Fashioning Identity: The Hostesses of Expo 67

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Abstract

Fashioning Identity: The Hostesses of Expo 67

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In 1967, the world came to Montreal with the International World Exhibition of 1967. The event served as host to over 50 million visitors and 62 participating nations. Expo 67 was a multimedia event, encompassing architecture, art, design, fashion and new technology to create a visually interesting world's fair. Working at Expo were 250 young women who served as hostesses – welcoming, guiding, assisting, and informing guests. It is the aim of this thesis to examine the role that the hostesses performed within the larger cultural landscape at Expo 67. This thesis will conduct a critical comparative analysis of the hiring and training of the 1967 Expo hostesses with that of airline stewardesses in the 1960's. This thesis will also examine the role that the hostesses' uniforms played in their transition from pre-war women to modern, single women. To do so, a critical analysis of fashion trends and the designer uniforms worn by both hostesses and airline stewardesses will be used as a marker of their transition. The questions this thesis seeks to answer are: What role did the uniform play in the position that the Expo 67 hostesses performed? What were the similarities or differences in hiring and training procedures between airline stewardesses and Expo hostesses? In what ways did these hiring and training procedures influence the performance of the Expo hostesses? How did the uniforms both confine and free these women during a time of great change? How did the uniform and guidelines of Expo influence their behaviour?

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Introduction

It was the following statement by head hostess Monique Archambault that opened the *Expo 67 Official Hostess Handbook*:

> Congratulations! You have been selected to represent Expo and to play a vital role in making our Exposition a gigantic success. As an Expo hostess, your work will be demanding – and exciting. And, as part of this elite group, your behaviour should be irreproachable, your energy unlimited and your bright spirit, unfailing.[1]

These directions would serve as the template for the hostesses' work at Expo 67. The world exhibition, "Man and His World" took place in Montreal, Quebec from April 27 to October 29, 1967 and celebrated Canada's centennial as well as the cultures of the participating nations. The most successful World's Fair of the twentieth century, Expo 67 played host to over 50 million visitors and 62 participating nations.

Originally Moscow had won the bid by the International Exhibitions Bureau in Paris to host the 1967 Expo and its 50th anniversary celebration. However, due to the enormous cost to mount an exhibition, Moscow withdrew their bid two years later. On Canada Day, in 1962, Senator Mark Drouin expressed the wish for a dual celebration that would be both a world's fair and a commemoration of Canada's centennial. In 1962, Canada was awarded the 1967 celebration, thanks in part to Montreal's new mayor Jean Drapeau (1916 – 1999), who lobbied the Canadian government to resubmit their bid to host the fair.

In the years following, the city of Montreal undertook a massive construction project to prepare for the exhibition. The project began with the construction of an underground transportation system that would be able to accommodate the city of Montreal's population

and the influx of visitors to Expo 67. On October 14, 1966, the Montreal Metro was officially in operation. Utilizing the 15 million tons of rock previously excavated during the construction of the Metro system, the city constructed an island, Île Notre-Dame, located in the Saint Lawrence River. The island was constructed to serve as the site of Expo 67 along with the pre-existing Île Sainte-Hélène.

This thesis will examine the events that took place at the site of Expo, specifically with the hostesses of Expo 67. I intend to conduct a critical comparative analysis of the hiring and training of the 1967 Expo hostesses with that of airline stewardesses[2] in the 1960s. The thesis will also examine Expo 67 as a passage through transitional life events for the hostesses, ultimately empowering them through work to become true "single girls" at a time when this was a paradoxical notion. As I have only interviewed two women who worked at Expo, I understand that I cannot claim that all women who worked at Expo were granted this new single girl status upon completion of Expo. I will be using these interviews to show that Expo offered an opportunity for some women to overcome authority and become more independent through their work.

It is important to state that my examination of the Expo hostesses is not confined to fashion history and gender studies, but falls into the much larger realm of visual culture.[3] Expo 67 was a multimedia event, encompassing architecture, art, design, and new technology. The body of scholarship surrounding the topic of Expo 67 indicates much precedence has been given to the abovementioned conventional forms of art.[4] These examinations, while thorough, have neglected to consider the impact and important contribution of the design of the general hostess uniforms. The hostesses worked within the confines of the Expo 67 venue and were seemingly omnipresent as they were always

available to Expo attendees. Although the hostess uniforms are just one of the components of the fair, as fashion, they belong to the larger world of design, and therefore also constitute a form of art. These uniforms in fact, transformed the uniform wearer into what can be viewed as a living, moving, sculpture. The ubiquitous image of the hostesses of Expo 67 were highly recognizable, even more so than the women themselves. Many promotional materials leading up to and during the time of Expo 67 featured images of the general hostesses, promoting the fashion forward Expo hostess as a symbol of the world's fair. These images cemented the hostesses into the visual discourse of the event, with their iconic uniforms serving as a reminder of their presence at Expo 67.

Expo 67 employed over 250 hostesses who, after rigorous training, were dressed in designer uniforms and served as official ambassadors to the event for over 50 million visitors. I intend to argue that the role the hostesses performed within the larger cultural landscape of Expo served as a transitional event, thus allowing these women to both adopt and challenge the normative gender roles of the 1960s. To do so, I have conducted interviews with several former hostesses and an expert on Expo 67. The aim of these interviews was to understand the process that the young women chosen to serve as hostesses underwent and how their uniforms shaped their transition.

In her essay titled "On the Move: Fashion Photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s," Hilary Radner discusses the new feminine ideal that was becoming mainstream in the 1960s. "Young, single, economically self-sufficient, the ideal incarnated the notion of movement, of a culture in transition."[5] The concept of the "single girl" that Radner explores is relevant to the ideal that the hostesses of Expo 67 were expected to embody. They were to be seen not only as glamorous and adored by men, but also as independent wage-earners and

consumers. The hostesses expressed certain traditionally feminine ideas, like hospitality and beauty, through their appearance, actions, and their clothing. As I will discuss in more detail throughout this thesis, the hostess uniforms of Expo 67, designed by Montreal designer Michel Robichaud (born 1939), took inspiration from the airline stewardess uniforms at the time. By the 1960s, flight stewardesses had become marketing icons for the airlines, and with this came a standardized way of dress that reflected contemporary fashion trends. Robichaud and airline uniform designers relied on knee-length skirts, matching jackets, blouses, and hats to outfit the women. Robichaud's pale blue Expo 67 hostess uniforms became a marketing paradigm much in the same manner as the airline uniforms had, and became a reminder of both current fashion trends and the event of Expo (figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4).

In order to gain a visual understanding of who the hostesses were and what they did at Expo 67, I incorporate an examination of images taken from both public and private collections. A wealth of information has also been supplied by Expo 67 scholar, Bruno Paul Stenson, MA. Mr. Stenson has provided what is a very crucial piece of evidence to support the argument that the behaviour and uniform of the Expo hostesses are transitional events for the hostesses. The Expo *67 Official Hostess Handbook* outlined every aspect of the hostesses' duties and placed emphasis on the four key roles the hostesses were to carry out: welcoming, guiding, assisting, and informing. The handbook detailed very strict guidelines for the hostesses' behaviour, including several pages devoted to the upkeep and proper wearing of their standardized uniform. The hostesses were to be seen at all times, highly visible in the space of Expo 67 and instantly ready to provide assistance to visitors.

I will also briefly touch on the transition that the city of Montreal underwent as it prepared for Expo 67, one of the city's largest celebrations. Prior to 1900, Montreal had been

the largest metropolis in Canada, before entering a period of decline, which caused the shift of the economic centre to Toronto.

In this thesis, I intend to conduct my analysis of the hostesses of Expo 67 into sections, centred around the uniforms worn by both Expo 1967 hostesses and the 1960s air stewardesses. It is their design, care and message that defined their performance. I seek to answer the following questions: What role did the uniform play in the position that the Expo 67 hostesses performed? What were the similarities or differences in hiring and training procedures between airline stewardesses and Expo hostesses? In what ways did these hiring and training procedures influence the performance of the Expo hostesses? How did the uniforms both confine and free these women during a time of great change? How did the uniform and guidelines of Expo influence their behaviour?

In section one, I will give a brief overview of the history of fashion and its trends from 1947 to 1967. This is important because fashion is dictated by societal events and trends. To substantiate my argument that the hostesses' uniforms played a major role in their metamorphosis from pretty, eager applicants to being the face of Expo 1967, I will examine the concept of the quasi uniform and how it affected their behaviour.

It is my contention that the hiring and training of airline stewardesses, who changed the face of working women in the 1960s, mirror the selection and training process of Expo hostesses. Like the air stewardesses of the 1960s, the Expo hostesses were the face of the organization. They needed to represent the organization as it saw fit, yet they were doing a job that was revolutionary. No longer just office or shop workers, now at the forefront, both air stewardesses and Expo hostesses were key to the revenue of their organizations.

Section two will provide a history of airline stewardesses and discuss in brief their hiring and training procedures, while section three will serve as a comparative analysis of the hiring and training procedures of the hostesses of Expo 67 with airline stewardesses. Section four will explore the main argument of this project - it seeks to understand how the uniforms worked to confine and free the women who worked at Expo and how the uniforms and guidelines influence their behaviour.

The Expo 1967 handbook, in conjunction with interviews with former Expo general hostesses, Ms. Carolyn Bohm and Mrs. Sybilla Mannsfeldt, will provide the basis for my analysis of Expo 67 as a rite of passage for these women. In the interviews, I asked the women to detail for me the process that they went through to be hired to work at the event, in addition to how working at Expo shaped their identity. I also asked the women to describe how their uniforms influenced them as this clothing both presented them as a unified group and as individuals at a time when this idea was new to society.

In his 2007 article, "The Production of a Future Gaze at Montreal's Expo 67," André Jansson claims that Expo was a rite of passage for the city of Montreal as a whole, arguing that the event prompted the city's transformation to a world metropolis. I apply Jansson's observation on a micro level, suggesting that the women who worked as hostesses underwent a similar transformation in the cultural landscape of Expo 67. My project critically examines this transformation, arguing that the hostesses' uniforms, when combined with their rigorous training, made the experience of working at Expo 67 transformative. The uniform is an integral part of their transformation; in today's society, fashion is used as a marker of social standing. It influences their behaviour and projects an image of uniformity. For the hostesses of Expo 67, the uniform contains an interesting contradiction. It is at once a "unifying" outfit that makes everyone the same; yet, its adherence to "modern" design reflects the purportedly

liberating image of the independent and unique single girl.

Within this project, I draw upon a variety of sources about Expo 67 in order to situate my research in the context of the world's fair and the city of Montreal during the 1960s. Specifically, I refer to two recent collections of essays: *The 60s: Montreal Thinks Big* edited by André Lortie and *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir*, edited by Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan. Kenneally and Sloan gather essays that explore the visual culture and influence of Expo 67. Particularly relevant to my research is Aurora Wallace's essay, "Girl Watching at Expo 67," which views the hostesses of Expo 67 as symbols of modernity within the confines of the event.

Another component of this project is an examination of the hiring and training protocols of airline stewardesses. Drawing from Kathleen M. Barry's *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants*, I will compare and contrast the hiring of modelesque women to serve as the face of the airline with the selection of hostesses for Expo 67. In addition to Barry's text, I draw heavily from former airline stewardess and director of the Johni Smith Airline Stewardess School Johni Smith's *How to be a Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses*, published in 1966. This text also provides much information regarding life as an airline stewardess. It explains the strict hiring process: employers sought petite, feminine women who embodied the stereotype of American beauty and possessed the poise and grace of the upper class. Once hired, the chosen women then underwent rigorous training at airline "charm farms," where they learned how to interact with airline clients.

Both organizations placed supreme importance on appearance and what they deemed appropriate behaviour. The women were to be of a certain height and weight, have no

obvious physical flaws and a "look". Though not defined, this look was clearly Caucasian. Poise, elegance and grace were crucial for both organizations. However, from my interviews with the Expo hostesses, I gleaned that there was one notable difference between the wearing of the hostess and flight attendant uniform. For the stewardess, restrictions were greatly enforced, giving the wearer no opportunity to modify their dress. But at Expo, after the initial uniform check, some wearers took the opportunity to express themselves by making slight modifications to their uniform, such as rolling up the skirt.

The Changing Face of Fashion

Over the course of Word War II, fashion had abandoned its former, lavish ways in favour of more simplistic designs (for reasons of austerity and scarcity). Only on February 12, 1947 young French designer Christian Dior (1905 – 1957) debuted his first post-war line, *Corolle*, nicknamed "The New Look" (fig. 5) by American magazine *Harper's Bazaar,* did Victorian-inspired opulence return to then-contemporary fashion. Disregarding previous restrictions like those imposed on fabric by the British Trade Commission during the 1940s, Dior incorporated yards and yards of fabric into tightly fitted jackets cinched at the waist that were paired with full skirts in a reinvention of the Victorian hourglass silhouette and bust line. With Dior's look came a reinvention of the girdle and Victorian corset. For those unable to afford such lavish wardrobe pieces, there was the figure enhancing "waist dress."

The following year, Dior continued his Victorian reinterpretation with his *Envol* (French for "flight" or "winged") collection, which featured long, flowing skirts bustled at the rear, jackets with high, stand-up collars and deep cuffs, as well as straight, tubular skirts that were paired with loose jackets and flyaway backs. Dior's reinvention of 1940s fashion was not done just for the sake of design, but as an attempt to allow women to escape from the

poverty-stricken era of rationing. He stated, "I design clothes for flower-like women, with rounded shoulders, full, feminine busts, and hand-span waists above enormous spreading skirts."[6] For Dior, it appeared that the New Look was aimed at a more mature clientele, but became synonymous with youth and the future during the late 1940s.

To critics, the New Look recalled the "draped dowdiness of the eighties [1880s]"[7] and did nothing to capture the youthful spirit of the new "teenager." If the New Look was passé despite its name, then what at the time was contemporary? In response to his critics, in 1956, Dior contributed the A-line to the fashion world, launching a new fashion trend. The A-line, a simple knee-length dress pattern that resembled the letter A in cut inspired the 1957 sack dress by young Frenchman Hubert Givenchy (born 1927). Givenchy's dress disregarded Dior's New Look in favour of a more simplistic design: form fitting and darted, his sheath dress was cutting edge and contemporary.

But what was it that made the sack dress and its conservatively designed counterparts the favoured fashion of the late fifties? By the end of the decade, there was an overwhelming desire to return to normal, to return to an era of order and stability. Fashion became the vocalization of this mood. In the 1950's, there was an explicit return to a pre-war mentality. For fashion, the 1950's meant a rise of ready-to-wear. Beginning in 1951 and continuing until late in 1959, *Vogue* ran numerous features on what to wear for any occasion, highlighting the role of ready to wear clothing in the contemporary woman's life. In the 1950's, ready to wear meant dolman sleeves, swing-back coats, stand-away collars, narrow and full skirts that reached to mid-thigh. According to Radner, "Haute couture catered to the wealthy woman of leisure, who had the time and money to afford a wardrobe. Ready-to-wear assumes a woman of limited time and funds, for whom fashion was practical as well as

pleasurable."[8] In the 1957 film, *Funny Face*, Audrey Hepburn (fig. 6) plays screen muse to designer Hubert Givenchy. This film serves as a visual indicator of the fashion world's shift from haute couture to ready to wear, and in what Radner notes as an anticipatory move to Helen Gurley Brown's "single girl" – the image of a young woman seemingly self sufficient and without inhibition. In Susan Faludi's 2010 article "American Electra: Feminism's Ritual Matricide," she refers to this shift. She states that there was a generational divide in feminism; a divide where, as she argues, younger women have "fallen into the 1920's trap of employing a commercialized ersatz 'liberation' to undermine the political mobilization of their mothers."[9] It is this rejection of the previous generation that is reflected in the notion of the "single girl" and was manifested through their mannerisms, interests, and clothing. These young, modern women became symbols of the time, embodying consumerism, pop culture, and youth.

