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Our Most Charming Girls: Female Athletes in Canadian Advertisements, 1928 to 2002

by

Jennifer Ellison, Honours B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

School of Canadian Studies
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August 1, 2002

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the changes and continuities in advertising representations of female athletes in Canada (both celebrities and models posing as sportswomen) since 1928. Advertisements, as well as selected articles on female athletes, primarily from *Maclean's* (1928 to present), *Chatelaine* (1928 to Present), *La Revue Modern/Châteline* (1928 to Present) and *l'Actualité* (1976 to present) are used. This study looks at factors other than the number of women participating in sport, such as the perception and representation of female athletes. It argues advertisements, media representations and the like can illuminate the female athlete's changing place within a discourse of femininity.

This study begins by discussing sport for women in Canada and other Western nations before 1928. Chapter one explains the intellectual and theoretical grounding to this study, including an outline of femininity as discourse, and Bruno Latour's concept of inscriptions. Chapters two through five discuss representations of sportswomen between 1928 and 2002. The discourse of femininity as it relates to the female athlete is discussed in the context of historical developments from the post-war return to domesticity to the introduction of gender-verification testing for female athletes in the late 1960s to the appearance of female athletes on *Cheerios* boxes in 2002. Advertisements are discussed thematically, according to various tropes, patterns and discontinuities that emerged.

This study of women athletes in advertisements seeks to nuance the understanding of femininity as it relates to the history of female athletes. The advertisements I have reviewed are not simply about objectification or the beauty myth, nor are they about the stereotype of 'mannish' female athletes. Physical activity acts as a signifier for moral and bodily health as well as beauty, youth, vigor and a host of other tropes relating to assumptions about feminine behaviour. *Our Most Charming Girls*, identifies tropes such as the "lady jock" and "active femininity," and the "Canadian accent," all of which relate to the interplay between a discourse of femininity and the representation of female athletes. I suggest representations of female athletes normalize their image within a discourse of femininity.

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Introduction

An image on the cover of the University of Toronto's 175th anniversary commemorative calendar (2002) features several young women in long-sleeved woollen sweaters and skirts playing ice hockey (1.1). The women wear their hair up in buns; they sport men's hockey skates, but wear no gloves. The picture, from 1910, might have been chosen for the novelty of seeing "old-fashioned" young women playing hockey in their long, full skirts. The fact that the image is anomalous, dated and quaint suggests there has been a change in what the female athlete is expected to look like. Today the notion of women playing hockey in long skirts seems as preposterous as the idea of women playing hockey in "men's" uniforms might have in 1910.

The same year the aforementioned photo was taken, a motion to eliminate body checking from women's hockey was passed at the university.¹ Similarly, a 1909 textbook on teaching methods for women's basketball prescribed special behaviour for female athletes. The textbook explained that in basketball, "it is difficult to avoid holding and catching clothing because of the loose, baggy suits, and special training is needed to avoid such plays."² Commenting on this text, Helen Lenskyj notes "it is significant that they did not recommend more practical attire for players, but instead required that girls and women adapt to the clothing."³ From her style of play to her manner of dress, every detail about the female athlete was subject to scrutiny.

Concerns about women *appearing* ladylike while physically active date to at least the 1850s. During the mid-19th century, the bicycle's popularity in western Europe grew as a

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¹ Lenskyj, Helen, "Femininity First," *Journal of History of Sport* 13, no. 2 (December 1982), 8.

² Gertrude Dudley and Frances Kellor as cited in Lenskyj, "Femininity First," 8.

³ Lenskyj, "Femininity First," 9.

form of entertainment for aristocratic young men.⁴ Female cyclists were not necessarily limited by their ability, but instead by the possibility that their underclothes or ankles might be visible while cycling. “The dress problem” women presented resulted in a variety of bicycle redesigns, including a model that had women riding “side-saddle.”⁵ In the 1880s, the first of two solutions to the modesty ‘problem’ of women cyclists came in the form of the tricycle. Women’s use of the tricycle was legitimated by the purchase of two such contrivances by Queen Victoria, who approved of the ladylike deportment of a tricyclist she observed.⁶

In 1885, a more popular solution to the dress problem, the two-wheeled “safety bicycle,” was introduced in Canada.⁷ M. Ann Hall argues that the safety bicycle was the “single factor that led to more women’s participation in sport, exercise and physical activity.”⁸ Women took to cycling in such large numbers that it impacted fashion modes, necessitating the adoption of controversial “bloomers” in order to facilitate their riding. Whether it was the tricycle or the bicycle, the late-nineteenth century debate over the appropriateness of these activities showed that female athletes challenged prescribed behavioral norms.

Not only did cycling disrupt accepted notions of feminine behaviour, it also challenged the understanding of women’s biological nature. Opponents of cycling for women argued that it would result in “uterine displacement” or had the potential “for masturbation caused by friction with the saddle.”⁹ Field sports and running were thought to

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⁴ Bijker, Wiebe, *Of Bicycles, Bakelites, and Bulbs: Toward a Theory of Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 19.

⁵ Bijker, 43.

⁶ Bijker, 56.

⁷ Lenskyj, “Femininity First,” 8.

⁸ Hall, M. Ann, “Creators of the Lost and Perfect Game?” in *Sport and Gender in Canada*, ed. Philip White (Don Mills: Oxford University Press 1996), 9.

⁹ Hall “Game,” 10.

have even more negative consequences for women. Doctors warned that female athletes would experience “excessive muscular development, depleting ‘nerve-essence’...difficult childbirth and inferior offspring” should they overexert themselves on the playing field.¹⁰

Not all medical experts condemned sport for women. A competing doctrine of physical culture became popular after 1900. Proponents of physical culture argued, “women would be healthier and more productive if they engaged in physical activity.”¹¹ Experts such as Edward Playter¹² warned against too much inactivity for women, “since a moderate amount of exercise was believed to be conducive to health and fertility.”¹³ It is worth noting that both the “myth of female frailty” and the doctrine of physical culture discursively link sport for women with its supposed consequences for childbearing.

The growth of women’s sport in the 20th century occurred within the broader context of the suffrage movement. In Canada, women were first given the federal franchise in 1917. However, this was limited to “military women and the wives of relatives in the service.”¹⁴ Full federal suffrage was granted to women in 1919, largely due to maternal feminist arguments stressing women’s role as the protector of the home and children.¹⁵ Margaret Marsh argues, “the ideology of domesticity required a woman, no matter what interest she took in the outside world, to express that interest in the name of the protection of the family.”¹⁶ Like the suffrage movement, the growth of women’s participation in sport

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¹⁰ Lenskyj, , *Out of Bounds* (Toronto: The Women’s Press, 1986), 23.

¹¹ Shaulis, Dahn, “Pedestriennes: Newsworthy but Controversial Women in Sporting Entertainment,” *Journal of Sport History* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1999), 31.

¹² Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 33.

¹³ Lenskyj, “Femininity First,” 4.

¹⁴ Gorham, Deborah, “The Canadian Suffragists” in *Women in the Canadian Mosaic*, ed. Gwen Matheson (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976), 42.

¹⁵ Gorham, 25.

¹⁶ Marsh, Margaret, “From Separation to Togetherness: The Social Construction of Domestic Space in American Suburbs, 1840 – 1915,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 2 (September 1989), 512.

brought women into the public sphere and this was justified by its social construction as a way to make stronger mothers.

Helen Lenskyj's work on the history of sport in education in Canada suggests that the public school system also played a gate-keeping role in young women's sporting participation. In 1913, the Ontario Department of Education granted permission for the teaching of physical education to girls in public schools.¹⁷ This led to the development of intramural competition in "basketball, track and field, and softball," a program that continuously expanded between 1918 and 1931.¹⁸ Organized, competitive sport led to what Helen Lenskyj characterizes as a "competition controversy" and the doctrine of female frailty was reasserted because women began to move beyond physical culture to athletic competition.¹⁹ Accordingly, intramural competitive sport for women was almost completely eliminated from public schools after 1931.²⁰

In cases where women continued to compete, such as in private athletic clubs like the YWCA, separate rules and regulations governed their play. "Women's rules" were adopted in some sports, incorporating the doctrine of physical culture by setting acceptable limits within which women might participate in sport. Some sports were adapted in order to ensure that they would not have a "masculinizing influence on female participants."²¹ For example, running and body contact in women's basketball was reduced by dividing the court into zones beyond which a player could not move.²²

Women's rules established a socially sanctioned limit on how vigorously women could play sports. In 1934, physical educator Agnes Wayman argued "there is...no real

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¹⁷ Kidd, Bruce, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 98.

¹⁸ Lenskyj, "Femininity First," 9.

¹⁹ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 33.

²⁰ Lenskyj, "Femininity First," 10.

²¹ Kiszkiel, Catherine, "Women's Work and Child's Play" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1998), 22.

reason why girls should participate in the same games and sports as boys. The girl does not need to have her combative instincts developed. She is not or should not be interested primarily in making or breaking records.”²³ Women were said to be averse to competition²⁴ because it was considered to be masculine and unbecoming to true womanliness.²⁵ Some participants, including the famous “Edmonton Grads” basketball team, refused to play by the women’s rules.²⁶ Nonetheless, the assumption that women’s abilities or desire to play sports was different from men’s was incorporated into the official and unofficial rules governing their participation.

Kathleen McCrone’s assessment of sport for women in the British Public School system at the turn of the century is appropriate to my discussion of female athletes. McCrone argues, “the emergence of the female collegiate athlete created remarkably little controversy, probably because of the care taken not to break behavioural rules, the generally inoffensive type of games played” and “the undoubted femininity of players.”²⁷ Since such characteristics as “passivity, dependence and nurturance” were gendered female, “women who ‘played like men’ defied the bounds of femininity and heterosexuality.”²⁸ As a consequence, moderation was the key to the acceptability of sporting participation for young women. The history of women’s entry into sport in Canada is characterized on the one hand by an acknowledgment of the value of physical activity for women, and on the other hand by prescribed limitations on how she could participate.

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²² Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 99.

²³ Agnes Wayman as cited in Lenskyj, “Femininity First,” 13.

²⁴ Lenskyj, Helen, “Training for ‘True Womanhood’: Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890-1920,” *Historical Studies in Education* 2, no. 2 (1990), 212.

²⁵ McCrone, Kathleen, “Victorian Women and Sport: Playing the Game in Colleges and Public Schools,” *Canadian Historical Association* (n.p., 1982), 19.

²⁶ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 102.

²⁷ McCrone, 17.

²⁸ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 13.

My brief examination of the history of female athletes before 1928 illustrates that women's sporting participation in Canada took place in the context of an ongoing debate over the appropriateness of sport for women. Thus, the 1928 entry of Canadian women into the Olympic arena was not an uncontested development. This is exemplified in the withdrawal of track and field athlete Gertrude Phinney from the 1928 Olympic team. Phinney resigned "at the request of her father, who feared 'irreparable harm' should she participate."²⁹ Phinney's father regarded sport as an inappropriate activity for women. The tension between such reservations about sport for women as those expressed by Phinney's father, and the entry of women into Olympic competition shows that the female athlete was a contested figure well into the twentieth century. The key points of contention about female athletes at this time concerned their disruption of accepted social and biological roles. In particular, discontent with the appearance of female athletes while transgressing these behavioral norms is a theme that reappears in later decades.

By The Numbers: Female Athletes in Canada 1928 to 2002

1928 was the first year that Canadian women competed in the Olympic Games.³⁰ That year, the women's track and field team set two world records and brought home four medals.³¹ Despite their initial success, Canadian women's participation at the Olympics grew slowly. In 1964, there were only seventeen women on the Canadian women's Olympic team, the same number that had competed in the 1934 games "even though the number of

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²⁹ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 107.

³⁰ Barbara Schrodt has suggested that Miss Cecil Smith was "probably" the first Canadian woman to compete at the 1924 Olympic games. Schrodt does not explain her uncertainty over Smith's role in the 1924 games. Moreover, she is the only author who makes reference to Smith. Thus, I have used the generally accepted date of 1928. Schrodt, Barbara, "Canadian Women at the Olympics 1924 to 1976," in *Her Story in Sport*, ed. Reet Howell (West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1982), 273.

³¹ Hoffman, Abby, "The Champions," *Chatelaine*, January 1976, 27.

Olympic sports for women had increased several times over.”³² At the Montreal Olympics in 1976, 155 women competed for the Canadian team, several times the numbers of twelve years earlier.³³ At the 2000 Sydney Olympics and the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympics, Canadian women took home more medals than their male counterparts.³⁴ This is a part of an overall trend in the last ten years; “when the number of women and size of teams are considered, Canadian women have usually outperformed Canadian men in international competition.”³⁵

Their performance at the Olympic games notwithstanding, in 2002 women still lag behind men in participation and funding levels for sport in Canada. At the university level, 45 percent of athletes in Canada are women, but they account for only 34 percent of athletic awards.³⁶ Sport Canada’s most recent survey (1998) also found women do not participate in sport as much as men do. Overall, 34 percent of the Canadian population over fifteen years old “participated in sport on a regular basis.”³⁷ However, this rate is averaged from a 43 percent participation rate among men in comparison to 26 percent of women who were physically active.³⁸ This “gender gap” widened by 3 percent between 1992 and 1998.³⁹ The Sport Canada report excludes information on “high performance and professional sport.”⁴⁰ However, taken with the data on female Olympians and university athletes the numbers show that Canadian women participate in sport less than men and receive proportionately less funding.

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³² Hoffman, “The Champions,” 74.

³³ Hoffman, “The Champions,” 76.

³⁴ Naylor, David and Allan Maki, “Women Are Canada’s Better Half,” *The Globe and Mail*, 20 February 2002, A1.

³⁵ Kidd, Bruce, “Missing: Women from Sports Hall of Fame,” *CAAW’S Action Bulletin*, Winter 1995.

³⁶ Naylor, David, “Women still face funding hurdles,” *Globe and Mail*, 13 March 2002, S3.

³⁷ Sport Canada, *Sport Participation in Canada 1998 Report* (Ottawa: Sport Canada, 1998), 1.

³⁸ Sport Canada, 1.

³⁹ Sport Canada, 11.

⁴⁰ Sport Canada, 9.

Sport Canada's 1998 report made two key observations about women's sport participation. It found that "girls tend to be less active in sport than boys." As well, the study found, "Girls were perceived as not having the co-ordination, confidence, strength, speed, nor interest in competing in sports... The 1998... figures reveal that perhaps some of these perceptions persist today."⁴¹ Thus, Sport Canada's findings suggest that social factors, including gender role socialisation continue to impact on sport participation rates for young women as well as the perception of female athletes.⁴²

Female Athletes and the Media: Closing the Gender Gap?

A comparison between the number of female athletes in 1928 and the 2002 figures demonstrates a remarkable growth in the number of women participating in sport. That said, factors limiting women's participation have not changed significantly since 1928. Women continue to receive less funding for their sporting activities in comparison to men. Moreover, socially and culturally, girls are still perceived to be less interested and able athletes than boys are. However, the Sport Canada report fails to consider whether or not there is a relationship between the perception of the female athlete and the level of participation and funding for their athletic programs.

Sue Hylland, the executive director of The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity (CAAWS) argues that there is a relationship between women's sporting participation and the amount of media exposure female athletes receive. Hylland maintains that "an absolutely key element of encouraging

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⁴¹ Sport Canada, 25.

⁴² The only area where women's participation outpaced men's was in belonging to sports clubs. In 1998, "nearly half (46 percent) of active males belonged to a sport club or community league," while "almost three-quarters (71 percent) of active females" were active in community sport. The authors of the report speculate that women, more than men, are seeking a community of people with whom they can learn and play sports. This finding suggests that women do not participate in sport for the same reasons as men and that females have different expectations and needs when it comes to sport funding and participation. Sport Canada, 30.

women and girls to participate in sport is media exposure because if you can't see it, you won't do it."⁴³ In 1999, CAAWS and *Nike Canada* organized a "Women in Sport" symposium. Two key recommendations that emerged were a need to increase media coverage of female athletes and to increase levels of corporate sponsorship for female athletes. However, it is questionable whether adding women in to the current sports media and advertising system will challenge perceptions of female athletes.

In 1997, a "women's version" of *Sports Illustrated*, *Women/Sport* was launched in the United States with dubious results for women in sport. Kate Rounds surveyed *Women/Sport* for *Ms.* magazine and found anything but equal opportunity sports coverage. *Women/Sport* featured stories on: a pregnant WNBA star, a woman who was horrified to discover a baseball teammate was gay; and a professional tennis player who was retiring to become a "full-time wife."⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, an evaluation of the "men's" version of *Sports Illustrated* yielded no stories on "new dads," or about a male athlete becoming a "full-time husband."⁴⁵ Rounds' survey of *Women/Sport* begs the question of what space there is for women in professional sports or the sports media. Is there such a thing as equality of opportunity and gender parity in media coverage when women's sporting participation and professional leagues do not begin on a level playing field with men's?

Since the 1960s professional sports leagues such as the NFL, have been reliant on revenue from media coverage and in particular, advertising sponsorship.⁴⁶ This phenomenon is primarily directed toward men, the sports represented have been, until the 1990s, men's sports, and men have been considered the target spending audience for the

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⁴³ Naylor, "Women are Canada's Better Half," A2.

⁴⁴ Rounds, Kate, "Tying the Score," *Ms.*, July/August 1997, 22.

⁴⁵ Rounds, 22.

⁴⁶ Burstyn, Varda, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 112.

advertisements.⁴⁷ To understand the centrality of advertising to sport, one need only consider that the projected spending on sport-related advertising in Canada and the United States for 2000 alone is 13.8 billion U.S. dollars. If worldwide numbers are included, this figure jumps to 30 billion U.S. dollars.⁴⁸ Even if the sports leagues did not rely on advertising revenue, the media wherein sports information is reproduced, such as magazines, newspapers and television shows, do. Varda Burstyn associates such advertising with the gender dominance of men in sport.⁴⁹ However, this does not mean that a female athlete's placement in an advertisement will correct the gender imbalance in sport.

This thesis examines representations of female athletes in Canadian periodical advertising since 1928. Historically, concerns about their femininity have limited opportunities for female athletes. Nevertheless, images of sportswomen have been used in advertisements throughout this century. Advertisements appropriate and reflect the changing social, political and cultural attitudes toward women and sport. While advertising alone cannot create or perpetuate the meaning of women or sport, they are “signifiers” in the discourse of femininity and the female athlete.⁵⁰ This thesis will examine the history of the visual sign of the female athlete and how it has intersected with the discourse of femininity.

Sport is a site of cultural, political and social struggle. M. Ann Hall argues that “the history of women in sport is a history of cultural resistance...the very presence of women in the male preserve of sport is evidence of ‘leaky hegemony.’”⁵¹ Consequently, it can be said that women have transgressed the traditional boundaries of male and female activities by

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⁴⁷ Burstyn, 114 - 115.

⁴⁸ Burstyn, 120.

⁴⁹ Burstyn, 105.

⁵⁰ Pollack, Griselda, “What’s Wrong with Images of Women?” in *Looking On*, ed. Rosemary Betterton (New York: Pandora Press, 1987), 41. Pollack refers to advertisements as “signifiers in the discourse.”

becoming athletes. While it is important to acknowledge the transgressive nature of women's *participation* in sport, it does not necessarily follow that the *visual sign* of the female athlete will challenge the discourse of femininity. I suggest that the visualization of female athletes in advertisements normalizes their images within the discourse of the times. As a result, the challenge that female athletes pose to the discourse of femininity is reinscribed in advertisements as a less threatening feminine ideal.

In order to analyze advertising images and identify patterns or changes, I have divided the thesis into five chapters. Chapter One explains the intellectual and theoretical grounding to this study, including an outline of femininity as discourse and Bruno Latour's concept of inscriptions. Chapter two explores representations of women in sport between 1928 and 1945, known as "the golden age of women in sport in Canada." Chapter three focuses on the 1950s and early 1960s, a period which has been characterized by women's "return to the kitchen." Chapter four coincides with the impact of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women as well as the re-entry of Eastern-block countries into international athletic competition (1960s to 1980). This chapter will consider how the changing understanding of "woman" and "athlete" affected her representation. Finally, chapter five examines ads between the early 1980s to 2002 to determine whether the gender signifiers of the first three periods persist. To conclude the thesis, I return to the question of whether female athletes' appearance in ads has challenged the discourse of femininity and the understanding of the female athlete. I review each of the eras I have identified and discuss whether or not shifts in the female athletes' visual representation indicate a change in "worldview."

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⁵¹ Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies*, 101.

Chapter One

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Female Athletes and Active Women

There are divisions within advertising representations of “sport” for women that require definition. In this thesis, sport will be defined as physical activity for the purpose of recreation or competition. The terms physical activity and sport will be used to describe a diverse range of activities from swimming, jogging and skating to tobogganing and child’s “play”. In this thesis, I will refer to the women in the ads as either female athletes or active women. “Female athletes” defines women who are recognized by fame or accomplishment for their sporting prowess. I will also use the term female athlete in reference to the history and context within which the advertisements appeared. By contrast, “active women” refers to models posing as athletes or performing physical activities for the purposes of an ad. The distinction between the two is important when considering how outside factors such as nation, accomplishments or trends impact representations of female athletes or active women.

Femininity as Discourse

The history of the female athlete before 1928 indicates that sport was a liberating influence in the lives of Canadian women. Organized competition and bicycle clubs provided women-centered spaces that brought together women in a public sphere. A desire to participate in sport is demonstrated by the rapid growth of sport for women in the twentieth century, in spite of the amount of cultural resistance to their participation. Nonetheless, normative ideas about femininity have clearly impacted the way that women participate in sport.

