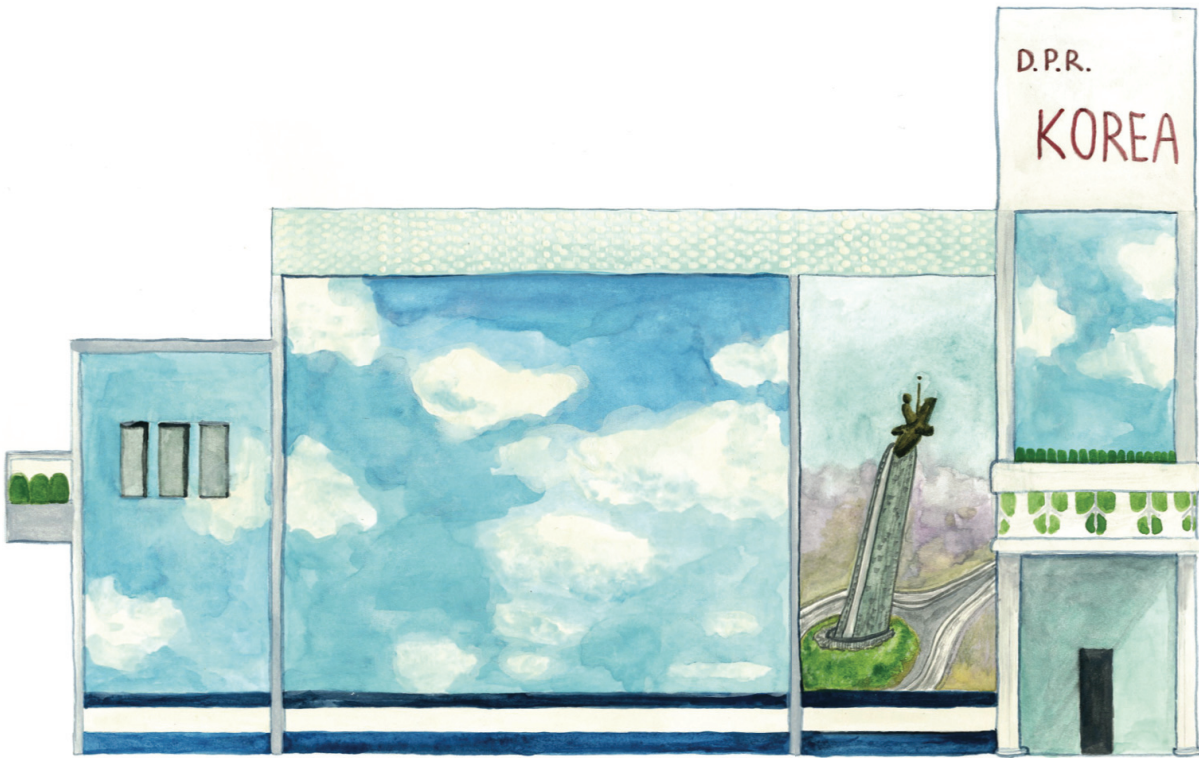
HONG KONG PAVILION: Hong Kong—The Infinite City



MACAU PAVILION: Culture of Integration, Harmony, and Expression



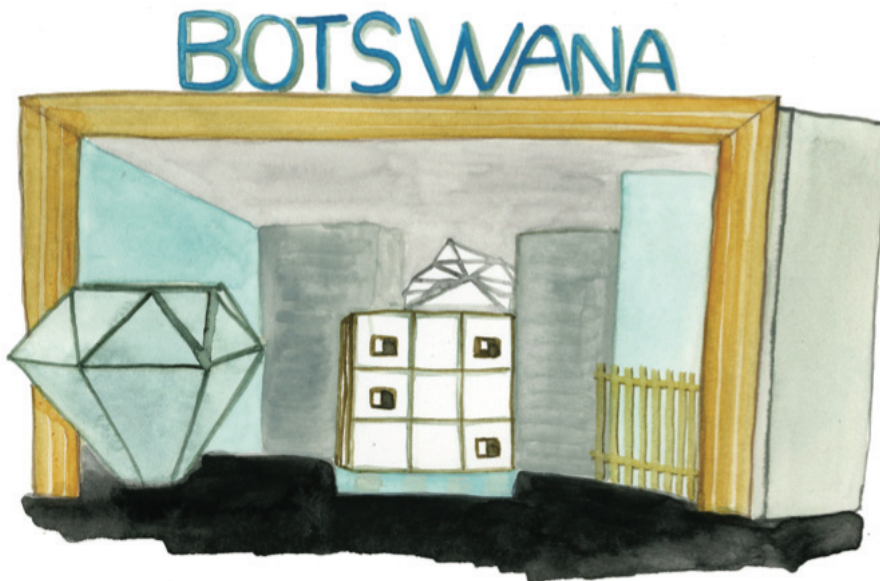
REPUBLIC OF KOREA PAVILION: Friendly City, Colourful Life



DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA PAVILION: The Paradise for People



BENIN PAVILION: Insertion of Village Territory in Cities as Engine for Sustainable Development



BOTSWANA PAVILION: A Heritage of Peace



SIERRA LEONE PAVILION: Growth and More Urban Growth

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