If American cinema of the 1950's was responsible for influencing culture worldwide, then it is no wonder that America became the birthplace of the "teenager." With such films like *Splendor in the Grass* (1961) and *Some Like It Hot* (1959) ushering in a generation of young, sexually aware women, it became necessary to have a new fashion that reflected this change. While Marilyn Monroe's bust line may have been on display during the 1950's, it was the contemporary woman's legs that were on show during the early 1960s.

This display came with the rise of the miniskirt. Mary Quant (born 1934), a young, rebellious British girl, strayed from the accepted guidelines of fashion, especially those designated by the fashion schools she did not attend. Self-taught, Quant began her career in 1955 working under various British designers before opening her own workshop, Bazaar, a joint venture with her future husband in Chelsea, England. When asked about her new approach to fashion, Quant proclaimed, "I had always wanted the young to have fashions of

their own…absolutely twentieth-century fashions…but I knew nothing about the fashion business."[10]

Responsible for creating the "Chelsea Girl look,"[11] by 1962, Quant had garnered worldwide attention for her designs. Yet it was her 1965 creation, the mini skirt that was the highlight of her career. The ultimate symbol of youthful rebellion, Quant's mini skirt (fig. 7) revolutionized contemporary fashion. The "London Look," as it was referred to in the United States, meant lively, crisp clothes, playful inventiveness, a disregard for the differences between daytime wear and evening wear, as well as formal and non-formal wear, and an ever-decreasing skirt length. While Quant may be recognized as the creator of the mini, she credits its invention to the girls on King's Road. Quant claimed, "I was making easy, youthful, simple clothes in which you could move, in which you could run and jump and we would make them the length the customer wanted. I wore them very short and the customers would say 'shorter, shorter.'"[12]

By 1966, Quant's mini skirt was responsible for the rising hems of skirts across the globe, aided in part by the growing youth fashion movement. The youthful playfulness that grew out of the late 1950's allowed the 15-29 year old age group to become the number one supporters of the fashion industry.[13]

While the uniforms of Expo 67 certainly drew influence from the youthful nature of the women who would be wearing them, many of the designs looked as though they could have been worn by 1960s style icon, Jacqueline Kennedy (1929 – 1994). Kennedy's classic and iconic ensembles embodied American sportswear. During her time as First Lady (1961 – 1963), Kennedy sported clean suits with conservative skirts that hit at the knee, three-quarter sleeved jackets with a notch-collar, sleeveless A-line dresses, above the elbow gloves, low-

heeled pumps, and pillbox hats. Her ensembles, designed by American designer Oleg Cassini, were modest but fashion forward. By the mid-1960s, Kennedy opted for more youthful outfits, trading her conservative skirts for wide-legged pantsuits, large lapel jackets, gypsy skirts, silk head scarves, and large, round, dark sunglasses (fig, 8). In addition to these bolder pieces, she also opted for brighter colours and patterns instead of the muted palette she was fond of during her husband, John F. Kennedy's presidency.

It is important to mention that while it appears as if the general hostesses of Expo 67 served as the face of the fair, there were other women working as hostesses at each of the pavilions at the event. Each pavilion had a cultural theme and featured hostesses chosen from their native countries, with each hostess donning their own individualized uniforms (which differentiated them from the general hostesses of Expo) that emphasized the multicultural nature of Expo 67. These women were visual and linguistic indicators of their respective nation in the same manner that the general hostesses of Expo 67 were supposed to represent the Canadian context of the event. This variety of ethnicities and uniforms reminded the visitor that the world had come to Expo 67.

The majority of the national and theme pavilion uniforms were visually similar to those that Robichaud designed for the general hostess role. The United States pavilion featured a modified A-length cut dress by famous sportswear designer Bill Blass, who at the time had designed for Jacqueline Kennedy. The British pavilion featured Mod-inspired dresses designed by British designer Roger Nelson. The British hostesses were clearly meant to stand out – when seated, their skirts barely reached mid-thigh. Designer Jean Louis Scherrer dressed the French pavilion hostesses in silver lamé, while the German hostesses had a more militaristic uniform of grey suits and orange accessories.

Other pavilions opted to dress their hostesses in their country's traditional garb. The

Indians of Canada pavilion featured aboriginal hostesses who wore a tan, knee-length skirt, with a matching jacket, embroidered with a native inspired orange print.[14] The uniforms found at Africa Place were influenced by custom African dress – floor length one piece dresses in batiked fabrics. The hostesses of Thailand wore a green and yellow striped floor length dresses with a matching green-fitted jacket, while and the Japanese hostesses wore a printed kimono. These uniforms were much more stereotypical than those of the general hostesses and the more influential nations such as Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. They focused on native forms of dress, disregarding the fashion trends at the time.

Much work remains to be done on the design of the uniforms for the national and theme pavilions of Expo 67, their connections with ideas of gender, race and nation. I have chosen, however, to focus on the general hostess uniform, as it is the most recognizable uniform of Expo 67. The role that the general hostesses played at Expo 67 was in this way much larger than the role that the individual pavilion hostesses played. The hostesses themselves became the image of the event as evidenced by the promotional material and subsequent collectibles that emerged from the popularity of the Expo, which all reflected the hostesses omnipresent status.

By 1965, the premise of sex had become the message of the airlines. In 1965, Braniff International hired designer Emilio Pucci (fig. 9), to design new uniforms for the stewardesses, known as "hosties."[15] To quote advertising executive Mary Wells, who was responsible for the hiring of Pucci, "when a tired businessman gets on an airplane, we think he ought to be allowed to look at a pretty girl."[16] With Pucci's worldwide fame, Braniff worded their recruitment brochure to attract only the best: "A Braniff International hostess is a beautiful person…a friend to everyone who boards her plane…She is a model in how to

walk, talk, sit, stand, apply make-up properly and style her hair."[17]

The image of air stewardesses in the 1960s changed the options for young, working women. Until the invention of the air stewardess, women worked a variety of jobs, both in and out of the home. During the 1800s, many of the young, female workers were single as they worked away from the home, while those that were married tended to take on jobs that were more flexible around their domestic demands. During this time, in some industries such as the garment industry, employers enforced strict guidelines around marriage and age. Much like the airline stewardesses, these workers needed to be under 25 and unmarried.[18]

With their sexy and liberating uniforms, air stewardesses became seen as equal to models or rock stars in the world of fashion while becoming an intrinsic part of an airline's visual identity. They embodied the current fashion industry trends of movement. To quote Radner, "in the 1960s fashion photography and women's fashion was 'on the move' as a result of the confluence of a number of factors, which eventually would produce the very vocal feminisms of the 1970s. In the 1960s second-wave feminism was only beginning to understand itself as such; however it was preceded by the consolidation of a new feminine ideal."[19] This new feminine ideal of single, youthful and modern womanhood made its way to the working world in the 1950's and 60's, most notably in the uniforms of airline stewardesses at the time.

The Quasi Uniform

According to Nathan Joseph, author of *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, "occupational clothing is any dress that indicates participation in a specific type or general category of jobs…The most precise are quasi uniforms which approach uniforms in that they describe an organization and suppress individuality but lack the cachet of legitimacy conferred by a

government."[20] In this context, then, 1960s air stewardess uniforms of airlines at the time and the hostesses uniforms of Expo 67 fall into the category of what Joseph refers to as a quasi uniform (fig. 10).

The quasi uniform is a type of clothing that enables the wearer to perform their given role in their occupational setting. Quasi uniforms are often associated with nongovernmental organizations, such as: hospitals, merchant ships, railroads, religious orders, and airlines. The quasi uniform does not draw its authority from organizational usage, but by a set of associate professional standards that govern the private bureaucracies (i.e., most if not all airlines have a prescribed uniform - coat, blouse, skirt, jacket). The uniform, the visual indicator of the wearer's role, differentiates the wearer from the client and emphasizes their role and importance. The uniform also facilitates interaction between wearer and client, giving assurance to the client of the wearer's competency in his/her given role. Occupational dress also fundamentally assumes that the wearer will downplay their personal beliefs and instead promote the ideology of the organization that represents their occupation.[21] The uniform is then intended to stifle the wearer's ability to express their personal beliefs in favour of the beliefs of the employer.

According to Joseph the quasi uniform has the ability to be rejected by the wearer. The wearer can render the quasi-uniform invalid as a means of standardized communication if they choose to reject the work status and meaning of the uniform. In doing so, the quasi uniform's strength is limited by the influence of the wearer. Their personal beliefs may prevent them from fully accepting the status that accompanies their uniform and such an inability to accept its full status renders the quasi-uniform invalid. To quote Joseph, "Wearers cannot, or will not, permit the master status to become dominant, at least not to the

extent desired by the organization."[22]

The pale blue uniform of Expo 67, then, in this context, attempts to code the body through wearing. The uniform's goal is to suppress the individuality of the user in order to promote the agenda of the issuer. The uniform takes away or neutralizes the threat of the newly emancipated, self-sufficient woman. The women working at Expo were confronted with this idea each time they put their uniform on. By working at Expo, they had to sacrifice their self-expression in order to embrace the very feminine roles in their paradoxical move towards independence. In a way, then, the uniform and the fashion of the hostesses, stewardess, and the single girl reflect this ambivalence. These women were given clothing that reflected their youthful nature, their unattachment, and their cosmopolitanism. Yet at the same time, the rules about how to wear this clothing relegated these women to a patriarchal world of strict bodily display. The women at Expo,[23] then, used their clothing and their training to allow them to gain a greater sense of freedom and independence.

The Expo 67 official hostess handbook states, "If several hostesses are working in the same premises, their dress must be identical. The wearing of the raincoat and boots is left to the discretion of the hostess."[24] The handbook also provides strict guidelines concerning the care of one's uniform; its importance in the context of Expo is quite evident. The uniform was to be worn only during working hours and was to be dry-cleaned only by the Expo Corporation ensuring that each uniform was cleaned to the same set of standards, maintaining its uniformity (fig. 11). These new rules suggest how each and every hostess was meant to possess a uniform that was no different from the woman next to her, as they have been cleaned and tailored to regulation. This was done to enforce the standards of uniformity and ensure that each hostess was properly adhering to the rules set forth by the Expo Corporation.

This is an example of the quasi uniform at play. Providing that the Expo hostesses followed the obligations of wearing their identical uniforms without individual deviation or adaptation, they conveyed an image of obedience, subservience and sameness.

Airline stewardess uniforms at the time inspired the Expo 67 general hostess uniform. Montreal born designer Michel Robichaud (fig. 1), who had previously designed uniforms for Air Canada and such well-known Montreal names as Mrs. Corinne Lesage, Mrs. Andrée Bourassa, Mrs. Marie-Claire Drapeau, and actress Elizabeth Taylor, was responsible for the general uniform, among several other Expo pavilion uniforms (figs. 2, 3 and 4).[25] The official uniform consisted of a light blue A-line polyester knee length skirt, white blouse, matching three-quarter length sleeve blazer, and a light blue, navy, and white pillbox hat. The uniform was completed with a set of low-heeled navy pumps and a matching blue handbag. Also included with the uniform was a white vinyl raincoat, complete with a hood that resembled a space helmet (fig. 12).

According to the *Expo 67 Official Handbook*, the Expo general hostess uniform consisted of: 1 hat, 2 jackets, 2 skirts, 3 blouses, 4 sets of cuffs (attachable to the jacket), 2 sets of navy shoes, 1 handbag, 1 Expo pin, 2 pairs of white gloves, 1 raincoat with hood, and 1 pair of boots (fig. 13). There were strict guidelines regarding this distinctive occupational dress. The uniform and accessories remained the property of Expo, unless purchased by the hostess for a fee of $25 at the end of the exhibition.[26] The hostess was responsible for each item at all times and was required to replace any item at cost if lost or damaged. No part of the uniform could be changed for a non-regulation item at any time.

According to the Expo handbook, while on duty, the hostess was required to wear both her hat and jacket at all times, although the hat was allowed to be removed when in

offices and at the personnel cafeteria. Stockings were also required to be worn at all times, in a neutral colour in order to maintain uniformity. These seemingly harsh regulations for the 1960s only served to constrain the hostesses, but this constraint would be short-lived. The restrictions of the uniform were in some cases transitive; the women in question (Bohm and Mannsfeldt) over time would use the tools about dress learned to become independent single, modern women who were not required to follow strict rules of dress and behaviour any longer.

Though both the air stewardesses and Expo hostesses were required to follow the strict regulations regarding their outfits, one group managed to escape some of the subservient and confining elements of their quasi uniform. For hostess Carolyn Bohm, this meant making no changes to her uniform and projecting the grace and poise that was stressed during the training process. For hostess Sybilla Mannsfeldt (fig. 14), this meant occasionally rolling her skirt up an inch or two above regulation length some days after uniform checks to be a little more rebellious.[27] Both former hostesses agreed that the image they conveyed for the corporation was extremely important, as they were the face of Expo 67.

Mannsfeldt's small yet brazen act of rebellion against the quasi uniform and therefore the Expo organization, as a whole, may be indicative of the women's transition. Bohm and Mannsfeldt were transitioning by changing the outfit to suit their individual needs and incorporating this into their ultimate embodiment of the modern, single girl at work. Thus, the uniform not only serves as a standardized indicator of status, but it is also an indicator of a wearer's transitional status. Every woman who put on the Expo 67 general uniform had a choice: to rebel, to reinterpret its intended meaning and re-imagine their clothes in a way that expressed her wants. In this way, Mannsfeldt's choices are an indicator of her transformation

– when speaking with her, she made known that her time at Expo made her more outgoing and much stronger as an independent young woman in the 1960s.[28]

The History of Airline Stewardesses

In the United States Department of Labor's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles,*[29] an "airplane hostess" is defined as:

> "*Airline Hostess* (also called *Airline Stewardess, Flight Attendant* and, sometimes, *Purser*) - an aircraft crew member assigned to duty in the cabin of an airliner to serve the comfort and convenience of passengers and maintain the security of the cabin in flight. Greets passengers as they board …Keeps the cabin tidy and renders any other reasonable service to make the passengers' trip as pleasant and enjoyable as possible."[30]

Despite being very detailed, the duties outlined above in the Department of Labor's standardized description of an airplane hostess do not capture the full extent of a prospective stewardess's requirements. When considered with the quote below, taken from an interview excerpt with a former Trans World Airline stewardess, the role of the airline hostess becomes considerably clearer: "Are you: Under 30 years of age? Unmarried? Between five-foot, two-inches, and five-foot, six-inches? Under 125 lb.? Is your smile friendly and sincere? Posture erect and poised? Hair short and styled? Then, perhaps, you qualify as an air stewardess!"[31] If one is to consider the two quotes together as a complete description of an airline hostess, then their role in the 1960s as glamour stewardess, is much more evident.

It was in 1964 that a shift in the hiring protocol for airline stewardesses began.