While historical literature on female athletes in Canada engages with the concept of femininity, there is no firmly established definition of the term. Helen Lenskyj argues “femininity is more than simply an aesthetic; it is the concrete manifestation of women’s subordinate status.”⁵² M. Ann Hall suggests that femininity’s characteristics are more specific. Hall argues that femininity is “equated with and displayed by care for others rather than self, whereas masculinity is characterized by autonomy, self-reliance, and achievement.”⁵³ Attributes such as nurturing can be ascribed to femininity, but it does not have innate characteristics. Lenskyj’s and Hall’s normative definitions of femininity are limiting because they are socially and culturally specific. The feminine “ideal” can and will change with the times. Therefore, my analysis will be based on a conception of femininity as a discourse.

Dorothy Smith argues that femininity is a discursive phenomenon contingent upon place and time and “intelligible only in the context of the complex of which” it “is part.”⁵⁴ Smith takes a materialist approach to femininity as discourse. This means that femininity can be understood by its manifestations in objects, such as women’s magazines, and practices, such as fashion trends.⁵⁵ The “texts” of femininity are these everyday rituals and objects. Consequently, the complex, or context, in which a discourse of femininity is located becomes “...what actual individuals are doing in the everyday settings of their lives.”⁵⁶ Smith’s conception of femininity being located in “everyday practices” is useful to this thesis because it understands femininity as a shifting phenomenon.

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⁵² Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 13.

⁵³ Hall, M. Ann, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies* (Windsor: Human Kinetics, 1996), 19.

⁵⁴ Smith, Dorothy, “Femininity as Discourse” in *Becoming Feminine: The Politics of Popular Culture*, eds. Leslie Roman and Linda Christian-Smith (London: The Falmer Press, 1988), 37-38.

⁵⁵ Smith, Dorothy, 41.

⁵⁶ Smith, Dorothy, 38.

This thesis will further draw from Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and understand the discourse of femininity as a disciplinary phenomenon. Though Foucault does not engage in a discussion of gender, this thesis likens femininity to discipline because its "chief function...is to train" the subject's behaviour.⁵⁷ Foucault does not associate disciplinary power with single sources, but instead with multiple, normalizing discourses.⁵⁸ Lois McNay argues Foucault's conception of disciplinary power shows that "knowledge" and "truth" are themselves discourses. Therefore, "knowledge is always bound up with historically specific regimes of power and...every society produces its own truths which have a normalizing and regulatory function."⁵⁹ Thus, discipline connotes that which normalizes and naturalizes everyday practices.

The discourse of femininity can be seen as a disciplinary phenomenon because "the pressure to act like a 'lady' continues without respite throughout a woman's lifetime." Greer Litton Fox argues femininity "attaches to behavior, not to the individual...A woman...must earn the label of 'feminine'...through traditional sex-appropriate behavior, and one must act feminine...continually to retain the label."⁶⁰ There is no individual source of the pressure to act like a lady. It is less a set of specific characteristics than a changing, normative definition of womanly behaviour.

Foucault conceives disciplinary power as working through the body, as opposed to the mind.⁶¹ This theory has aided feminist theorists in disputing the historical conflation of biological and social notions of women.⁶² This is because bodies are seen as being created

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⁵⁷ Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 170.

⁵⁸ Foucault, 215.

⁵⁹ McNay, Lois, *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 25-26.

⁶⁰ Litton Fox, Greer, "Nice Girl": Social Control of Women through a Value Construct," *Signs* 2, no. 4 (Summer 1977), 809.

⁶¹ Foucault, 136.

⁶² McNay, 17-18.

by disciplinary forces of power and not by biology per se.⁶³ A gendering of Foucault's notion of the docile body has yielded the concept of a 'disciplinary regime of femininity,' applying specifically to women. Sandra Bartky argues the disciplinary regime of femininity will "produce a body which in gesture and appearance is recognizably feminine."⁶⁴ Bartky describes disciplinary practices as being threefold, aimed at producing a body of a certain size and type; bringing forth from the body a "specific repertoire of gestures, postures and movements;" and aimed at using the female body as an ornamental surface.⁶⁵ Bartky's examines how discipline works on the lived body; this thesis will see the technologies of femininity as applying more generally to representations of feminine behaviour.

As a discursive phenomenon, femininity is not "simply" about "patriarchal oppression."⁶⁶ It is important to acknowledge women's agency in a discussion of discipline and femininity, since it is not a discourse that most women reject. Lois McNay argues that Foucault's theory of disciplined bodies over-determines the way power works on individuals because it "cannot explain many of the experiences of women in modern society."⁶⁷ For example, an over-determined conception of femininity as discourse cannot explain the work of nineteenth century suffragettes "who dislocated the stereotype of devout, obedient and modest femininity."⁶⁸ Likewise, women's participation in sport cannot be understood without understanding that her experience is mediated, but not determined, by a discourse of femininity.

This thesis will argue that advertisements featuring female athletes and active women are texts within a discourse of femininity. Advertisements are material. They are a part of

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⁶³ McNay, 11.

⁶⁴ Bartky, Sandra Lee, *Femininity and Domination* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 65.

⁶⁵ Bartky, 65.

⁶⁶ Smith, Dorothy, 39.

⁶⁷ McNay, 47.

the everyday lived experience of women. As ‘texts,’ advertisements can illustrate how the discourse of femininity intersects with competing ideas about sport and women. As a result of this interplay, the advertisements featuring Canadian female athletes and active women can be said to be a part of the discourse of femininity.

The Sociology of Women in Sport

Socio-historical studies on the history of women and sport, such as those by Helen Lenskyj and M. Ann Hall, have analyzed how femininity impacted women’s entry into sporting competition. Other sociological and psychological literature on femininity and sport has focused on two issues. One body of literature examines masculinity and sport. Sue Curry Jansen, Donald Sabo and Varda Burstyn argue the literature on femininity and sport has focused too much on how women are represented in sport media and too little on sport as a masculine power structure.⁶⁹ Another body of literature on sex-role socialization seeks to identify how femininity impacts both sporting participants and viewers of sport. Sex-role studies also identify sports that are associated with particular gender characteristics.

Varda Burstyn’s work considers the relationship of sports to power structures. Burstyn seeks to deconstruct that which appears to be apolitical and harmless about sporting institutions. Burstyn argues:

As a society we give little thought to the ideological valences of sport and its culture...most of us think of sport as an activity of choice or preference, as something voluntarily done or left aside, as a realm of innocence or frivolity, as intense and healthy physical release for those who play it, and as a form of ‘harmless entertainment’ for those who don’t...But from the point of view...of how we organize ourselves as a society stratified along lines of gender, colour, ethnicity, class, sexuality and physical ability – the institutions of sport, as the guardians of masculinist ritual, are among the

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⁶⁸ McNay, 42.

⁶⁹ Curry Jansen, Sue and Donald Sabo, “Images of Men in Sport Media: The Social Reproduction of Gender Order,” in *Men, Masculinity and Media*, ed. Steve Craig (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992), 169.

most important regenerating sources of individualist, competitive and coercive values and behaviors today.⁷⁰

According to Varda Burstyn, masculinity is central to understanding the politics of sporting participation. By masculinist, Burstyn means that the gender dominance of men in western societies is “organized and achieved by sport.”⁷¹ Burstyn bases her argument on theories of gender socialization; girls are not “organized in and through sport” in the way that boys are.⁷² Burstyn’s claim that sport is the central mechanism of male gender dominance is overstated. Rather, sports can be seen as one of those institutions that has reinforced and replicated gender differences. Susan Birrell and Nancy Theberge argue “...the artificial separation of the sport world into two spheres delineated by sex clearly marks gender difference as significant and worth maintaining.”⁷³ Specifically, this sex segregation has assumed that men’s strength and skill are superior to their female counterparts.

By unpacking the political biases of sport, the masculinist nature of terms such as athlete, hero, sport and Olympian can be identified. The androcentrism of sport and its institutions mean women’s place in sport is measured against a male ideal. For example, female Olympians have had to continually fight to be included in the same sports as men. Women were not “allowed” to compete in the Olympic marathon until 1984.⁷⁴ Women cannot play in men’s professional sports leagues, and they rarely have leagues of their own.⁷⁵ Until the formation of the WNBA in the 1990s, there was no professional sport for women

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⁷⁰ Burstyn, 7.

⁷¹ Burstyn, 28.

⁷² Burstyn, 8.

⁷³ Birrell, Susan and Nancy Theberge, “Ideological Control of Women in Sport,” in *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. D. Margaret Costa (Windsor: Human Kinetics, 1994), 346.

⁷⁴ Doig, John, “Canada’s Olympic Women Think Gold,” *Chatelaine*, August 1984, 47.

⁷⁵ An exception to this rule is Manon Rheume. In 1992, Rheume became the first woman in North America to sign with a men’s professional team when she joined the Tampa Bay Lightning. See Theberge, Nancy, “Playing with the boys: Manon Rheume, women’s hockey and the struggle for legitimacy,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 15, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 37-41.

in North America. One need only open the daily newspaper to the 'Sports' section to see the story behind sport on a day to day basis is male-centered. Women must participate like men in order to meet the standards of sport. This leaves unchallenged the assumptions about women's abilities that have plagued sport for so long. Women can legitimately be treated differently because they are the 'junior' players to the men's 'senior' level of competition, size and ability.

Jan Felshin's theory of a "feminine apologetic" argues femininity is a "social assumption for women" that has impacted expectations of female athletes and legitimated particular social roles.⁷⁶ Felshin argues:

...the apologetic suggests that the woman athlete can *appear* feminine...which has to do with sexual normality and attractiveness as well as so-called 'lady-like' behavior, and *wants* to be feminine, which means that social roles are valued more than sport roles, and life goals include marriage and motherhood rather than being a champion athlete.⁷⁷

Felshin argues that the social construction of women as passive objects, child bearers and wives means that the participation of women in sport has been seen as anomalous.⁷⁸

Therefore, their seriousness about sport notwithstanding, female athletes must "affirm that they are real women with feminine goals and interests."⁷⁹

Sex-role studies have explored the issue of femininity and the female athlete. In 1988, authors Gloria Desertrain and Maureen Weiss sought to explore whether or not some women experienced sex-role conflict because of their athleticism.⁸⁰ Previous studies cited by Lenskyj showed that being female and athletic resulted in gender conflict and non-conformity. However, Desertrain's and Weiss' report did not confirm this finding. They

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⁷⁶ Felshin, 204.

⁷⁷ Felshin, 204.

⁷⁸ Felshin, 190; 182.

⁷⁹ Felshin, 204.

found female athletes who self-identified as androgynous were no more likely to experience sex-role conflict than their feminine-identified counterparts.⁸¹ That Desertrain and Weiss began their study with the expectation that female athletes would experience sex-role “conflict,” shows there continue to be pre-existing assumptions about female athletes that result in the scrutiny of their femininity and sexuality.

Sociological studies of sport and role conflict further suggest that some sporting activities are seen as “more feminine” than others. In their 2000 study of “Childhood Play Activities as Predictors of Sport Participation by Women,” Giuliano *et. al* found that socially acceptable sports for women are “those in which the body is presented in an aesthetically pleasing manner.” By contrast, non-traditional sports for women are “those which require strenuous running, jumping, the throwing of heavy objects and the potential for bodily contact.”⁸² Even if role-conflict is not an issue for the athlete, sociological studies suggest that the “femininity” of female athletes is an issue for their audiences. Darhl M. Pederson and David Kono found that “...viewing actual athletic performance by women appears to have...a negative” effect on the perceived femininity of the female athletes.⁸³ In 2002 women participate in a variety of sporting activities, including such male-identified events as weight lifting. Nonetheless, the sex-role studies demonstrate that “femininity” continues to be a factor in social expectations of female athletes.

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⁸⁰ Desertrain, Gloria and Maureen Weiss, “Being Female and Athletic: A Cause for Conflict?” *Sex Roles* 18, no. 9 (1988), 567.

⁸¹ Desertrain, 587.

⁸² Giuliano, Traci A., Kathryn E. Popp and Jennifer L. Knight, “Footballs versus Barbies: Childhood Play Activities as Predictors of Sport Participation by Women,” *Sex Roles* 42, no. 3/4 (2000): 163.

⁸³ Pederson, Darhl M. and David M. Kono, “Perceived Effects on Femininity of the Participation of Women in Sport,” *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 71 (1990), 791.

Advertising and Femininity

Given the sociological and historical literature suggesting female athletes are contested figures, what are we to make of their use as spokespersons in advertisements? In his book *Celebrity: Fame in Contemporary Culture*, David Marshall likens the place of the “celebrity” in contemporary culture to Roland Barthes’ conception of the “sign.” Marshall argues, “like the sign, the celebrity represents something other than itself.”⁸⁴ This thesis likens female athletes and active women in advertisements to the celebrity as sign. This sign is an “empty structure” whose meaning is activated through an athlete’s use in an advertisement.⁸⁵ I will consider how transformations in the visual sign of the female athlete or active woman came about.

John Berger’s classic work, *Ways of Seeing* explores advertising’s relationship to oil painting. He argues that in advertisements, as in paintings, “*men act and women appear*.”⁸⁶ This maxim manifests itself in the poses of models in ads, the stereotypes of women (mother, sex object) and the “special sexual emphasis” given to women’s body parts, their legs particularly.⁸⁷ Since sport by its very nature signifies activity, the manifestation of this division between male and female in many advertisements featuring female athletes and active women is telling. It shows that female athletes and active women are not exempt from typical gender divisions in advertisements.

Janice Winship argues that the lips, or any other fragment of a woman’s body, can stand metonymically for her whole person in an advertisement.⁸⁸ Winship observes, women “are frequently represented in a ‘fragmented’ way” in comparison to men’s bodies in ad

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⁸⁴ Marshall, P. David, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 56.

⁸⁵ Marshall, 57.

⁸⁶ Berger, John, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin Books, 1972), 47.

⁸⁷ Berger, 138.

layouts.⁸⁹ Accordingly, hand placement in ads is a visual cue that signifies gender.⁹⁰ These cues can include the size of the hand, the product it is handling and painted fingernails. Another characteristic of hand placement in advertisements is the tendency for women to touch or caress a product, rather than to grip it or use the product itself.⁹¹ For the female athlete and active woman, this translates into a tendency to pose with and hold her sports equipment, rather than to use it in an advertisement.

Studies by Judith Williamson and Erving Goffman have also critiqued the gendered nature of advertising. Goffman argues that men and women in ads are represented as “prototypes of essential expression.”⁹² These tropes of gender convey “idealized characters using ideal facilities to realize ideal ends.”⁹³ Williamson sees advertising representations as appropriations of “pre-existing systems of differences” rather than idealized situations.⁹⁴ She argues that meaning is created in ads through interplay between products and imagery.⁹⁵ According to Williamson, women have become the signifiers used to convey the meaning of a product.⁹⁶ The underlying assumption of Berger, Goffman and Williamson’s work is that images are demeaning to women. However, Berger, Goffman and Williamson do not examine if, or how, women respond to this diminution.

Naomi Wolf and Jeanne Kilbourne argue that advertising has had a deleterious effect on women’s status and well being. Like Williamson, Wolf and Kilbourne argue that

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⁸⁸ Winship, Janice, “Handling Sex,” in *Looking On*, ed. Rosemary Betterton (New York: Pandora Press, 1987), 25.

⁸⁹ Winship, 25.

⁹⁰ Winship, 25-26.

⁹¹ Erving Goffman as cited in Winship, 30.

⁹² Goffman, Erving, *Gender Advertisements* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 7.

⁹³ Goffman, 26.

⁹⁴ Williamson, Judith, *Decoding Advertisements* (London: Calder and Boyans, 1978), 52.

⁹⁵ Williamson, 52.

⁹⁶ Williamson, 50.

advertising appropriates the discourse of femininity.⁹⁷ Wolf argues that the contemporary economy depends on a normative standard of femininity, coined “the beauty myth,” for its survival.⁹⁸ Kilbourne argues that women are not “duped” by the beauty myth, but rather “trained” because of the ubiquity of advertising, to “expect transformation via a product.”⁹⁹ Wolf and Kilbourne go one step further in their analyses of advertising than Goffman and Williamson, by suggesting that advertising perpetuates the discourse of femininity.¹⁰⁰ These authors are suggesting that advertising has a negative impact on women’s gender socialization and consumption choices. Since this is a study of *discourse*, an adjudication of images as ‘negative’ or ‘positive’ representations of women will not be offered. Moreover, this thesis will show that advertisers have used women’s claims to liberation, as well as their complaints about the way advertisements have “talked down” to females as a way to sell.

Yet another school of thought on gender and consumption argues that women actively make choices in their consumption patterns. These authors see women as social agents in their own right, rather than as passive consumers who have been victimized by idealized images of women. For example, Andrew Heinze argues that “the increased prospects for consumption in urban America enabled Jewish homemakers to magnify their already powerful influence over family life.”¹⁰¹ Heinze sees women’s consumption as an entrée into the management and control of their households. Debbie Stoller argues in an article from the feminist ‘zine’ *Bust* that young feminists make choices in light of their values. Stoller writes “we understood very clearly what feminists, and our own mothers meant when they said, ‘it doesn’t matter what you look like on the outside, it’s what’s inside that counts,’

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⁹⁷ Kilbourne, Jeanne, *Deadly Persuasion* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 67. Wolf, Naomi, *The Beauty Myth* (Toronto: Random House, 1990), 47.

⁹⁸ Wolf, 7.

⁹⁹ Kilbourne, 217.

¹⁰⁰ Kilbourne, 67; Wolf, 47.

but we still felt tempted by those ads that promise we could ‘be a model, or just look like one.’”¹⁰² Stoller’s claim is that women can “read through” the messages of advertising and make their own choices about makeup, fashion and the like. Thus, Heinze and Stollar are arguing that women are not passive consumers, but active agents whose consumption patterns reflect thoughtful choices.

The previously cited studies do not deal specifically with women and sport. However, three quantitative studies have categorized images of active women in advertising. A 1976 survey by Alison Poe found that “more numerous and more varied magazine ads portraying women in sports were found in 1928 than in 1956 and 1972.”¹⁰³ Poe’s survey, which tracked images of “women in physical activity or sport” in several American periodicals, found they tended to be sexualized in advertising imagery.¹⁰⁴ Poe speculates that there is a relationship between the social acceptability of female athletes and their representation in advertisements.¹⁰⁵ Poe also found that celebrity female athletes were less likely to appear in advertisements than their male counterparts.¹⁰⁶

Patricia A. Bolla’s study of women in Canadian periodical advertising also noted variations in representations of “women’s leisure” portrayed over time. Bolla’s quantitative study of women in *Chatelaine* and *Miss Chatelaine* advertisements between 1964 and 1987 found that socializing was more often portrayed as a “leisure activity” for women than was sport.¹⁰⁷ Bolla’s study found that in the 1960’s women were rarely shown participating in

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¹⁰¹ Heinze, Andrew, “Jewish Women and the Making of an American Home,” in *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, ed. Jennifer Scanlon (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 13.

¹⁰² Stoller, Debbie, ed., *The Bust Guide to the New Girl Order* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 42.

¹⁰³ Poe, Alison. “Active Women in Ads,” *Journal of Communication* 26, no. 4 (Autumn 1976), 185.

¹⁰⁴ Poe, 189.

¹⁰⁵ Poe, 186.

¹⁰⁶ Poe, 188.

¹⁰⁷ Bolla, Patricia A., “Media images of women and leisure: an analysis of magazine advertisements, 1964-87,” *Leisure Studies* 9 (1990), 241.

physical activities, such as bicycling or walking.¹⁰⁸ Ads featuring women doing physical activity subsequently increased until 1978, after which there was a “marked decline” in the 1980s.¹⁰⁹ Bolla does not speculate on what social forces were at work that might explain these shifts in representations of women.

Nancy Theberge’s 1991 study “A Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of Gender, Women and Physical Activity” explores how a “*gendering* of physical culture” is present in sports-media coverage.¹¹⁰ Theberge assesses not only the amount of coverage of female athletes, but also the nature of this coverage.¹¹¹ Theberge’s study of newspaper and magazine coverage in Canada between 1977 and 1987 found that most sports are gendered in media discourse, through an emphasis on women’s appearance or lifestyle.¹¹² Theberge further notes that “material on women’s physical activity in *Chatelaine* gave greatest emphasis to discussions of health and fitness issues...” and “the related topic of emotional and psychological well-being also figured somewhat prominently.”¹¹³ Theberge’s data shows that sport for women is often depicted as good for weight control and emotional well being. In comparison skill-development, strength or competition might be emphasized for men.

Theberge’s, Bolla’s and Poe’s claims that advertising imagery is quantifiable assume that images have fixed meanings. I will not engage in the debate over advertising and consumer agency as raised in the work of Williamson, Goffman, Heinze and others. Rather, this thesis will look at the discourse of femininity of which advertising imagery is a part, and what meanings are attached to the visual sign of the female athlete or active women.

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¹⁰⁸ Bolla, 246.

¹⁰⁹ Bolla, 241.

¹¹⁰ Theberge, Nancy, “A Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of Gender, Women and Physical Activity,” *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 3 (1991), 37.

¹¹¹ Theberge, 37.

¹¹² Theberge, 42.

¹¹³ Theberge, 45.

Consequently, the ads will be seen as “signifiers in the discourse.”¹¹⁴ To that end, this thesis will offer a qualitative, rather than a quantitative review of Canadian female athletes and active women in advertising.

Much of the literature on advertising and women to date has suggested that women tend to be objectified and sexualized in advertisements. However, I suggest that the Canadian female athlete or active woman in advertising does not play the same role as a professional model, though this does not mean that her depiction is any less normative than other representations in advertising. Louise Allen argues athletes are often represented as the “ordinary heterosexual girl next door.”¹¹⁵ This separates female athletes from the use of generic and “ideal” models that play more to the wants, needs and insecurities of the audience. Likewise, the sign of the active woman will connote something different from a typical fashion layout.

