

A Reading of Political Reproduction of Design at French World Expos

Fahimeh Zarezadeh^{1}, Roghayeh Maleki²*

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Islamic Art, Faculty of Art & Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

² Master of Fashion and Textile Design, Faculty of Art & Architecture, Islamic Azad University of Yazd, Yazd, Iran

*Corresponding author: Fahime Zarezadeh, f.zarezadeh@modares.ac.ir

Received: 2018/04/28, Accepted: 2018/10/13

Abstract

Throughout the history of international Expos, first held in Great Britain in 1851, governments made constant effort to reproduce a realm of design aligned with their policies. For instance, the republican French government decided to run a series of dynamic Expos in Paris in 1878, 1889 and 1900. Having just survived the 1870s crisis, the nation used them as respond to a fresh political situation at both national and international levels. Accordingly, this study attempts to provide a reading of the three Expos through a descriptive-explanatory approach, so as to find how design in the realm of Expos held by the French government was reproduced to fulfill political goals. The results suggest that the French government adopted various strategies to institutionalize innovative designs, somehow regarded as political reproductions of art, including: promoting tourist consumerism, building revolutionary monuments, and inventing primitive traditions. As for the first strategy, a new visual representation of information and knowledge about products was exhibited to create a kind of enjoyable entertainment. This provided the government with an opportunity to fulfill its developmental needs as consumer goods or industrial structure through interaction with public opinion and viewpoint. On the other hand, growth of economic capital was supposed to be aligned with its function and value of innovative progress. As for the second strategy, a kind of visual infatuation was created to portray the revolution eternally ideal. Finally, the third strategy kept its human utilization through a comprehensive monitoring over ethnic designs.

Keyword

Expo, French Government, Political Goals, Design

Introduction

Prior to the nineteenth century — *in World Expos*— design used to be a vast, intricate realm of symbols, evoking the majesty and authority of ruling governments. The design evolution was reproduced through words and linguistic structures, customs and rituals, mythological beliefs and mindset without desirably satisfying or responding to people's newly-sought needs (Fakouhi, 2012: p. 14). In such circumstances, design transitioned from a unified point — *belonging to the center*— such as royal court, places of worship, etc., into a narrow arena — *a city*— as well as a shallow space — *local memory*— extremely dominated by the government and its interests. It was also a metaphysical spectrum of myth and sensation inflexible against thought-provoking processes and interactive expression. Later in the nineteenth century, however, such traditional forms of authority and governance over design shifted when the emergence of massive social revolutions and industrial development gave rise to new types of power concentrations, national governments, higher demands, and evolving intellectual structure in every nation¹. In this scenario, states realized that design should be reproduced in interaction with people so as to achieve maximum utilization. Thus, they somehow extracted a particular design from a mono-dimensional belonging, therefore to expand it across two horizontal and vertical axes — *nation and government*— and ultimately employ it throughout such processes as nation-building, state-building, and industrialization over a vast range and excessive depth — *international and national memory*—. For instance, they decided to realize these concepts at the most primitive realms, i.e. World Expos.

Accordingly, this essay is a case study putting forth an overview reading of Paris Expos at its early stages, portraying the days in the context of the French newly-established national government, so as to explain how design was reproduced to fulfill political goals. Undoubtedly, finding a suitable answer for that purpose brings up a fundamental hypothesis: design was reproduced at the Paris World Expos in a dual state-nation way to attain preplanned goals in the wake of new French political stature. Clearly, there are two noteworthy facts;

1. Great attention is paid to these Expos since they have been unceasingly up and running so far. Hence, recognition of Expos as a resilient realm of design before the ideology of a nation can be viewed from different perspectives by governments that intend to express their political self-awareness.
2. Any investigation into the Expos and reproduction of design can enlighten the principle of government participation at national and international levels. Specifically, these exhibitions during that span managed to set a successful role model of design-politics link to be imitated by many new independent national governments such as the United States of America.

Literature Review

In early investigations, there were no research works to directly delve into the issue addressed by this study. Nonetheless, there is certain limited relevant literature, classified into two major categories;

1. Historiographical research
2. Explanatory papers with different political, social and cultural approaches

Both categories of literature, however, overlap in many respects. The former is devoted to a series of studies, depicting the outline of World Expos along with the exhibited pieces. These studies mainly describe the fairs from a historical perspective, putting an emphasis on appreciation and recognition of expo characteristics, emergence, widespread development and evolution. In this respect, there are several essential books, namely *The Crystal Palace Museum and Park Restoration* (2007), *Exit to Tomorrow*, *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Exposition*, *Expo Architecture Documents* (2000), *The 1964-65 New York World's Fair Project* (2004) and *All the World's a Fair* (2008). From their very opening pages, these books focus on details, ranging from official title of each exhibition, location, schedule, organizers, contributors, visitors, costs and how the exhibition pavilion were ranked followed by illustrative color pictures and posters.