Before World War II, over 1000 stewards and stewardesses were employed by United States airlines. This number doubled by 1945 and in 1955, over 6000 people were employed in the cabin. While original hiring protocol required that stewardesses be registered nurses, by 1965, employers sought women who had completed some college or possessed some business experience. After the war, young women were presented with the opportunity for higher education and for those that took it, job opportunities awaited. The change in hiring requirements caused a growth in demand for employment, with American Airlines estimating that it would interview over 15,000 women for 1,000 positions in 1957.[32]

The new stewardesses were expected to treat passengers much like guests in their own home. It was their "emotional labour" which became their essential quality, in which sociologist Arlie Hochschild describes as "their female nature, made a commodity and put to work by their employers."[33] In Peter Lyth's 2009 article, "Think of Her as Your Mother: Airline Advertising and the Stewardesses in America, 1930-1980", he states that by the 1960s, women were employed as stewardesses because of their sex and were highly valued because they brought their so-called home-making instincts to flight. Similarly, a Delta Airlines through their training school of the era, encouraged stewardesses to extend themselves to welcome airline passengers in the cabin much like they would in their own home.[34]

The official hiring application (fig. 15) for many of the airlines seems oddly familiar when compared to the official hostess hiring application for Expo 67. American Airlines, for example, used a standardized process of recruitment and selection that began with the dispersal of applications to hospitals, and later to colleges and newspapers, in order to attract the right candidates. Interested parties would fill out a basic application, pertaining to

education and experience, interests and hobbies, but were expected to note their height and weight, as well as provide an "objective" assessment of their appearance. If necessary, they were to "eliminate themselves from consideration if they found themselves lacking."[35]

The hiring procedures for many airlines at this time were severe and sexist, with only a handful of candidates being hired out of thousands of applicants. Why was it necessary for hiring standards to be so strict? An airline stewardess was the face of the airline (the airline could be particular, since so many qualified women were looking for work). It was the stewardess who relayed information from the cockpit as an in-flight authority figure, the stewardess who served coffee to patrons, the stewardess who handled an unruly passenger with, it was hoped, charm and poise. Regardless of class or economic background, the most important requirement beyond looks, was to possess the ability to meet customer demands. According to historian Kathleen M. Barry, "the stewardess acted as both companion and servant to white, affluent, and mostly male passengers, thus walking a fine line between difference and gregariousness. She had to seem capable of offering to shine one passenger's shoes, soothe the nerves of the next with pleasant conversation, and tactfully decline a date from another."[36]

Much like the hostesses of Expo 67, preferred candidates for jobs in airlines had to be single, which according to many career guides, "meant being respectably innocent of, but available for, marriage."[37] Additionally, it was important for prospective hostesses to have possessed beauty typical of what the airlines referred to as "the well-bred American type."[38] The ideal stewardess needed to be Caucasian, have good teeth, clear skin, clean, glossy hair and no evident physical imperfections, which included corrective eyewear. Interested candidates also needed to have possessed good grace and poise, and the ability to charm

passengers and make them feel at ease during flight.

As at Expo 67, the successful applicants were required to attend an intensive training seminar, which outlined their duties and went into great detail regarding their physical appearance. Stewardesses were expected to adhere to rigorous instructions on how to style one's hair (at times, an appointed stylist would recommend the ideal look for each stewardess), which colours of nail polish were allowed (the universal admissible colour – red), and how to care for and wear one's uniform correctly.[39]

Renate Gasber's 2000 article for *Maclean's Magazine* recalls her hiring procedure with Trans-Canada Airlines (now Air Canada) in the 1960s and the mandatory checks that followed. She notes that submitting to a yearly weigh-in, cutting hair that extended below the earlobes (including ponytails and buns) and wearing a girdle at all times was mandatory. Furthermore, during training, one's overall style was subject to approval by the head stewardess. By the end, she says, "It was like we were coming out of a factory."[40]

A 1961 American Airlines recruitment document states, "At Stewardess College, a staff of professionals is on hand to help you learn proper hair-styling, tricks of good grooming, make-up and figure improvement. You'll learn to walk, talk, and think with new poise"[41] (fig. 16). Once hired, the stewardesses were responsible for maintaining the looks that helped them get their jobs. They were regularly inspected to make sure they still fulfilled the height, weight, and uniform requirements. According to a former Continental Airlines hostess, "[o]ur total appearance was observed at all times by our supervisors. Any hostess who did not meet standards could be sent home without pay."[42] From these stern regulations, it is evident that working as a woman in the 1960s meant appearance was tantamount. The standards and procedures of major airlines in hiring front-line female staff is

powerfully reflected in the Expo 67 hiring and training procedures.

Johni Smith's book, *How to be a Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual,* from 1966, served as a starting point for young women considering a career in the skies. Smith outlines the main characteristics that a young woman must possess in order to be considered for hiring. It is these standards of appearance, uniformity, and behaviour that I argue influenced the Expo 67 hostess hiring and training project.

By the mid 1960s, airlines across the globe had developed a standardized measure (fig. 17) for their hostess program. To be considered, the applicant needed to be between 20 and 28 years of age, with preference given to the younger applicants. Older applicants were considered, particularly if they were a registered nurse or possessed similar experience, but to quote Smith,

> "One should not confuse 'maximum age' with 'retirement age,' the age at which some airlines require their stewardesses to retire from flight duty... Most companies, however, have no such requirement and continue to employ their stewardesses, regardless of age, as long as they maintain an attractive appearance and satisfactory on-duty performance, and remain single!"[43]

In addition to age, an applicant needed to be between 5'1" and 5'8" (in order to reach the overhead cabins without feeling cramped) and their weight needed to be in proportion to their height (though regulations did state a preferred 104-140 pounds).

Airlines also sought single applicants, as the job was extremely demanding and chosen women needed to be free of any external obligations. By the 1960s, airlines began to include divorcees and widows who did not have any children, in addition to the

aforementioned single girls. Yet at the same time, many airlines still required that an employee resign from her post if she married. This is to reinforce the image of the single and willing stewardess, showing that the woman in question had no familial attachments and was free and ready to see the world. If she were to be working, she need not have a family that demanded her attention.

Preferred applicants also possessed some degree of education. To be considered for employment, a young woman needed to have a high school diploma plus two years of public contact work, one year of business plus one or two years of college, or two years of college or three years of public contact work. Most airlines preferred one year or more of college and/or a year or more of public contact work.[44]

An attractive appearance and a pleasing personality also served as part of the baseline for each of the airlines standards, but many sought girls fitting a slightly different description. To quote Smith, "Some seem to prefer 'the all-American-girl look,' others want 'personality plus,' still others consider intelligence the most important attribute…"[45]

In addition to physical requirements, airlines also required that chosen applicants had "a way with people."[46] In order to determine if an individual applicant possessed the dignity, dependability and hospitality the airlines wished to convey to their passengers, the airlines gave aptitude tests and interviews. According to these tests, there were six elements that comprised a pleasing personality: dignity and poise, intelligence seasoned with common sense, conversational ability, good speech and a pleasant voice, a sense of humour and vitality.[47]

A Hostess on the Ground

After an examination of these requirements that airlines had been developing since the late 1930s, it is easy to see the influence they had on Expo 67 and its hostess hiring procedure. It was in early 1965 that the search for Expo hostesses began, with a call for applicants published in magazines and newspapers across Canada, in addition to *Expo Journal*, a monthly newspaper published in the two years leading up to the event that often featured advertisements and articles announcing the search for 250 women that would become the Expo 67 general hostess. Women interested in applying had to meet nine requirements to be considered for the position:

1. Between 20 and 35 years of age.

2. Bilingual, French and English, with special consideration in salary for those proficient in other languages as well.

3. Preferably single.

4. High school graduate (grade eleven) or equivalent.

5. Intelligent.

6. Physically fit.

7. Attractive, neat, and pleasant personality.

8. Good character.

9. Canadian citizenship.

The March 1965 issue of *Expo Journal* featured a half page comic that stresses these

criteria (fig. 18). The comic depicts a rather large woman being measured by Expo officials, with the caption "Frankly, you won't be able to become an Expo hostess!"

The application for Expo hostesses expressed interest in these standards of beauty (figs. 19 and 20). On the application were sections asking for details of the applicant's height, weight, marital status, and physical imperfections (if any). While it is not explicitly addressed on the application, class and race did factor into one's ability to serve as a hostess. To be chosen as a hostess, you needed to have what some would call "the look," which based on the visual evidence of Expo advertisements, meant among other things, Caucasian (fig. 21). In addition, candidates were more likely to come from a higher social-economic standing in order to support oneself on such a menial salary (therefore economically self-selecting).[48]

The 250 chosen women would be responsible for working 40 hours a week, divided between two shifts that fell between 9:30am and 9:30pm. The monthly salary, as reported by the *Expo Journal,* was $360 CAD per month, which equates to $2311.48 CAD in 2010. The hostess would work for nine months and would also undergo a 10-week training process prior to the Expo start date.

The Expo 67 general hostess training program and guidelines can be seen to echo airline-training techniques. The *Expo 67 Official Hostess Handbook* (fig. 22) outlines every aspect of the hostess' role at Expo. According to the handbook (fig. 23), the first responsibility of the hostess is to inform and guide the visitor and as emphasized in the book, with a constant smile. In order to appropriately appease the visitor, during the exhibition training process, each hostess was fully educated on: Canadian geography, history, economics as well as proper etiquette and first aid.

Each of the 250 general hostesses reported to the Chief Hostess, Mrs. Pierrette Poulin, and needed to strictly abide by her orders. Each hostess was placed under probation during the training period until May 15, 1967 and could be dismissed at any time if deemed unsuitable for the position. According to the handbook, the role of the hostess consisted of four distinct elements: welcoming, guiding, assisting, and informing each visitor who passed through the Expo 67 gates.

The general hostesses would be stationed in high traffic areas, namely: information booths, the Place d'accueil, the International Trade Center, the Hospitality Pavillion, in the Theme buildings, and would also be responsible for escorting journalists and high profile visitors. In an interview with former hostess Carolyn Bohm, a former hostess, she disclosed that she was one of the few hostesses responsible for leading Princess Grace around the Expo grounds (fig. 24)[49].

In addition to outlining the role of the hostesses, the handbook also goes into great detail about the appearance of the women serving as hostesses (fig. 25). To quote, "you have been selected as an Expo hostess because you exemplify special qualities. Your poise is unaffected, your smile is sincere. You recognize that friendliness goes beyond perfunctory formality - but stops short of the suggestions of intimacy."[50] It is evident by this quote that the Expo hostess was expected to possess the poise and grace of an airline stewardess - the ability to be charming yet powerful at the same time. Reminiscent of the grooming requirements for airline stewardesses, the Expo hostess handbook also outlined specific hair and makeup guidelines. Light make-up was preferred, with a "cosmetic accent" allowed on one's eyes and lips. The hostesses' hair must have been worn neatly at all times, preferably at least one inch above the collar. No jewellery was allowed, unless it was a small

wristwatch or a small set of pearl earrings. These women were in effect to represent the model for modern femininity. Based on the guidelines and restrictions, the women chosen were representative of the standard of what the "ideal woman" should be.

While the Expo handbook is not as in-depth as airline stewardess regulations regarding standards of beauty and appearance, based on interviews with former hostesses, it is clear that appearance regulations were in effect. Carolyn Bohm explained the situation in which she was approached:

> So she said, they're still interviewing, they need a few more – I hear that Monique Archambault, who was head of the Expo at the time, was hiring people still for the Expo, and she said, I think you should get yourself down there. I applied and I was interviewed very quickly because this was after Christmas of '67 and they had already done all of their hiring. And she [Archambault] hired me on the spot.[51]

Evidently, beauty was a very strong determining factor regarding who was hired and who was not. Based on evidence of airline stewardess hiring in much of the same manner (i.e. eliminating candidates because they did not meet the beauty standards and scrutinizing each aspect of an applicant's appearance before rendering a decision as to whether they were fit for service), it is no wonder that Expo adopted the same protocol. Essentially, the women working as hostesses at Expo 67 were the face of the event, daily interacting directly with visitors. In a way, these women were much like flight attendants – they were embarking on an international journey in which they would explore and interact with a variety of cultures (on the ground instead of in the air). By wearing their Expo uniform, they were becoming the face of the event, much like the stewardesses becoming the face of the airline.

Ms. Bohm also stressed the importance of the training that the hostesses underwent as part of their service: "some of the girls didn't quite make the mark but they were kept on because that was okay, as long as they conformed. Today it wouldn't work because of all this human rights stuff but you had to conform, and I believe in that. You got a job, that's the way we do things here. You don't like it, leave."[52] Conformity was enforced through training and, in their role, was as necessary as the uniform.

The handbook also states that a hostess in uniform was prohibited from partaking in any of the following activities (fig. 26): "dance, drink alcoholic beverages, smoke, chew gum, or wear sunglasses while performing her official duties."[53] A hostess on duty was also prohibited from accepting invitations from persons that she was accompanying unless having received prior authorization from the chief hostesses. Clearly, it was not just appearance but behaviour that was delineated, as well, ultimately stripping the women of much of their freedom.

These behaviour guidelines are an important facet of the hostesses' experience of working at Expo 67. At Expo, their experience served as an indicator of a change of mental state and deportment: the women working at Expo were groomed to fit their new role. Yet at the same time, the hiring criteria also emphasized more abstract values such as: intelligence, youth, "good character," availability, and the kind of independence that Radner says characterizes the "single girl." The list of criteria (found on the official call for applications) appeared on every subsequent hiring call for the general hostesses and was also reflected on their official application. In certain cases, according to historian Bruno Paul Stenson, "you [were] chosen just because [you were] associated with a prestigious event or [you had] got certain connections but you absolutely [had] to fit the age, weight, height, and physical

appearance characteristics."[54]

In this case, the event that he is referring to is the Winter Carnival of Quebec, in which a queen and a duchess would be elected and then those elected officials were used in advertising campaigns for the hostess hiring process. According to Mr. Stenson, "There's no end to uses of an Expo 67 hostess."[55] In a way, this refers to the versatility of the Canadian landscape and the promotion of Canada through Expo 67 (figs. 27 and 28).

During the 1960s, Montreal was beginning to shape itself into the city it is today under the rule of Mayor Jean Drapeau. With Drapeau in power, the city undertook massive projects, creating the Montreal Metro system in 1966, constructing skyscrapers, such as Place Ville Marie, and welcoming the International World Exhibition of 1967. After World War II, the city began to transform itself from the social hardship that marked the Great Depression into a new, modern metropolis. The new projects revitalized growth, brought new jobs, and changed the shape of the city, helping to make it the metropolis that it is today.

For Canada, this meant playing the larger host to Expo 67 and welcoming international attention. In the months leading up to Expo 67, images of the hostesses appeared in newspapers across the country, including *Weekend Magazine* and the *Montreal Star*. The aim of this promotion was to entice visitors to attend Expo using images of gorgeous women. As Wallace astutely observes, "the theme may have been 'Man and his World,' but for many, Expo 67 was all about the women."[56]

The promotional material worked - *Expo Journal* could be found in taxis across Canada and featured advertisements in many newspapers. By April of 1966, when the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition released its press release, they had

already received 1,455 applications. When I spoke with Stenson, he told me an anecdote about an Expo hostess open call:

> The first cattle call for all these candidates so filled the hall that the officials really had no idea what to do. It was way too many people. So, on the loudspeakers, they called for the people to divide…Then once they had accomplished the parting of the Red Sea, the voice on the loud speaker came back and said 'those of you on the left side of the room, thank you very much for coming. Those of you on the right, please prepare to be interviewed.'[57]

The importance of the Expo 67 hostesses (fig. 29) is greatly overlooked in the scholarly discourse that surrounds the event. These women were chosen because they were beautiful and were trained to charm Expo visitors in the same manner as airline stewardesses. The women who worked at Expo were embodying new 1960s social roles.

Media professor Aurora Wallace discusses how important the hostesses were to the success of Expo 67, in her article, "Girl Watching at Expo 67." According to Wallace, the hostesses of Expo 67 were visual indicators of the new single girl, and the act of "hostess watching" became one of the main attractions of the fair.[58] In her article, she discusses the visual similarity of the positions held by Expo hostesses and airline stewardesses, and how women in both these professions were used to expresse the values of their employer. Being that both of these industries were male-dominated, the tastes and values of their male employers are reflected in both the clothing and the attitudes that were taught to the women in both scenarios. The women were dressed in modern outfits, complete with mini skirts, and were taught to be gracious towards every guest, to be available but not too available. This was occurring at a time in which, Wallace says, "modernity privileged the new and the

fashionable, in a reciprocal process that claimed the modern as fashionable and the fashionable as modern"[59] and allowed for this shift to be packaged and presented in the form of an Expo hostess.