In *The New Icons*, Paul Rutherford posits that Canadian advertising has a distinct “accent.” The “Canadian Accent” “doesn’t shout or dazzle,” but instead employs notions of Canada being a kinder, gentler and more polite nation.¹¹⁶ This imagery takes the “shape of a celebration of good times, simple pleasures, family life or social harmony.”¹¹⁷ While the “Canadian accent” is by no means the only way to analyze images of sport for women, it is “...one way to investigate the ideas that appear to exercise hegemonic authority in Canada and throughout the first world.”¹¹⁸ The notion of a Canadian accent is useful to my study of female athletes and active women in advertising because objectification is not a major factor in my analysis of discourse and representations of female athletes and active women.

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¹¹⁴ Pollack, 41.

¹¹⁵ Allen, Louise, *Lesbian Idols, Lesbian Images* (London: Cassel, 1997), 52.

¹¹⁶ Rutherford, Paul, *The New Icons: The Art of Television Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 98.

¹¹⁷ Rutherford, 92.

Advertising's "appeal to the consumer is indirect...," instead it is "...social communication in that it draws on an existing stock of images and knowledge and speaks to the consumer about the product by way of a social message which will be readily understood."¹¹⁹ Joyce Nelson argues

the human receiver is a bundle of needs (many of them unconscious or below the threshold of awareness) and a compendium of emotional experiences...The goal is to shape the message so that it matches the unconscious needs, emotional experience, and coded expectations of the desired audience – so that it speaks to, or resonates with, their deepest feelings and beliefs. This isn't putting something into the receivers, it's drawing something out of them and attaching it, or labeling that emotion with the product being advertised.¹²⁰

To this end, advertisements do not construct the discourse of femininity, but position and brand "consumer identities" with which women engage. Advertising's connection to social practices means that its "re-presentations" are not static. Advertisements are social texts that make manifest the discourse of femininity. Like femininity, the role of Canadian women in advertisements must be considered within the social context in which the ads are created.

Theoretical Grounding: Bruno Latour's "Inscriptions"

Using Bruno Latour's theory of "inscriptions," this paper will examine representations of female athletes and active women in advertisements since 1928. In his essay "Drawing things together," Bruno Latour develops a theory of history *qua* visualization that argues historical change can be understood by examining "modifications in the way in which groups of people argue with one another using paper, signs, prints and diagrams."¹²¹ A change in *worldview* is literally explained as a change in "how a culture *sees* the *world*, and

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¹¹⁸ Rutherford, 105.

¹¹⁹ Millum, Trevor, *Images of Women: Advertising in Women's Magazines* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), 11.

¹²⁰ Joyce Nelson as quoted in Varda Burstyn, 143.

¹²¹ Latour, Bruno, "Drawing Things Together," in *Representation and Scientific Practice*, ed. M. Lynch and S. Woolgar (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), 21.

makes it visible.”¹²² For example, the printing press transformed both the way information was recorded and the way it was transmitted.¹²³ However, a change in worldview does not have to be as overarching as the printing press. Latour seeks to deflate the “grandiose” schemes of history and start with the deceptively simple notion of inscriptions. Inscriptions reduce information and simplify ideas, they are “diagrams, lists, formulae, archives, engineering drawings, files, equations, dictionaries, collections” and the like, that synthesize and simplify ideas.¹²⁴

Advertisements can be seen as inscriptions because they reduce information about products, a sales pitch, social messages and more to the visual. Like other inscriptions, advertising is political in character because information is selected or left out of an image depending on its purpose.¹²⁵ Advertisements are significant because they are what Latour would call an “immutable mobile.” Mobility is important because inscriptions transmit things that otherwise would not be available on a wide scale.¹²⁶ For example, an image of a female athlete selling shampoo is accessible to a much wider audience than an athlete demonstrating the product herself. Immutability is essential because the inscription should not change when it is moved. It can change scale, but the inscription itself remains the same.¹²⁷ By being an immutable mobile, one single advertising image can be disseminated to a wide audience. The dissemination of an inscription is essential to its discursive potential.

Latour argues the power of an inscription grows through its ability to become common sense, and to convince “someone else” of its fidelity.¹²⁸ This thesis will not address

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¹²² Latour, 30.

¹²³ Latour, 31 - 33.

¹²⁴ Latour, 23.

¹²⁵ Law, John and John Whittaker, “On the Art of Representation,” in *Picturing Power*, eds. G. Fife and J. Law (London: Routledge, 1988), 182.

¹²⁶ Latour, 44.

¹²⁷ Latour, 45.

¹²⁸ Latour, 24.

the issue of the power of advertisements to convince consumers, but rather it finds significance in the recurring social messages they construct. Susan Bordo argues that “trying to make a claim about social or cultural patterns...is increasingly difficult to sustain in a postmodern context, where we are surrounded by endlessly displaced images and are given no orienting context in which to make discriminations.”¹²⁹ While not arguing that there is a totalizing explanation for representations of female athletes in advertising, and recognizing the multiplicity of images of female athletes in ads available, I am suggesting that there are patterns in representations of female athletes that are not coincidental. These patterns are repeated as a part of the everyday social milieu and therefore can be said to be a part of the discourse of femininity. The specific elements of Latour’s inscriptions that I will use to examine advertisements featuring female athletes are optical consistency, juxtaposition, and the production of new inscriptions through simplification.

Optical consistency exists when a method of visualization has its own visual vocabulary; examples include chemistry, music and mathematics. There are a number of ways that advertisements can be said to be optically consistent. As John Berger suggests, advertising is a language unto itself.¹³⁰ The characteristics of this language can include the types of bodies that appear in ads and the way bodies are posed, the use of colour and language and the narrative scope of the imagery presented. Advertising imagery can also be optically consistent by its inclusion or exclusion of different types of bodies, ethnicity and abilities. For example, advertising imagery of athletes is optically consistent for its exclusion of people with physical disabilities.

Juxtaposition is a characteristic of many ads featuring female athletes and active women. John Law and John Whittaker argue that the key to understanding the “rhetorical

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¹²⁹ Bordo, Susan, *Unbearable Weight* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 258 – 259.

organization” of photographs is to contrast them with the “text that surrounds them.”¹³¹

Multiple images of the athlete can be used in order to construct a narrative. Alternatively, the visual content of an ad can be juxtaposed with preexisting knowledge of the athlete.

Another way advertisements juxtapose meanings is through the double entendre. Usually, this involves a text message that plays off either commonly understood social practices or off of other inscriptions in the ads themselves.

David Marshall argues that “...the institutions of the culture industry work to routinize the structure of meaning of the celebrity...”¹³² John Berger refers to this paradigm in advertising as glamour, whereby the advertising message plays off the wants, needs and desires of the viewer. As a social text, the glamour and celebrity paradigm imposes a “contingent simplicity” on inscriptions resulting in “...docile, vaccinated versions” of the original information.¹³³ Law and Whittaker say this is akin to providing a road map, without the full complexity. This simplification process is a part of how inscriptions become commonplace. Reducing and simplifying an athlete’s story or image to make her more like *every* woman conveys a simple message that “everyone” can “identify” with.

Optically consistent inscriptions of female athletes and active women become “tropes” once they are repeated and homogenized in an advertisement. Law and Whittaker point out that homogenization is both a productive and a reductive phenomenon.¹³⁴ It is reductive in that images in advertisements are reduced to the easily understood, even the stereotypical. It is productive in that new and simpler objects replace “their more complex

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¹³⁰ Berger, 131.

¹³¹ Law and Whittaker, 171.

¹³² Marshall, 55.

¹³³ Law and Whittaker, 169.

¹³⁴ Law and Whittaker, 168.

and distributed cousins.”¹³⁵ For example, a representation of an athlete smiling and wearing her street clothes is a reduction of the full story of her career, training and injuries. This image reduces the complexity of the athlete. The new imagery produced is not of the athlete per se, but rather of a smiling woman touting cars or breakfast cereal. This is not only a reduction of the complexity of the athlete’s story, but also a re-framing of her narrative for the purpose of selling. Thus, it is not that ads are creating the discourse of femininity. Rather, they are selecting and enhancing that which is already ‘in’ the discourse, that is most in tune with the product’s message.

Latour’s theory of inscriptions and its characteristics of optical consistency, juxtaposition and homogenization of representations will provide the grounding for my deconstruction of selected advertisements featuring active women and celebrity athletes since 1928. I will use these characteristics of inscriptions as frameworks within which to deconstruct aspects of the ads such as the use of metaphors and language, the body and race. Patterns of representations, as well as apparently anomalous imagery will be considered in terms of a changing discourse of femininity.

The images I analyze are primarily from *Maclean’s* (1928 to present), *Châtelaine* (1928 to Present), *La Revue Modern/Châtelaine* (1928 to Present) and *L’Actualité* (1976 to present).¹³⁶ Taken together, these publications address both “general interest” and “women’s interests” in French and English Canada since 1928. 1928 was selected as the year to begin my analysis because it was the first year Canadian women competed in the Olympic games. I reviewed every even-numbered year of both magazines between 1928 and 2002.

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¹³⁵ Law and Whittaker, 168.

¹³⁶ During the course of my research I have also come across ads featuring celebrity female athletes and active women in other Canadian and occasionally American periodicals, including *Saturday Night*, *Life* and *Canadian Living*.

There were no appreciable variations in the nature of the ads I found in different magazines. Fewer ads were found in the French-language publications prior to the 1970s, but this could be attributed to their smaller audience and number of advertisements. The question of audience is a matter for further investigation. Since this thesis is a study of the discourse of femininity and not an examination of the readership, content or structure of the periodicals, I will focus primarily on the *content* of the advertisements.¹³⁷ That said, the role of popular media discourse is a factor in my analysis of the advertisements. Articles were selected from the periodicals in order to understand the advertisements in their historical context. Along with secondary sources, these articles bring popular debates and issues surrounding female athletes into the thesis.

The ads were selected based on their inclusion of a celebrity female athlete or an active woman. On the surface, this may seem like a broad scope from which to select the ads. However, the ads selected are only those which make direct reference to sport, either through an image, text, or inclusion of a celebrity athlete. One group of images I excluded are of women sun-bathing or images of women in their swimsuits. The former suggest leisure rather than sport, and the latter images made no reference to physical activity. Since this is a qualitative and not a quantitative study, I selected ads based on the above criteria rather than the frequency with which they appeared in a periodical. Nonetheless, I will identify those ads I happened to find in more than one periodical.

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¹³⁷ For an analysis of the readership and content of *Chatelaine* and *Maclean's* see: Korinek, Valerie, *Roughing it In the Suburbs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Chapter Two

THE GOLDEN AGE OF WOMEN IN SPORT IN CANADA

David McDonald calls the inter-war years (1919 to 1939) the “Golden Age of Women in Sport in Canada.”¹³⁸ McDonald’s assessment is based on the number of women who participated in sport during the era and the variety of sports in which women participated.¹³⁹ He argues “women competed at a high level in almost every conceivable sport, including some – hockey, lacrosse, cricket – which even today are generally considered male preserves.”¹⁴⁰ According to McDonald, media response and sponsorship of female athletes further contributed to their success during this period. He cites Bobbie Rosenfeld, a celebrated 1928 Olympic medallist in track, as an example. The chocolate company where Rosenfeld worked sponsored her athletic endeavors.¹⁴¹ She “competed in seven track and field disciplines, won tennis titles, and starred in basketball and softball.”¹⁴² Later, Rosenfeld became a women’s sport columnist for the *Globe* newspaper, and also wrote about women’s sport for *Chatelaine* and *MacLean’s*.

Bruce Kidd’s research on the history of sport in Canada also indicates the inter-war years were a high point for women’s sport participation. Kidd’s *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* documents the formation of the Women’s Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada (WAAF) in the late 1920s.¹⁴³ The WAAF is significant because it was a movement by women, for women, to create a sporting federation autonomous from the male-dominated Amateur

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¹³⁸ McDonald may not have coined this phrase. Another article that originated at the same time also refers to this period as “The Golden Age of Women in Sport in Canada.” See Hoffman, Abby, “1923-1935: the golden age of women’s sport,” *Branching Out* 7, no. 1 (1980): 23-25, 52.

¹³⁹ McDonald, David, “The Golden Age of Women in Sport in Canada,” *Canadian Woman Studies* 15, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 13.

¹⁴⁰ McDonald, 13.

¹⁴¹ McDonald, 14.

¹⁴² McDonald, 13; 15.

¹⁴³ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 97.

Athletic Union (AAU). The AAU was not as supportive of women's sport as the WAAF's supporters wished. Kidd also documents the story of the Toronto Ladies Major Softball League in the 1920s and 1930s. The league was sufficiently popular to charge admission to their games at Sunnyside stadium in Toronto. In 1924 the "estimated attendance for the season was 152,000 for 36 games."¹⁴⁴ Attendance for the league dropped off during the Depression; however, "women's softball still drew more than any rival attraction" at Sunnyside Stadium in the early 1930s.¹⁴⁵ The Toronto Ladies Major Softball League and the WAAF demonstrate that women were creating their own place in Canadian sport by organizing and competing on their own teams and on their own terms.

David McDonald contends that the history of women's sport has not been a progression toward more and better sport for women.¹⁴⁶ Instead, he sees sport for women as a cyclical phenomenon. McDonald calls women's sports in the 1950s a "dark age" in comparison to the "golden age" that preceded it.¹⁴⁷ The problem with McDonald's application of terms such as "golden age" or "dark age" is that he de-politicizes sport by making it seem like a hobby women have chosen or rejected at their will. McDonald makes only passing reference to the "difficulty" female athletes had in being accepted in the inter war period, as though women's sudden breakthrough in sport was an uncontested "golden age." Moreover, McDonald's work does not account for why it is that sport has ebbed and flowed in the lives of Canadian women. Looking at factors other than the number of women participating in sport, such as the perception and representation of active women, better illustrates the conditions under which women's athletics became popular between 1928 and 1939.

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¹⁴⁴ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 105.

¹⁴⁵ Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport*, 105.

¹⁴⁶ McDonald, 12.

The “Feminine Sport” Debate

Shortly after the success of the women’s track and field team at the 1928 Olympics, *Maclean’s* featured an article on the team by its coach, Alexandrine Gibb. Gibb claimed “in the opinion of all the feminine authorities...women’s sports more than justified their place on the program” of the 1928 Olympic games.¹⁴⁸ However, the “masculine authorities” did not agree with Gibb’s assessment. Following the 1928 games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) held a vote to determine whether or not women would continue to be invited to compete in the Olympics.¹⁴⁹ Dr. A.S. Lamb, then president of the Amateur Athletic Union, voted against women’s continued participation in the Olympics.¹⁵⁰ Unlike the AAU, no member of the WAAF had a seat on the IOC. Regardless, Lamb was not in the majority, and women were invited to compete in the 1932 games.

Heated debates over “feminine sport” were waged in the pages of *Chatelaine* and *Maclean’s* during the 1930s. In the May 1933 issue of *Chatelaine*, male sportswriter Andy Lytle complained that, “the sight of leathery-legged, flat-chested girls in sweaters and shorts, running...high-jumping, throwing spears into the distance...either with men, or by themselves...” left him “cold and unhappy” for having been “compelled, by duty or stress of circumstance, to gaze upon such feeble undertakings.”¹⁵¹ Lytle’s concerns about female athletes are primarily aesthetic. The thought of being “leathery legged” or “flat-chested” is supposed to be enough to deter his female readers from competing in sport.

Bobbie Rosenfeld responded to Andy Lytle’s arguments in a July 1933 *Chatelaine* article called “Girls Are In Sports for Good!” Rosenfeld argued:

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¹⁴⁷ McDonald, 12.

¹⁴⁸ Gibb, Alexandrine, “The story of how six Canadian girls won the women’s track and field championship of the world,” *Maclean’s*, 1 October 1928, 16.

¹⁴⁹ Gibb, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Gibb, 49.

the modern girl is a better worker and a happier woman by reason of the healthy pleasure she takes in tennis, hockey, lacrosse, swimming, running, jumping and other sports. The sacrifices which girls have to make to keep themselves fit are all for their good. They work better because they play better. When one sees the well-filled playing fields today, one has no fear for the future of Canadian womanhood.¹⁵²

Rosenfeld further disputed Lytle's unsupported claim that sport negatively influenced women's health,¹⁵³ challenging Lytle to produce one woman whose health has suffered due to athletics.¹⁵⁴ Rosenfeld's article is typical of advocates of "physical culture" for women, given its emphasis on the potential health benefits for women. Conversely, Andy Lytle calls on "all good Canadians" to put feminine sporting "habbitry" to an end because it is bad for them.¹⁵⁵ Rosenfeld's claim that sport contributes to Canadian womanhood is reminiscent of the maternal feminist argument that women should have the vote because they are mothers. In both cases, the advocacy of sports for women as individuals is de-emphasized in place of sports' value to the common good.

In a 1938 *Maclean's* article titled "I Don't Like Amazon Athletes," Elmer Ferguson directed his critique at the unfeminine nature of female athletes. Addressing himself to the "girl athletes" themselves, Ferguson writes:

I've seen some really pretty girl runners; at least they were pretty when they weren't contorting their comely faces out on the cinder track...I'm advising you to stick to those sports in which you compete with a minimum of strain, a maximum of grace, beauty and rhythm; the sports in which you can compete with pleasure and success and still retain essential femininity...¹⁵⁶

Ferguson's critique of "Amazon" athletes is useful to a discussion of the discourse of femininity, because he explicitly outlined what sorts of sport were appropriate to females,

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¹⁵¹ Lytle, Andy, "Girls Shouldn't Do it," *Chatelaine*, May 1933, 12.

¹⁵² Rosenfeld, Bobbie, "...Girls are in sports for good," *Chatelaine*, July 1933, 6.

¹⁵³ Lytle, 12-13.

¹⁵⁴ Rosenfeld, 6.

¹⁵⁵ Lytle, 13.

¹⁵⁶ Ferguson, Elmer, "I Don't Like Amazon Athletes," *Maclean's*, 1 August 1938, 32.

naming tennis, figure skating and skiing among them.¹⁵⁷ Ferguson's critique also demonstrates an essentialist conflation of the biological and social roles of women. That is, he sees women as inherently passive, weaker and more graceful than men. As opponents of sport for women, the concerns of Lytle and Ferguson are located in the image of women "straining" on the field. Thus, the appearance of a female athlete was essential to her reception by some members of the public.

Roxy Atkins, a 1936 Olympic competitor in the woman's hurdles responded to Elmer Ferguson's diatribe against "Amazon" athletes. Atkins asked, "would Elmer have us run races with a powder puff in one hand and a mirror in the other?"¹⁵⁸ After poking fun at Ferguson's advice to female athletes, Atkins refuted his argument that female athletes are unattractive. She writes "I have never known a girl, naturally beautiful, to lose any of her good looks and charm because she became sports-minded."¹⁵⁹ Atkins concluded her response to Ferguson with her opinion on the value of sport for women:

Girls are human beings. They want an equal chance with men to go places, to see the world, to parade before crowds, to win medals and cups, to hear the cheers of the spectators. They want a chance to play, to develop physically, to cultivate the spirit of sportsmanship, to meet nice people, to have an interest beyond the home and office.¹⁶⁰

There is a difference in the tone of the articles by Atkins and Ferguson. Whereas Ferguson is mocking, Atkins is earnest. Ferguson is dismissive about female athletes, whereas Atkins is passionate about the benefits of sport for women.

There is a real debate, even a power-struggle, going on between Atkins and Ferguson that speaks to the contested place of female athletes in the inter-war years. This debate

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¹⁵⁷ Ferguson, Elmer, 32.

¹⁵⁸ Atkins, Roxy, "Elmer, You're Goofy: An 'Amazon Athlete' Leaps to the Defense of her Sex," *Maclean's*, 15 September 1948, 18.

¹⁵⁹ Atkins, 18.

¹⁶⁰ Atkins, 38.

shows female athletes were neither wholly accepted, nor wholly derided. Instead, the articles show a variety of expectations and conditions being placed on the *female* athlete. I will use these limitations on female athletes as a way to look at advertising representations from the period. I will divide the ads into three categories of analysis based on the issues about women's sport raised by Gibbs, Lytle, Rosenfeld, Ferguson and Atkins.

The first group of advertisements will be examined in the context of Alexandrine Gibb's comments on the success of the 1928 women Olympians. Upon the surface, Gibb's claim is that female athletes had finally "arrived" on the international sports scene in 1928. However, Gibb also boasts that team member Ethel Catherwood was "unofficially crowned Beauty Queen of the Olympiad," thereby qualifying the terms of the women's teams success.¹⁶¹ Catherwood's beauty added value to the perception of the women's track and field team. I will examine how the liberation of women, as athletes and otherwise, is tied to beauty and sophistication in advertisements.

Bobbie Rosenfeld's article illustrates another dimension of the discourse of femininity and the female athlete at the time. Rosenfeld's comment on the "future of Canadian womanhood" suggests there was a perceived link between physical activity and reproduction. She locates the usefulness of sport not in the present generation of athletes, but in the generation to come. The implication of this is that sport is most useful to women as reproducers. The second group of advertisements includes images of physically active women and children. I will discuss how sport's association with femininity changes when women and children are represented together.

Rosenfeld and Lytle both incite "Canadians" in their arguments for and against women in sport. By bringing the entire nation into their discussion of female athletes, the

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¹⁶¹ Gibb, 48.

authors are implying that women's sport is not a matter of individual choice, but rather a moral issue with which all Canadians must grapple. The final group of ads will be discussed in terms of sport as a form of moral regulation for women. I will examine the didactic quality of selected ads that depict physical activity as a part of the moral health of women, children and the nation.