¹ The issue of design and the surrounding events of the 19th century was first studied by the author and then the essence of the era was analyzed based on the dominant intellectual trends. According to the author, through innovations in the art of design in 1851, a new art scene emerged for Britain at the global stage as a result of the developments of this era and the Expo fair — Crystal Palace— was launched as an official and international event. For more information: Zarezadeh, F., Mokhtabad, S. M. & Rahbarnia, Z. (2015). *Rereading Art and Politics in International Expos* (Case Study: Crystal Palace Exhibition, London, Great Britain, 1851), Bagh-e Nazar. 12: 3. p. 41-50.

In the latter category, several analytical studies on this topic are remarkable, e.g. the research conducted by Maurice Roche titled *Mega-Events, Culture and Modernity: Expos and Origins of Public Culture* and *Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics, Expos and the Growth of Global Culture*. In these studies, he made great effort to test hypotheses derived from sociological theories of culture, particularly focusing on developments of Expos. Afterwards, he figured out the role of such events in establishing the aspects of popular culture in contemporary times, briefly analyzing the diplomatic and political networks, planning groups and cultural experts involved in these events. Additionally, two studies were conducted by Mohammad-Taghi Ghezelsoufa called *Art and Politics* and *Aesthetics and Politics*. In the former, he provided a definition for *Occupation, Organization and Utilization of Power in a Society* and *Art as a Medium through which Meaning is transferred*. Then he investigated the relation between the two areas from four perspectives: art acting as a support for politics, art as a confrontation of politics, politics acting as a support for art and politics as a confrontation of art. In the latter, he continued his discourse by proposing the assumption that aesthetics had always been tightly interrelated with society and politics, either influenced by or influencing its developmental events. Also in this respect, he classified the text into three eras and three dimensions of aesthetics theory, arguing that such phenomena showed up when the notion of artistic autonomy and independence were proposed by Baumgarten and Kant. As such in the first era, covering the French Revolution until the late nineteenth century, the social approach to aesthetic debate and art works were imposed by various factors in society including support for class demands, nation-building, and the Industrial Revolution. Generally, these studies concentrated either on a mere descriptive report about the Expos or simply discussed the artistic developments through analyzing how it interacted with the realm of politics. Nevertheless, what distinguishes the present study from others is its alignment with prior research, thereby explaining how design has been reproduced by the French government through evaluation of the artistic indicators of Expos, whether in terms of structural formation or the exhibited works.

Methodology

This is a descriptive-explanatory study, relying on authentic library visual and electronic resources. In addition, it analyzes the data and summarizes the information through illustrative graphs so as to obtain the results eventually.

The World Expo Series (1878, 1889 and 1900)

The Expo series held in Paris were developed, while France was slowly recovering from its injuries caused by them military defeat to Prussia in 1870 and as the third republican government was established five years later. Hence, it was crucial for the privileged state class and political scholars to somehow realize their political goals by spearheading a certain ideological direction at Expos¹ held for a nation which undoubtedly built the pillars of the nineteenth century industrial progress, whose most fundamental revolutionary achievement was the declaration of universal citizenship rights. For that purpose, the French government made an effort to give unique themes to the exhibitions such as *Highlighting the General Advantages* (1878), *Famous Engineering Construction* (1889) and *A Retrospective View of the 19th Century* (1900), thus shifting the perception of technology². The argument was that other states would become engaged in innovative science-industry achievements in response to the French challenging invitation (Roche, 2000: p. 36). The nation would experience a conceptual transition from the merely powerful *ruler-subordinate* model into a *ruler-citizen*, where public satisfaction was achieved in a highly developed community of the French nation. Therefore, there were three essential procedures, adopted to organize the Expos.

¹ In 1851, aware of the prevalent intellectual movements of 19th century, the British political-cultural elite launched the first international Expo fair — Crystal Palace— with the aim of showcasing the industrial-commercial products of the time. They used the art of design in a new area of architectural expression, based on engineering principles in construction, standardization, pre-fabrication and mass production of tools, buildings and the elements of Crystal Palace. For more information: Rahmatian, M. (2009). *The Fairs between 1851-1951*. Ketab- e mah- e honar. 9: 113-114. p. 84- 85.

² The Expo fair was first held in Paris in 1855, not only did it fail to present products in line with the technology of the time, but was in fact a setback due to incorporation of heavy construction material. The only remarkable feature of the exhibition was the addition of a new space called car gallery, later to become one of the most important elements of the exhibition buildings. For more information: Rahmatian, M. (2009). *The Fairs between 1851-1951*. Ketab- e mah- e honar. 9: 113-114. p. 91- 92.