The general Expo hostess uniform drew heavily from the uniforms of airline stewardesses, as designer Michel Robichaud had previously designed uniforms for Air Canada and he understood the role of the hostess, whether on the ground or in the air, was to reflect an air of, what Wallace refers to as, "glamour, style, and cosmopolitism."[60]

For Wallace the hostesses of Expo 67 became part of the landscape of the event, in which she states "the hostess was form and function, designed to exist in harmony with her environment."[61] The hostess uniforms also become part of their form and an indicator of their function, an argument that is similar to my discussion of the quasi uniform and serves as a point of departure for my discussion. Wallace's research focuses heavily on news articles published at the time of the event, drawing information from initial reactions to the hostesses and their uniforms. While these articles (and Wallace's own work) served as a starting point for my research, I chose to interview two women that worked as general Expo hostesses to understand what the experience was like for them. Using these experiences in conjunction with the Expo training manual, articles published at the time of the event, and with the 1966 airline stewardess training manual, I have attempted to build upon Wallace's research, specifically her discussion of how the hostesses of Expo 67 were to become the embodiment of the new single girl. At Expo, these women were to become new working women:

> They were chosen for their beauty, constantly on display, and clearly objects of male attention and desire, while at the same time they were enacting the new social roles for women in the 1960s – participating in the workforce, confidently claiming public

> space, and embracing new modern clothes as a way of liberating themselves. Expo 67 hostesses embodied the paradoxes and contradictions experienced by women outside the fair grounds, and as symbols of modernity they merit a closer look.[62]

If the women of Expo were, then, contradictory symbols of modernity, the comparison can be made that the hostesses of Expo 67 were embodying the paradoxical notion of the "single girl." A single girl is known to society by what she does, not to whom she may belong. For the single girl, her identity is formed by her role in the workplace and as a consumer, not her role in the home. For airline stewardesses at the time, they represented this idea to the full extent: - young women, unattached and full of life, playful and self-sufficient.

However, as self-sufficient as they purportedly were, these women were still constrained by standards of physical perfection and appropriate behaviour deemed a necessity by an external, authoritative source. These standards were not a true reflection of these women; rather, they were to be a reflection of the organization for which they worked. These organizations were often sexists, as many advertisements for Expo 67 use the image of the hostess to attract visitors to the event. The liberated "single girls" were not truly liberated at all.

In interviews with two former hostesses, I found this notion of the single girl to be inherently part of their stories, whether they were aware of the concept or not. Sybilla Mannsfeldt and Carolyn Bohm were both young women (23 and 24 respectively) upon being hired to serve as general hostesses at the event. Both had minimal work experience and were seeking to prove that they were capable of supporting themselves. During their time at Expo, they both had the opportunity to take on a new identity based on normative roles of

femininity in which they were not automatically forced. Instead, they were given the opportunity to work and earn an income, which allowed for these women, post-Expo, to experience the world without needing to be dependent on others (specifically men). Yet, the people to whom they would be exposed would still view them as an object of beauty to be used for their own purposes (specifically men). While not forced, these women were still required to rely on antiquated ideas of femininity to enable them to have the jobs they desired.

However, as I will discuss in the next section, because of the design of their uniforms and training and because the process of becoming a hostess at Expo was freeing, they did ultimately retain control and become the self-sufficient "single girls" they set out to be.

The Hostesses' Transition

In an excerpt from the *Expo 67 Memorial Album*, the trip from downtown Montreal to the site of Expo via the new metro is described as a *rite de passage*, one in which the visitor leaves behind the old world and ventures into a new state, where they experience a new set of values and sights.

If Expo 67 is examined on a micro level, the event can also be seen as a transformation for the hostesses, as well. The hostesses were performing a dual role at Expo: they were trained and groomed to express certain feminine ideals, such as hospitality and beauty, through their behaviour, grooming, and uniforms. Additionally, they were serving as cultural ambassadors and communicators. It was in this role that they shed traditional female roles of maternity and subservience, serving instead as the ubiquitous educated guides within the confines of Île Sainte-Hélène.

For both the hostesses of Expo 67 and airline stewardesses of the era, the uniform

served as a means to code the body. Their uniforms were contemporary and both sexualized and desexualized the body of the wearer. Airline stewardess uniforms were much more sexual, with thigh-length skirts and low cut tops; they were the sex symbols of the air. At Expo, the uniforms were much more conservative and it was up to the wearer to interpret their uniform in a way that expressed their sexuality, if they so desired. Both of the uniforms were quasi uniforms, which they were expected to wear according to regulation, to express the beliefs of their employer, but through which they could also rebel, by interpreting their uniform in their own way.

Understanding how the hostess general uniform served as a quasi uniform at Expo 67, it is important to consider how the uniform, and codes of dress and behaviour for women in general, took away or neutralized the threat of the newly emancipated, self-sufficient woman. Since the Victorian era, women and their dress have been a huge threat to society. For example, when we examine the clothing that women wore while riding bicycles or horses, those outfits at the time were deemed scandalous. Over time, pants became acceptable wear, thanks to bicycling, but their shock to the world could be compared to the mini skirt of the 1960s.[63] Its initial appearance brought scandal to the world of fashion but inspired a generation.

At Expo, the young women working had grown up in the 1950s and were used to more strict forms of dress. For many, it was understood that self-expression had to be sacrificed and conformity and very traditional feminine roles had to be embraced in order to undertake this paradoxical move towards independence. While they were living out the "single girl" mentality, they understood that their uniform was an inhibitor and would need to find ways, if they felt it was warranted, to express their personal identity.

Before Expo, many of these women or similar women would fill roles of domestic servitude as a career, with some working as shop clerks, waitresses, laundresses, and janitresses (all still distinctly feminine roles). To quote Alice H. Cook in the Introduction to *From Sky Girl to Flight Attendant: Women and the Making of a Union*, "From the beginning the flight attendants were treated like daughters of Victorian, middle-class families, girls who needed protection during the few months they would work. It was expected, of course, that they would not question the decisions of their employers or of the captains in the cockpits, and that they would just as unquestioningly stop work after they married."[64]

Accordingly, women were not seen in the same regard in the working world. They were still expected to fill roles of subservience and relied on their appearance and availability in order to escape that role. Yet at Expo, and with the stewardesses of the 1960s, I argue that the hostesses were able to overcome the subservient nature that previously ruled female employment and transition into a role in which they could become self-sufficient. I believe that the hostesses' uniform, when combined with their rigorous training, made the experience of working at Expo 67 a time in which the young women working their were able to transform and embrace the notion of the single girl.

And it was truly the single girl ideal that they were living: using their wealth of background education and experience and wearing their prescribed uniforms actually empowered them. No longer were they wallpaper for people to look at; these women were now in control of visitors to an extremely important cultural and social event. They were even responsible for showing Montreal and Expo to the most famous and well respected of guests, such as the Prime Minister of Madagascar. But the event as a transition into monetary and personal freedom is never more evident than after the event had ended. These "single

girls," though arguably employed for their looks and told how to behave, were able to use the money and respect they had earned working out of the home to do whatever they wished.

It is my understanding from speaking with several hostesses that the training program taught these women how to behave in a variety of social situations and to have the social capability to easily deal with visitors.

The iconic pale blue uniform was a visual indicator of their status within the confines of Expo 67. The uniform granted the women who wore it the feeling of being involved in a particular social group, one in which they were all equal in knowledge and experience, having completed the same required training program. It was the uniform that had the ability to code the body of the wearer and could be manipulated to express their desires.

In some cases, they had the opportunity to escort high profile clients, as Ms. Bohm informed me. She performed so well throughout the training and maintained the same level of enthusiasm and vigour that the chief hostess strived for each girl to possess.

It is also during this time that the "single girl" notion comes back into play. As part of their training process, the women handled questions from would-be suitors and press. In an interview conducted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on June 19, 1967, several hostesses were asked rather coy questions by the interviewer. Thanks in part to their training, they were able to maintain the "single girl" level of flirtation; they were able to humour the interviewer with coy answers, yet still maintain an air of self-sufficiency.[65] In the interview, one hostess states, "I really feel that I should put on a sign that says, please talk to me, I'm lonely, because I think some people are afraid to talk to us."[66] She goes on further to say that if any interested men did want to seek her affection, then she will be working at the event

occasionally if one is interested in revisiting.

If part of the idea of the "single girl" was for the subject to become more modern and worldly, then Expo was the place for this to occur. By the end of the event, the hostesses would have been exposed to all walks of life and would be able to handle them with the ease and grace of a poised modern woman.

In 1962, five years prior to the start of Expo 67, Helen Gurley Brown published *Sex and the Single Girl* (the influence for Radner's interpretation of the single girl). This text, an advice book for women, was extremely influential in encouraging women to become financially independent and sexually liberated. By 1963, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* had begun to make an impact on feminism. Her text argued that women confined to the home were wasting their talent and potential and limiting their possibilities in life. President John F. Kennedy's Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, combined with the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought change to women in the work force, making it easier for women to support themselves independently during this time of change.

In Canada, changes were occurring as well. The Canadian Bill of Rights was passed in 1960, making it illegal for discrimination to be made based on race, origin, colour, religion or sex. The Ontario Human Rights Code followed in 1962 and Quebec amended their Civil Code to give married women full legal rights in 1964.

I argue that these events made it possible for the hostesses of Expo 67 to have the ability to interpret their uniform and role in the working world in this way. The re-introduction of these women into society played a large impact on who they are today. When

interviewed, both women stated that their time spent at Expo had a large impact on their lives. Carolyn Bohm transitioned from a young, timid office worker into a much more confidant woman who, post-Expo, pursued a career in modelling to support herself. Sybilla Mannsfeldt went about her daily life as a much more poised and graceful woman, enjoying her young adulthood and ability to support herself by working following the event.[67] Hence, the training and skills that the women who worked at the event acquired were crucial to informing their behaviour later in life.

When I began this research project, I thought I would find that the time spent working at Expo 67 for these women had been positive. My findings have convinced me, however, that the time could be seen as quite oppressive. Based on my analysis of both the uniforms and the training of Expo hostesses and airline stewardesses at the time, I have come to believe that the work the hostesses of Expo did was often overlooked in much the same manner as that of an airline stewardess. To quote Barry, "…the ultimate challenge for postwar stewardesses was to perform *every* aspect of their multifaceted work with such unwavering charm and attractiveness that *none* of their labor was evident."[68]

The work performed by the hostesses was to be done quietly and with seemingly little effort. In a way, despite their transition to more modern figures, the hostesses were expected to behave in the same manner as they would if they were receiving guests in their own home. Their ability to perform their job was to mirror the natural ability that they have as figures of domesticity. I believe that their work was challenging in a way that they would have not been prepared for if they had not undergone proper training. The act of putting on their uniform every day signified their daily acceptance into a role where they are to be seen and not heard, yet the culmination of this daily acceptance would allow for the women who

served as hostesses at Expo 67 to gain a new freedom. Due to their emotional and physical labour, they were granted a new social role upon completion of their work – -the role of the single, modern girl. Throughout their transitioning process, they were working towards the ability to become self-sufficient, which was granted to them upon completion of their time at Expo 67, but not during the event. They received it through this experience because the experience of being a hostess segregated them from the normative standards during the period. While it was an arguably oppressive role to work in, it showed a different perspective of what a woman could be. Not only a homemaker but also a successful self-sufficient woman. This was a new and exciting prospect for that period. While they might not have been able to exercise their newfound single woman skills under the supervision of the Expo 67 environment, upon completion of the job, they were able to head out into the world with a new perspective that they could then apply in a real world context.

It is important to revisit how their uniforms both stifled and freed these women. Just as the notion of an Expo hostess as a single, modern woman was contradictory, so was the uniform. As aforementioned, the pale blue blouse, skirt and jacket allowed for the wearer to be part of a group of modern, self-sufficient working women. These women were, I believe, embodying the "single girl" idea through their work. However, the uniform also restricted their behaviour and prevented them from truly being free. It confined them to a group and forced them to conform to a standardized ideal of appearance, thus limiting their self-expression.

Conclusion

The 1960s were a time of transition. Women were finally able to have an identity outside of the home in part to Friedan's text and the 1963 Presidential Commission on the Status of Women that reported on gender inequality in the United States.[69] By 1964, many local, state, and federal women's organizations began to form and added momentum to the second-wave of feminism.

For flight attendants, the 1960s served as a time of great activism. Early in the history of flight, their job only required them to perform service and safety tasks, such as serving food and beverages, all while interacting with passengers and maintaining an air of calm in the cabin. As flight as a means of travel grew in popularity, their job placed much more emphasis on customer interaction, and standards changed in the post-war years. By the 1960s, as stewardesses became the face of the airlines and marketing tools for the airline companies, they were to be well groomed and poised at all times. Thus, they had become more than simply "waitresses in the sky."

It was their faces that graced airline advertisements and was used as a selling point to attract customers to the airlines. The sum of their labour was to perform tasks of femininity, performing what Kathleen Barry refers to as "working to look, move, and emote as white, middleclass, heterosexual standards dictated for women."[70]

Yet before second wave feminism, this was not viewed as real work. As Barry states again, "Stewardesses, then, were doomed to have the discipline, effort, and skill they devoted to meeting airlines' ideal of feminine embodiment dismissed as simply what women naturally know how to do and want to do."[71]

If Expo 67 is viewed, however, as Jansson notes, as a transitional event for the city of Montreal, helping it become the booming tourist site it still is today, it was also a transitional event for the women who worked there. Thus, there is far more to the women who became the face of Expo, much like the women who were the face of the airlines that inspired the hostess image. They were not quite as "doomed" as Barry has stated. If the hostesses and stewardesses incorporated their highly trained skills of diplomacy and elegance into their lives beyond their current careers, there would be no end to what they could accomplish. With they, in this case, being Carolyn Bohm and Sybilla Mannsfeldt.

Throughout this thesis, it has been my aim to understand how the uniforms for both airline stewardesses and the hostesses of Expo 67 were contradictory in nature. Both the Expo 67 organization and the airlines set extremely high standards for their workers, dictating clothing and behaviour and it was these guidelines, though stultifying at the time, that ultimately enabled women in the 1960s to begin to possess their own power of beauty and intelligence, or the ability to navigate a world of sexist expectations in a strategic manner.

The uniforms of Expo hostesses and the clothing and training of 1960s flight attendants were the main focus of this thesis. The women that held such jobs were role models for working women everywhere. While simultaneously being hired for their beauty and malleability, these women with the pale blue blouses, skirts and caps became powerfully iconic.

The notion of the quasi-uniform is an integral part of my discussion of the hostesses and their performance at Expo. It is for this reason that I have contextualized my discussion of the hostesses of Expo 67 within the event and the history of fashion. The act of wearing the uniform within the confines of the event is a visual indicator of their work at Expo and

serves as crucial to their evolution through their transition. The uniform is an indicator of their ambivalence, as it expresses the freedom, liberty, and independence that came along with the idea of the single girl. Yet, there were rules and guidelines that were put into place to control the overall power that each woman had while wearing that uniform. The women used their clothing, training, and their jobs to their advantage in order to grow as individuals and gain greater freedom post-Expo 67.

The strongest evidence that supports the concept of the uniform as part of their transition is the *Expo 1967 Official Hostess Handbook.* Every facet of the hostesses' duties were rigorously detailed in this handbook and clearly centred around the proper wear and upkeep of the uniform as well as accepted standards of behaviour. The subservient nature of both hostess and flight attendant careers is obvious, yet, it is evident that they both truly embody the notion of the "single girl" at work: free and self-sufficient.

