

Senses of Place at the Border

Visual Cultures of Mobility at Canadian Airports

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As an ever-increasing number of international passenger flights continues to crisscross the world, so too are the numbers of refugees, and irregular border crossings continuing to increase.¹ These movements evince the breadth of transnational forces radically reshaping how border spaces and human mobility are experienced today. Responding to these shifts, in recent years states across the global north have been developing new ways to control and represent mobility, notably through biometric and algorithmic imaging. Airports, as an important form of border space in the 21st century, are productive sites to analyse representations of transnational human mobilities, given their unusual concentration of wayfinding signs, technologies of surveillance, corporate marketing, and cultural displays catering to tourism (Augé 1992). In Canada, such media ecologies are marked by representations of place specific to regional cultural contexts, as well as federal surveillance protocols through which the US continues to play a determining and outsized role.² Researchers from divergent fields have recently analyzed visual media at Canadian airports largely through the tools of either sociology and surveillance studies,³ or art history.⁴ As more interdisciplinary scholarship on contemporary surveillance at US and Canadian airports has shown,⁵ analyzing modes of representation for both surveillance and art in the context of airport mobility can offer important insights into the cultural means by which state power differentially influences mobility according to race, class, and gender, in turn, demonstrating how such forms of power can be contested. What do these visual representations tell us about how mobility is controlled and perceived in Canada today? What are the aesthetics of Canada's major airports, and how do these aesthetics relate to forms of state power?

I will first address these questions by focusing on how airport spaces have changed after the security overhauls that followed 9/11. I will then consider how state power influences transnational mobility and visual culture at airports through three conceptual frameworks. Theories of the *non-place* are especially relevant for discussing how visual media determine the experience of place at airports, and how these media inform, and are informed by, scripted processes of mobility. While the term "mobility" can take on many different meanings, I am focusing on the transnational movements of people, whether regular or irregular.⁶ Through the second conceptual framework, the *world-as-exhibition*, I will outline how regimes of visibility found in Canadian airports echo a legacy of world expositions rooted in nation-building and place branding initiatives. I will focus on the visual aspects of media at airports, while remaining critical of ocularcentrism and the forms of power that ensure airports are largely designed to be navigated visually. Thirdly, I will examine the cultural context of biopolitical representations, such as biometric imaging. I will investigate how these visual representations fit within a biopolitical logic of routine identification. This inquiry focuses on Canada

as a settler nation-state, with the “state” referring not only to the territory currently claimed by Canada, but also to the political and security apparatus that has operated, directly or indirectly, through its recent federal governments. This critical investigation of divergent types of visual culture representing human mobility will form part of a cognitive map aiming to uncover the layers of state power echoing through the walls of Canada’s main airports, in addition to the vital forms of mobility that question this power.

Canada’s three major airports cater to very different parts of the world, and represent distinct migratory and cross-cultural ties.⁷ The majority of international passenger traffic is channeled through three airports, the country’s busiest: Toronto Pearson International Airport (Toronto’s airport); Vancouver International Airport (Vancouver’s airport); and Montréal-Trudeau International Airport (Montréal’s airport).⁸ Each of these airports showcase a particular visual identity, where visual culture functions largely through a showcase visuality, presenting municipal, regional, or national narratives through celebratory representations of place. On the other hand, the routine processes of security checks, including the presentation of personal biometric information, contribute to ingraining mechanical responses and standardized behaviours amongst passengers. These airports are run by private non-profit organizations, each forming distinct airport authorities for their metropolitan area. In terms of its current cultural displays, Toronto’s airport showcases a number of works by international artists, as well as collections from regional cultural institutions such as the Royal Ontario Museum, the Canada Science and Technology Museum, the Museum of Sight and Vision, as well as works by local artists. Furthermore, artworks commissioned through a juried competition are designed to provide an “uplifting” and “educational” experience, while displays are intended to “represent Toronto’s role as the gateway to the North American global air transportation system” (Greater Toronto Airports Authority 2003). Vancouver’s airport also foregrounds regional identity through its Sense of Place programme, focusing on Indigenous Northwest Coast art. Finally, Montréal’s airport showcases cultural production from its surrounding region through the *Aérogalerie / Montréal Identity* programme, which brands the city by focusing on photographic and new media projects, such as light installations, digital screens, and light boxes. Even though they represent very distinct parts of Canada, these airports each showcase sanctioned cultural displays that support both the physical mobility of people navigating through airports, and state imperatives in transnational mobility.