Industrialization

Since industrialization refers to establishing the standpoint of industry in which expression values are acquired to attain economic exchange of consumer surplus, take care of production and procedural transformation and raise awareness in the specialized and skilled workforce as a progress phase, the French government considered three underlying notions for that purpose:

1. *Consumerism*
2. *Information Dissemination*
3. *Entertainment*

1. *Consumerism*

Aligned with the notion of consumerism, it progressed through a universally-popular ideology about showcasing goods and commodities with global diverse designs, communication among these various worlds, production and consumption cycles and soliciting participation in this world as a consumer. In fact, it adopted a kind of consumerist orientation toward the *world of items*, based on the belief that fun and pleasure in life lie in the variety of goods and items purchased. It took advantage of architectural structures to induce such a pleasure. In other words, the joy of purchasing products, offered at international fairs, was accompanied by certain modern aesthetic reactions to architectural design¹, embodied in the blueprint of the main building along with the auto gallery at the entire Expos. One of these buildings was the auto gallery at Expo 1889 where the engineers, Contamin and Dutert, masterminded the structure of a freshly unique space 150-meter-wide, 55 meters high, and 420 meters long (Figures 1 and 2). The free space volume embedded in this gallery along with the innovation in employment of construction steel with a trimmer arch at the narrow bottom, fixed on a hinge joint, actually complied with the form of industrial machinery and products. The glass walls of the gallery incorporated the internal and external spaces, thus evoking a certain sense of totally fresh infinity in agreement with the surrounding machinery (Giedion, 2013: p. 285). Another architectural design was the main building for Expo 1900, which offered a total of 18 groups and 121 categories of exhibition production, made in France and other participating governments on the verge of industrialization² (Figures 3 and 4). As for the adornment of these groups, the designers decided to consider a mass decorative fusion of products, while taking into account the specification of industrial goods. The Expo building was, therefore, erected in a proper form adopting several advanced industrial fields. Furthermore, it was apparently engineered in a spectacularly polychromatic space, brimming with a broad range of obsessively-ornamented styles, so as to converge into the aesthetic viewpoints of other participating nations/states (Brown, 2008: p. 149).

Naturally, the design of such architectural structures, being consistent with the exquisite design of commodities and goods, adopted the physical manifestations of architecture and organization of constituent elements in an advanced technological and industrial framework. Moreover, the commodities were categorized according to various groups, interactively convincing people to find pleasure in purchasing the highly advanced goods through a kind of aesthetic approach, based on perceptual and sensational impact of the industry that was the most fundamental trend during that century.

¹ Just as Fiedler regards beauty as pleasure which conjures the observation of certain objects in the viewer's mind, i.e., tendency towards beauty seems transcendent, while it never surpasses the daily routines and serves merely to make life pleasant. Basically, beauty might even boil down to happiness and usefulness.

² This building was the place in which teaching and learning in childhood through scientific theories was first institutionalized in the first group. Art was discussed as the second group. The tools and methods, employed in science and art ranging from photography techniques to generally-appealing telescopes, musical instruments, maps and geographical equipment, with surgical and medical devices forming the third group. The next one was dedicated to three technological areas: mechanics, electricity, and transportation. Other groups involved agriculture, horticulture, forestry, food industry, metallurgy, decoration and furniture industry, clothing and textile industry, chemical industry and other industrial fields.



Figure 1: At the Expos, the structure of auto gallery and the industrial mass production salon were showcased in compliance with highly advanced technology boosting the development (Source: www.bc.edu)