Both Expo hostesses and flight attendants were hired by the same set of requirements: physical beauty, charm and poise. Throughout my comparative analysis of these hiring procedures, I was able to discern the importance of the hostesses' ability to provide exceptional service in a public setting with never-ending grace. I have also made note that both roles required attention to beauty standards; these women were expected to be charming and have the desired look to keep male individuals entertained and interested.

With the increasing presence and influence of feminism and equal rights in the 1960s, there was a shift in the mentality of young women from the pre-war ideals of domesticity and maternity to Helen Gurley Brown's "single girl." It is this shift that inspired the transition of the women who worked at Expo 67. Expo 67 was a training ground for these women. Their skills in welcoming, guiding, assisting, and informing were tested, as well as their ability to be charming and well poised at all times. Their employment at the event served as the

transitional life event which provided them with the necessary skills to re-enter society as modern, self-sufficient young women.

Endnotes

[1] *Expo 67 Hostess Handbook* (Montreal: Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition: 1967), 1.

[2]I use the term "stewardess" here as it was the term used at the time, as seen from training manuals and hiring materials. The word stewardess was borrowed from ocean liners and was more indicative of the capacity of which the stewardess was there to assist you.

[33] In preparation for this study, I have consulted several well-known sources on visual culture, namely Margarita Dikovitskaya's *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual After the Cultural Turn* and W.J.T. Mitchell's *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*.

[4] Notable sources on Expo 67 include Rohna Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan's recently published *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir.* Other sources include the *Expo 67 Official Guide, Bill Bantey's Expo 67,* and Ray Grenier's *Inside Expo 67.*

[5] Hilary Radner, "On the Move: Fashion Photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s," in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, ed. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), 128.

[6] Elizabeth Ewing, "New looks for all from 1947," in *History of Twentieth Century Fashion*, rev. ed. (London: Chrysalis Books Group, 2005), 155.

[7] Ibid, 158.

[8] Hilary Radner, "On the Move: Fashion Photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s," in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, ed. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), 130.

[9] Susan Faludi, "American Electra: Feminism's Ritual Matricide," *Harper's*. October 2010, 40.

[10] Elizabeth Ewing, "The young explosion splits fashion from the late 1950s," in *History of Twentieth Century Fashion*, rev. ed. (London: Chrysalis Books Group, 2005), 179.

[11] The "Chelsea Girl" look consisted of a thigh-skimming knitted dress or skirt and a hip suede belt, with a blue-black work-wear donkey jacket, knee-high slouchy or buckled black

boots and baker boy hat and skinny scarf.

[12] Brenda Polan and Roger Tredre, "Mary Quant," in *The Great Fashion Designers* (New York: Berg Publishers, 2009), 103.

[13] Ibid., 105.

[14] Randal Roger's MA thesis, "Man and His World: An Indian, a Secretary and a Queer Child – Expo 67 and the Nation in Canada" is a notable source for discussing the Indians of Canada Pavilion.

[15] Keith Lovegrove, *Airline: Identity, Design, and Culture* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2000), 17.

[16] Ibid., 22.

[17] Ibid., 22.

[18] Joan W. Scott, "The Woman Worker," in *A History of Women In The West: IV: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War,* ed. Genevieve Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 404-407.

[19] Hilary Radner, "On the Move: Fashion Photography and the Single Girl in the 1960s," in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, ed. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), 128.

[20] Nathan Joseph*, Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication Through Clothing* (Greenwood Press, 1986), 143.
[21] Ibid., 145.

[22] Ibid., 153.

[23] Again, it is important to note that I am not claiming that this is true for every woman that worked at Expo, but based on my interviews with two women and their overall understanding of their own experiences and their friends experiences, I feel that I can make this assumption.

[24] *Expo 67 Hostess Handbook*, 6.

[25] Cynthia Cooper, *Musée Marsil Presents: Michel Robichaud, A 60s Retrospective* (Montreal: Musée Marsil, 1995), 2-3.

[26] Sybilla Mannsfeldt, interview by author, 7 January 2011, Montreal, QC, tape recording.

[27] Sybilla Mannsfeldt, interview by author, 7 January 2011, Montreal, QC, tape recording.

[28] Airline stewardesses at the time may have had the same opportunities to rebel, but for the purpose of this document, my focus is on the Expo 67 hostesses.

[29] Johni Smith, *How to be a Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses* (Hollywood: Pan American Navigation Service, Inc., 1966), 61.

[30] Ibid., 61.

[31] Gasber, Renate. "Tight Skirts, High Heels." *Maclean's*. 01 January 2000, 122.

[32] Suzanne Lee Kolm, "Women's Labor Aloft: A Cultural History of Airline Flight Attendants in the United States, 1930-1978" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1995), 134.

[33] Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (University of California Press, 2003), 127-129.

[34] Peter Lyth, "Think of Her as Your Mother: Airline Advertising and the Stewardesses in America, 1930-1980" in *Journal of Transport History* 30, no. 1 (June 2009), 6.

[35] Kolm, "Women's Labor Aloft: A Cultural History of Airline Flight Attendants in the United States, 1930-1978,"135-136.

[36] Kathleen Barry, *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007), 27.

[37] Ibid., 25.

[38] Ibid., 26.

[39] Ibid., 27.

[40] Gasber. "Tight Skirts, High Heels," 122.

[41] Barry, *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants,* 46.

[42] Ibid., 47-48.

[43] Smith, *How to be a Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses,* 11-12.

[44] Ibid. 16.

[45] Ibid., 22.

[46] Ibid., 26.

[47] Ibid., 48.

[48] This is problematic as it is disqualifying a large number of individuals based on their pre-existing socio-economic status and excluding those of lower social standing and of more impoverished cultural backgrounds.

[49] Bohm, interview.

[50] *Expo 67 Hostess Handbook,* 3.

[51] Carolyn Bohm, interview by author, 09 January 2011, Montreal, QC, tape recording.

[52] Bohm, interview.

[53] E*xpo 67 Hostess Handbook*, 4.

[54] Bruno Paul Stenson, interview by author, 11 January 2011, Montreal, QC, tape recording.

[55] Stenson, interview.

[56] Aurora Wallace, "Girl Watching at Expo 67," in *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir*, ed. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2010), 238.

[57] Stenson, interview.

[58] Aurora Wallace, "Girl Watching at Expo 67," in *Expo 67: Not Just a Souvenir*, ed. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan (University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2010), 240.

[59] Wallace, 263.

[60] Wallace, 248.

[61] Wallace, 243.

[62] Wallace, "Girl Watching at Expo 67," 239.

[63] Stella Blum, "Hourglass Figure," in *Victorian Fashions and Costumes From Harper's Bazar 1867 – 1898* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1978), 227.

[64] Georgia Panter Nielsen, *From Sky Girl to Flight Attendant: Women and the Making of a Union* (Ilr Pr, 1982), xvii.

[65] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, " Expo 67 hostesses discuss Canadian men," http://archives.cbc.ca/society/celebrations/clips/536/ (last updated August 14, 2009).

[66]Ibid.

[67]Mannsfeldt, interview.

[68] Kathleen M. Barry, "'Too Glamorous to Be Considered Workers': Flight Attendants and Pink-Collar Activism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America*," Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 3, no. 3 (September 2006): 122.

[69] Not to exclude that they worked outside of the home during World War II, but returned to stricter gender roles while suffering from a general cultural amnesia post-war.

[70] Barry, "Too Glamorous to Be Considered Workers': Flight Attendants and Pink-Collar Activism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America," 121.

[71] Ibid., 121.

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Figures

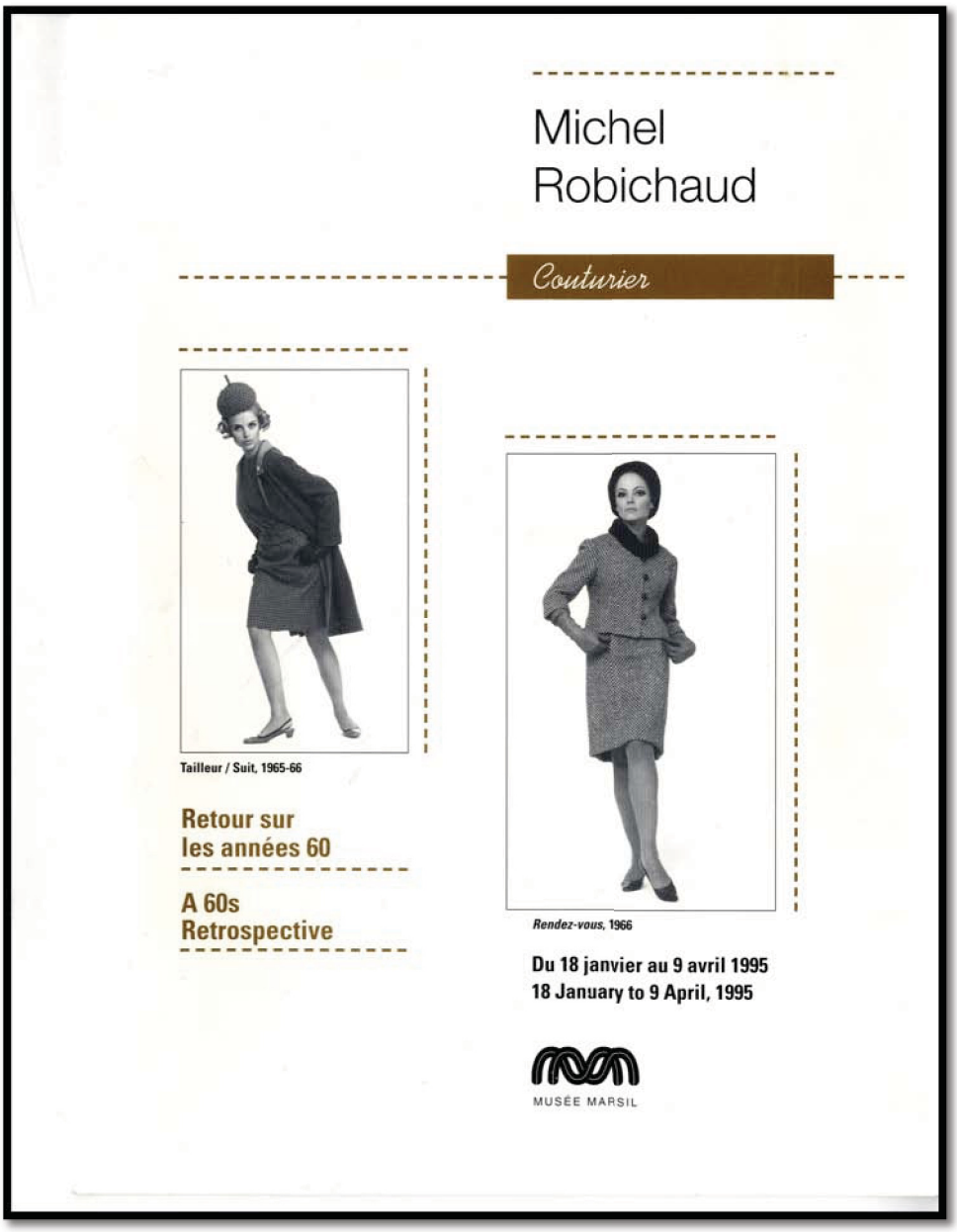

Figure 1: *Cover of the Musée Marsil's Michel Robichaud retrospective booklet*, published 1995. Musée Marsil.

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Robe et chapeau / Dress and hat, 1963

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Figure 2: *Page of the Musée Marsil's Michel Robichaud retrospective booklet*, published 1995. Musée Marsil.

Figure 3: *Host and Hostess of the Indians of Canada Pavilion, design by Michel Robichaud*, 1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019.

Figure 4: *Hostess of the Quebec Pavilion, design by Michel Robichaud*, 1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019.

Figure 5: *Image of Dior's New Look*. 1999. *The Twentieth Century,* p. 155.

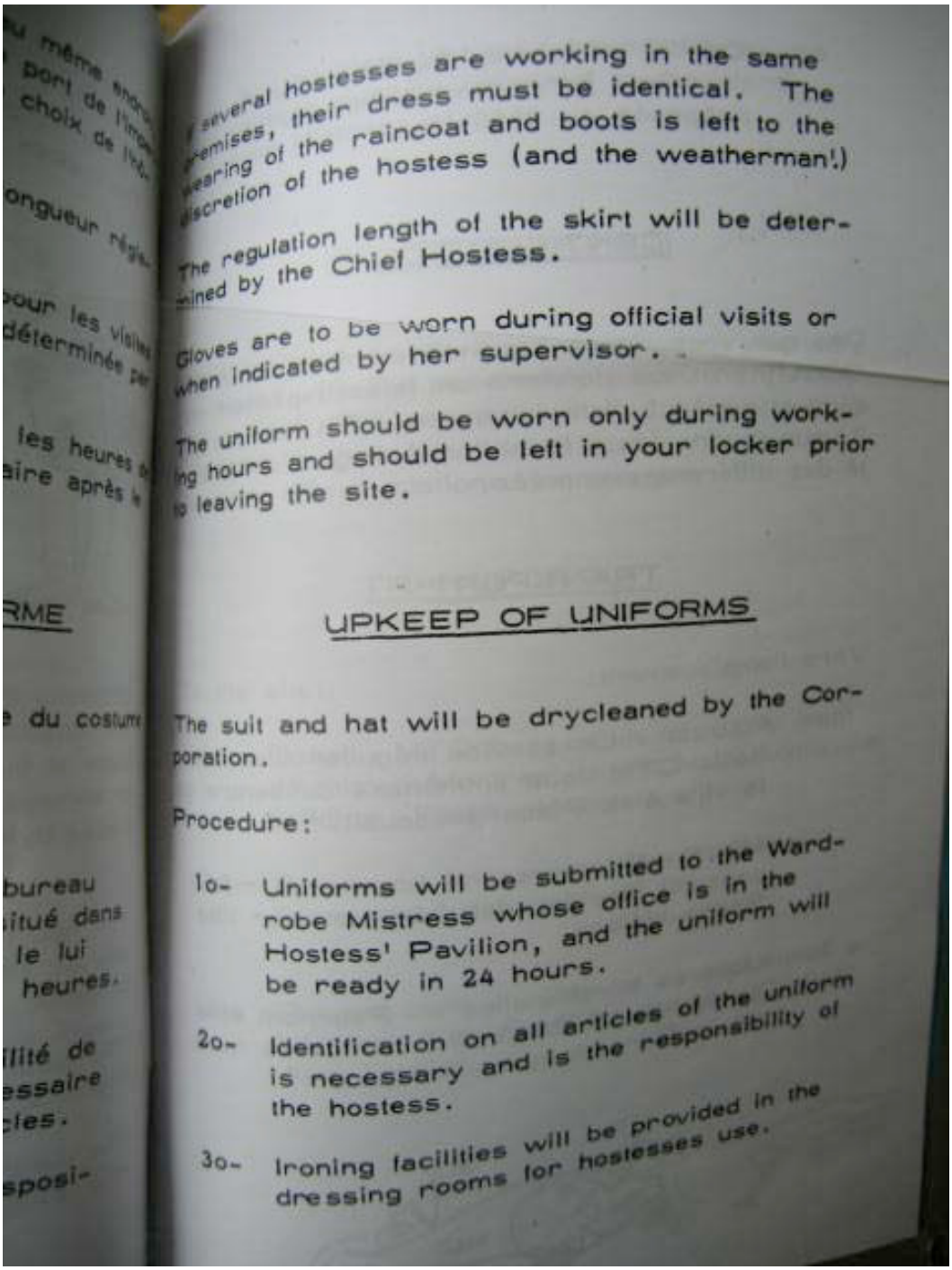
Figure 6: Bud Fraker, *Audrey Hepburn in Funny Face*, 1956. Retrieved from Cinema Image Gallery database.

Figure 7: Mary Quant, *Mini-dress*. 1967. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, museum number T.351-1974.