Canada’s major airports have introduced increasingly sophisticated ways of integrating media at airport security for the purposes of directing traffic and controlling passengers, notably through the massive security overhauls that followed 9/11. Many of these measures have been recommended, or lobbied for, through two international organizations: the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), a special agency of the United Nations that issues Standards and Recommended Practices to airlines and airport authorities across the world, and the International Air Transport Association (IATA), an organization representing the commercial interests of airlines.⁹ Businesses and state interests, however, were able to turn international requirements for air travel security into opportunities for realising long-standing plans. The Canadian government, for instance, formed Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) in 2003 to increase border security in the aftermath of 9/11. In terms of the habitual use of airport terminals, passengers started arriving earlier at security gates in anticipation of lengthier security checks. This resulted in longer waiting times past security. Montréal’s airport responded by adding more restaurants and boutiques in its restricted zone, a process that paralleled the proliferation of art both after and before security (ADM 2016). These changes led to an increase of what sociologists Justine Lloyd and Peter Adey call “dwell-time,” or enforced waiting periods, which create the retail opportunities that many airports financially depend on (2003, 94). Furthermore, the specific opportunities offered during this “dwell-time” also allow airports to position themselves competitively over other airports across the world.¹⁰ The visual culture that I will detail should be understood within a broader neoliberal context reshaping airports (and other transport hubs) into more economically productive sites, to be considered in competition with other transports hubs. Such prioritization of commerce at airports can be understood as an example of how business interests and increased security measures have stabilized to become mutually beneficial, following the confusion and economic losses of the first few days immediately after September 11th. “Dwell-time” exemplifies how airports are shaped by seemingly contradictory forms of mobility, whether they be the flows of state security or those of commercial incentives.

The proliferation of signs across airports—announcing gates or advertising products—is largely conceived for transience, and designed to be experienced in passing. The variety of media used for these signs (e.g. light boxes or digital screens) and the variety of their placements across the airport, testify to the unique integration tying media to human mobility. The combination of these elements—persistent movement and the proliferation of signs—are constitutive aspects of the non-place. The concept of non-place, first formulated by historian Michel de Certeau, was later developed and popularized by anthropologist Marc Augé in the 1990s. Considering what is negated, de Certeau defines “place” as characterized by an order of properties, a locale where each spatial element is distributed through distinct positions that create relations of stability and coexistence (de Certeau 1980, 157). This order and stability are then disrupted in the non-place through the proliferation of language in space. De Certeau especially emphasizes the influence of proper nouns, and how they lead to varied and conflicting spatial orientations. Augé develops and extends de Certeau’s formulations, describing non-places as being “invaded” by text (such as navigational aids) and characterized by the dual negation of place by textuality and the movement of people (Osborne 2013, 120). Augé mentions such seemingly divergent locales as train stations, shopping malls, and migrant camps as examples of contemporary non-places.

Extending these formulations to the field of aesthetics, philosopher Peter Osborne argues that the dual negation of place that characterizes the non-place is also constitutive of the archetypal space of modern art: the white cube. Exhibiting art through standardized architectural forms and against white walls, the white cube was famously theorized by artist Brian O’Doherty as “the single major convention through which art is passed” (2013, 123). Despite seeming antithetical to the scale and traffic associated to malls and transport hubs, Osborne argues that the white cube is also a non-place to the extent that it is a self-enclosed locale designed to facilitate the movement of people (through the transience of exhibitions) while foregrounding the insertion of textuality. For Osborne, modern art is inherently tied to textuality in the sense that modern art is necessarily constituted by the discourses surrounding it (2013, 122).