Active Women, Liberation and Beauty

A 1928 advertisement from *Saturday Night* shows a woman swinging a golf club (2.1). She is depicted in profile, gazing into the distance, presumably toward the golf ball she has just hit. In the background is a young male caddie, who also gazes after the woman golfer's ball. In the distance a male golfer is standing in a sand trap, preparing for a shot, while another caddie gazes over the scene. The headline for this ad for *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* reads, "Yes – She has an ELECTRIC RANGE." Another much smaller illustration in the bottom left corner of the ad shows a meticulous, empty kitchen with a modern electric range. The copy of the ad describes the woman golfer, and assures the reader that there is "no reason at all why one should suppose she is neglecting her housework." This is because the golfer's "home is well equipped with electric appliances" and "she finds herself in possession of welcome leisure hours."¹⁶²

Without reading the text of the ad, one could assume the golfer is competing in a tournament, or practicing with her new clubs. Not so. The text of the ad limits the "scope for narrative flexibility" of this image.¹⁶³ This is because the "'ends' of female identity are quite clearly identified."¹⁶⁴ That is, the image of the golfer is not sufficient to determine her

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¹⁶² *Saturday Night*, 23 June 1928, 33.

¹⁶³ Cronin, Anne, *Advertising and Consumer Citizenship* (London: Routledge, 2000), 127.

¹⁶⁴ Cronin, 127.

story but its juxtaposition with the text of the ad and the image of the empty kitchen makes it clear that the golfer is really a housewife. Thus, the ad establishes a clear limit within which to understand the narrative of the woman golfer.

The restriction of the narrative possibilities for the woman golfer is a way to focus the advertisement's message. The woman's life is reduced to two activities - golfing and cooking, and the text works with the ad's two images to discourage alternative readings. For example, the ad's text directs the reader to ask questions about the woman golfer's leisure time. There is no implication in the ad that the male golfer is meant to be other than on the course. Golfing is permissible within the scope of female activities *because* the electric range gives women the time to leave the home. First the *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* ad reduces the scope of women's activities to focus their message on their product. Then, it produces a new narrative, suggesting a connection between the electric range and women's leisure time that previously did not exist.

Significantly, there are no visual cues in the ad to diminish the woman golfer's skills or ability in comparison to the male golfer in the background. She is the liberated "new woman" who, according to Stuart Ewen, was a popular trope of advertising in the 1920s and 1930s. Ewen argues in *Captains of Consciousness* that the "feminist demand for equality and freedom for women was appropriated into the jargon of consumerism."¹⁶⁵ The *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* ad equates freedom with its product when it claims that their electric range is "not an eye-servant - it will cook dinner while you are absent."¹⁶⁶ Proof of this claim is offered through a juxtaposition of the woman golfer in a large, open space, with a tiny image of an empty kitchen. The *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* ad does not promise to liberate women from their housework, but rather to liberate them through simplified

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¹⁶⁵ Ewen, Stuart, *Captains of Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 160.

housework. Consequently, the woman golfer is “equal” with her male counterpart, because the electric range has “freed” her to enjoy some leisure time.

Golf is also used in an August 1936 ad in which a model sits in chic golfing attire, complete with a matching cap and leather gloves. The golfer holds a club in one hand, a cigarette in the other hand and she has a package of *Buckingham Cigarettes* in her front pocket (2.2). The text in the ad claims that the cigarettes are “Throat Easy.” A second *Buckingham Cigarettes* advertisement appeared in February 1937 (2.3). This ad depicts a woman in front of a mountainscape, ostensibly on skis (though only her poles are visible). Like the model in the earlier ad, the skier wears a coordinated and chic ski outfit. It features embroidery, gold buttons, a matching hat and gloves. The text of this ad reads “distinctive.”¹⁶⁷

In their 1940 book, *The Story of Advertising in Canada*, H.E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught state that “so far as the advertiser is concerned, it is no longer a man’s world.”¹⁶⁸ Stephenson and McNaught associated women’s liberated social roles with a marketplace that had begun to sell male-identified products to women. For example, a 1920s marketing campaign presented cigarettes to women as “torches of freedom” because smoking by women was still relatively uncommon.¹⁶⁹ Between 1914 and 1928 North American cigarette smoking increased seven-times over, in part because of female smokers.¹⁷⁰ In this ad, smoking is a trope that stands for the liberated new woman.

Two previously male-identified activities connote the “new woman” in the *Buckingham* ads, smoking and sport. As in the *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* ad, smoking and sport are further gendered female through other cues in the advertisement. For example, the

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¹⁶⁶ *Saturday Night*, 23 June 1928, 33.

¹⁶⁷ *Chatelaine*, August 1936, back cover; *Chatelaine*, February 1937, 6.

¹⁶⁸ Stephenson, H.E. and Carlton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940), 217.

¹⁶⁹ Ewen, 160.

two words used in the 1936 *Buckingham* ad, “throat easy” indicates that *Buckingham*’s are less harsh than other cigarettes and therefore appropriate for women. The 1937 ad reads “distinctive.” Distinctive can refer to difference from others or to a memorable woman.

The word “distinctive” could also be used to describe the demeanor of the models in the *Buckingham* ads. Each model’s physical appearance is meticulous and their clothing is sophisticated. While the models signify vitality and youth there is no indication of the exertion required to ski or golf in this imagery. As Elmer Ferguson argued, sports such as skiing and golf accentuate a woman’s femininity because they allow her to display her grace and beauty.¹⁷¹ As a consequence, the golfers are not only meticulously dressed, but they pose with, rather than use their sporting equipment. It is as though Roxy Atkins’ mocking suggestion that women compete with powder puffs and mirrors had come true. Distinctive, indeed.

In her study of *Dupuis Frères* ads in *La Presse*, Sylvie Raymond found that golf and tennis were the sports most likely to be depicted despite being inaccessible to the majority of women.¹⁷² Raymond’s discussion of the class component of the *Dupuis Frères* ads is valid, but she fails to consider the gendered nature of sports in her analysis. As I have shown, sports that allow for the display of the body and require no physical contact between competitors were considered more appropriate for women. Many women may have been unable to afford golf or skiing, but this does not discount the discursive association of these sports with femininity.

Images of women as athletes or smokers show that those behaviors considered to be within the realm of acceptability for women were in flux during the inter-war period.

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¹⁷⁰ Stephenson, 204.

¹⁷¹ Ferguson, Elmer, 32.

¹⁷² Raymond, Sylvie, “Iconographie publicitaire de l’activité sportive: le cas de Dupuis

Transgressive activities did not necessarily equal unfeminine behaviour. Instead, difference is normalized through its association with other signifiers of femininity. If smoking for women or sport for women is sufficiently acceptable to be depicted in an advertisement, then they can be seen as acceptably feminine.¹⁷³ However, the optical consistency of the women depicted and the sports chosen to signify health and vitality, speaks to the limitations on this new social acceptability of female athletes. Consequently, health and vitality added to a woman's value, provided that her appearance did not belie the exertion required to be an athlete.

Sport for Motherhood

Another trope of the active woman in *Buckingham Cigarettes* and *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* ads is her youth. Certainly the women look young, but there is also no implication that they have children. Several more ads from the inter-war years depict young, single or childless women. A 1939 *Pond's Vanishing Cream* ad features "Coronation-Year 'Deb' H.H. Princess Priscilla Bibesco" (2.4). The headline of the ad reads "Her Petal Smooth Skin Stops Him in His Tracks!" An image directly under the headline features Princess Priscilla with a young man. Another image in the ad shows Princess Priscilla holding a pair of skis, the caption reads "Blizzards Roughen My Skin? No! I protect my skin with Pond's Vanishing Cream."¹⁷⁴

The Pond's ad emphasizes the sportswoman's ability to attract men's attention. However, this ability is based on a chain of events, the beginning of which is the maintenance of Princess Priscilla's skin. It follows that good skin enhances her looks while the Princess skis and eventually, stops "him in his tracks!" The *Pond's* ad focuses on

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Frères dans La Presse, 1909-1952," (M.A. thesis, Université Laval, 1995), 55-56.

¹⁷³ Poe, 186.

eliminating any visible signs of Princess Priscilla's sporting endeavors. Similarly, a 1945 ad for *Hold-Bob*, "the bobby pins that HOLD," implies that without their product an active woman risks diminishing her femininity (2.5). The *Hold-Bob* ad tells us "Tessie played tennis, Her strokes were alarming, But HOLD-BOB pins kept her hair tidy and charming."¹⁷⁵ A cartoon image of Tessie running, jumping and falling toward a tennis ball, all the while maintaining her beautiful hair, accompanies this ad.

The *Pond's* and *Hold-Bob* ads imply that beauty and some sporting prowess will assist a woman in getting a man's attention. But what of the woman who already has a husband? How is the value of sport represented for women who have already succeeded in marrying and having children? As Helen Lenskyj has suggested, sport for women in the early twentieth century was often understood as a way to make healthier mothers.¹⁷⁶ None of the quantitative surveys on active women in ads have examined its relationship to the social construction of motherhood. By contrast, my survey yielded multiple images of women and children. A limitation on the "liberation" of female athletes is reflected in the way mothers participate in sport in the ads. Mothers are portrayed as the facilitators of the play activities of their children, rather than athletes themselves.

A 1945 *Modess Sanitary Napkins* ad depicts a mother and child (2.6). The mother is pushing her young daughter in a swing. *Modess* claims that their product will make you "Free as the wind...Free to work with all your heart. Or play hard as a five-year old. Free from sighs or slow-downs because you've discovered the astonishing comfort of Modess!"¹⁷⁷ The visual image of mother and child make it clear that the "work" referred to in the ad is in the home. The mother's "freedom" is from "sighs and slowdowns" and *Modess* makes it

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¹⁷⁴ *Chatelaine*, February 1939, 36.

¹⁷⁵ *Chatelaine*, August 1945, 25.

¹⁷⁶ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 40.

possible for her to remain productive. Freedom, then, is available to women within a narrow context in the *Modess* ad. The mother's freedom is to enjoy her prescribed duties, rather than liberation per se. By contrast, "play" is an activity associated with five-year olds. The health and vitality that physical activity can provide is directed towards the girl in this ad.

As in the *Buckingham Cigarettes* (2.2, 2.3) examples, ads featuring active mothers and children play on images and words that connote freedom. Rather than meaning liberation or free will, "freedom" is used in the sense of ease, comfort and security. This accounts for the ubiquity of images of mothers guiding their children through sports in ads. The mother's role in sport literally connotes her ability to guide, teach and "mother" her young child's activities. Another 1945 *Modess* advertisement features a mother guiding her daughter on a horse. This ad promises "the wonderful freedom from discomfort, the blessed confidence that Modess alone gives you" (2.7).¹⁷⁷ A *Fry's Cocoa* ad shows a mother tobogganing with two smiling children (2.8). With "cheeks aglow, through ice and snow," mother will find "delicious *Fry's Cocoa*" is "quickly and easily prepared."¹⁷⁸ Unlike her younger counterparts, a mother's freedom is located in the quickness and ease with which she can perform her household duties.

A 1941 *Magic Baking Powder* ad features a mother with her young daughter in a vignette strikingly similar to the *Fry's Cocoa* ad (2.9). This image shows a mother teaching her identically dressed daughter how to toboggan. The ad's copy points out that mothers take pleasure in teaching their young daughters new things such as tobogganing or baking a

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¹⁷⁷ *Chatelaine*, August 1945, 28.

¹⁷⁸ *Chatelaine*, May 1945, 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Chatelaine*, February 1945, 18.

cake.¹⁸⁰ This ad associates physical activity with the other socially appropriate skills, such as baking, passed from mother to daughter.

As the facilitator of play, mothers are responsible for children's health and well-being. This echoes Bobbie Rosenfeld's comment that sport should be considered beneficial to the "future of Canadian Womanhood"¹⁸¹ However, motherhood is invoked in Rosenfeld's article in only the most abstract terms. The actual practice of sport by mothers is not considered by Lytle, Rosenfeld *et. al.* Representations of mothers as the caretakers of young athletes suggest that physical activity for women was limited to the young or unmarried. Whereas sport for women in the *Buckingham* ad connotes sophistication and worldliness, sport for the mothers depicted in the *Modess* and *Magic Baking Powder* examples is strictly a domestic duty. This suggests that women were not prevented from being athletic in the inter-war period, but rather that the place of sport in a woman's life changed after she became a mother.

Sport and Moral Legibility

A third group of ads from the inter-war years uses the active woman to educate or instruct consumers about the benefits of good physical health. These ads go beyond others that emphasize the physical beauty of active women because they make a link between a woman's appearance and her choices, behaviors and responsibilities. The ads can be seen as didactic and moralizing because they attach or imply a judgment of a woman's character to her behaviour and appearance.

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¹⁸⁰ This is an approximate translation of the ad's suggestion of those things mother's teach their daughters. For example, Elle apprendra "de lui...comment glisser ou de faire des gâteaux." *La Revue Moderne*, mars 1941, 43.

¹⁸¹ Rosenfeld, 6.

A 1936 ad for *Sal Hepatica Laxative* features two separate women (2.10). In the left image sits a woman slumped over in a chair, her eyes are partially closed and she has an unhappy expression on her face. This woman sits in a darkened room. On the right is a woman holding a tennis racquet. She is smiling and the sun is shining down on her, she is poised as though to serve the tennis ball. Prominent captions in balloons over the two women's heads explain the imagery. The woman on the left "took a laxative...but she still feels dull, headachy and not herself." By contrast, the clever tennis player took "Sal Hepatica – the laxative that helps correct acidity too. She feels on top of the world." Both women have dark, wavy hair and wear white clothes, but thanks to *Sal Hepatica*, only the tennis player wears the "*smile of health*."¹⁸²

The *Sal Hepatica* ad juxtaposes the two images, as proof to the reader of the good health of the active woman. This juxtaposition assumes that the good judgment of the active woman in choosing *Sal Hepatica* is somehow apparent in her healthy physical appearance. The active woman has made an educated choice in *Sal Hepatica* that has positively impacted her physical well-being. The slumped over woman on the left is a warning to readers about the consequences of their choices.

Alan Hunt refers to the assumption that health can be read through a tidy appearance as "moral legibility" whereby "character can be read from signs provided by demeanor, dress and appearance."¹⁸³ Hunt's concept of moral legibility stems from his analysis of Victorian ideals of respectability and domesticity where "physical frailty became a visible sign of female respectability."¹⁸⁴ The *Sal Hepatica* ad's inference that a healthy woman is an active woman represents a significant discursive shift from the early twentieth-century

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¹⁸² *Maclean's*, 1 August 1936, 1.

¹⁸³ Hunt, Alan, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 92.

when women's physical activity was the subject of controversy. *Sal Hepatica* equates its product with the woman's improved health, rather than with the tennis per se. However, sporting is the happy consequence of using *Sal Hepatica*. Sport is juxtaposed with physical weakness and frailty and the former is depicted as the ideal.

The reduction of physical or moral health to a person's appearance is a way that the *Sal Hepatica* ad simplifies social practices. At the same time, the idea of moral legibility is also productive because it replaces the measurement of good health with specific visual signs, such as the “*smile of health*” in the *Sal Hepatica* ad. Similarly, a 1948 *Ipana Tooth Paste* advertisement suggests that the healthy teeth and gums of children are a way to assess the good character of their mothers (2.11).

The headline of the *Ipana Tooth Paste* ad reads, “Yes, Canadian Models Make Good Mothers.” Images in the ad show “Canadian models [who] have smiled at you from countless magazines...” with their “healthy youngsters.”¹⁸⁵ Five separate images in the ads show mothers with their children; two of them show the pair in physical activities. One image features “Margaret Hill...and ‘picture-of health’ son Barrie” on skis. Another shows “Ardele and ‘Model’ Mother Alice Kearsley of Toronto” swimming. The text in the ad is a play on the word “model.” “Model” can mean a fashion mannequin, an “archetypal” mother or being the “the picture of health.”¹⁸⁶

Moral legibility is a useful concept in reading this *Ipana* ad, because the text and visual imagery suggest a relationship between a healthy lifestyle, good looks and dental health. Specifically, *Ipana* is useful “to aid in keeping gums firm and healthy.” *Ipana* implies there is a positive link between the social practices of “model” mothering, physical activity

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¹⁸⁴ Hunt, 92.

¹⁸⁵ *Chatelaine*, January 1948, 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Chatelaine*, January 1948, 1.

and regular tooth brushing by illustrating their ad with images of mothers and children at play. Through the use of images of mothers and children skiing and swimming in this ad physical activity is discursively linked with “firmer gums” and “brighter teeth.”¹⁸⁷ “Good dental hygiene” becomes a euphemism for the overall health of the “youngsters” and the maintenance of good dental hygiene is the responsibility of a model mother.

Race and Optical Consistency

In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada, the birth rate among native-born, middle class Canadians was declining, concurrent to an increase in the birthrate of the immigrant population.¹⁸⁸ This phenomenon did not escape the attention of government and social welfare organizations. In Ontario in 1910, Dr. Helen MacMurchy was appointed to investigate the high infant mortality rates that were contributing to the anxieties about racial decline among white people.¹⁸⁹ In her 1910 report on infant mortality, MacMurchy doubted whether, “ten thousand emigrants from anywhere would equal in value to us these ten thousand little Canadians whose lives are sacrificed to our carelessness....”¹⁹⁰

Similarly, Mrs. (Dr.) Wickett, a member of the primarily white-middle class Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) decried the “race-suicide” of the white English-Canadian women who had shunned the “duty and joy of motherhood.”¹⁹¹ Directed at mothers, these concerns over race also have a moralizing quality. Race can be said to be one of the ways that the images of active women in ads in the inter-war years are optically consistent.

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¹⁸⁷ *Chatelaine*, January 1948, 1.

¹⁸⁸ Arnup, Katherine, *Education for Motherhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 21.

¹⁸⁹ Arnup, 20.

¹⁹⁰ MacMurchy as cited in Arnup, 21.

While historical sources indicate that race was a subject of some anxiety in the early twentieth-century, race is not an explicit concern of any of the images of physically active white women. Nonetheless, I suggest that an *Eagle Brand Condensed Milk* ad from 1932 is indicative of the era's underlying anxieties about race (2.12). The image of a female swimmer offers an opportunity to discuss whiteness as a characteristic of the ads and a preoccupation of the times. The text reads, "the champions of tomorrow are babies today...they are growing, day by day, toward glorious physical perfection." The ad boasts that *Eagle Brand* increases the "vitality and stamina" of its drinkers.¹⁹² *Eagle Brand's* theme emphasizes the physical perfection and glory of youth, thereby echoing contemporary commentators' concern over the decline of the British-Canadian population and the British Empire.

The *Eagle Brand* ad offers scientific "facts" to educate mothers about their product. Its claim is that, compared with other baby foods, "*measured by every scientific test, the result was favourable to Eagle Brand*" fed babies' health and well-being.¹⁹³ *Eagle Brand's* offer to consumers extends beyond advertising its product, to the provision of its own "guides" to women on mothering. The 1932 ad offers a "free booklet" called "Baby's Welfare" that offers, "instructions for general baby care and complete feeding instructions."¹⁹⁴ In the *Eagle Brand* ad, the onus is placed on mothers to bring up healthy and fit children. Health is signified by the "glorious physical perfection" of the young female diver. The implication of this ad is that the choice of baby food is a major contributing factor to baby's health. This claim ignores other social factors that impact a baby's health, such as poverty and consequently, the ability to afford *Eagle Brand*.

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¹⁹¹ Valverde, Mariana, "When the Mother of the Race is Free': Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism" in ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde *Gender Conflicts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 17.

¹⁹² *Chatelaine*, July 1932, 3.

¹⁹³ *Chatelaine*, July 1932, 3.

Katherine Arnup observes that in Ontario, “despite the public outcry concerning infant mortality, social-welfare policies and practices placed moral and physical responsibility for the deaths of babies largely in the laps of their mothers.”¹⁹⁵ Mothers were inundated with advice and pamphlets on the care and feeding of children, rather than with social assistance. The *Eagle Brand* ad extends beyond education and instruction on motherhood to moral regulation. The implication of needing education for motherhood is that if you are not properly educated (this would be demonstrated by a baby that is less than vital and strong), you have failed. In the context of the racial anxieties of the early twentieth century this could also be seen as a failure to one’s race. Mothers are not only held accountable for a child’s well being; their own behavior is subject to moral regulation.

Moral legibility and the didactic quality of the *Sal Hepatica*, *Ipana* and *Eagle Brand* ads can be seen as a part of the discourse of femininity because they are a commentary on the everyday practices of women. In particular, *Ipana* and *Eagle Brand* take such banal activities as tooth brushing and feeding children and magnify their importance and meaning beyond simple daily rituals. Likewise, *Sal Hepatica* suggests that the choice of a laxative can make the difference between vitality and feebleness. The ads place the responsibility for maintaining health in the threat of poor dental hygiene, poor baby food or a poor digestive system squarely on the shoulders of women. The disciplinary discourse of femininity regulates women’s internal (moral) health and her external appearance. The moralizing tone of the ads also suggests that a woman’s external appearance is a reflection of her internal health. Women are also responsible for the internal and external health of their children and nation. Sport is tied in with this moralizing discourse in the *Sal Hepatica*, *Ipana* and *Eagle Brand* ads,

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¹⁹⁴ *Chatelaine*, July 1932, 3. Katherine Arnup cites a similar example of Eagle Brand’s booklets for mother in *Education for Motherhood*, 45.

¹⁹⁵ Arnup, 31.

being an external signifier for the health and resilience of the (white) children in the advertisements.

Conclusions

The ads I have reviewed in this chapter speak to women in multiple ways, but across the categories there are some consistencies. For example, all of the ads conform to Erving Goffman's critique of advertising as a system of representation that relies on idealized characters in idealized situations. The types of bodies, haircuts and the race of the models that appeared in the ads from this period are optically consistent. The images show that the ideal feminine woman was of medium height, she wore her hair long to her shoulders, she was pale, she had red lips and she always smiled.