Figure 8: *Former American First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy At Expo 67*, Ocotober 6-7, 1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019 NPC.

Figure 9: *Pucci Gemini Collection for Braniff International*, 1965. Image found at http://www.flickr.com/photos/97489578@n00/1991932627 (accessed April 13, 2011).

Figure 10: *Official Expo 67 Hostess*, 1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019 NPC.



If several hostesses are working in the same premises, their dress must be identical. The wearing of the raincoat and boots is left to the discretion of the hostess (and the weatherman!)

The regulation length of the skirt will be determined by the Chief Hostess.

Gloves are to be worn during official visits or when indicated by her supervisor.

The uniform should be worn only during working hours and should be left in your locker prior to leaving the site.

UPKEEP OF UNIFORMS

The suit and hat will be drycleaned by the Corporation.

Procedure:

1o- Uniforms will be submitted to the Wardrobe Mistress whose office is in the Hostess' Pavilion, and the uniform will be ready in 24 hours.

2o- Identification on all articles of the uniform is necessary and is the responsibility of the hostess.

3o- Ironing facilities will be provided in the dressing rooms for hostesses use.

Figure 11: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, page 6*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 12: Sybilla Mannsfeldt. *Group of Expo 67 hostesses in their raingear*, 1967. Montreal, Quebec.

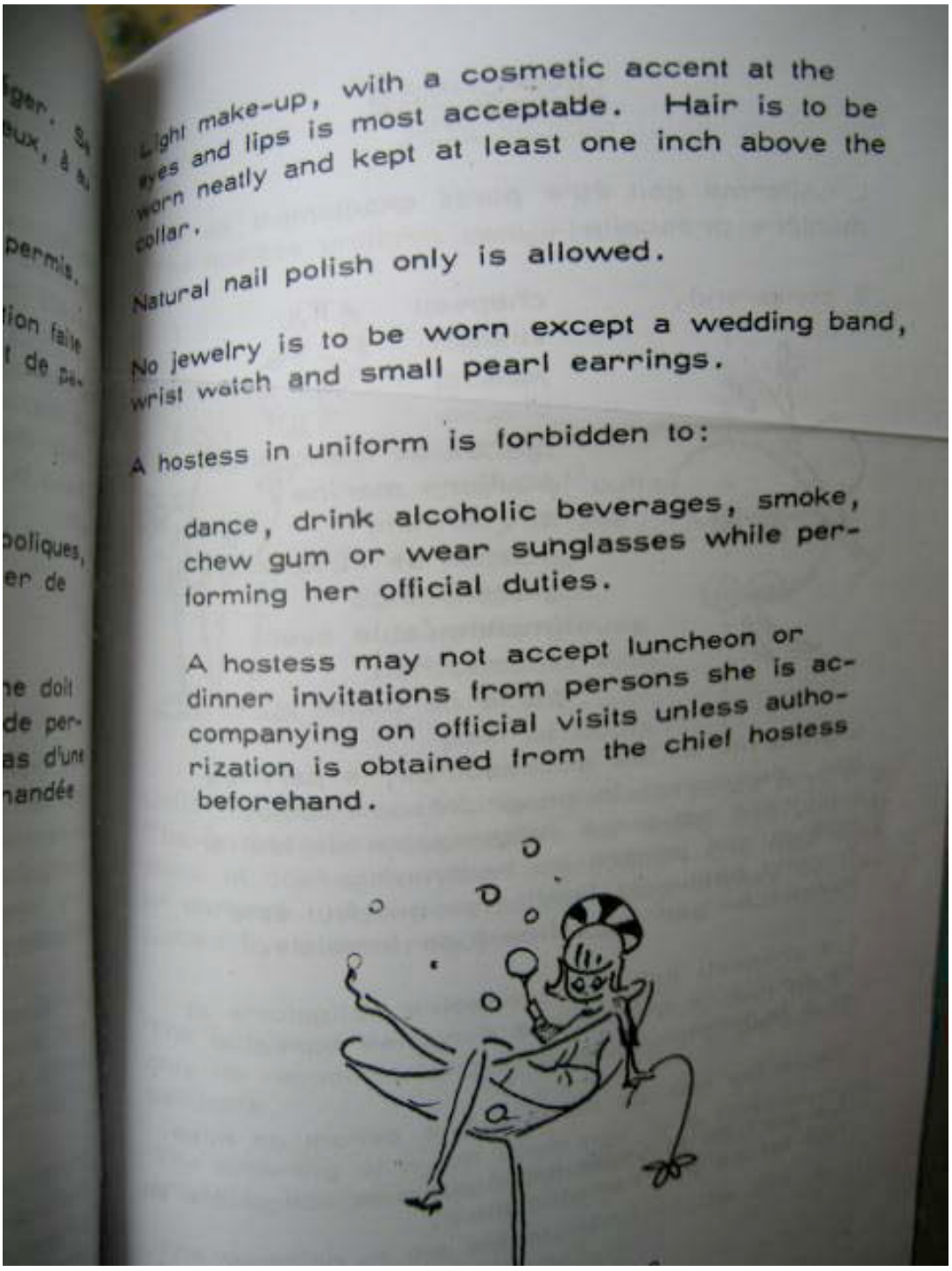
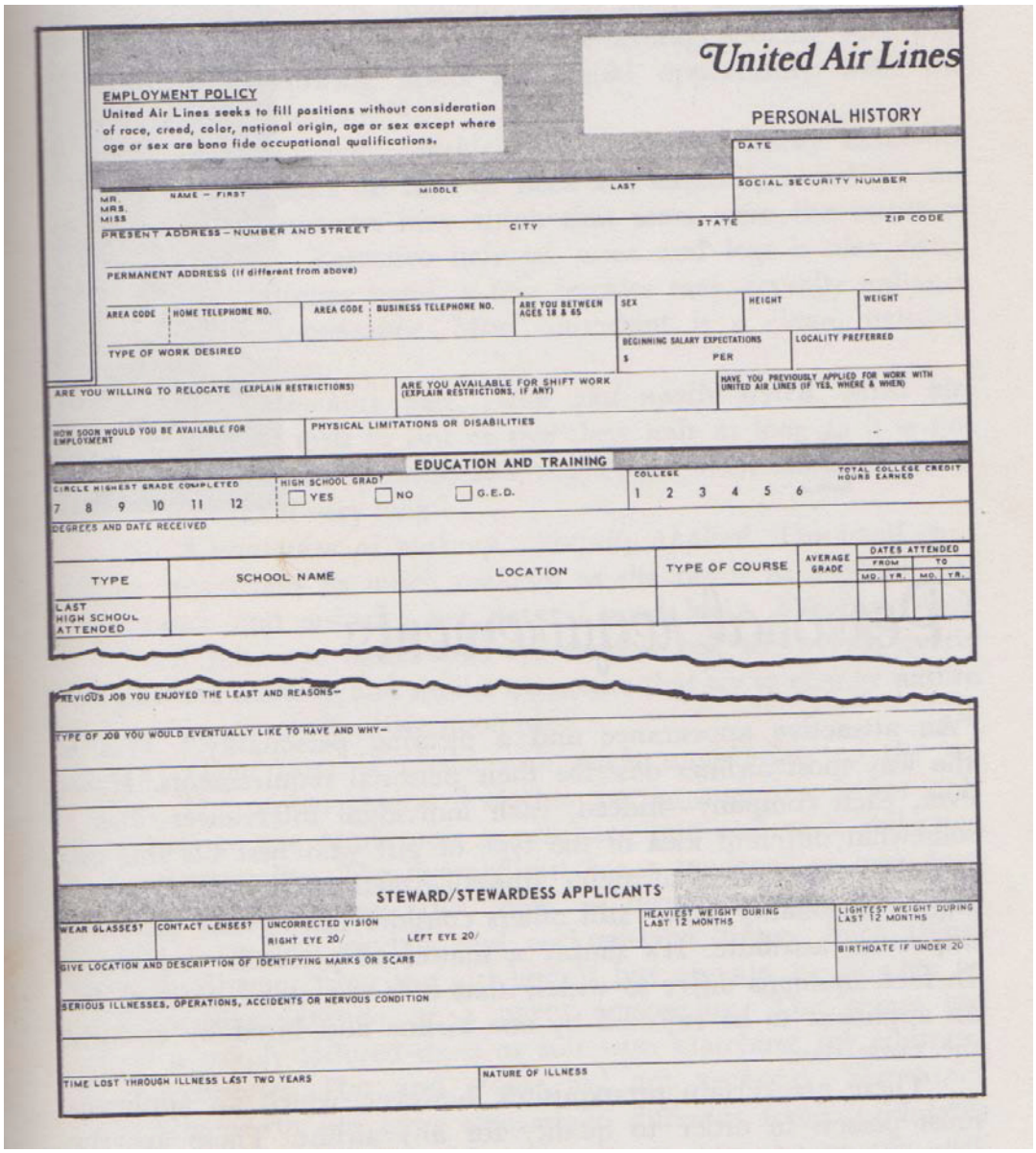


Figure 13: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, page 5*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 14: Sybilla Mannsfeldt. *Sybilla and Friend*, 1967. Montreal, Quebec.



United Air Lines

PERSONAL HISTORY

EMPLOYMENT POLICY
United Air Lines seeks to fill positions without consideration of race, creed, color, national origin, age or sex except where age or sex are bona fide occupational qualifications.

DATE

MR. MRS. MISS NAME – FIRST MIDDLE LAST

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

PRESENT ADDRESS – NUMBER AND STREET CITY STATE ZIP CODE

PERMANENT ADDRESS (If different from above)

AREA CODE HOME TELEPHONE NO. AREA CODE BUSINESS TELEPHONE NO. ARE YOU BETWEEN AGES 18 & 65 SEX HEIGHT WEIGHT

TYPE OF WORK DESIRED BEGINNING SALARY EXPECTATIONS $ PER LOCALITY PREFERRED

ARE YOU WILLING TO RELOCATE (EXPLAIN RESTRICTIONS) ARE YOU AVAILABLE FOR SHIFT WORK (EXPLAIN RESTRICTIONS, IF ANY) HAVE YOU PREVIOUSLY APPLIED FOR WORK WITH UNITED AIR LINES (IF YES, WHERE & WHEN)

HOW SOON WOULD YOU BE AVAILABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT PHYSICAL LIMITATIONS OR DISABILITIES

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

CIRCLE HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED 7 8 9 10 11 12 HIGH SCHOOL GRAD? ☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ G.E.D. COLLEGE 1 2 3 4 5 6 TOTAL COLLEGE CREDIT HOURS EARNED

DEGREES AND DATE RECEIVED

TYPE	SCHOOL NAME	LOCATION	TYPE OF COURSE	AVERAGE GRADE	DATES ATTENDED FROM MO.	FROM YR.	TO MO.	TO YR.
LAST HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED								

PREVIOUS JOB YOU ENJOYED THE LEAST AND REASONS–

TYPE OF JOB YOU WOULD EVENTUALLY LIKE TO HAVE AND WHY–

STEWARD/STEWARDESS APPLICANTS

WEAR GLASSES? CONTACT LENSES? UNCORRECTED VISION RIGHT EYE 20/ LEFT EYE 20/ HEAVIEST WEIGHT DURING LAST 12 MONTHS LIGHTEST WEIGHT DURING LAST 12 MONTHS

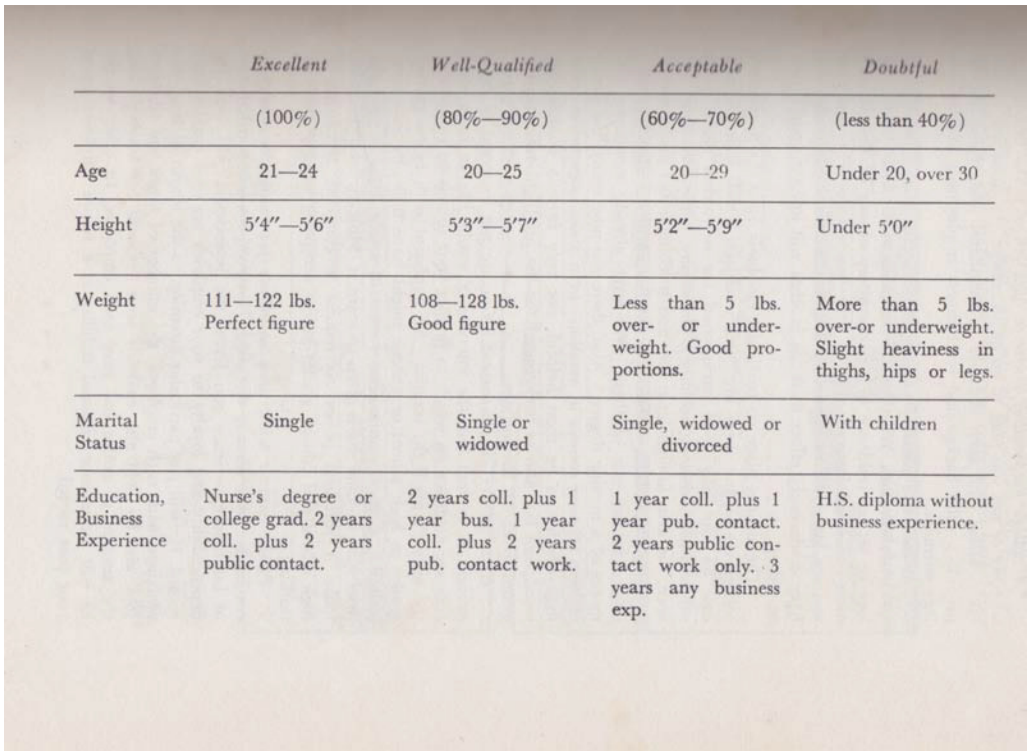
GIVE LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF IDENTIFYING MARKS OR SCARS BIRTHDATE IF UNDER 20

SERIOUS ILLNESSES, OPERATIONS, ACCIDENTS OR NERVOUS CONDITION

TIME LOST THROUGH ILLNESS LAST TWO YEARS NATURE OF ILLNESS

Figure 15: *Excerpt of American Airlines Stewardess Application,* 1966. *How To Be A Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses,* p. 19.

Figure 16: *Stewardesses learning proper makeup technique*, 1966. *How To Be A Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses,* p. 37.



	Excellent	*Well-Qualified*	*Acceptable*	*Doubtful*
	(100%)	(80%—90%)	(60%—70%)	(less than 40%)
Age	21—24	20—25	20—29	Under 20, over 30
Height	5′4″—5′6″	5′3″—5′7″	5′2″—5′9″	Under 5′0″
Weight	111—122 lbs. Perfect figure	108—128 lbs. Good figure	Less than 5 lbs. over- or under-weight. Good proportions.	More than 5 lbs. over-or underweight. Slight heaviness in thighs, hips or legs.
Marital Status	Single	Single or widowed	Single, widowed or divorced	With children
Education, Business Experience	Nurse's degree or college grad. 2 years coll. plus 2 years public contact.	2 years coll. plus 1 year bus. 1 year coll. plus 2 years pub. contact work.	1 year coll. plus 1 year pub. contact. 2 years public contact work only. 3 years any business exp.	H.S. diploma without business experience.

Figure 17: Johni Smith, *Hiring Criteria Chart*, 1966. *How To Be A Flight Stewardess: A Handbook and Training Manual for Airline Hostesses,* p. 21.