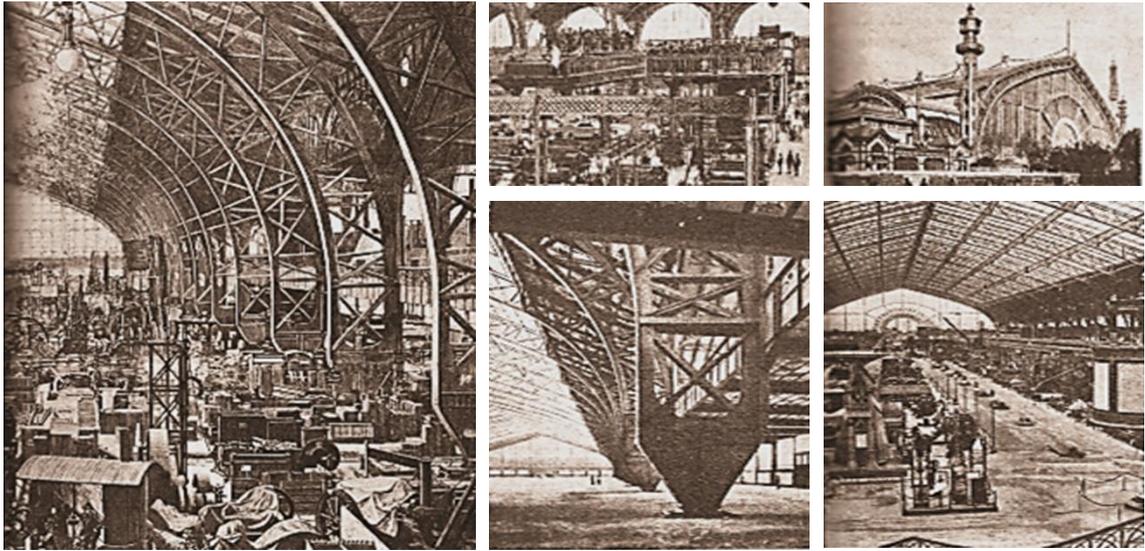


Figure 2: The auto Gallery at Expo 1889, held in Paris. During this period, the elasticity shape of arches and joint connections surpassed the scope of construction and benefited from scientific computing and steel materials used in industrial machinery (Source: [Benevolo, 2006: p. 182-184](#))



Figure 3: Showcasing massive amounts of goods and products offered in accordance with the obsessive decoration of Expo 1889 in Paris (Source: [www.lib.ug.edu](#))



Figure 4: International Expo 1904, held in St. Louis, was apparently inspired by obsessive decorations (Source: [www.bc.edu](#))

2. Information Dissemination

As for the notion of disseminating information, the French government decided to make other *educational aspects* of the appealing industry. Hence, it devised education in a recreational entertaining manner so as to improve the public literacy rate, skills and awareness particularly concerning specialization of the workforce, thereby building a powerful nation. The turning point of such education lied in the amalgam of design and engineering for the exhibition of the main buildings. For instance, the Eiffel Tower at Expo 1889 served as a historical symbol of applied technology.

About 300 meters tall, the tower provided a suitable center of Parisian fairs. The entire Gustave Eiffel's experience within the realm of constructional foundations and support bearings, embodied in an integrated structure, despite of landscape and wind complexities. The huge dimensions of the tower made its construction essential through four asymptotic elements crossing each other at the pinnacle to form a large internal space. Along with his colleagues, Eiffel designed four angular bases, thus creating a gigantic skyscraper through a combination of hydraulic presses. Every part was manufactured and coded in the factory where millions of holes were fine-tuned before getting assembled on the right spots in accordance with the blueprint. The construction of Eiffel Tower took place in three phases until reaching its full height. The first training sample of constructional technique involved a skeleton seamlessly between the internal and external spaces, elaborating on the capabilities of modern materials and demonstrating the constructional titan dimensions (Figures 5 and 6) (Kultermann, 2007: p. 17). Along with the lighting, which kept the tower well-lit at night, those features produced a scenery indicative of technological power in transformation of natural environments as a unique characteristic — *Application of Architecture*— and construction of a wonderful artifact by a broad spectrum of industrial materials and structural scientific calculation — *Application of Engineering*—. Not only it did not serve as a limelight for the outcome and journey into science, but also a visual representation provoking a sense of curiosity, amazement, excitement and happiness in people. Therefore, ultimately it stroke a balance between intellectual excellence and desirable sense of technological evolution (Swift, 2008: p. 100).

3. Entertainment

As for the notion of entertainment, travelling and tourism, several pavilions were constructed by a few governments, borrowed from their own aborigine architectural styles, accompanied by exhibition of climate-exclusive products (Figure 7). Basically, the objective was to create enthusiasm towards travelling and tourism, which was of course considered to be a kind of alternative, virtual and comfortable sightseeing (Roche, 2009: p. 25-26).



Figure 5: The triple construction phases of the Eiffel Tower, using the skeletal structure technique and gaining varying experiences from a new concept of space, which taught people numerous lessons about the developments in science and architecture (Source: www.lib.ug.edu)