However, this ideal woman is what David Marshall would call a "sign;" she is the "empty structure" whose meaning advertising shapes. As an ideal representation of femininity, the meaning of the women in the advertisements is intelligible only in the context of the time. The relationship of the women in sport to this discourse of femininity can be read from the advertising representations I have reviewed. It was possible to be a lady and an athlete (or a smoker), provided one was a lady first.

Sport becomes a part of the discourse of femininity by incorporating it into other texts of femininity such as cooking, a beauty regimen and skiing. In the *Buckingham Cigarettes* (2.2) ad, skiing is a part of the sophistication of the smoker. Caren Kaplan argues that in the early twentieth-century, travel and the outdoors were used to connote the liberation of European and American women.¹⁹⁶ Consequently sport is used by *Buckingham* cigarettes to connote worldliness and sophistication, two enviable female qualities. In the *Toronto Hydro-*

Electric Shops (2.1) ad, golf is what a woman does on her break from other feminine rituals and responsibilities like cooking. Golf becomes permissible precisely because of the change in women's rituals that the electric range brings about.

Not surprisingly, the feminine object or ritual with which the motherhood advertisements are most preoccupied is children. As Chapter One established, women's entry into sport was originally contested based on its potential harm to women's reproductive responsibilities. Sport might be a liberating force in the lives of women, but this does not eliminate women's other responsibilities, as the *Modess* (2.6, 2.7) and *Magic Baking Powder* (2.9) ads also showed. Consequently, the care and nurturing of children are part of the every-day rituals of femininity depicted in the inter-war period. The restriction of physical activity to children in the mothering ads shows the limitations on the "liberation" of female athlete during the inter-war years. These ads suggest that there continued to be discursive limitations on the purpose and benefits of sport for women.

The final group of ads is distinct from the first two categories I described because they do more than provide "models" of behavior for women. These ads prescribe behavior to women, drawing on pre-existing feminine rituals such as the feeding and care of children and presenting them to the female consumer as moral imperatives. They suggest that the discourse of femininity included women's moral responsibility as caretakers of children, nation and race.

Sport is not used in the ads to challenge a discourse of femininity; it is used to accentuate feminine behaviors. The articles by Bobbie Rosenfeld, Alexandrine Gibb and Roxy Atkins may dismiss charges that female athletes are "Amazons," but each woman also defends the charms and good looks of the athletes, along with her abilities. This is one way

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¹⁹⁶ Kaplan, Caren, "A World Without Boundaries: The Body Shop's Trans/National Geographics," in *With*

that women's agency in the discourse of femininity can be acknowledged. Rosenfeld's, Atkins' and Gibb's comments on the healthiness and beauty of female athletes show that they were not necessarily working to transgress prescribed boundaries, but instead to extend the boundaries of feminine behavior. Thus, the ads featuring active women during the inter-war period can be said to conform to a changing discursive notion of the meaning of femininity. What the ads show is that the acceptance of female athletes was not without qualification during the "golden age of women in sport in Canada."

During the inter-war years, advertising representations apply normative ideas of feminine behaviour to changing ideas about women in sport in an attempt to appeal to the "new woman." Janet Lee offers a commentary on the phenomenon of the new woman of the 1920s and subsequent incarnations of the "new woman." According to Lee, the "new woman" appears "whenever someone has something new to sell to women – be it clothes, careers or contraception..."¹⁹⁷ Accordingly, women are "urged to change...into the 'new woman' of the moment, by adopting whatever definition of liberation or modernity is current and buying whatever signifies we have not been left behind as the 'old woman.'" ¹⁹⁸

Lee's argument articulates the connection between the shifts in advertising's use of the female athlete or active woman and changes in the discourse of femininity. The female athlete or active woman adds a tension to the discourse of femininity that provides an advertiser with the "new woman" he or she needs in order to sell their product. During the inter-war years, active women in ads were frequently associated with ideas of liberation. However, the meaning of liberation changed depending on to whom it was applied. The ads depict women who were liberated from housework or child rearing, but not women who

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Other Eyes, ed. Lisa Bloom (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 141.

¹⁹⁷ Lee, Janet, "Care to Join Me in an Upwardly Mobile Tango?" in *The Female Gaze*, ed. Lorraine Gamman and Margaret Marshment (Seattle: The Real Comet Press, 1989), 168.

transgressed the boundaries of the feminine. The active women in the ads I reviewed reflect this limitation on the changing notion of femininity because of the conditions placed on their behavior and appearance.

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¹⁹⁸ Lee, 168.

Chapter Three

THE FEMININE FIFTIES?

Hundreds of thousands of Canadian women joined the workforce during World War II (1939 to 1945), completely altering the terms under which their day-to-day lives can be discussed.¹⁹⁹ Suffice to say, the suspension of international Olympic competition during the war and its impact on the development of female athletes was not a subject of national debate. Accordingly, between 1939 and 1945, female athletes and active women all but disappear from the periodicals I surveyed. However, a few advertisements were found that used the sign of the active woman in conjunction with references to the war.

Nancy Walker's survey of American women's magazines during World War II found advertisements tended to make nationalist appeals and emphasize domesticity and security.²⁰⁰ Two ads from this period made reference to the war while using an image of an active woman. A 1940 *Good-year Tires* ad from *Maclean's* featuring a woman golfer alludes to the themes of safety and security (3.1). The headline of this ad reads "Wives are Happy when Husbands are safe!" After describing the features of their "Life Guard" tires, the reader is assured, "*You can't get better protection to save your life...or the lives of your loved ones!*"²⁰¹ There is no explicit reference in the text to World War II; however its emphasis on safety and security speaks to the anxieties of the era.

Rather than making reference to safety, a *Levure Fleischmann* ad from 1940 implies sport can be a "evasion dans le rêve et l'infini" (3.2). *Levure Fleischmann* imply an escape into

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¹⁹⁹ Tupper, Janet, "Little Woman – What Now?," *Maclean's*, 1 November 1944, 20. Tupper notes that there were 1 million Canadian women working in 1944 and a further forty thousand working in the armed forces. She does not say how many women were working before the war.

²⁰⁰ Walker, Nancy A., *Shaping our Mothers' World: American Women's Magazines* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000), 68.

²⁰¹ *Maclean's*, 1 September 1940, 21.

Canada's vast open spaces can liberate citizens "dans ces temps troubles que nous traversons."²⁰² A silhouetted image of a skier gazing over a mountain range accompanies the copy. This ad is striking because it encourages escape from the troubles of the war, rather than playing on security concerns or domestic responsibilities. Nevertheless, it carries over from the inter-war years an emphasis on maintaining vitality and health during hard times. The *Good-Year* and *Levure Fleischmann* examples are the only two advertisements I found that used an image of an active woman in conjunction with allusions to the war.

Since female athletes and active women were not a major presence in ads during the war years, this chapter will focus primarily on advertisements from the post-war era up to the mid-1960s. Advertisements featuring active women continued to be rare in the post-war era.²⁰³ The scarcity of images of active women promoting day to day household and personal products seems to confirm the stereotype that their homes and children were the primary foci of women's lives during the 1950s. However, following the trend of recent scholarship on women in the 1950s, I will interrogate the "feminine mystique" to explore the extent to which advertisements featuring active women both confirm and contradict the stereotype of passive femininity.

I will begin by discussing ads featuring active women that substantiate the stereotypes of women's subordination and retreat from public life after the war. Next, I will examine endorsements from the 1950s, featuring two celebrity female athletes, Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell, to see how their success and sporting prowess were reconciled within a discourse of femininity. I will examine Bell and Scott in light of revisionist histories of the fifties and discuss how their representation in advertising casts doubt on the hegemony of

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²⁰² *La Revue Moderne*, mars 1940, 27.

passive femininity in the period. Finally, I will look at the early 1960s as a period when a feminist challenge to femininity began to enter the discourse to see if its impact is reflected in the use of active women in advertisements of the period.

Passive Femininity and the 1950s

A listing of the regular features of *Chatelaine* during the 1950s and 1960s neatly sums up the day-to-day practices that constituted femininity in the post-war era. “Food, fashion, beauty, home design, housekeeping, gardening, children’s pages, and children’s health...” were all regular features of the magazine during the 1950s, while career advice was not.²⁰⁴ Women’s magazines are frequently cited as examples of a hegemonic and limiting discourse of femininity during the 1950s, which admonished women their “role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers.”²⁰⁵ Betty Friedan documented the discursive construction of femininity in the fifties in her classic work, *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan charged magazines, television, advertising and the like with teaching people “to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents.”²⁰⁶ Instead, the discourse of femininity favoured, “the American housewife ... She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment.”²⁰⁷ Like the ads discussed in Chapter Two, Friedan’s definition of the housewife plays on the language of liberation. Her ironic commentary on the educated housewife whose freedom is restricted to the domestic sphere illustrates the limitations which a discourse of femininity placed upon female activities.

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²⁰³ This is an observation based on my review of *Chatelaine* and *Maclean’s*. Alison Poe makes a similar observation in her quantitative study of active women in American advertising in 1956. See, Poe, Alison, “Active Women in Ads.”

²⁰⁴ Korinek, Valerie J., *Roughing It in the Suburbs* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 178.

²⁰⁵ Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1983), 15. See also, Walker, Wolf, Kilbourne, and Meyerowitz.

²⁰⁶ Friedan, 16.

Several advertisements from the post-war era reflect sentiments similar to Friedan's "feminine mystique." A 1947 ad for *Rexall Drugs* features a man carrying a football, baseball glove and bat, tennis racquet, boxing gloves and a teddy bear talking to a nurse (3.3). The man's surprised expression is explained by the headline of the ad, "It's a girl?"²⁰⁸ A mini-drama is printed below the image, documenting Mr. Bowman's surprise. He says to the nurse "You must be mistaken, nurse...it's Mrs. William Bowman that I mean. We're going to have a *boy*..." Confirming "it's a girl," the ad instructs Mr. Bowman to drop the "Big League" equipment and "assure the ladies in your life that women were always your favorite sex."²⁰⁹ This *Rexall* advertisement is not optically consistent with the ads featuring women in sport during the inter-war years. While all of the ads in Chapter Two reflected a gendered approach to the subject of sport, the foregoing ad is the first to preclude women from sporting participation – at birth!

The meaning of boy and girl or masculine and feminine in the *Rexall* ad is constructed through a juxtaposition of the phrase "it's a girl?" with the image of a surprised father holding sports equipment. This juxtaposition reduces the meaning of gender to a sign, sporting equipment. The equipment is instantly recognizable as a signifier for boys, while there are no comparable signs for girls in the ad. Thus, gender appropriate activities are constructed by using one simple sign, sporting equipment.

In *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*, Susan Douglas recalls a 1959 episode of the popular television show *Father Knows Best* called "Kathy Becomes a Girl." In this episode, young Kathy is struggling to make friends in junior high school because she is a tomboy. Mom's advice to Kathy is to "put down the baseball bat and pick

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²⁰⁷ Friedan, 18.

²⁰⁸ *Life*, 10 March 1947, 18.

²⁰⁹ *Life*, 10 March 1947, 18.

up the lipstick.” After a bubble bath, learning to apply make-up and a reassuring chat with “Father,” Kathy is convinced of the advantages of being a “girl.”²¹⁰ Like the *Rexall* ad, the writers of this television series deemed “dropping” sports equipment to be essential to femininity.

While the *Rexall* ad excludes girls from sport, other sources from the era suggest sport could be used to enhance femininity. A 1954 *Chatelaine* article by Isabel Dingman titled “How You’ll Meet the Man You’ll Marry” suggested women feign clumsiness at sport in order to catch a man’s eye. The article cites an example of a “girl” who fell over at a skating rink, only to be assisted by a “champion skater” whom she later married. Dingman’s lesson to her readers is, although “the girl looked silly...the man had a chance to be strong, helpful, or a good sport.”²¹¹ Thus, sport is not excluded from the range of feminine behaviors in the article. Instead it is a tool of the essentially feminine project of finding a husband. However, women must pretend to be beginners on the field or skating rink in order to be desirable.

A 1964 ad for *Coke* plays out the scenario described in Dingman’s article (3.4). In this ad a young woman wearing roller skates sits, her legs skewed outwards as though she has just fallen on her bum. She is smiling upward at a man bent over her, who is holding two bottles of *Coke*. The man is also wearing roller skates, but his confident posture indicates he is not struggling to maintain his footing. The reader cannot see the man’s facial expression, but the woman’s starry-eyed look communicates their affection. The young

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²¹⁰ Douglas, Susan J., *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1994), 36.

²¹¹ Dingman, Isabel, “How You’ll Meet the Man You’ll Marry,” *Chatelaine*, August 1954, 15.

woman has been “saved” and comforted by the *Coke*-carrying male roller skater in this vignette, reminding us “things go better with Coke.”²¹²

This *Coke* scenario is unlike the ads from the inter-war years because men and women are depicted together. The women in the *Buckingham* (2.2, 2.3), *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* (2.1) and *Modess* (2.6, 2.7) ads appeared by themselves or with children. The *Coke* ad is consistent with the *Pond's* (2.4) ad featuring Princess Priscilla Bibesco, because the narrative also focuses on a female athlete attracting the attention of a man. In the 1939 *Pond's* ad, the sophistication of Princess Priscilla made her desirable. By contrast, the inadequacy of the young roller skater in the *Coke* vignette is what makes her feminine. Sport added to the sophistication of the women in several of the inter-war advertisements, whereas in this post-war advertisement, being good at sport is not as feminine as being helpless.

Ability and coordination are coded male in the *Coke* ad because a (naturally) competent male is assisting the helpless/hapless female. The roller-skater's incompetence is signaled by her clumsiness. As in the *Rexall* ad, this narrative reduces and categorizes gender into oppositional symbols. Balance, coordination and sporting equipment is male, while helplessness and ineptitude are coded feminine. However, this helplessness is not represented as stupidity, but rather as cute, feminine behavior.

In contrast to the *Coke* ad, a 1958 ad for *Cinci Lager Beer* depicts a competent and attractive woman – serving a drink to a male athlete (3.5). The blonde woman is perched at the edge of a pool, holding a “*Cinci*-lating” glass of lager to the lips of her male companion who is in the pool.²¹³ A similar 1962 *Coke* ad shows a woman in a bathing suit serving two men in a pool (3.6). The woman's role in this activity comes “tout près” serving “du Coca-

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²¹² *Maclean's*, 8 February 1964, back cover.

²¹³ *Maclean's*, 19 July 1958, 38.

Cola.”²¹⁴ In each case, the woman’s gaze is trained downwards on her companion who sips a drink. This ad confirms Betty Friedan’s critique of the discourse of femininity in the fifties, as it embodies the stereotype of a passive, contented woman dedicating her time to her husband.

The *Cinci*, *Coke* and *Rexall* ads are optically consistent in terms of a discourse of femininity limiting women’s activities. This limitation is not explicitly represented, but rather it is implicit in the exclusion of women from sport or sporting ability in the ads. As well, the relationship of sport to femininity is different in the *Cinci*, *Coke* and *Rexall* ads. This is because sport does not add to the sophistication or healthy allure of the women represented. Instead, in these post-war ads, the woman’s ineptitude at sport is valued because it accentuates the masculinity of her companion. It follows that sporting ability is a signifier of gender differences. Whereas in the inter-war years a woman could be an athlete provided she was also a lady, in these post-war representations, ineptitude at sport is ladylike.

The relationship of women to sport in the *Cinci*, *Coke* and *Rexall* ads is reduced and simplified to the trope of the passive or helpless female and the active male. As Latour has suggested, representations can simplify the meaning of an object, but the result is often the production of something new, such as a trope or stereotype. In the case of the *Cinci*, *Coke* and *Rexall* ads, the “something new” is what Betty Friedan called the ‘feminine mystique.’ Sport is not a part of the “mystique” of the women in these four ads. Instead, the women’s ineptitude at sport is a trope that the ads reproduce and play upon.

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²¹⁴ *Châtelaine*, juillet 1962, 45.

Resistance in the Feminine Fifties

Taking the *Cinci* (3.5), *Coke* (3.4, 3.6) and *Rexall* (3.3) advertisements as a sample, Friedan's argument that the feminine mystique restricted opportunities for women in the fifties seems apt. However, recent scholarship on the feminine fifties has challenged Friedan's assessment that popular culture depicted images only of passivity. This scholarship demonstrates that there are alternative readings of post-war mass culture, which show women resisting, reading through or harnessing the feminine mystique according to their own needs.

Joanne Meyerowitz argues that Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* makes too many generalizations about post-war mass culture.²¹⁵ Meyerowitz counters that in the post-war era "domestic ideals coexisted in ongoing tension with an ethos of individual achievement that celebrated non-domestic activity, individual striving, public service and public success."²¹⁶ Similarly, Susan Douglas argues popular culture messages are mixed and subject to interpretation.²¹⁷

Valerie Korinek discusses the mixed messages of post-war women's culture in *Roughing it In the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties*. Korinek argues *Chatelaine* addressed political issues and the boredom of housewives long before the *Feminine Mystique* became a best seller. For example, Dr. Marion Hilliard's advice column in *Chatelaine* told Canadian women it was healthy to find part-time work outside the home.²¹⁸ Hilliard

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²¹⁵ Meyerowitz, Joanne, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958" in *Not June Cleaver*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 231.

²¹⁶ Meyerowitz, 231.

²¹⁷ Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 38; 51. Susan Douglas argues that post-war popular culture cannot be deemed entirely bad for women since popular culture messages are often mixed. Douglas argues that there were many high-profile women from the period who resisted the housewife role, citing among others, Jackie Kennedy and Lucille Ball. Douglas's choices here are questionable, given that Kennedy embraced her domestic role while first-lady, and Ball gained fame by playing a housewife, not a career woman.

²¹⁸ Korinek, 296.

also spoke plainly to her readers about sex, a supposedly taboo subject at the time.²¹⁹

Roughing it In the Suburbs shows that *Chatelaine* did not communicate a “feminine mystique” as consistently as Friedan has suggested American women’s magazines did.²²⁰

Female readers’ resistance to popular culture messages about femininity is also a part of revisionist histories of women in the fifties. Korinek argues *Chatelaine* readers resisted hegemonic femininity by suggesting a “Mrs. Slob” contest replace the magazine’s annual “Mrs. Chatelaine” contest. The “Mrs. Chatelaine” contest asked readers to write a letter outlining their opinions and experience with marriage, family and domestic concerns. By contrast, *Chatelaine* reader Beatrice Maitland wrote a letter to the editor saying she should be nominated for “Mrs. Slob 1961” because of her “lousy” housekeeping and plain meals.²²¹

Maitland’s “Mrs. Slob” letter generated a positive response from other readers. Korinek argues that the readers’ response shows that many women were resisting preferred readings of femininity in the post-war era.²²² Unfortunately, Korinek does not examine the difference between Maitland’s ability to “see through” femininity and the inconsistencies of the post-war discourse of femininity. It seems that rather than resisting the feminine mystique, Maitland’s letter speaks to the myth of femininity itself. That is, *Roughing it In the Suburbs* looks only at the “secretly” or subversively feminist content of the magazine and its readers, and not at the contradictions inherent in femininity itself. I suggest that the actual winner of the 1961 “Mrs. Chatelaine” contest, Joyce Saxton, was an example of “ideal femininity” who did not necessarily embody the ‘feminine mystique.’

Joyce Saxton was described in *Chatelaine* as a housewife who,

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²¹⁹ Korinek, 299.

²²⁰ Significantly, *Chatelaine*’s readership continued to grow in the post-war era, at a time when other Canadian and American periodicals were struggling to maintain their readership. Korinek, 5.

²²¹ Korinek, 88-89.

²²² Korinek, 89.

teaches swimming in the summer, is a member of or on the executive of nine clubs and community groups, preserved 140 quarts of fruit preserves last summer, 60 jars of jellies, 260 packs of frozen fruit and vegetables; sews most of her children's clothes and some of her own ... in the winter, with no farming chores...[Saxton and her husband] work on remodeling the house.²²³

Saxton's description reveals that she participated in a range of activities both inside and outside the home. Of particular interest to this thesis is Saxton's comment that she taught swimming every summer. This contradicts the *Cinci* (3.5), *Coke* (3.4, 3.6) and *Rexall* (3.3) ads because sport is included in the range of activities that make Joyce Saxton an ideal woman. Indeed, swimming is listed among the other mundane aspects of Saxton's day-to-day life. Further, this shows that one need not look only for resistance to the feminine mystique; one can also look within the so-called feminine mystique to find rupture points in the discourse.

Sport and Canadian Women after 1945

As in the inter-war years, in the post-war era, the perceived benefits of sport were considered in terms of the socialization and health of children, not of mothers. Gertrude Pringle, author of the best-selling *Etiquette in Canada* expressed the opinion that,

in every way possible love of sports should be encouraged among boys and girls, because sports not only promote physical vigor and well-being, but foster self-control in defeat and loyalty and obedience to leader. In after years these qualities will prove of estimable value to them.²²⁴

Pringle made no distinction between the value of sport for boys or girls; both sexes could gain from sports' potential benefits. However, this advice is meant as a directive to mothers and the benefits of sport for adult women are of no consequence in *Etiquette in Canada*.

Pringle's opinion on sport differed from commentary before the war because she fully accepted sport for its ability to "transmit approved...values" to youth of either sex.²²⁵

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²²³ A letter from Joyce Saxton to *Chatelaine* editor Doris Anderson, as quoted in Korinek, 88.

²²⁴ Pringle, Gertrude, *Etiquette in Canada* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1940), 280.

²²⁵ Owram, Douglas, *Born at the Right Time* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 99.