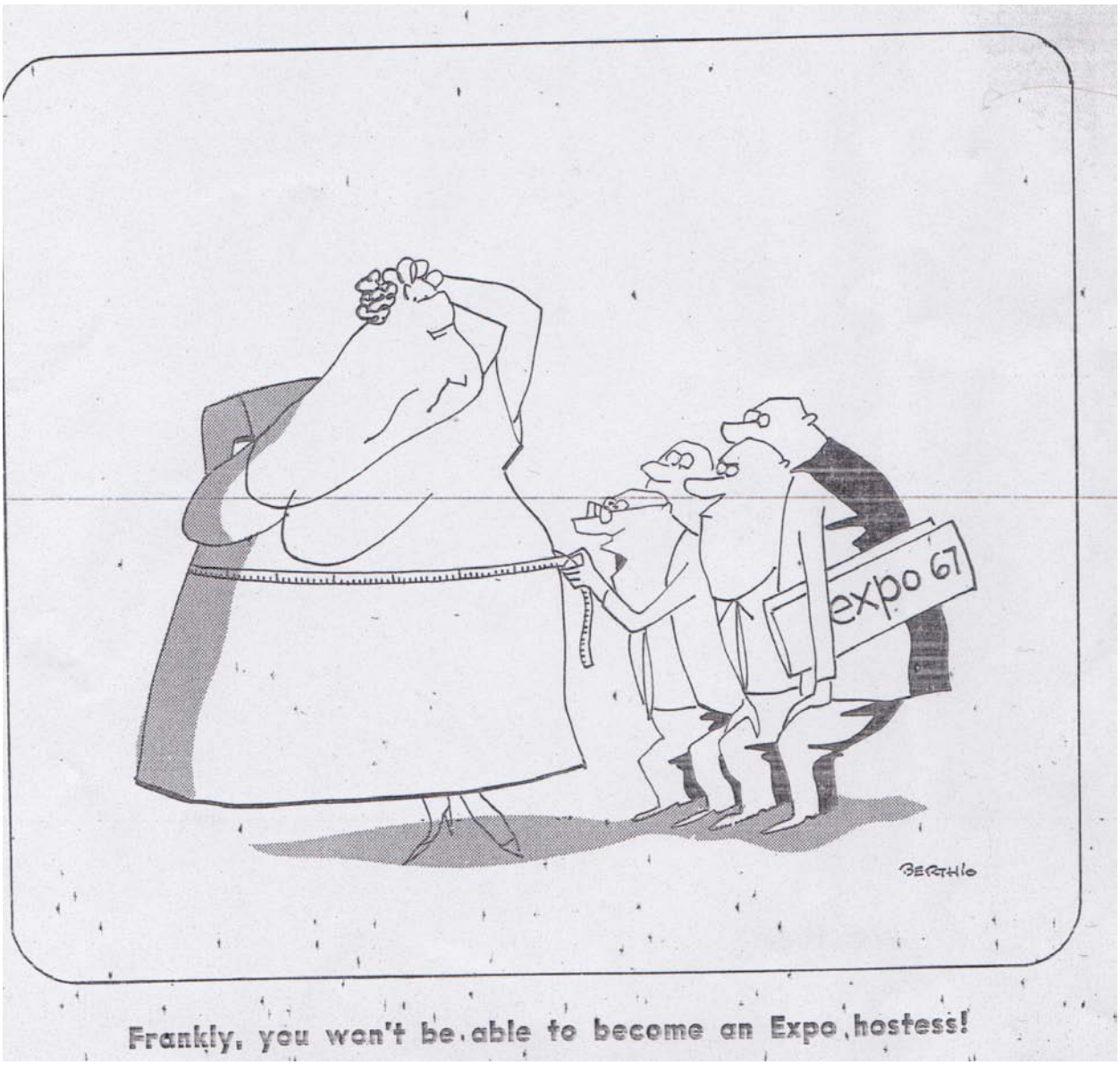
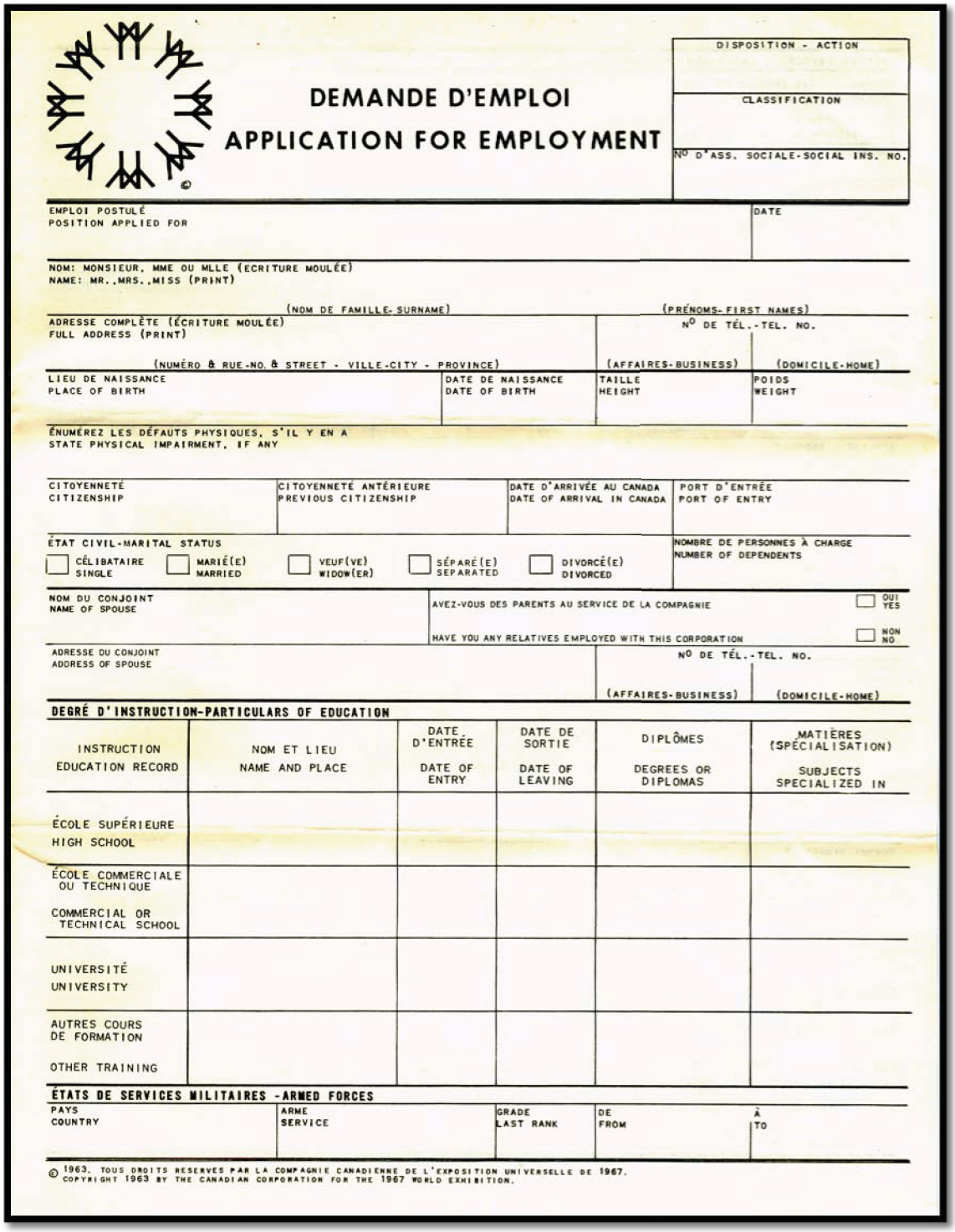


Figure 18: *Frankly, you won't be able to become an Expo hostess!* March 1965. *Expo Today*.



DEMANDE D'EMPLOI
APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

DISPOSITION - ACTION

CLASSIFICATION

Nº D'ASS. SOCIALE-SOCIAL INS. NO.

EMPLOI POSTULÉ
POSITION APPLIED FOR

DATE

NOM: MONSIEUR, MME OU MLLE (ÉCRITURE MOULÉE)
NAME: MR., MRS., MISS (PRINT)

(NOM DE FAMILLE-SURNAME) (PRÉNOMS-FIRST NAMES)

ADRESSE COMPLÈTE (ÉCRITURE MOULÉE)
FULL ADDRESS (PRINT)

Nº DE TÉL.-TEL. NO.

(NUMÉRO & RUE-NO. & STREET - VILLE-CITY - PROVINCE) (AFFAIRES-BUSINESS) (DOMICILE-HOME)

LIEU DE NAISSANCE
PLACE OF BIRTH

DATE DE NAISSANCE
DATE OF BIRTH

TAILLE
HEIGHT

POIDS
WEIGHT

ÉNUMÉREZ LES DÉFAUTS PHYSIQUES, S'IL Y EN A
STATE PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT, IF ANY

CITOYENNETÉ
CITIZENSHIP

CITOYENNETÉ ANTÉRIEURE
PREVIOUS CITIZENSHIP

DATE D'ARRIVÉE AU CANADA
DATE OF ARRIVAL IN CANADA

PORT D'ENTRÉE
PORT OF ENTRY

ÉTAT CIVIL-MARITAL STATUS

☐ CÉLIBATAIRE SINGLE ☐ MARIÉ(E) MARRIED ☐ VEUF(VE) WIDOW(ER) ☐ SÉPARÉ(E) SEPARATED ☐ DIVORCÉ(E) DIVORCED

NOMBRE DE PERSONNES À CHARGE
NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

NOM DU CONJOINT
NAME OF SPOUSE

AVEZ-VOUS DES PARENTS AU SERVICE DE LA COMPAGNIE ☐ OUI YES
HAVE YOU ANY RELATIVES EMPLOYED WITH THIS CORPORATION ☐ NON NO

ADRESSE DU CONJOINT
ADDRESS OF SPOUSE

Nº DE TÉL.-TEL. NO.

(AFFAIRES-BUSINESS) (DOMICILE-HOME)

DEGRÉ D'INSTRUCTION-PARTICULARS OF EDUCATION

INSTRUCTION EDUCATION RECORD	NOM ET LIEU NAME AND PLACE	DATE D'ENTRÉE DATE OF ENTRY	DATE DE SORTIE DATE OF LEAVING	DIPLÔMES DEGREES OR DIPLOMAS	MATIÈRES (SPÉCIALISATION) SUBJECTS SPECIALIZED IN
ÉCOLE SUPÉRIEURE HIGH SCHOOL					
ÉCOLE COMMERCIALE OU TECHNIQUE COMMERCIAL OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL					
UNIVERSITÉ UNIVERSITY					
AUTRES COURS DE FORMATION OTHER TRAINING					

ÉTATS DE SERVICES MILITAIRES - ARMED FORCES

PAYS COUNTRY	ARME SERVICE	GRADE LAST RANK	DE FROM	À TO

Figure 19: *Official Application for Expo 67 General Hostesses,* 1966. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

LIEU DE NAISSANCE PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE DE NAISSANCE DATE OF BIRTH	TAILLE HEIGHT	POIDS WEIGHT
ÉNUMÉREZ LES DÉFAUTS PHYSIQUES, S'IL Y EN A STATE PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT, IF ANY			

Figure 20: *Excerpt,* Official Application for Expo 67 General Hostesses*,* 1966. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 21: Sybilla Mannsfeldt. *Group of Expo 67 Hostesses*, 1967. Montreal, Quebec.

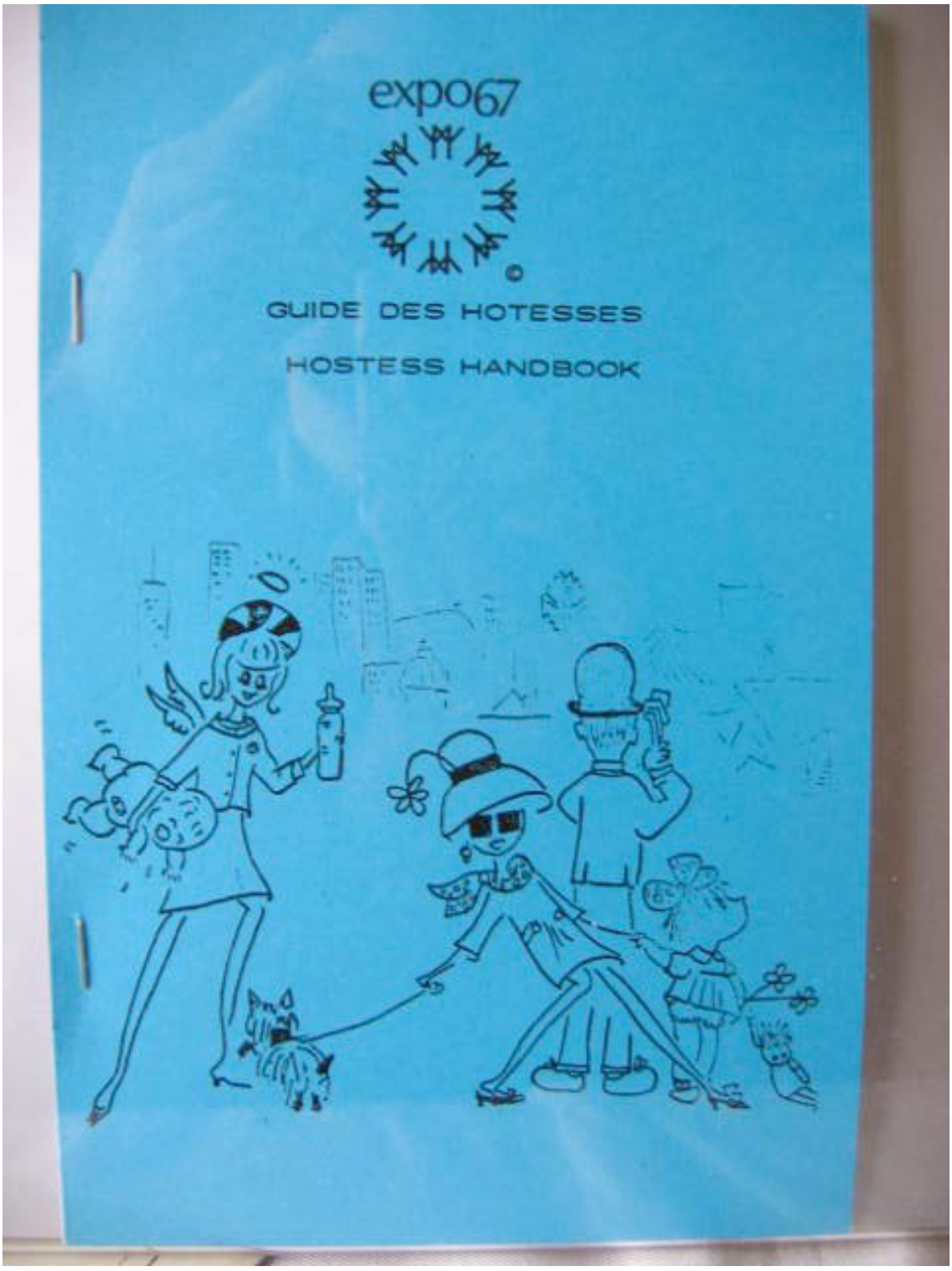
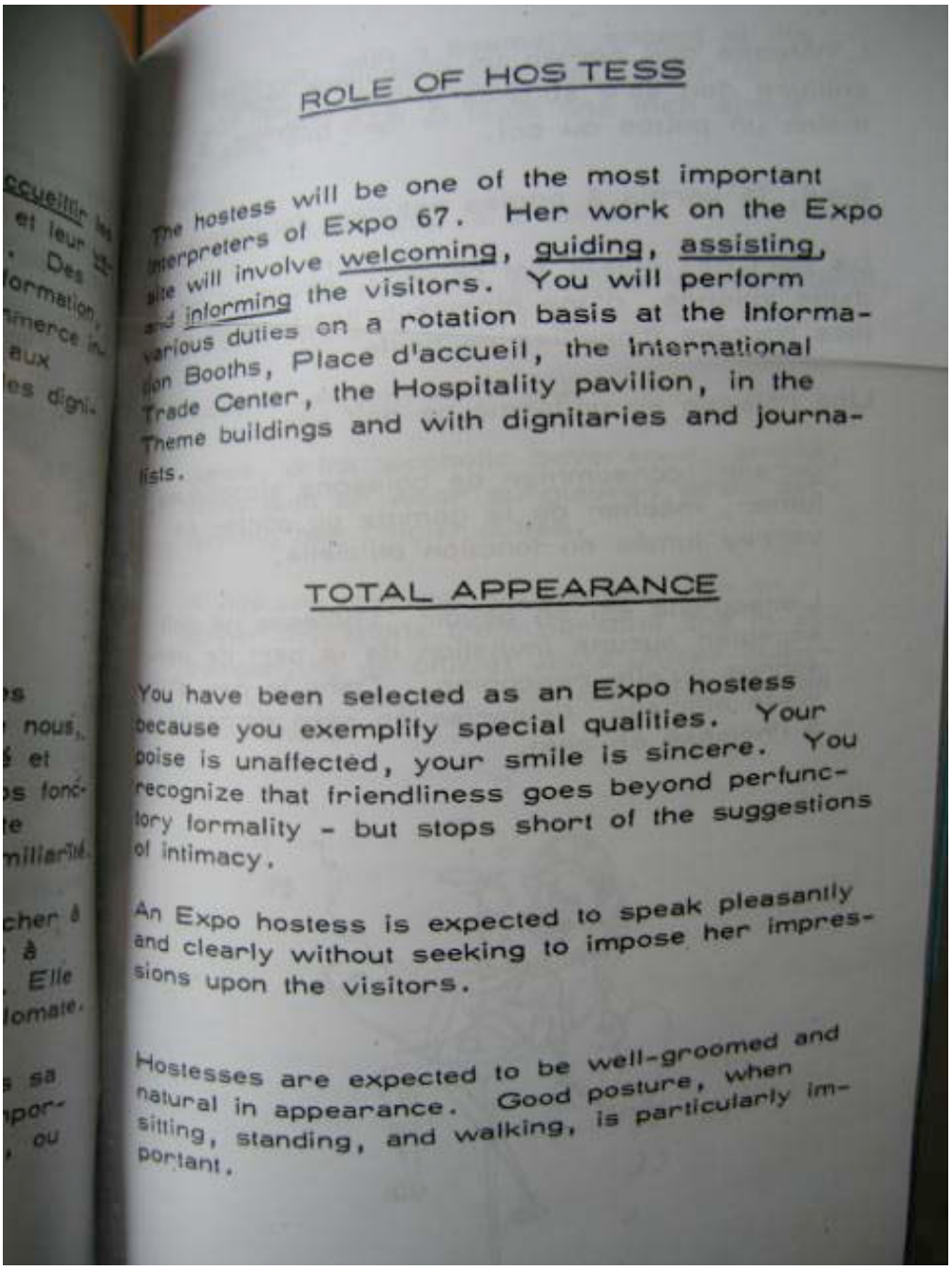