That the white cube and the airport share these ontological characteristics goes some way toward explaining the integration of extensive art exhibitions and displays within the infrastructures of Canadian airports. This meeting of two seemingly divergent spaces is made literal through the neologism *Aérogalerie*, which refers to the evolving exhibitions of art and design at Montréal’s airport. The theme of mobility is evoked through this programme in different ways. Public artworks scattered across the island of Montréal are re-presented as abstract photographs in the airport’s light boxes. These boxes are wrapped around nine of the airports’ pre-existing columns. Moving through the airport, passengers encounter columns with fragmented representations of the city through variegated geometric abstractions. Many of the columns represent the context of other transit hubs where the art or design works are located. For instance, some columns re-present the interiors of Montréal’s underground metro system through Mario Merola’s *Octavie* (1976) at Charlevoix Station, Lyse Charland Favretti’s *L’Éducation* and Pierre Osterrath’s *Untitled* (both 1982) installed at Du Collège Station, or *98* (2007) by Axel Morgenthaler at Henri-Bourrassa Station. The majority of art and design works represented through this series of columns at the airport represent the theme of mobility through other forms of transport infrastructure in the city. In fact, most of these works form part of an unbroken underground path through the interior spaces of the Montréal Metro, or through the sprawling network of tunnels, malls, and office complexes that is the RÉSO (or Underground City), the non-place that has perhaps most branded the city.



Fig. 1 *Art en Couleurs* display with Pierre Osterrath's *Untitled* in foreground

The representation of disparate parts of the city in the context of the airport, along with the aesthetics of fragmentation and fluidity, are cultural manifestations of an abstracted mode of being, what geographer David Harvey has called “time-space compression” (1989). Harvey has commented on the radical impact of neoliberalism, economic deregulation, and flexible labour in producing a newly accelerated, shortened, or “compressed” experience of space and time. He has outlined how this radical reconfiguration of social and economic life in the global north manifested through a distinct aesthetic of fluidity and fragmentation in postmodern art and architecture from the 1970s and 1980s (1989). His conceptualization and examples, however, largely overlook how these political-economic forces impact people differently according to race, gender, religion, and disability. This omission has led geographer Doreen Massey to criticize Harvey’s concept of “time-space compression” as a monolithic category that belies the ways that power impacts people in different ways, and through different systems of oppression, a process she refers to as “differential mobility” (1993, 63). Increased potentials in the mobility of some have accompanied increased controls and restrictions over the mobility of others. Massey argues for the need to consider how the mobility that many people enjoy actually weakens possibilities for others through the development of systems of increasing differential and unequal mobility.

How are group-differentiated forms of mobility impacted by the legacy of colonialism? How does state power influence what forms of mobility are intelligible at airports? Massey states that differential mobility “can weaken the leverage of the already weak. The time-space compression of some groups can undermine the power of others” (1993, 63). Universalizing the experience of “time-space compression” can therefore contribute to obscuring how some groups are freer to travel than others. Likewise, the Montréal Identity / Aérogalerie programme’s claim to represent a city as culturally diverse as Montréal, while showcasing the work of almost exclusively white artists, shores up settler notions of mobility that actively erase Indigenous and non-white patterns of migration through the city.

These forms are representative of the privilege by which some settlers can move across the continent and claim somewhere to be “their home” in a way that disassociates the land from Indigenous systems of knowledge. Settler sovereignty is, according to scholars Emma Lowman and Adam Barker, “essentially ‘portable’ anywhere inside the Settler’s domain” (2015, 23). The Montreal Identity programme extends settler processes by which senses of place and belonging are naturalized as being “portable,” abstracted from, and in conflict with, existing place-based epistemologies. However, it is important to note the ways some non-Indigenous people in North America are theorized beyond a dialectic of settler and Indigenous forms of mobility, for instance as, “arrivants.” Borrowing the term from African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite, Chickasaw writer Jodi A. Byrd explains how “arrivant” relates to “those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe” (2011, xix). Arrivants represent a different relation to the settler-state, a position that should be nuanced to the extent that, according to Byrd, they have “functioned within and have resisted the historical project of the colonization of the ‘New World’ (Byrd 2011, xix).

Airports emblemize processes of globalization, but they also extend processes of representation imbricated in national (state) interests. Furthermore, because international airports in Canada operate

through, and include, international borders, the state regulates transnational movements. This is a conception of spatial limits at odds with the senses of place of Indigenous peoples, such as the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), on whose territory Montreal's airport rests. Anthropologist Audra Simpson has shed light on how Mohawk forms of sovereignty allow for an alternative understanding of forces regulating the flow of bodies through the US-Canada border. "I have crossed the border my entire life," Simpson writes, "in cars, on buses, and had my first flight alone into Dorval [Montréal's] International airport at age seven to see my grandparents and my extended family" (2014, 199). This border, Simpson claims, "cuts through [Mohawks'] historical and contemporary territory" and is "simply, in their space and in their way." Despite the enforcement of this settler-state border, mobility through it enacts the Mohawk nation's understanding of history and law (Simpson 2014, 115). This notion of mobility as a form of sovereignty is echoed by scholar Gerald Vizenor, whose concept of "transmotion" provides another way of thinking of Indigenous mobility. He defines this concept as being:

a sense of native motion and an active presence [that] is sui generis sovereignty. Native transmotion is survivance, a reciprocal use of nature, not a monotheistic, territorial sovereignty. Native stories of survivance are the creases of transmotion and sovereignty. (2011, xvi)