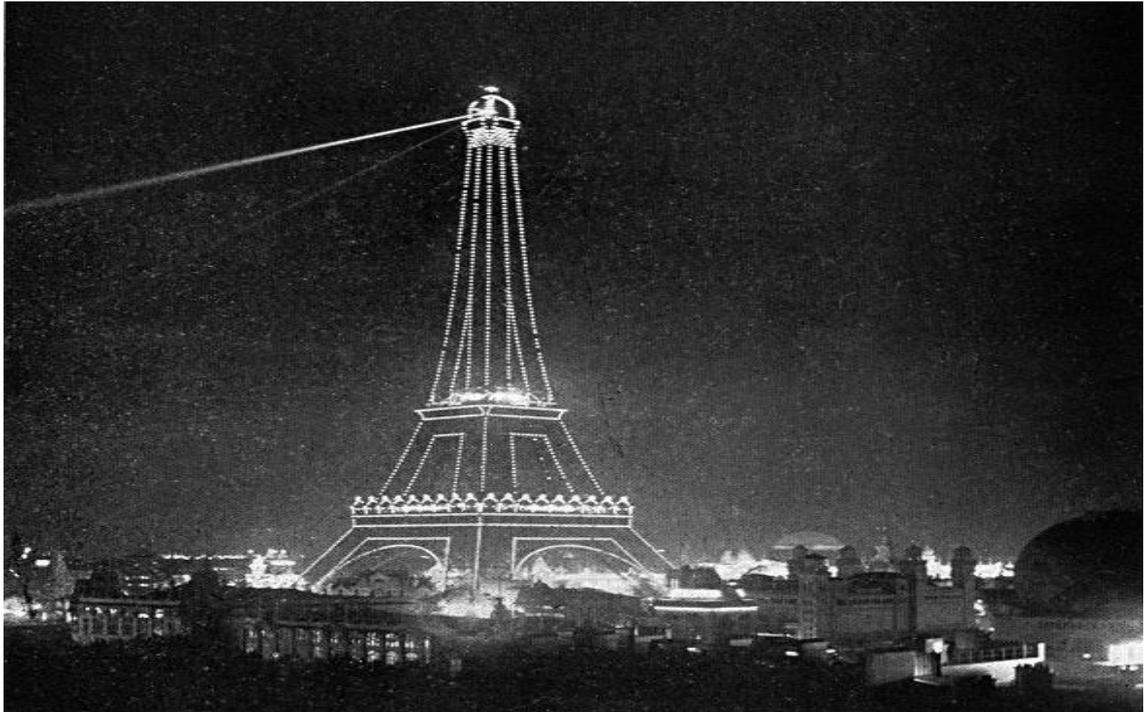


Figure 6: Eiffel Tower, brightened by thousands of colored electric light bulbs, at Expo 1889. Parisian nights, creating a dreamy exhibition outlook and a carnival of synthetic art and engineering (Source: www.bc.edu)

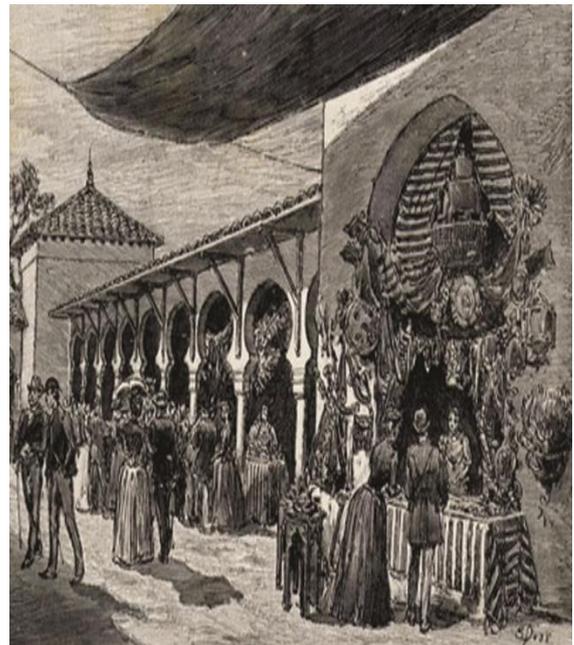


Figure 7: Morocco, depicted through local architecture and products (Source: www.maisons-champagne.com)

Nation-Building

At the second stage, the French government took nation-building measures, i.e. it made efforts as a legitimate authority to demonstrate national development to the public. To do so, it focused primarily on two areas;

1. Incremental development of a solid sympathy with national ideas
2. Expanding social and international communications

In the former, it was top on French government’s agenda to arrange a republican festival and an enormous formal event across the realm of Expos. In order to celebrate the French Revolution and the collapse of monarchy/aristocracy through flaring waves of prosperity, while the French revolutionary heritage was passed on from statesmen to citizens, according to Eric Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm, 1992: p. 271). Such a goal was realized through architectural structures such as Eiffel Tower and Palace of Industry at Expo 1889. Both capable of setting the ground as a pioneer engineering technology for fulfillment of public evolutionary demands in France. Thus representing the sustainable aspirations toward achievement of an ideal and more or less intellectual growth on the part of the government (Figures 8 and 9). With regard to the latter area, the French government decided to interact with the nascent independent republics such as the United States. Hence they jointly presented the symbols of stable political and technological progress. Built by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, the Statue of Liberty was among such symbols gifted by the French government to the American people at Paris Expo 1878. However, the true purpose was to gain favor and support from the American and French public. Certain parts of the statue — *its hand and torch*— had been showcased at Philadelphia Expo 1876 (Figures 10 and 11). Nevertheless, it should be noted that even though the symbolic statue was intended as a promotional gimmick to attract visitors to the Expo fairs, it was by no means trivial, common place or trite in its design for the sculptor. Bartholdi, meant for his work to be far from tacky and kitsch qualities that are born out of industrialization, urbanization and the emergence of the middle class. Instead, he hoped to elevate the understanding of art among the general public in France and America. So that instead of being mere consumers of art, they could appreciate the exciting symbolic meanings which were the fruits of art’s interaction with technology. In other words, while he strived to enhance people’s visual taste and teach them about pure aesthetic qualities of art, he was also trying to share the signs of France’s technological advancement with the American public.