In keeping with Pringle's attitudes, my survey of *Maclean's* in the post-war era yielded several articles celebrating the sporting achievements of young Canadian women.²²⁶ These articles appear to confirm Judith Meyerowitz's assessment that "non-domestic activity, individual service, public service and public success," by women were often celebrated in the fifties.²²⁷

Meyerowitz further claims that such articles as those in praise of young female athletes mentioned above represent a "joint endorsement" of the feminine and the non-feminine.²²⁸ She later retreats from this claim by noting, "feminine stereotypes... also served as reminders that all women, even publicly successful women, were to maintain traditional gender distinctions."²²⁹ The latter argument from Meyerowitz seems the more accurate description of the press coverage of athletes. For example, readers are told that Marlene Stewart "uses a seven or eight [iron] just like a good male golfer." At the same time she is also "the chattiest, cheeriest, chirpiest, kid-next-door who ever snapped her bubble-gum in the high-school gymnasium."²³⁰

I will now explore in greater depth the question of a "joint endorsement" of feminine and non-feminine behavior of women, using two much-celebrated Canadian athletes from the post-war era, Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell. Since Scott and Bell were both used as spokespersons, their public recognition in advertisements will be interpolated in terms of the tension between celebrating the athletes' accomplishments versus celebrating their other feminine attributes. I will discuss how Barbara Ann Scott's public image belied the breadth and the non-traditional nature of her career. I will also

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²²⁶ See for example, on Marlene Stewart: Frayne, Trent, "The Champ Still Baby Sits," *Maclean's*, 1 May 1952, 16-17, 43; on Lucile Wheeler: Porter, McKenzie, "The 'Royal Family' of the Laurentians," *Maclean's* 8 November 1958, 20-21, 93-95; on Jennie Wingerson: Batten, Jack, "Our Beautiful Chance in Tokyo," *Maclean's*, 3 October 1964, 14-17; and on Sandra Post: Edmonds, Alan, "And Sandra Post Makes Three," *Maclean's*, September 1968, 38-39, 65-66, 68.

²²⁷ Meyerowitz, 231.

²²⁸ Meyerowitz, 233.

²²⁹ Meyerowitz, 233.

consider the advertisements featuring Scott and Bell as rupture points in the discourse of femininity, considering their endorsement of their public accomplishments.

Canada's Own: Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell

Written accounts of Barbara Ann Scott, the 1947 and 1948 European and World Champion women's figure skater, and 1948 Olympic gold medallist, offer exhausting descriptions of her appearance. A 1948 *Time* magazine attempt extends to a paragraph:

Barbara Ann, with a peaches-and-cream complexion, saucer-size blue eyes and a rosebud mouth, is certainly pretty enough. Her light brown hair (golden now that she bleaches it) falls pageboy style on her shoulders. She weighs a trim, girlish 107 lbs., she is neither as full-bosomed as a Hollywood starlet nor as wide-hipped as most skaters. She looks, in fact, like a doll which is to be looked at but not touched. But Barbara Ann is no fragile mamet. She is the woman's figure skating champion of the world.²³¹

Don Morrow argues that Scott was famous as much for her good looks and charm as she was for her skating accomplishments. Morrow identifies a list of adjectives and phrases most commonly used to describe Barbara Ann, among them are "Ice Queen, Fairy Princess of Ottawa, Little Princess of the Ice, Canada's Valentine and Remarkably Beautiful Doll."²³² Morrow goes so far as to suggest that Scott "gained far more acclaim than her achievements warranted" because her image was so well-suited to "traditional female stereotypes."²³³

Holding a colourful bouquet of flowers to her chin, Scott is quoted in a 1949 ad exclaiming "I'm in love...with *Community: The Finest Silverplate*" (3.7). Scott smiles demurely in this coloured photograph where she is depicted next to an illustration of four separate silver patterns. The text of the ad notes "Canada's much-loved Olympic Champion -- herself the personification of grace and beauty -- is thrilled by the grace and beauty of the

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²³⁰ Frayne, 16.

²³¹ "Ice Queen," *Time*, 2 February 1948, 35.

²³² Morrow, Don, "Sweetheart Sport: Barbara Ann Scott and the Post World War II Image of the Female Athlete in Canada," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 28, no. 1 (1987), 41.

four lovely Community patterns.” The skater’s name figures prominently in the ad. It appears once in the headline and a second time in a caption below her photograph. The text of the ad also makes multiple references to Scott’s Olympic and World championships.²³⁴

Since she is identified as the “personification of grace and beauty” it should come as no surprise that this *Community Silverplate* ad is optically consistent with the other ads I have reviewed. In particular, Scott looks like the model in the *Cinci Lager Beer* ad (3.5). Both women have blonde hair and blue eyes and wear red lipstick. The *Community* ad also echoes the themes of the post-war “feminine mystique” ads because it associates Scott with choosing silver patterns, a ritual associated with brides-to-be. The flowers Scott is holding also suggest a bridal bouquet, and along with the flatware, connote marriage and by extension domesticity.

The *Community* ad is different from those of *Cinci* (3.5), *Coke* (3.4, 3.6) and *Rexall* (3.3) because Scott’s athletic abilities are valued. This makes Scott unlike the uni-dimensional women represented in earlier ads where sport was alternately a joke or a way to find or keep a husband. That said, figure skating is not actually represented visually in the ad. Thus, like the inter-war years ads, there is no suggestion of the exertion and strength required to become a World and Olympic Champion figure skater. Instead, an alternative reading of Scott as a bride-to-be is implied in this image. The press often speculated on Scott’s love life, and this ad plays upon her eligibility for marriage.²³⁵ Thus, the *Community* ad speaks to aspects of Scott’s fame other than her actual sporting accomplishments.²³⁶

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²³³ Morrow, 46.

²³⁴ *Chatelaine*, June 1949, back cover.

²³⁵ Mrs. Tom Smith fonds, National Archives of Canada, MG30 C172. These fonds contain a scrapbook with extensive clippings covering Barbara Ann Scott’s career.

²³⁶ It is worth noting that Scott, the so-called personification of femininity in the post-war era did not marry until she was in her late twenties, and she never had children of her own.

A fifties-era ad featuring Barbara Ann Scott further illustrates the ambiguities of the feminine mystique. The *Timex* ad reads, “Like Men— Active Women Need a Rugged Watch” (3.8). This advertisement features two photos of Barbara Ann. The larger shows Scott in her figure skates, jumping into the air and smiling at the camera. The second photo is an image of the skater washing dishes, once again her head is turned toward the camera and she smiles out at the viewer. The ad further explains that the watch is “water proof - shock resistant - dust proof.”²³⁷

A range of possible readings of the skater can be made from the images and text included in the *Timex* ad. Upon the surface, the language of the ad is very egalitarian. The copy tells us “Barbara Ann Scott uses and depends upon the *Timex Sportster*. . .just as doctors, engineers, seamen, farmers - men in every walk of life. . .”²³⁸ This liberal comparison of Scott with professional men belies the narrow prescription of the kinds of activities that are appropriate for men and women in the ad’s copy. A number of roles available to men are stated in the copy. By contrast, the visual imagery limits Scott’s activities to skating and dish-doing.

Like the *Community* ad, the *Timex* ad visually represents Scott as a bride-housewife figure. However, “like men,” Scott earned her own salary as a professional skater. Not only was Scott an accomplished figure skater, she was also a licensed pilot and a golfer.²³⁹ The actual details of Scott’s life show that she was far more than the “personification of grace and beauty.”

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²³⁷ This ad is reprinted in Milton, Steve and Barb McCutcheon, *Skate: 100 Years of Figure Skating* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1996), 22. Milton and McCutcheon do not indicate where they found this ad.

²³⁸ McCutcheon, 22.

²³⁹ Scott, Barbara Ann, *Skate with Me* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1950), 27.

Erving Goffman argues that in advertisements the “social weight - power, authority, rank, office, renown” of a man is reflected in the greater size and space he occupies.²⁴⁰ Applying Goffman’s analysis to the *Timex* ad yields two possible readings. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of male and female activities (careers versus home) implies that a man’s social importance inherently outweighs a woman’s. On the other hand, the image of Scott leaping into the air occupies the greatest space on the page. Also contradictory is the use of the word “rugged” to describe a woman’s watch, at the same time as offering a Barbara-Ann sized “petite sportster” watch for women. The skater is the center of attention in this ad, even if the full complexity of her character is not evident. Thus, the narrative of the *Timex* ad is ambiguous. It neither entirely assigns Barbara Ann Scott a passive role, nor entirely embraces her atypical accomplishments.

Six years after Scott won her World and Olympic Championships, Marilyn Bell, a 16-year old Toronto marathon swimmer, became the first person to swim across Lake Ontario. The plucky young Bell took it upon herself to challenge Florence Chadwick, an established American marathon swimmer who was being awarded \$10 000 if she could cross the lake.²⁴¹ At first, Bell’s decision to swim went largely unnoticed. However, on the morning of September 9, 1954, Bell became *the* star of the attempted Lake Ontario crossing when the *Toronto Daily Star* announced that Florence Chadwick had dropped out of the race.²⁴²

Bell completed her Lake Ontario crossing on the evening of September 9. The following day, *The Toronto Daily Star* featured the swimmer on no less than seven full pages. Bell had “conquered” Lake Ontario and reporter Mark Harrison compared the energy of the crowd awaiting Bell on shore to the outpouring of emotion for soldiers returning from

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²⁴⁰ Goffman, 32.

²⁴¹ McAllister, Ron, *Swim to Glory* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1954), 109.

²⁴² *The Toronto Daily Star*, 9 September 1954, 1.

World War II.²⁴³ In contrast to Barbara Ann Scott, Marilyn Bell was not lionized for her beauty and grace. In the water, Bell's body is "low" in comparison to the "high body" represented in "female" activities like figure skating.²⁴⁴ It is difficult to maintain an ornamental feminine appearance while marathon swimming. The sport requires a crushingly long amount of time in the water with the body exposed or smeared in liniment and hair secure under a rubber cap.²⁴⁵

Perhaps as a consequence of the indecorous appearance of Bell while swimming, two ads found featuring the swimmer depict her from the shoulders up. Rather than being depicted as graceful or beautiful, Bell's health and vigor are venerated.²⁴⁶ An ad for *Mead Pabulum Cereals* reads "Congratulations Marilyn, You're Terrific...We join the millions of your admirers, Marilyn Bell, in congratulating you on your wonderful achievement" (3.9).²⁴⁷ An image of Bell from the neck up, smiling broadly is included in this glowing tribute. A *Crown Brand Corn Syrup* ad also emphasizes Bell's atypical accomplishment.²⁴⁸ Under a smiling cutout of Marilyn Bell's head, the swimmer is quoted as saying "Crown Brand Corn Syrup helped give me the energy I needed to finish the hardest swim of my life."²⁴⁹ In contrast to Scott, Bell's sport did not lend itself to displays of femininity. While figure skating is highly spectator-oriented, marathon swimming is decidedly not a spectator sport.

Bell's public image did not lend itself as easily to display and femininity as Scott's did.

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²⁴³ Harrison, Mark, "Does Not Remember Closing Hours of Swim Marilyn Bell States," *The Toronto Daily Star*, 10 September 1954, 32.

²⁴⁴ Brenda Longfellow makes a similar comparison in her NFB film *Our Marilyn*, intercutting a recreation of Marilyn's tired body swimming with spinning synchronized swimmers.

²⁴⁵ Callwood, June, "How Marilyn Bell Swam Lake Ontario" in *Canada in the Fifties*, ed. Michael Benedict (Toronto: Viking, 1999), 49-51.

²⁴⁶ It should be noted that the ads featuring Marilyn Bell are taken from *The Toronto Daily Star* in the week immediately following her swim. Unlike the Barbara Ann Scott ads, Marilyn Bell did not pose for these images, instead they seem to be culled from media photos of Bell. Some might suggest that the quality and nature of newspaper advertising tends to be more simplified than magazine advertising.

²⁴⁷ *The Toronto Daily Star*, 11 September 1954, 47.

²⁴⁸ According to media accounts, Bell was fed a mixture of corn syrup and pabulum while she swam, hence her association with *Corn Brand* and *Mead Pabulum*. See the *Toronto Daily Star*, 9 September to 12 September, 1954.

As a consequence, the *Crown Brand* and *Mead Pabulum* endorsements featuring Marilyn Bell are different from ads featuring Barbara Ann Scott in that they focus on Bell's physical health rather than her physical appearance. As well, Bell's achievement is not juxtaposed with other images or text, which would alter the meaning of her swim. Rather than reducing or simplifying the meaning of her accomplishment, these advertisements include many details. For example, a caption in the *Crown Brand* ad notes that "During the 21 hours that 16-year-old Marilyn Bell was in Lake Ontario, she was frequently given Corn Brand corn syrup which gave her the quick energy she needed to finish her historic swim."²⁵⁰ Admittedly, these details serve *Crown Brand* well. Nonetheless, Bell's atypical accomplishment is explicated in the text, including the long duration of the swim.

Where Barbara Ann Scott was dubbed a fairy princess, a queen and a sweetheart, *The Stratford Beacon Herald* said, "Canadian girlhood has been glorified" by Marilyn Bell.²⁵¹ A *Canadian Press* story carried in *Le Droit* and the *Montreal Gazette* referred to the swimmer as "une jolie et souriante blonde de 16 ans qui nage comme un poisson."²⁵² Rather than focusing on her personal appearance, ads and media coverage emphasized Bell's exemplary character. However, Bell's good character was no more or less feminine than Scott's good looks; both were valued.

The *Community Silverplate* ad identifies Barbara Ann Scott as "Canada's famous star," laying claim to the skater's identity in the same way as an ad for a "Marilyn Bell Victory Celebration" referring to the swimmer as "Canada's own Marilyn."²⁵³ By identifying each as

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²⁴⁹ *The Toronto Daily Star*, 11 September 1954, 48.

²⁵⁰ *The Toronto Daily Star*, 11 September 1954, 48.

²⁵¹ As excerpted in *The Toronto Daily Star*, 13 September 1954, 8.

²⁵² "La conquête du lac Ontario par Marilyn Bell lui vaudra \$60,000," *Le Droit*, 10 September 1954, 1.

²⁵³ *The Toronto Daily Star*, 10 September 1954, 19.

“Canada’s own” the athletes’ accomplishments are linked with the nation itself. John Ralston Saul writes,

the most satisfying of western mythological solutions is that of an imaginary country in which everyone knows everyone else, literally or figuratively. It is a dream in which family or neighbourhood society is miraculously inflated to include millions of people.²⁵⁴

Accordingly, the discursive association of Bell or Scott with a community of Canadians is a way to identify each woman as the “girl next door.” Bell and Scott were portrayed as “daughters” of the nation in whose accomplishments everyone could take pride.

The advertisements featuring Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell illustrate that a range of feminine behaviors relating to sport were available within the feminine mystique. Femininity was a critical part of the identities of Bell and Scott, but this femininity was not necessarily what the stereotype of the ‘feminine mystique’ would suggest. Marilyn Bell and Barbara Ann Scott’s appearance and character conformed to a discourse of femininity, even if their ambition, public achievements and athleticism were typically masculine. The accomplishments of these young women brought pride to Canada and the public overwhelmingly accepted them, traditionally feminine or not. While Bell’s and Scott’s personal appearance in the ads tended to be optically consistent with the other ads reviewed in chapters two and three, the representations are distinct because they are grounded in a public acknowledgment of each woman’s sporting ability.

Joanne Meyerowitz’s theory of a “joint endorsement” of women’s domestic and non-domestic achievements is useful in understanding the relationship of the discourse of femininity to female athletes in the fifties. Given the value placed on Bell’s and Scott’s feminine appearance and behaviour it is an exaggeration to call their representation in advertisements an endorsement of their atypical public accomplishments. Instead, the

Community, *Times*, *Mead* and *Crown Brand* promotions use femininity to qualify and make thinkable the non-domestic activities of Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell. As Don Morrow's study of Barbara Ann Scott suggests, it is unlikely a female athlete in the fifties would receive endorsements or acclaim were she not feminine. Nonetheless, Meyerowitz's "joint endorsement" thesis allows for a more nuanced understanding of the range of behaviour and attributes that could be considered feminine in the 1950s.

"The Second Revolt of 'Modern' Women" and "Progressive Femininity"

A July 25, 1964 *Maclean's* article by Robert Fulford announced "The Second Revolt of 'Modern' Women." Fulford described "a shadowy kind of revolution," a coming of "a new wave of militant feminism" by "a small but growing cadre of ardent revolutionaries."²⁵⁵ Fulford depicted the new revolution as a debate between Dr. Spock-reading mothers who believed the domestic life was "noble and important" and "militant feminists," who believed that women needed to work outside the home to find fulfillment.²⁵⁶ Fulford claimed that men's actions and opinions were irrelevant to the new debate, though they might be affected by it.²⁵⁷ The debate Fulford "stood by and watched" was largely about Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963.

The tension between the feminine mystique and the day-to-day lives of women erupted in the early 1960s. While Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* "drew on" a debate over women's roles already brewing in women-centered mass culture,²⁵⁸ Robert Fulford's article suggests *The Feminine Mystique* helped to launch this debate over women's roles into mainstream (read: men's) consciousness. The remainder of this chapter will examine images

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²⁵⁴ Ralston Saul, John, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin* (Toronto: Viking, 1997), 56.

²⁵⁵ Fulford, Robert, "The Second Revolt of 'Modern' Women," *Maclean's*, 25 July 1964, 7.

²⁵⁶ Fulford, 9.

²⁵⁷ Fulford, 43.

from the early 1960s during the so-called “Second Revolt of ‘Modern’ Women.” I will consider whether the entry of “militant” feminists into the discourse of femininity had an immediate impact on representations of active women. Early in the decade, a *Chatelaine* reader survey claimed that a “new Canadian woman” was becoming socially and economically independent.²⁵⁹ Valerie Korinek suggests this study shows women had feminist sensibilities even though the study employed the term “progressive femininity” instead.²⁶⁰ However, it is questionable how different this version of the “new woman” was from the “new women” that preceded her.

The term “progressive femininity” implies a liberation of women from the feminine mystique was beginning. A comparison of two ads featuring twins on a ‘bicycle-built-for-two’ suggests some difference between femininity in the fifties and the mid-1960s. In a 1956 *Twin-Life Nylons* ad, an illustration depicts twins on a ‘bicycle-built-for-two’ in dresses complete with crinoline and a wide-brimmed hat (3.11). The wind appears to be blowing because the women’s skirts flare up slightly to reveal their “Holeproof 2-thread, Twin-Life nylons” and the women are holding their hats in place with their hands.²⁶¹ Nonetheless, the two women in this illustration smile gaily at their audience.

A 1966 *Coke* ad also shows twins on a ‘bicycle-built-for-two’ (3.12). Visually, the theme and motifs of the *Coke* image are consistent with the *Twin-Life* ad that appeared a decade before. Perhaps the greatest difference between the two is the outfits of the models. The 1966 *Coke* ad has the twins wearing short-shorts. The ad’s copy reads, “For extra fun...take more than one!”²⁶² Another key difference is the text’s message. The *Coke* ad

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²⁵⁸ Meyerowitz, 232.

²⁵⁹ Korinek, 74-75.

²⁶⁰ Korinek, 75.

²⁶¹ *Chatelaine*, October 1956, 127; *Maclean's*, 29 September 1956, 4.

²⁶² *Maclean's*, 2 July 1966, back cover.

speaks of “fun” while the *Twin-Life* text promises nylons that are “twice as lasting - twice as flattering.”²⁶³ The blurriness of the 1966 ad makes the women appear to be cycling vigorously. They are also laughing more than their 1956 counterparts who smile and hold their hats in place.

The *Twin-Life* and *Coke* ads are distinct from those featuring Barbara Ann Scott (3.7, 3.8) and Marilyn Bell (3.9, 3.10) because there is a sexual subtext in the juxtaposition of the text with the images of the twins on the bicycle. The *Coke* ad urges the reader to “...take more than one!” while the “Twin-Life” ad promises “you’ll go *twice* as far in...filmy sheer...” nylons.²⁶⁴ The copy in the foregoing is a double entendre. Most innocently, the text of these ads applies to the product, but upon closer examination it can also be construed sexually. Accordingly, the models in each layout show a considerable amount of their bare legs. In the 1956 photo, the wind “innocently” blows up the skirts of the twins, while in the 1966 *Coke* ad, the bare legs are unapologetically a part of the models’ outfits. The continuity of the bicycle motif, along with the sexual connotations of these two ads suggest that there is not a significant difference between the 1956 version of femininity and the 1966 version.

A Helping *Hand*

A consistent feature of all of the ads I have reviewed has been the happy smile of the women depicted. The smiles of the women in the *Twin-Life* (3.11) and *Coke* (3.12) ads are no exception. Sandra Bartky asserts that the disciplinary regime of femininity brings forth from women’s body’s particular gestures. Bartky suggests the smile is part of “typical women’s jobs, graciousness, deference and the readiness to serve...this requires the worker fix a smile

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²⁶³ *Maclean’s*, 2 July 1966, back cover and *Chatelaine*, October 1956, 127; *Maclean’s*, 29 September 1956, 4.

²⁶⁴ *Maclean’s*, 2 July 1966, back cover and *Chatelaine*, October 1956, 127; *Maclean’s*, 29 September 1956, 4.

on her face for a good part of the working day.”²⁶⁵ Similarly, Erving Goffman suggests that advertising relies on, “gestural externalization of what can be taken to be inner response.”²⁶⁶ I argue that the female athlete’s or active woman’s smile is a trope of advertising; it is a complicit smile, affirming the woman’s social role.