While this "transmotion" could be implicit, for instance, in the iconography of individual art and design works at Vancouver's airport, it is not immediately apparent in the airports' curatorial framing. Coast Salish nations have historically existed on both sides of the US-Canada border, but in the airport, artworks from these nations are used to shore up a "sense of place" that extends specifically to the territorial limits of British Columbia. Elsewhere, Simpson argues that "the very notion of *indigenous* nationhood which demarcates identity and seizes tradition in ways that may be antagonistic to the encompassing frame of the state, may be simply unintelligible to the western and/or imperial ear" (2011, 21). Simpson's stories of border crossing as the enactment of sovereignty suggest that while Indigenous cultural expressions can unsettle the reification of state borders, these stories may not be intelligible through a particular sense, or for particular circles. Their power can lie in the embodiment of movement *as* cultural expression, rather than through visual representations that continue to separate observer and observed, actor and spectator.

Airports are designed to separate spectators from actors in order to privilege passenger mobility. Through their emphasis on signs, images, and visual culture for the purpose of navigation, they can also temporally frame the experience of air travel, often providing first and last impressions of place, and contributing to senses of place. Airport authorities, along with partner institutions such as museums, have carefully curated these impressions to correspond to unique images of place. The large-scale exhibitions that result, uniquely adapted to transnational flows, draw from modes of representation originating in large-scale exhibitions known as world expositions, or world fairs. Two cities in Canada have hosted iterations of these events: Montréal in 1967 (Expo 67) and Vancouver in 1986 (Expo 86). Beyond the massive changes in transport infrastructure such fairs generated,¹¹ more discreet traces of their legacy appear throughout the visual culture of both airports. Standing by Vancouver airport's arrivals terminal, Joe David's massive work, *Welcome Figures* (1985), was originally commissioned by Expo 86 to stand in front of the British Columbia Pavilion. David's work includes one female and one male figure carved in red cedar, each towering at around three meters and carved in the Clayoquot tradition of the Nuu-chah-nulth. This work is based on the carved figures traditionally placed on beaches and in front of a village or big house, designed to "look out to sea, arms raised, palms facing upward" in order to "greet guests invited to special events such as potlatches" (Laurence 2015, 33). Elsewhere, the Sense of Place programme has sought to foster a sense of belonging, largely by presenting Indigenous Northwest Coast art and celebratory reflections of British Columbia's natural environment (Laurence 2015, xiii). Under this programme, the airport has aimed to unify diverse facets of BC, specifically foregrounding relations between Northwest Coast art and the region's land, sea, and sky. This curatorial focus dates back to the early 1990s with the installation of Bill Reid's massive five-ton sculpture, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii: The Jade Canoe* in 1994, now in the airport's International Terminal. The work is bronze cast and covered with a jade-coloured patina, meant to reflect the province's naturally occurring jade. Known as the "Heart of the Airport," the *Jade Canoe* reflects the setting

of contemporary air travel through Haida representations of mobility. This work draws a parallel between the narrative arc of the canoe's journey, of mythical proportions, and the more prosaic plight of airport passengers, workers, and other people sharing the space of this terminal (Laurence 2015, 37). This work, as with David's *Welcome Figures*, symbolically transfigures everyday mobility through Indigenous iconography and aesthetics. Furthermore, Reid's work has already gained iconic status through other contexts and has represented the state in more overt ways: the first casting of this work, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii: the Black Canoe* (1986), appears outside the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC, and an image of the sculpture has appeared on the Canadian twenty-dollar bill.¹²