Figure 8: Part of the Statue of Liberty at Expo 1876 (Source: Heller, 2008)



Figure 9: Part of the Statue of Liberty at Expo 1878 (Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>)

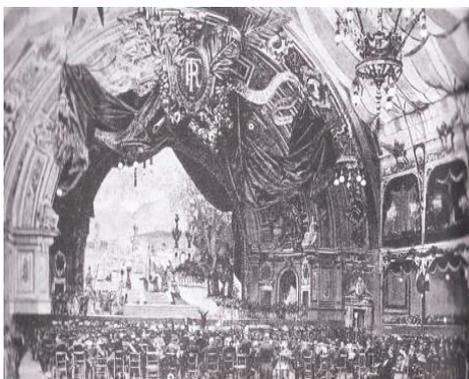


Figure 10: Inside and outside view of the Palace of Industries at International Expo 1889, held in Paris; “Return of Republic” (Source: Benevolo, 2006)

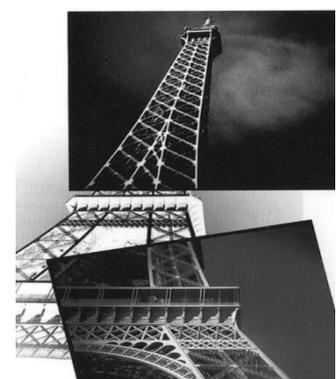


Figure 11: Eiffel Tower, a breathtaking structure designed as a French Revolution Monument at Expo 1889 (Source: Kultermann, 2007)

State-building

At the third stage, the focus was shifted onto state-building. This continuous trend was motivated by accumulation of power, maximum capacity building toward political, economic and social long-term development as well as improvement of efficiency in a national-political unity. It eventually compelled the French government to set in motion the trend by means of demonstrating a set of small villages for other colonized tribes and ethnicities as a part of international Expos in 1889 and 1900. This exhibition was performed in an area over 100 hectares large, housing not only the Expos but also the surrounding buildings, as well as recently-constructed monuments such as Eiffel Tower. Thus portraying a magnificent city of mansions, artworks and traditions from French colonized lands. This exhibition often brought tribal people from their natural settlements across Africa and Asia in order to depict their geographically exclusive rituals, dancing and singing, while presenting their handcrafted products (Figures 12 and 13). It accomplished two missions of *civilization* and *science and technology hegemony* for the French government through interaction with the colonized nations and its own people. Based on the former mission, the state elite could prove that the colonized nations achieved some progress, thanks to the employment of the French territory, culture and people (Roche, 2000: p. 60). As for the latter mission, there was the possibility that the French government could raise awareness in the public concerning its prosperous development, in comparison to other nations.

In this respect, Otis Mason argues:

The exhibition at French Expos was a success, achieved by the French throne... where there was this possibility that twelve different African tribes could be found beside other Eastern nations along with the latest achievements, watched by a civilized nation. They lived in their native homes, wore local clothing, ate local foods and practiced their own ethnic customs and rituals..., men and women in sheepskin were busy working with primitive tools, a couple cutting and engraving an antler, ancient Mexicans masterfully applying snake skin and a bunch of black people from Congo handling a stone-made instrument (Chin Davidson, 2010: p. 728-729).



Figure 12: Asian and African tribes from their natural primitive settlements, demonstrated at Paris Expo 1889, so as to attain colonial objectives, pursued by the elite (Source: Chin Davidson, 2010)

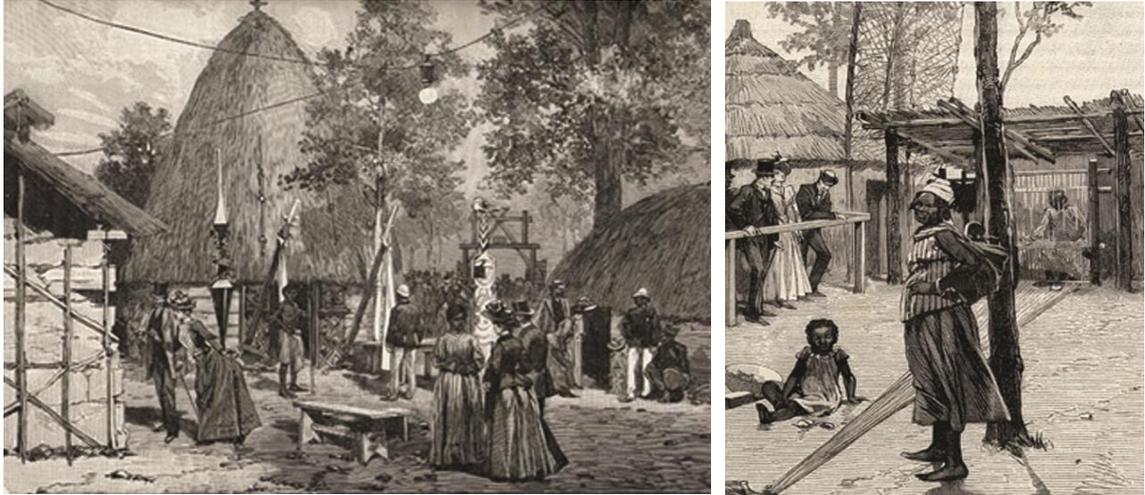


Figure 13: Importing people from Africa and Asia in natural settlements, portraying their indigenous rituals and songs (Source: www.maisons-champagne.com)