The smile, or any other part of a woman’s body can stand metonymically for her whole person.²⁶⁷ Rather than finding an increase in ads that featured vigorous, active women in the early 1960s, a pattern reminiscent of the *Cinci Lager Beer* (3.5) ad from 1958 emerged. Three ads from the early 1960s show a hand reaching into the frame of an image to light a cigarette or pour a drink. Two of these ads show women’s hands and I will discuss a third featuring a man’s hand to elaborate on the differences in the way men and women are represented.

A *Labatt’s India Pale Ale* ad from 1960 shows a man in a swimming mask on the edge of a dock, much like the man in the 1958 *Cinci* ad (3.13). A hand reaches into the frame, pouring him a glass of India Pale Ale, a beer with an “honest, masculine directness.” The hand is visible from the wrist down, but visual cues signal that it belongs to a woman. For example, the smooth, slim hands of the drink-pourer, and her long fingernails painted deep red connote femininity.²⁶⁸ In a similar 1964 *Cameo* cigarettes ad, a hand reaches into the frame to light a cigarette for a skier buried in snow (3.14). Once again, the slim and smooth hands feature long, painted fingernails.²⁶⁹

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²⁶⁵ Bartky, 68.

²⁶⁶ Goffman, 27.

²⁶⁷ Winship, 25.

²⁶⁸ *Macleans*, 8 October 1960, inside front cover.

²⁶⁹ *Macleans*, 25 January 1964, 4.

The *Labatt's* and *Cameo* ads illustrate Janice Winship's argument that hand placement in advertisements is a cue signifying gender.²⁷⁰ This is cued in the *Cameo* and *Labatt's* ads by the slim, small hands and painted fingernails, which are characteristic of women only. In addition to this, the woman's hand in the *Cameo* ad is barely touching the lighter. This allows for the prominent display of the product's slogan, "refreshingly different." Like the women in the inter-war years, the women whose hands are depicted in the *Cameo* and *Labatt's* ads do not use sporting equipment. Instead, they enter the picture from the margins, to help to refresh the male athletes. The juxtaposition of male and female is further confirmed in the *Labatt's* ad which refers to the beer as a "real man's ale." This slogan could easily describe the vignette being played out in the photo which reduces the sign of women to a tiny, but helpful, hand in the corner of the image.

A man's hand reaches into the frame of another 1964 *Cameo* cigarettes ad to light the cigarette of a woman in a pool of water (3.15). John Berger suggests that, in images, men are more likely to gaze out at the viewer while women are trained to look down but not directly at the viewer.²⁷¹ Accordingly, the woman casts her eyes downwards and only her eyelids and long lashes are visible. The man's hand reaching into this frame is distinct from the women's hand in the earlier ads because the nails are not painted. They are cut short and blunt. Another difference is that the men in the *Labatt's* and *Cameo* (3.14) ads do not wear wedding rings, while the woman in the *Cameo* ad does. In regards to sport, the woman is not wearing or using any equipment, except for a lily pad motif bathing cap. In fact, she does not appear to be wearing a swimsuit!²⁷²

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²⁷⁰ Winship, 25-26.

²⁷¹ Berger, 46.

²⁷² *Maclean's*, 5 September 1964, 27.

The *Cameo* ad featuring the female smoker provides a point of contrast because it places the woman in the same position as the men in the *Labatt's* and other ads. That is, the woman is the one being served in the *Cameo* ad. She is the focal point of the vignette, rather than the helping hand. It is worth noting that being the focal point of the ad does not make this image of an active woman similar or equal to the images of the men. For example, the men have sports equipment while the woman wears a frilly bathing cap. Moreover, the men look out at the viewer. They are cooling off after exerting themselves at sport, while the woman is floating in a lake along with other lily pads.

I have reviewed the *Cameo*, *Labatt's*, *Twin-Life* and *Coke* ads, noting the use of fragments of women's bodies in order to show messages about femininity continued to be influenced by the feminine mystique in the early 1960s. The signs that cue femininity may be shifting. The dress (or lack thereof) of the women has changed or become more risqué, but the women are no more vigorous or active than they were in the 1950s.

Conclusions

Advertisements featuring Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell speak to the rupture points in the discourse of femininity in the 1950s. They show that what is depicted in advertisements does not always represent the reality of the athlete herself. Further, Barbara Ann Scott's and Marilyn Bell's endorsements show the stereotype of femininity could include physical activity, provided this activity in the public sphere was grounded by her feminine appearance or behaviour. As well, advertisements featuring active women from the 1950s and 1960s do not entirely reflect changes in the discourse of femininity. More specifically, ads from the early 1960s do not incorporate the "progressive femininity" that was supposedly leaking into women's mass culture at the time.

Advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s featuring active women are optically consistent with those from earlier years. The striking consistency of tropes and poses in the ads is reflected in the *Twin-Life* (3.11) and *Coke* (3.12) ads that used the identical image of twins on a bicycle-built-for-two to sell their products. Likewise, the *Cameo* (3.14, 3.15) and *Labatt's* (3.13) ads illustrate the continuing motif of women touching or caressing objects, but not actually using the sporting equipment included in the images. Sporting equipment itself is also a trope of the advertisements reviewed in the fifties, given its use to signify gender.

As Wini Breines has argued, in the 1950s, women's "small movements away from prescribed roles were of great significance."²⁷³ Even the tiniest ruptures in the discourse of femininity can signal great change. Thus, the celebration of the achievements of Marilyn Bell and Barbara Ann Scott must be seen as a significant development in the history of Canadian female athletes in advertising. These images represent the entry of the celebrity female athlete into advertisements, which changes the terms under which sport is represented. This is because the celebrity female athlete's narrative is impacted by public recognition of her accomplishments.

Representations of Bell and Scott suggest that the use of the celebrity female athlete in advertisements from the fifties made for a more complex narrative than images of active women. This is because images of celebrity female athletes such as Barbara Ann Scott and Marilyn Bell play on the audience's pre-existing understanding of her celebrity. Moreover, women like Bell and Scott are represented as an ideal that is also Canadian. They are like the viewer. Consequently, Scott's and Bell's stories inject women's lived experiences, however exceptional, into an often hegemonic discourse of femininity. Scott's and Bell's activities fall

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²⁷³ Breines, Wini, *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), xi.

outside the scope of the feminine mystique, but their other qualities allow them to be recouped within that narrative. On the one hand, this qualifies their accomplishments. But, it also fleshes out and expands the discourse of femininity.

Chapter Four

THE LADY JOCK

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women

Within four years of Robert Fulford's announcement of second-wave feminism to mainstream Canada in "The Second Revolt of Modern Woman," the Pearson government called a Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW).²⁷⁴ Chaired by Florence Bird,²⁷⁵ the Commission's mandate was to investigate every aspect of Canadian women's lives. Accordingly, the Commission traveled across Canada listening to testimony from a relatively diverse group of Canadians on such issues as access to abortion, childcare and women's legal rights.²⁷⁶ The RCSW reported to Parliament in 1970, making 167 policy recommendations on women's issues.²⁷⁷

In *The Satellite Sex, The Media and Women's Issues in English Canada, 1966 to 1971*, Barbara Freeman argues that media coverage of the RCSW was "torn" between progressive and misogynistic thinking about women's roles.²⁷⁸ For example, feminists were often characterized as radical and demanding. The Canadian Press refused to use the prefix "Ms." unless "militant members of the women's liberation movement" requested it. If the request was made, the 1974 *CP Style Guide* directed journalists to explain "as a matter of news interest" why the woman wished to be identified as "Ms." rather than Miss or Mrs..²⁷⁹

Conversely, Freeman characterizes media such as *Chatelaine* and CBC television's *Take 30* as progressive. *Chatelaine* editor Doris Anderson was an outspoken supporter of the

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²⁷⁴ Freeman, Barbara, *The Satellite Sex, The Media and Women's Issues in English Canada, 1966 to 1971* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2001), 3.

²⁷⁵ Bird was also known as a journalist by the pseudonym "Anne Francis."

²⁷⁶ For an examination and analysis of media coverage of the RCSW, see Barbara Freeman's *The Satellite Sex*.

²⁷⁷ Freeman, 219.

²⁷⁸ Freeman, 5.

²⁷⁹ Freeman, 135.

RCSW,²⁸⁰ while Adrienne Clarkson defended employment equity and the RCSW as host of *Take 30*.²⁸¹ Freeman argues that the women's pages and women-centered media provided "a pattern of reciprocity between feminists and the media" that (at times) conveyed the complexity of the issues at hand.²⁸²

Freeman's analysis is salient to my discussion of active women in advertising because it illustrates the mainstreaming of a *feminist* discourse into everyday Canadian life. Chapter four will discuss the impact of "women's liberation" on the discourse of femininity as it relates to active women in advertising. Primarily, the chapter will examine the introduction of gender verification testing for women in international athletic competitions as symptomatic of a biological interrogation of their femininity and sexuality. A direct causal link between this development, "women's liberation" and advertising cannot be made. Rather, the advertisements will be seen as "signifiers" of the discursive context within which 'women's lib' and gender verification testing were taking place.²⁸³

As Freeman observes, the response to feminist demands for equal opportunity met with both support and skepticism. Accordingly, I will begin the chapter by reviewing ads that reflect an appropriation of the language of women's liberation. I will compare these ads with others that recall the biological association of females with maternal duties and passive leisure discussed in the introduction to this thesis. The re-emergence of a biological explanation for athletic ability is significant, given gender verification testing was the major international development in women's athletic competition in the late 1960s. Advertisements which feminize female athletes and active woman and portray certain sports as hetero-social leisure activities will be considered as inscriptions that belie the explicit attack on the

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²⁸⁰ Freeman, 57.

²⁸¹ Freeman, 221.

²⁸² Freeman, 5.

femininity and sexuality of female athletes that was taking place. Finally, I will discuss a new trope in advertisements, the “soft and smooth” lady jock, a desirable combination of femininity and athleticism.

“A Male Chauvinist’s Guide to Liberation”

A 1972 *Saturday Night* article by Don Smith titled “A Male Chauvinists Guide to Liberation,” offered a discussion of why “women’s liberation terrifies men.”²⁸⁴ Smith argued men were frightened by women’s legitimate claims to equality and many men attempted “to keep the movement in its place by making light of it.”²⁸⁵ Smith celebrates his wife’s “liberation” and acknowledges that he should be taking on a greater share of the housework for his working wife. That said, Smith admitted that he himself had experienced uneasiness with his mate’s liberated social role. He describes speaking at a conference with his wife and feeling awkward. Smith explained,

The problem was, you see, that despite everything I had accepted intellectually about women’s lib, I couldn’t escape the feeling that I was *competing* with my wife. And by God, was I threatened. For chauvinists like me, that’s the real hang-up. And I can’t even begin to pretend I have the answer to it.²⁸⁶

What Smith is getting at here is a dichotomy between his intellectual acceptance of women’s liberation and the more difficult social shift required in order to realize women’s equality.

Smith’s article suggests that “women’s lib” was becoming a commonplace topic, but not an accepted part of day-to-day Canadian life. Like Smith’s article, advertising representations of sportswomen of the 1970s often ‘talked the talk’ of women’s liberation but didn’t necessarily ‘walk the walk’ of political change. That is, the images apply a

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²⁸³ Pollack calls advertisements “signifiers in the discourse,” 41.

²⁸⁴ Smith, Don, “A Male Chauvinist’s Guide to Liberation,” *Saturday Night*, May 1972, 19.

²⁸⁵ Smith, Don, 19.

²⁸⁶ Smith, Don, 20.

decidedly liberated rhetoric into their narrative while remaining optically consistent with the “feminine” imagery of the post-war era.

A silhouette of a woman skiing downhill appears in a 1966 *Tampax* ad headlined, “THE BOLD NIGHT SKIER” (4.1). This “girl who doesn’t let darkness deter her is not one to hang up her ski poles for a few days each month. Like so many of today’s active young moderns, she uses Tampax....”²⁸⁷ Since the image is a silhouette of a night skier, the main cue of gender is the model’s body angle. Her hip is thrust out to the side thereby accentuating the feminine contours of her body. A 1978 *Midol* ad is more consistent with the imagery of the post-war ads (4.2). This ad features a woman bicycling with a male companion. The woman cyclist smiles at the reader, while the male cyclist gazes at her. It promises “avec Midol vous êtes libre tous les jours du mois.”²⁸⁸ Both ads use the language of freedom to signify uninterrupted sporting activity.

The *Tampax* and *Midol* layouts play upon the notion of liberation in the same way as the *Modess* ads from the inter-war years. That freedom or liberation is a theme of these ads is not surprising, given each product is promising to make women’s lives easier. However, the relationship between sport and liberation has shifted. Rather than freedom to enjoy housework or children, the *Tampax* and *Midol* ads speak about adult women’s freedom. The bicyclist in the *Midol* ad is free to do anything she wishes, any day of the month. Similarly, the *Tampax* ad celebrates the skier who “doesn’t let darkness deter her.” These two “young moderns” do not let (social/biological) restraints keep them from leading liberated lives.

Like the *Modess* ads of the 1940s, a 1967 *Velveeta* effort uses mother/daughter models (4.3). While the visual of a passive mother and active daughter is the same in both ads, the narrative scope of the *Velveeta* example is not consistent with the inter and post-war years.

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²⁸⁷ *Chatelaine*, March 1966, 79 and *Châteline*, mars 1966, 64.

The ad reads, “Behind every successful little girl is a mother who serves Velveeta.” It shows an apron-wearing mother gazing proudly at a young girl carrying a baseball hat and glove. The mother wears clothing that is coded feminine. By contrast her daughter is like “any girl or boy who sits, stands, runs, jumps, throws or grows...” she wears a striped blue t-shirt and her hair is messily put into braids.²⁸⁹ The proud gaze of the mother and her stance behind her daughter imply a generational shift. It is a juxtaposition of the “old” woman and the “new” woman indicating the social roles of women were in flux. While there is no implication that the mother and daughter have different roles in the *Modess* ad, the optical inconsistency between mother and daughter in the *Velveeta* ad suggests generational discontinuity.

Rather than making explicit references to feminism, liberation is a trope of these ads from the late 1960s and 1970s. Liberation is a trope because it is a ‘text’ appropriated by advertisers; freedom from what or for what purposes is only vaguely articulated. Thus, the theme of liberation was present in ads, but not in an explicitly “feminist” way. The key difference between these ads and the liberated “new woman” of the inter-war years is that “freedom” is associated directly with enjoying sport, rather than with cigarettes or children. However, sport was not so innocently associated with liberation as these ads suggest. “Women’s liberation” and demands for equality of opportunity destabilized ‘natural’ gender divisions. The notion of equality itself seemed to beg the question, “how are men and women different?” Accordingly, articulating the social and biological differences between men and women became a subject for academic study.

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²⁸⁸ *Châteline*, janvier 1978, 2.

²⁸⁹ *Chatelaine*, October 1967, 23 and *Châteline*, septembre 1968, 21.

Male Bonding

Lionel Tiger coined the phrase ‘male-bonding’ in 1969, to explain the ‘natural’ prowess of men at teamwork, including sport. Tiger was the author of the 1969 book *Men in Groups*, which asked, “Why do human males form all-male groups?”²⁹⁰ Tiger believed male bonding to be a social manifestation of “an underlying biologically transmitted ‘propensity’ with roots in human evolutionary history.”²⁹¹ It followed that, men and women had different social roles and abilities. An excerpt published in *Maclean’s* from *Men in Groups*, resulted in “placard carrying feminists” picketing the magazine’s office.²⁹² In a 1970 defense against what he deemed their “faithless wrath” Tiger claimed he had never called women inferior.²⁹³ However, an examination of Tiger’s discussion of male bonding and sport shows he *did* say men are superior athletes, an argument he based on biological and evolutionary theories.

Tiger argued sport, like politics, was a male domain. This in itself is not a contentious claim. It is Tiger’s explanation of male dominance in sport that is skewed.²⁹⁴ Tiger explains,

...general public interest is greatest in male sports. The popular team sports...are virtually always male. Most female sport activity is amateur. In general, this may reflect that in all athletic sports males are superior to females, and that spectators and fans prefer males’ superior displays of physical and perhaps even psychological skills.²⁹⁵

Missing from Tiger’s discussion is any sense of the social history of sport. He articulates the dominance of males in sport, but never asked why it might be that way. Instead, Tiger attributes what he deems to be men’s superior skills to biologically inherited characteristics.

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²⁹⁰ Tiger, Lionel, *Men in Groups* (New York: Random House, 1969), xiii.

²⁹¹ Tiger, *Men in Groups*, xiii.

²⁹² Tiger, Lionel, “But I never said women are inferior,” *Maclean’s*, January 1970, 61.

²⁹³ Tiger, “But I never said...,” 62.

Tiger's book is significant because it reintroduced a biological explanation of sporting ability into the discourse. He used biology to rationalize the social dominance of men in institutions such as sport. It is an argument the likes of which had not been seen since Agnes Wayman's 1934 contention women had no need to develop "combative instincts."²⁹⁶

Contrary to using the language of liberation, some ads from the 1960s and 1970s echo ideas within Tiger's work, portraying activities such as shopping and sun-bathing as sports for women. In these ads, the physical activities of women echo Tiger's claim,

that team sports are more important for the socialization of young boys...that male teams are of greater interest than female teams; and that the syndrome of male team behavior and male spectatorship bears some connection...to the hunting-male bonding factor in human history.²⁹⁷

Women do not possess the "hunting-male bonding instinct" necessary for sophisticated organized sport. It follows that womanly instincts are different. A 1976 *Catelli* advertisement reads, "Win your own Olympic event: the supermarket sprint" (4.4). The *Catelli* copy makes a connection between sport and traditional feminine "instincts," depicting a supermarket sprinter in a blue uniform with an "Olympic effort" logo. The sprinter races through a supermarket aisle, filling her cart with the products of Olympic sponsors.²⁹⁸

The womanly instinct in the *Catelli* advertisement is the sprinter's natural ability to feed her family. The sprinter is also performing a civic duty, given *Catelli* was donating a portion of each sale to Canadian Olympians. Like Tiger's *Men in Groups*, the "supermarket sprint" allows women to make a uniquely feminine contribution to the Olympic games, while displaying their agility in the kitchen. This *Catelli* ad makes a connection between sport

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²⁹⁴ For further discussion of Tiger and his 2002 defense of *Men in Groups*, see Houpt, Simon, "Tiger Still Burning," *Globe and Mail*, 17 June 2002, R1.

²⁹⁵ Tiger, *Men in Groups*, 116.

²⁹⁶ Wayman, as cited in Lenskyj "Femininity First," 13.

²⁹⁷ Tiger, *Men in Groups*, 121.

²⁹⁸ *Châteline*, février 1976, 2-3 and *Chatelaine*, February 1976, 2-3.

and women's duties in the same manner that the 1928 *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* (2.1) ad did. It posits a relationship between women's sport (in this case grocery shopping) and traditional female responsibilities. Latour would call this a "production" of new meanings, because it creates a relationship that otherwise does not exist.

Patricia A. Bolla's study of images of active women found that leisure was more often portrayed as a social activity for girls than sport.²⁹⁹ A 1970 *Tampax* ad shows a woman for whom "sports are the spectator variety" (4.5). She asks "Physical Fitness Program? Sure. What channel is it on?" For the model in this representation, sport consists of dancing, because "a little exercise won't...hurt." She has also "taken lessons and still can't swim a stroke..." but she can "float like mad." The *Tampax* ad echoes Tiger's assertion that unlike men, women do not have the inclination to hunt (be physically active) or work as a team. Instead, this woman's socializing and passive leisure such as shopping, sun-tanning and 'floating,' are a part of her physical fitness program. As the *Tampax* model says, "If we were meant to walk, there wouldn't be any cabs."³⁰⁰ This implies that women are "meant" for the kinds of physical activities depicted in the advertisement.

The representation of women as passive or less able at sports is not new in the context of previous ads that showed women struggling on roller skates and serving beer in juxtaposition with more vigorous and active men. The *Tampax* and *Catelli* ads show that the association of women with passivity is enduring. Just as the "liberation" advertisements from the late 1960s and 1970s belied the renewed interest in biological differences between men and women, the *Tampax* and *Catelli* ads convey none of the gains women were making in sport at this time. The 1976 Canadian women's Olympic team consisted of 155 athletes,

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²⁹⁹ Bolla, 246.

³⁰⁰ *Chatelaine*, August 1970, 18.

more than double the number that had competed 12 years earlier.³⁰¹ Moreover, the level of and skill of women's competition had increased quite dramatically by the early 1970s. While Tiger's biological analysis of sport overlooked this fact, other contemporary observers were noticing these developments in women's sport.

“La fin du sexe faible”

During the 1976-1977 Huntsville, Ontario minor hockey season, 10 year old Gail Cummings made the local “All-Star” team. However, Cummings was later denied the right to play by the Ontario Minor Hockey Association (OMHA) because of her gender. The OMHA panel noted that having boys and girls play on the same team had moral implications, which included endangering “future family stability.”³⁰² Even though Cumming's ability was on par with the boys, she was restricted from playing because social sanctions prohibited competition between boys and girls. Nonetheless, Cumming's story demonstrates that girls were showing an interest and aptitude in traditionally male sports.³⁰³

Cumming's story confirms what academic studies measuring the physical strength of children began to find in the 1970s. These studies found that between the ages of 10 and 12, there were no appreciable differences between the physical strength of boys and girls.³⁰⁴ Jean-Pierre Fournier's report on these studies for *Le Maclean* argued that, at any age, the notion of a weaker sex was no longer something one could count on. Citing a study by Dr.

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³⁰¹ Hoffman, “The Champions,” 76.

³⁰² Steed, Judy, “The New Amazons,” *The Canadian*, 28 October 1978, 5.