Fig. 2 Bill Reid's *Jade Canoe*, shown in context of the International Terminal

While the term “sense of place” can be defined as the various ways in which place provides a sense of belonging, creates attachments and constructs meaning, it is an elusive concept that reveals how deeply intertwined perceptions of place are with psychological, political, and sensory factors (Giesecking, et al 2014, 82). Frank O’Neill, president and CEO of YVR Airport Services for over two decades, has commented on the relationship between Northwest Coast art and the fostering of a “sense of place.” While “travellers from the four directions arrive and depart” at the airport, he claims, the “sense of place created by the art of the Northwest Coast helps to anchor and orient their feelings” (Beiks 2003, 36). Indeed, in the first years of the airport’s focus on “sense of place,” O’Neill argued that the presence of Indigenous art would “provide a competitive advantage over an airport that looks upon itself as a processing factory” (qtd. in Leddy 1996).

Despite the paradox of aiming to produce a “sense of place” within the airport (an archetypal non-place), the affective evocations of place through both Vancouver and Montréal’s airports largely draw from historically ingrained, Eurocentric modes of representation at mega-events. The format of Vancouver and Montreal’s world expositions originated with the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 (London, UK) and the World Exhibition of 1889 (Paris, France). For political theorist Timothy Mitchell, these expositions emblemized a characteristically Western way of seeing the world through their production of totalizing representations of place, scripted relations between viewer and representation, and an emphasis on passive forms of spectatorship. Mitchell recounts how non-Western visitors to world expositions of the late 19th century saw them as “emblematic of the strange character of the West, a place where one was continually pressed into service as a spectator by a world ordered so as to represent” (1994, 37). Geographer Denis Cosgrove remarks that Egyptian visitors to the 1889 Exposition were struck by displays that organized the world “according to visual criteria, staging reality as a dramatic performance” (2001). This paradigm, which Mitchell describes as “the world-as-exhibition” (1989), sheds light on the modes of representation that inform how Vancouver and Montréal’s airports represent senses of place. Furthermore, Montréal’s world exposition occurred during a historical phase in which such mega-events were used for nation-building, effectively contributing to shoring up the settler state of Canada by showcasing itself to the world through

(tourist) flows. The “world ordered so as to represent” finds a contemporary echo in the airports’ visual culture displays, but also in how passengers’ navigation is funneled and directed at the airport to facilitate the representation of people in transit. After the aesthetics of showcase in the publicly accessible areas of airports, passengers find themselves represented through state security processes that seek to make their mobility conditional on their authentication through personal data.

The need to facilitate the movement of people through borders, as well as to carefully filter such movements for security risks, forms a central challenge for the state at airports. The two operational priorities of airports—mobility and security—which largely conflict, have manifest themselves through visual culture in a number of ways. When passengers access security gates at airports they present identification in the form of passport photos, magnetic chips, and (increasingly) parts of their bodies—such as faces, fingertips or the iris—for biometric scans. The information provided by passengers in this way is what surveillance studies scholars call “data doubles”: virtual identities located in networked databases, (Lyon 2008) that follow passengers through security processes across the network. Learned processes of personal authentication through various security theatres—such as the airport “confessional,” when arriving passengers are questioned by CBSA agents—can become second nature, through their mechanical repetition at airports across the world. For scholar Mark B. Salter, this is part of the pedagogical function of airports, where relations with representatives of state authority are performed in repetitive fashion so as to normalize state-sanctioned processes of mobility (2008, xii).

First introduced on a passenger class basis (i.e. with passengers wishing to pay for a service expediting security procedures), iris scans represent an alternative to the changes affecting other forms of documentation over time, for instance affecting the accuracy of passport photos and face scans. Biometric imaging, as sociologist Elia Zureik has pointed out, relies on the recognition of patterns, which are then translated into binary code using algorithms (Lyon 2008, 39). This type of imaging adds another layer of state power to the forms of mobile spectatorship already dominant before airport security. Such scans offer biometric data in the literal sense of “measuring” “life signs”: since after death, muscles in the iris become relaxed, thus disrupting the machine legibility of the vital information needed for iris scans.

The use of such imaging technologies at airports reinforce the state’s biopolitical control over human mobility, contributing to reinforcing the power of the state on what philosopher Giorgio Agamben calls “bare life”: the quality of human life in its biological essence, as separated from political life (1998, 8). Agamben argues that the figure of the refugee is important in understanding the fictions produced by modern states because they reveal the processes of exclusion through which states produce the conditions of bare life (1998, 131). Following Agamben, the technologies and media infrastructures supporting the conditions for “bare life” can thereby be understood as another dynamic politicizing—and problematizing—the more overtly aesthetic forms of state-sanctioned visual culture at airports.