An Overview of the Stages in Political Reproduction of Design

Naturally these trends, laid out for organization of international exhibitions, represent the various artistic practices adopted by the French government to fulfill its preplanned political objectives. In fact, it never intended to merely showcase certain modern products and commodities in collaboration with other states. Rather it made great effort to utilize the entire functional-exhibitionist aspect of the Expos so that it could revive a positive perception towards the notion of *technological innovation and industrial progress* alongside a lively manifestation of primitive arts, which enabled it to attain its political cause.

Hence, what mattered most to the French government was how to recreate or reproduce the artworks, which can be enumerated as the triple outcome of this research, as the following;

- Promotion of *tourist consumerism*
- Construction of *revolutionary monuments*
- Reverberation of *primitive traditions*

Through the first objective, concerning the promotion of *tourist consumerism*, it firstly served to realize consumerist industrialization and attributed new features to architectural structures so as to conform them to aesthetic principle of artifacts;

- Transformation of spatial obstruction into spatial protraction, aimed at accessing new alternative spaces.
- Structural design, based on functional needs as well as the form of exhibition products
- Employment of steel for construction of elegant, highly load-bearing elements
- Evolving the proportions and dimensions in order to create vastly open spaces
- Systematic design adopted for spatial allocation for commodity exhibition

In this fashion, a sort of pleasant perception and pleasurable sensation was created in people to make a purchase, thereby redirecting the investment under a policy back to the growing French industrial cycle. Similarly, Walter Benjamin believed, *Expos opened up avenues toward goods and commodities, where people immediately upon arrival surrendered as a customer* (Benjamin, 1973: p. 165- 166). It secondly discovered the opportunity to firmly establish its industrial foundations through an amalgam of design and engineering;

- Persuading the French people to recognize the industrialist norms and productive consequences of a desirable status
- Visually educating the French people in absorbing the modern technologies
- By means of such education, enhance their ideology and awareness of industrial development
- Responding to their needs as territorial capabilities and national best interests

Just as Greenhauf argued, the French government managed to internalize and demonstrate to people the reflections of the industrial progress and countless inventions such as electricity (Greenhalgh, 1998: p. 113). Thirdly, it served to expand the tourism industry with an economic approach; therefore, it resulted in attraction of investments and participation of the industrial sector in the development of public transportation systems and technologies through sea voyages on ships or train trips on railway. In the second objective concerning the construction of *revolutionary monuments*, it managed to yield certain outcomes aligned with the French ideal-revolutionary situation by means of adopting innovative designs, new industrial materials and mass production.

Finally, as for the third objective about the reverberation of *primitive traditions*, there was also an opportunity granted to the government to fulfill two major goals as its political-imperialistic policy. Firstly, it aimed to consolidate its imperialism in the minds of competitive counterparts, i.e. other colony-seeking governments, since it barely tolerated the involvement of another power or state influence in its target region. Secondly, it intended to justify the French imperialism over the people whose lands had been colonized, particularly addressing the prominent government groups (Chin Davidson, 2010: p. 725). Such step was taken through differentiating itself by the so-called label *civilized*, demonstration of how products and commodities are supplied in an industrial procedure and running an exhibition of humans — *tribal people from colonized lands*— pointing at how they lived and what exactly they did.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion so far as well as the analytical overview of how design was reproduced at World Expos back in late nineteenth century, it can generally be concluded that the French government initiated three strategies through the reproduction of design, fulfilling three political objectives. In succession, it first gained an economic growth and investment, relying on innovative industrial achievements. In the second strategy, it managed to legalize its authority at both national and international levels through an influentially visual interaction with people. Finally, in the third strategy, it secured its colonialist exploitations through showcasing an idea of progressive metalwork constructions and modern procedures of building a structure beside primate settlements. Figure 14 clearly illustrates the link between reproduction of design and political objectives, pursued by the French government, which can in a way, be called a model for political reproduction of design by the French government.