Figure 22: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, cover*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.



ROLE OF HOSTESS

The hostess will be one of the most important interpreters of Expo 67. Her work on the Expo site will involve welcoming, guiding, assisting, and informing the visitors. You will perform various duties on a rotation basis at the Information Booths, Place d'accueil, the International Trade Center, the Hospitality pavilion, in the Theme buildings and with dignitaries and journalists.

TOTAL APPEARANCE

You have been selected as an Expo hostess because you exemplify special qualities. Your poise is unaffected, your smile is sincere. You recognize that friendliness goes beyond perfunctory formality - but stops short of the suggestions of intimacy.

An Expo hostess is expected to speak pleasantly and clearly without seeking to impose her impressions upon the visitors.

Hostesses are expected to be well-groomed and natural in appearance. Good posture, when sitting, standing, and walking, is particularly important.

Figure 23: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, page 3*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 24: *Princess Grace visiting Expo 67*, July 18 1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019 NPC.

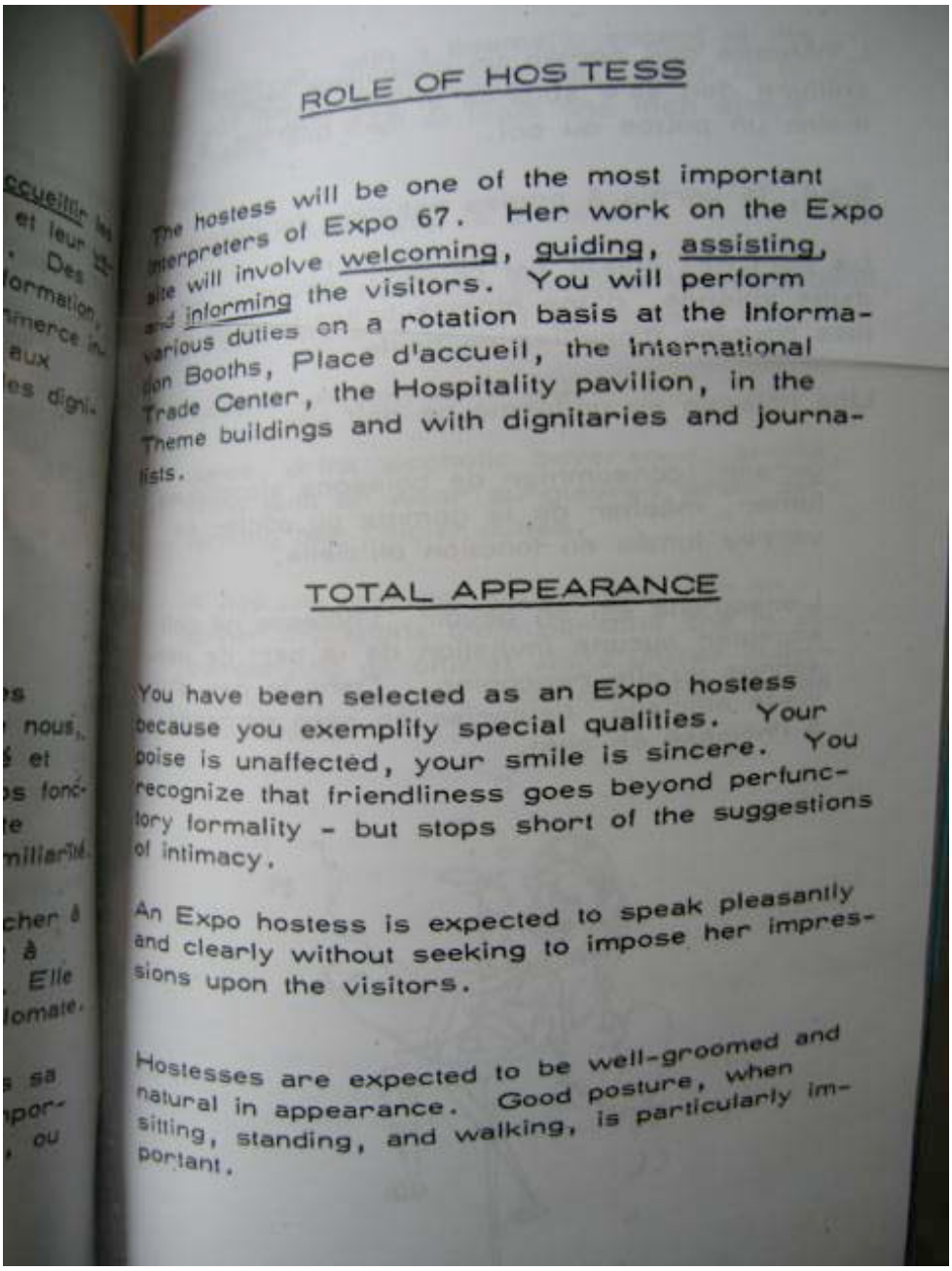


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Figure 25: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, page 3,* 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

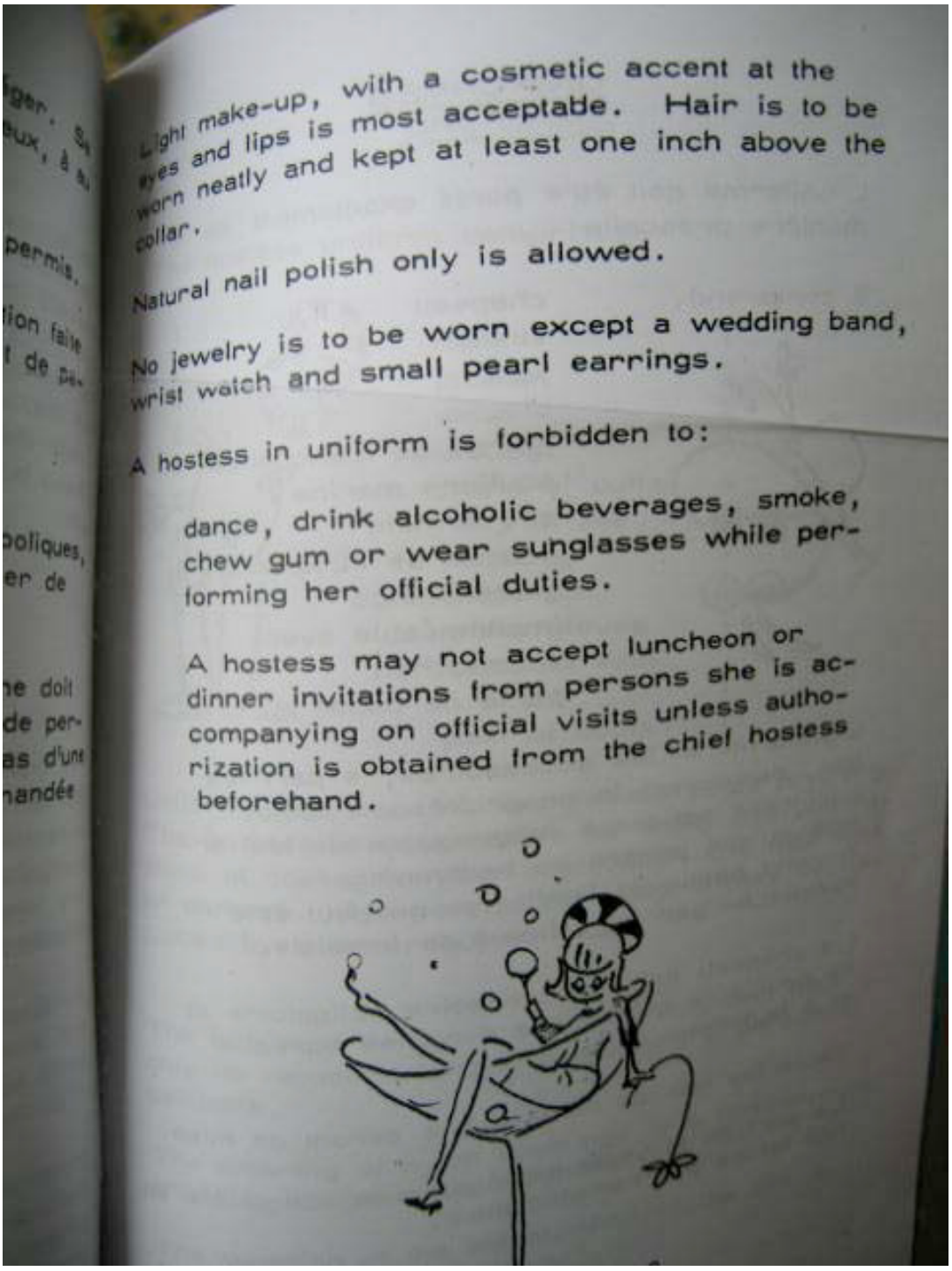

Figure 26: *Excerpt from the Expo 67 Official Handbook, page 4*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 27: *Un Jour Un Jour: Chanson Officielle de l'Expo 67*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

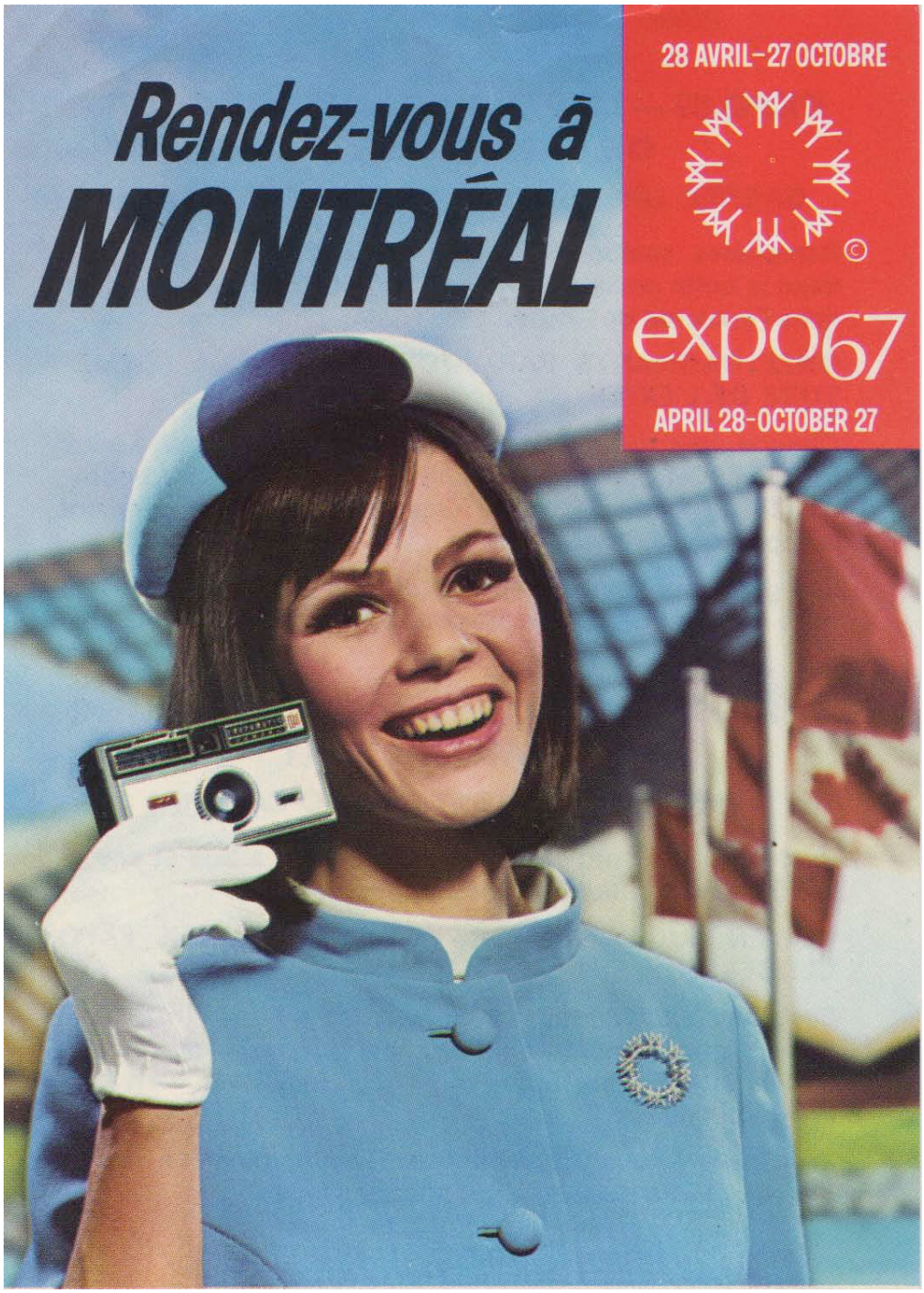

Figure 28: *Rendez-vous a Montreal*, 1967. Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition.

Figure 29: *Hôtesses de l'Expo 67 en visite à Ottawa, devant le parlement canadien.*1967. Expo 67 (Montreal, Quebec) Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, accession number 1970-019 NPC.