It is with this process of exclusion in mind that I want to turn to recent Canadian and international news media images of Syrian refugees. In December 2015, when the first planeload of Syrian refugees fleeing Syria’s civil war arrived in Canada, they found Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the federal ministers of immigration, health and defence, and opposition immigration critics to greet them at Toronto’s airport. News reports and photos of the event rapidly proliferated across major international news outlets (Editorial Board 2015). The symbolic and humanitarian significance of this event—an unlikely meeting of different cultural and political worlds—was enhanced by its setting: a terminal at Canada’s busiest airport, opened for the occasion. In his speech, Trudeau addressed the significance of the moment and his presence at the airport, to foster a sense of place, and represent a place—Canada—for both domestic and international audiences (Austen 2015). Given this contemporary function of airports in representing place, it is perhaps no wonder that Canada’s government, through Trudeau, seized on the media event at Toronto’s airport to present an official image of Canada to the world. This official representation excludes more grim treatments of refugees at Canada’s airports. The state processes that have excluded migrants—notably by keeping migrant children held indefinitely in Canada’s infamous detention centres (Harris 2017)—have remained largely hidden from sight. To understand these images of inclusion in relation to the more hidden processes of migrant detention and refusal in Canada is to recognise the logic of representation by which states detain or deport migrants in secret, but publicly narrativize their inclusion within political life. This

is part of a visual economy of airports in which the state contributes to shaping narratives of mobility that extend settler-colonial erasures, leaving international borders unquestioned, while excluding vital forms of Indigenous mobility.

It is telling that airports have emerged as sites for the concerted curation of large-scale representations of place, given airports' crucial roles as nodal points for the circulation of goods and people in contemporary globalization. The extent to which non-places in Canada are prominent sites for the representation of place goes some way towards revealing the growing cultural importance of infrastructures for mobility, notably in shaping perceptions of place. Counter-cartographies, like those presented by Audra Simpson, suggest how an aesthetics of mobility can form part of a vital, decolonial way of undercutting the reification of settler borders, as opposed to forming an extension of biopolitical control through forms of spectatorship. In the context of these major Canadian airports, representations of place take on roles consistent with a broader biopolitical mode of representation: the ordering of mobility through an aesthetic of authentication in which institutions alternately submit place and individuals to rituals of display, constructing a visual order amidst the airport's diverging flows.

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Endnotes

- 1 "Internationally there are over 700 million legal passenger arrivals each year (compared with 25 million in 1950)" (Sheller and Urry 2008, 207).
- 2 A prominent example of which is Bill C-23, also known as the Preclearance Act of 2016, which allows armed US Customs and Border Patrol officers to search and question passengers at a number of Canadian airports, as they seek to board flights for the US.
- 3 See for instance Lyon 2006 and Salter 2006.
- 4 See for instance Flaman 2009 and Laurence 2015.
- 5 See Browne 2015.
- 6 Thus disregarding other understandings of mobility, such as the mobility of goods, or social mobility. See Urry 2007.
- 7 While the United States remains the top international destination overall, in 201, Toronto's airport recorded 42.3 million passengers with Europe accounting for 23% of international destinations; Vancouver's airport recorded 21.4 million passengers with Asia representing 29% of international destinations; while Montréal's airport saw 15.4 million passengers with both Europe and the US representing 35%. See Transport Canada. 2017.
- 8 Toronto's airport alone carried roughly half of the country's total international passenger traffic in 2015.
- 9 Both organisations are headquartered in Montreal, QC. See Salter 2010.
- 10 The United Arab Emirates, for instance, have invested huge sums to create hub airports replete with "shops, cinemas, spas, hotels, gardens, churches, and medical facilities, so that the time spent on the ground at airports is not seen as 'dead-time.'" See Salter 2010.
- 11 Notably, the inauguration of new public transit rail lines with the arrival of the SkyTrain (Vancouver), and the Metro to Longueuil (Montréal)
- 12 Officially distributed between 2004 and 2012.
- 13 "We get to show not just a planeload of new Canadians what Canada is all about, but we get to show the world how to open our hearts and welcome people who are fleeing extraordinarily difficult straits." (Austen 2015).