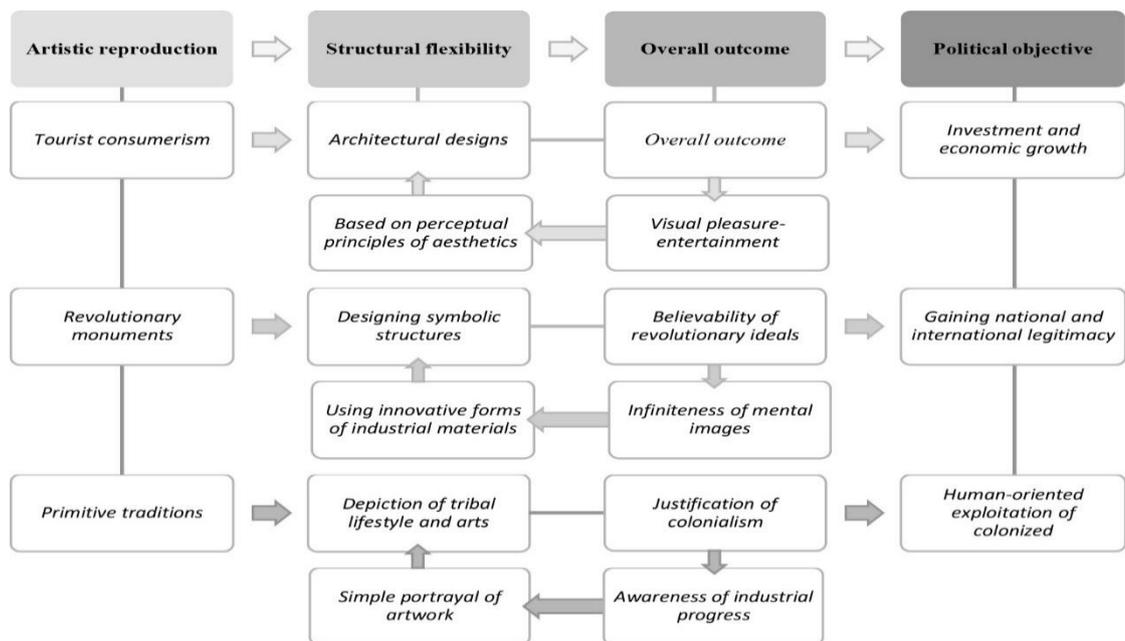


Figure 14: political reproduction of art by the French government at World Expos (Source: Author)

References

- A Digital Archive of Architecture, 19th Century Architecture, World's Fair of 1900 Paris, Machinery exhibit and Sculpture exhibit. http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/cas/fnart/arch/1900fair.html. (Retrieved 3July 2013).
- Benevolo, L. (2006). *Storie Dell'architettura Moderna*. Translated by: Sadat Afsari, M. A. Tehran: Iran University Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1973). *Grandville or the World Exhibitions' (original 1935) section III in 'Paris- the Capital of the 19thC' section of his Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the High Era of Capitalism*, London: NLB.
- Brown, R. (2008). *Paris 1900: Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. North Carolina: McFarland.
- Chin Davidson, J. (2010). *The Global Art Fair and the Dialectical Image*. Third Text. 24: 6, p.719- 734.
- Exposition Universelle 1878. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exposition_Universelle_1878. (Retrieved 3July2013).
- Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris - Le Palais du Champagne*. http://www.maisons-champagne.com/bonal/pages/Expo_1889.php. (Retrieved 5July 2013).
- Fakouhi, Nasser. (2012). *Anthropology of Art*. Tehran: Salesspub.
- Ghezelsohla, M. T. (2006). *Aesthetics and Politics; the Reflection of Politics in the Realist Approach to Art*. Research Journal of Political Science. 5: 17, p. 167- 198.
- Ghezelsohla, M. T. (2003). *Art and Politics*. Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences. 3: 9-10, p. 213- 234.
- Giedion, S. (2013). *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. Translated by: Faramarzi, M. T. Tehran: Shafiei.
- Greenhalgh, P. (1988). *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles; Great Exhibitions and World's fairs (1851- 1939)*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Greenhalgh, P. (2011). *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai 1851- 2010*. Berkshire: Papadakis Dist a C.
- Heller, A. (2008). *Philadelphia 1876: Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. North Carolina: McFarland.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992). *Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914' in Hobsbawm and Ranger*. Op: cit.
- Kultermann, U. (2007). *Anticipation of the Future: Exit to tomorrow*. New York: Universe Publishing.
- Roche, M. (2000). *Mega-events and Modernity: Olympics, Expos and the Growth of Global Culture*, London: GBR: Routledge.
- Roche, Maurice. (2009). *Mega-events, culture and modernity: Expos and the origins of public culture*. International Journal of Cultural Policy [online]. 5 (1): (06May2012).
- Swift, A. (2008). *Paris 1889: Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. North Carolina: McFarland.
- University of Glasgow, Essays for online Design, Politics and Commerce International Exhibitions 1851-1951. <http://www.lib.ug.edu/arch/html>. (Retrieved 3July2013).
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exposition_Universelle_1878 (Retrieved 14Sep2013).