³⁰³ Gail Cummings was neither the first, nor the last Canadian girl to challenge minor hockey's gender bias. In 1955 Abby Hoffman registered as “Ab” and played as an All-Star in Toronto. In 1986, backed by LEAF and CAAWS, Justine Blainey took her case for equal access to minor hockey to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The OHRC ruled against athletic organizations being subject to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but they did strike down a section of the Ontario law that allowed athletic organizations to discriminate based on gender. McFadden, Fred, *Abby Hoffman* (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978), 17-23; Williams, Megan, “Women's Hockey: Heating Up the Equity Debate,” *Canadian Women Studies* 15, no. 4 (Fall 1995), 78-81.

Jack H. Wilmore, Fournier wrote, “Si on mesure la force physique par rapport à la masse des tissus actifs, les femmes semblent donc potentiellement aussi fortes que les hommes.”³⁰⁵

Fournier argued that this information was a lesson Canadians should take into consideration, as the Russians clearly understood the potential of female athletes and were seeing the results in international athletic competitions.³⁰⁶

Fournier’s celebration of the sporting prowess of Russian competitors is ironic, given the ridicule to which Russian sisters and track athletes, Tamara and Irina Press, were subjected in the North American media. The athletes were dubbed the “Press Brothers” and were described as “squat troglodytes with short haircuts and enormous thighs.”³⁰⁷ Russian-style female athletes in Canada would probably have been scrutinized for their lack of femininity. This is because in parallel to the renewed interest in the biology of female athletes, academics began to explore so-called ‘role-conflicts’ among active women. Factors such as “tomboyism” and interest in “boys” games were seen as signs of “gender non-conformity and predictors of lesbianism in adult life.”³⁰⁸

The idea of gender ‘non-conformity’ is based on the notion that there is a normative definition of masculinity and femininity. It suggests that non-conformity can be prevented through appropriate feminine socialization. Jan Felshin refers to femininity as a social assumption for women. Her theory of a “feminine apologetic” suggests North American athletes have had to compensate for their transgression of normal heterosexual femininity by appearing and acting feminine.³⁰⁹ While models in advertisements had no public image for which to compensate, the association of athletic women with femininity in ads can be

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³⁰⁴ Fournier, Jean-Pierre, “La fin du sexe faible,” *Le Maclean*, octobre 1974, 15.

³⁰⁵ Fournier, 15.

³⁰⁶ Fournier, 15.

³⁰⁷ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 89.

³⁰⁸ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 97.

understood as an apologetic. This is because female rituals and ornamentation are used to ‘feminize’ sport.

A 1975 *Sears* advertisement features a woman holding a tennis racquet (4.6). She is modeling *Sears*’ “mode conçue pour les femmes modernes et sportives.”³¹⁰ This includes colour-coordinated tennis shoes, shorts, cap and bag. In keeping with the day-to-day practices constituting femininity, the *Sear’s* ad suggests that “sportive” women should be fashionable. This image is optically consistent with other ads, such as the *Buckingham Cigarettes* (2.2, 2.3) images portraying fashionably coordinated women. However, fashion is a part of sport itself in this ad, implying that it is a requirement of “modernes et sportives” women. The feminization of sport via fashion can be seen as an apologetic, since trendiness is not performance enhancing.

A highly decorous or sexual image of an active woman is a way to normalize her within the discourse of the times. A 1974 *Air Canada* ad features a “European Lift Ticket” (4.7). She is a smiling blonde skier who peers out at the viewer from behind the skis she is holding. Like her counterpart in the *Sear’s* ad, she wears a colour-coordinated outfit, complete with matching gloves and scarf. Also consistent with the *Sear’s* advertisement, the “European” holds her equipment, rather than uses it. Unlike her Russian counterparts the Press Brothers, this European is unthreatening, given her pink and yellow snowsuit and empty gaze.³¹¹ Suffice to say there is no sign of any physical exertion on the part of either model. Instead, they are posed in order to maximize the display of their beauty and clothes.

The *Air Canada* and *Sears* ads convey neither the return to biological essentialism, nor the ‘discovery’ of the biological potential of women, as articulated by Tiger and Fournier.

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³⁰⁹ Felshin, 204.

³¹⁰ *Châtelaine*, avril 1975, 25.

³¹¹ *Maclean’s*, January 1974, 57.

Instead, they emphasize socially desirable, ornamental femininity. Thus, we can say that ads do not always reflect the mainstream discourse on female athletes. Rather, they pick up on those discursive shifts that are most in tune with femininity, such as sport fashion trends or the sign of an exotic European sportswoman, and use them in the ads. A feminine apologetic privileges femininity over sporting performance and this is the case in the *Sear's* and *Air Canada* advertisements.

While the articles by Fournier and Don Smith show women's demands for equality were gaining ground, the visual sign of the active woman in the *Sear's* and *Air Canada* ads remained optically consistent with imagery from previous decades. Arguably the sign of the feminine athlete became more crucial in the 1970s. This is because a feminine image was a confirmation of a female athlete's heterosexuality.

Sex Testing – Why Now?

Uneasiness with the changing abilities of women manifested themselves in the introduction of gender verification testing for female competitors at the 1966 European Track and Field Championships. The policy of "visual inspections" to confirm gender was extended to chromosomal testing by the International Olympic Committee in 1968³¹² and continued until 2000.³¹³ The tests never 'caught' anything more than genetic anomalies. Precilla Y.L. Choi argues it is no coincidence that only *sportswomen* were required to undergo the sex test. Choi points out, "so strong is the belief that superior athletic prowess is the *natural* domain of men that women whose sporting performance is superior to men's cannot truly be women or are assumed to be men in disguise."³¹⁴

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³¹² Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 88.

³¹³ Ferguson, Sue, "Madam – not Adam," *Macleans*, 12 June 2000, 10.

³¹⁴ Choi, Precilla Y.L., *Femininity and the Physically Active Woman* (Philadelphia: Routledge, 2000), 19.

Canadian runner Abby Hoffman was one woman whose sexuality and femininity tended to be questioned. Hoffman competed in the Commonwealth and Olympic games for nearly twenty years. She was tall and slim with short curly hair. She recounted an experience running in Toronto's High Park, where a curious child called out to her, "Hey mister, are you a lady jogger?"³¹⁵ Nonetheless, Hoffman noted sarcastically of the sex tests that she had "passed every time."³¹⁶ Hoffman makes light of the sex tests, but the implications of the elimination of biological or socially apparent differences between men and women clearly evoked strong reactions, and the sex tests are symptomatic of this.

Helen Lenskyj points out that the stereotype of the "mannish" deep-voiced female athlete is nearly identical to stereotypes about lesbians.³¹⁷ It can be argued that, female athletes threatened the socially sanctioned role of the feminine heterosexual woman. Caroline Fusco argues "the lesbian label is...used to intimidate lesbians and undermine attempts by all women to challenge constructed gender relations in sport."³¹⁸ It follows that homophobia hurts all women in sport, regardless of their sexual orientation. Lesbianism came to represent deviant behaviour and it could discipline a feminine response from athletes, regardless of their sexual orientation.

While homophobia in women's sport has been a longstanding issue for athletes, it is a topic on which advertisements featuring active women in the 1970s are silent. For example, Abby Hoffman joked about being able to pass the sex test, and being mistaken for a man, but her discussion never gets to the heart of the real anxieties over the visual sign of the "mannish" female athlete – that she is not a heterosexual. Helen Lenskyj argues,

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³¹⁵ Hoffman, Abby, "Running for Gold," *Maclean's*, February 1975, 31.

³¹⁶ Hoffman, "Running for Gold," 32.

³¹⁷ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 90.

³¹⁸ Fusco, Caroline, "Lesbians and Locker Rooms: Challenging Lesbophobia," *Canadian Woman Studies* 10, no. 4 (Summer 1995), 67.

the salience of heterosexuality in the past decade [1970s] can be explained in part as a heterosexist reaction to visible lesbians in sport and in society at large, just as the earlier emphasis on femininity was a sexist reaction to women who were competent and visible in sport, business or politics.³¹⁹

Lenskyj makes a connection between homophobia and a surge in hetero-normativity without articulating that femininity and heterosexuality are related. Clearly, each was taken to be a sign, or a 'pass,' for the other.

Female golfers are a group of athletes whose sexuality has frequently been under suspicion. In 1968, Canadian golfer Sandra Post told *Maclean's* of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) Tour, "they like us to do our hair during a tournament, especially one that's being televised."³²⁰ The LPGA was responding to charges that their golfers were not womanly by launching a "determined mini-skirted effort to glamorize girl golfers," including calling the women "proettes" rather than "pros."³²¹ Along with publicly denying that any of their golfers are lesbians, the LPGA has employed an image consultant to work with the golfers on their appearance.³²² The perceived risk of being seen as a predominantly lesbian organization is that golfers and the tour will lose sponsorships.

In 1981, professional tennis player Billie Jean King was "outed" because of a lawsuit from a former same-sex partner.³²³ In the following three years alone, King lost an estimated 1.5 million dollars in sponsorship and advertising endorsements.³²⁴ A journalist quoted by Lenskyj says even an "ardent gay activist would probably keep her sexual preference private as long as women's sport depended on commercial sponsors whose business it was to

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³¹⁹ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 105.

³²⁰ Edmonds, Alan, "and Sandra Post Makes Three..." *Maclean's*, September 1968, 39.

³²¹ Edmonds, 39.

³²² Choi, 40.

³²³ Choi, 42.

³²⁴ Hargreaves, Jennifer, *Heroines of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 147.

promote heterosexual glamour.”³²⁵ Not long after coming out in the 1980s, Betty Baxter was fired as the coach of the Canadian woman’s volleyball team.³²⁶ In the context of the late 1960s and 1970s, Baxter’s and King’s experiences illustrate that there were real consequences for women whose sexuality confirmed the “fears” about mannish athletes.

It is worth noting that this perceived lesbian image problem of female golfers was not part of the public debate prior to the 1960s. Indeed, images of women golfing alone were signs of sophistication and leisure in the inter-war years. For example, the sexuality of the female golfers in the *Buckingham* (2.2, 2.3) and *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* (2.1) advertisements is not a part of the narrative scope of the images. By contrast, golf and tennis advertisements from the 1970s feature physically active heterosexual couples. In light of anxieties about the sexuality of celebrity athletes like King and Baxter, the change in the representation of certain sports from individual to hetero-social is significant.

Patricia Bolla’s study of active women in ads noted “a marked increase in heterosexual advertisements” as compared to unisex, family or independent athletes, during the early 1970s.³²⁷ Similarly, selected advertisements found in my survey of *Maclean’s* and *Chateleine* portray heterosexual couples playing golf and tennis as compared with individuals in the inter-war years. A 1972 *Peter Jackson* cigarettes layout reads, “there’s a taste to match the good times” (4.8). A photograph at the center of this ad shows a man making a putt while his female companion leans on her club, holding the flag.³²⁸ Not only does this ad portray golf as a hetero-social leisure activity, it also reconfirms a gender division in sport.

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³²⁵ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 102. This journalist’s quote and the Billie Jean King example are now twenty years old. Lesbian athletes such as tennis players Martina Navratilova and Amelie Mauresmo or golfer Muffin Spencer-Devlin do have corporate sponsorship. For a discussion of ‘lesbian-chic’ in the 1990s and beyond see Allen, *Lesbian Idols*, *Lesbian Images*.

³²⁶ Hargreaves, 140.

³²⁷ Bolla, 248.

³²⁸ *Maclean’s*, July 1972, inside front cover.

The woman is depicted as a golfer, but in the image selected for the advertisement, she is a spectator more than a player.

Unlike the *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* (2.1) ad where men and women golfed individually, the *Peter Jackson* vignette shows golf as a hetero-social activity. The juxtaposition of the bodies of the male and the female in the foregoing ad shows a passive/active opposition between the two golfers. The narrative scope of this ad also breaks with the *Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops* or *Fry's Cocoa* (2.8) or *Labatt's India Pale Ale* (3.13) ads because "good times" are shared between this heterosexual couple who enjoy sport together. In the inter-war years ads, leisure time was not something that couples shared. Instead, women enjoyed sport in their own right, or with their children.

A 1978 *Jantzen* ad also shows a heterosexual couple, this time standing with their racquets on a tennis court (4.9). This image is optically consistent with the *Peter Jackson* ad because it shows a young, white, fit, heterosexual couple enjoying sport together. The headline of the *Jantzen* ad reads "Love sets," in reference to the matching tennis gear the couple wears. The reference to "love" confirms these two people are not competitors, but rather a couple. This distinction diffuses the possibility that the couple is challenging one another. However, in a departure from all the ads I have reviewed, this one refers to the couple depicted as "serious tennis players."³²⁹ This is the first ad featuring an active woman to refer to the people depicted as serious athletes. It is worth noting that it occurs in the context of a hetero-social leisure situation, rather than in a woman-only ad. Nonetheless, the implication that a woman is a serious athlete, on par with her husband, is an important departure from previous ads. While it does not speak to the sexuality issue, it does represent

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³²⁹ *Maclean's*, 3 April 1978, 55.

a shift in the discourse of femininity. Wives (and perhaps by extension, mothers) are herein depicted as physically active.

The *Jantzen* and *Peter Jackson* ads show a new symbol of the late 1960s and 1970s, hetero-social leisure. The insertion of men into advertisements featuring active women is significant, in light of both sex-testing and the women's liberation movement. On the one hand, the ads can be taken as a reassertion of heterosexuality at a time when female athletes were the subject of public scrutiny. However, the depiction of men and women playing sports together, without significant diminution of the woman's ability, indicates a changing notion of female athleticism. These images do not juxtapose active men and women as did the 1950s and 1960s *Coke* (3.4, 3.6) or *Cameo* (3.14, 3.15) ads. Symbolically at least, active women were (sometimes) represented on a level playing field with men in this era.

Tiger's concept of 'male-bonding' sanctions male-only sport, and the *Jantzen* and *Peter Jackson* layouts normalize "good times" through hetero-social sport. Conspicuously absent from the discourse are images or discussion of more than one active woman. Indeed, groups of active women have not appeared in any of the ads reviewed. While Tiger's "male-bonding" may be a biologically essentialist explanation for what is in fact a social phenomenon, it *does* suggest that the discourse of femininity does not include female-only socializing through sport. In this way, the *Jantzen* and *Peter Jackson* advertisements are optically consistent with other images showing individual women or heterosexual couples playing sports. Nonetheless, the representation of heterosexuality and femininity can be interpolated differently from representations of the past because of the changing discourse surrounding female athletes during this period.

The Lady Jock

Aside from the use of images, an advertisement's copy can direct its narrative. Such "keywords" are aspects of inscriptions identified by Law and Whittaker. The use of keywords allows for "a drastic *simplification* of a subject that is otherwise intractably complex."³³⁰ "Keywords" are akin to a search term of a book index. They reduce a complex topic to essential words and phrases for the purposes of simplifying information. In advertisements, "keywords" or copy are chosen to describe images of female athletes and active women. These words can mediate or suggest a preferred reading of the athlete, depending on the words selected to describe her.

Alleen Pace Nilson argues "the language a culture uses is telltale evidence of the values and beliefs of that culture."³³¹ Nilson further argues that language is gendered and some words have either masculine or feminine connotations. Nilson suggests "when a little girl is told to be a lady, she is being told to sit with her knees together and to be quiet and dainty." By contrast, when a "little boy is told to 'be a man' he is being told to be noble, strong, and virtuous."³³² Nilson's research suggests that language assigns women passive roles and men aggressive roles. Language, like behaviour, is a way to understand the discourse of femininity.

The passive-active opposition separating males and females in language is a common feature of advertisements featuring female athletes and active women since 1970. In particular, words used in the text inscriptions of the advertisements emphasize traditionally feminine characteristics such as gentleness. Two examples feature celebrity female athletes Nancy Greene and Debbie Van Kiekebelt. Greene was the 1967 and 1968 world champion

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³³⁰ Law and Whittaker, 164.

³³¹ Nilson, Alleen Pace, "Sexism in English: A 1990s Update," in *The Gender Reader*, eds. Evelyn Ashton-Jones and Gary A. Olson (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1991), 260.

and 1968 Olympic champion downhill skier. Van Kieckhefer was a lauded Canadian pentathlete in the 1970s.

The text of a 1970 *Jergen's* skin lotion ad featuring Nancy Greene emphasizes the softness of her skin (4.10). One ad reads,

Nancy Greene, as you know, is a skier. She's used *Jergen's* lotion for a long time now. To protect her face from harsh winds, and sleet, and year-round weather extremes. To keep her hands looking soft and nice. To give her silky, smooth skin from head to toe.³³³

This text sets up an oppositional relationship. On the one side are “harsh winds” and “weather-extremes” and on the other is Nancy Greene and her “silky, smooth skin.” The “year-round weather extremes” in this text stand in place for Nancy Greene’s participation in sport. That is, it is the harsh weather, rather than sport per se that causes dry skin.

There is also an element of good versus evil in the divergent relationship the *Jergen's* ad makes between harsh weather and smooth skin. The text implies that Greene has triumphed for standing on the good side of this battle, the “soft, smooth” side. The “soft, smooth” side of Greene is her feminine side, a point of which the text reminds us when it says that “*Jergen's* makes a girl feel like a girl all over...”³³⁴ The ordinariness of the girl/softness association is underscored by *Jergen's* assumption that the reader understands what “makes a girl feel like a girl.”

‘Smooth’ and ‘soft’ are the two frequently used words in the text inscriptions of ads featuring Canadian female athletes and active women.³³⁵ Specifically, smoothness is an attribute maintained and enhanced by the product in spite of sport. A 1976 *Max Factor*

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³³² Nilson, 267.

³³³ *Chatelaine*, November 1970, 6.

³³⁴ *Chatelaine*, November 1970, 6.

³³⁵ This argument is based on my review of keywords in advertisements from the 1970s. As I began to review the ads, I noticed a curious repetition of phrases like soft, smooth, young, healthy etc. that carries on into the 1980s and 1990s. I attempted to sort out this trend by making note of which words were most frequently used and soft and smooth were overwhelming favourites.

advertisement promises, “you can jump in a pool, run around a tennis court...because Max Factor’s UltraLucent Waterproof Make-up and Blush go on beautifully, softly, smoothly, and naturally” (4.11).³³⁶ Smoothness is not only a desirable characteristic of women’s skin. A 1979 spot features Debbie Van Kiekebelt playing squash, tennis and running (4.12). In each image she wears a different outfit with colour coordinated *Bauer* shoes. The copy promises that the “clean summer looks” of *Bauer* tennis shoes are “soft...padded...and...comfy.”³³⁷ The repetition of keywords in the *Jergen’s*, *Max Factor* and *Bauer* ads is akin to optical consistency. The ubiquity of smoothness suggests it is a socially desirable and feminine attribute.

Sport is invoked in the *Jergen’s*, *Max Factor* and *Bauer* ads through a juxtaposition of its potential compromise to femininity with women who have maintained their “soft, smooth” side by using a beauty product. Like the *Max Factor* ad, the need to maintain one’s physical appearance in spite of athletics was a theme of the inter-war years, where *Ponds’* Princess Priscilla netted her man by being a good athlete and maintaining her soft skin (2.4). The continuity in the messages of the *Ponds*, *Jergen’s* and *Max Factor* claims is striking. It shows that sport has consistently been considered a potential compromise to women’s femininity.

A key difference between the *Bauer*, *Max Factor* and *Jergen’s* layouts and many others is that the necessity for exertion is not excised from the ads’ copy or visual imagery. Van Kiekebelt is shown swinging a tennis racquet in preparation for a “kill shot.” Likewise, the *Max Factor* ad invokes a range of physical activities. The *Bauer*, *Max Factor* and *Jergen’s* ads share with the *Peter Jackson* (4.8) and *Jantzen* (4.9) imagery or copy that accepts women as

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³³⁶ *Chatelaine*, July 1976, 3.

³³⁷ *Chatelaine*, September 1979, 165.

athletes. Women are still expected to behave and appear feminine; however, the physical exertion required in sport is now a part of the narrative scope of the ad.

The repetition of words connoting softness and smoothness is a trope of selected ads from the 1970s. It replaces other possible descriptors for athletes, such as agile, fast or competitor, with keywords, which apply more feminine descriptors to the athletes. As Alleen Pace Nilson's research shows, particular words tend to connote gender. Words such as "soft, smooth, comfy" relate more easily to the stereotype of passive femininity. Nonetheless, their combination with the sign of the vigorous and active woman come together and produce a new trope, the 'lady jock.' The lady jock can compete with the men, but she is also a desirable woman.

Conclusions

Reflecting on the women's movement and popular culture in the 1970s, former *Chatelaine* editor Doris Anderson commented,

the impact of the women's movement on women's magazines in the 1970s should have been profound. Women's magazines have traditionally reflected 'lifestyles' and the lifestyles of women in the 1970s changed quite drastically. But the changes in traditional magazines were cosmetic, rather than basic.³³⁸

Anderson argues that part of the reason magazines did not change was because of pressure from advertisers to maintain beauty, fashion and cooking-related content.³³⁹ However, more important to this chapter is Anderson's observation that popular culture did not necessarily reflect the complexity or the breadth of the changes in women's lifestyles in the 1970s.

Advertisements using the language of liberation, or portraying men and women playing sport

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³³⁸ Anderson, Doris, "Women's Magazines in the 1970s," *Canadian Woman Studies* 2, no. 2 (1980), 15.

³³⁹ Anderson, 15.

together only begin to represent the complexity of the debate over women and sport that was occurring at the time.

The variety of arguments in the contemporary literature on female athletes, from Lionel Tiger to Helen Lenskyj suggests that women's roles were deeply in flux in the late 1960s and 1970s. For example, biological explanations of athletic ability could be used to support or refute women's claims to equal opportunity, depending on which studies were used. Significantly, women's political organizations were silent on the topic of sport until the late 1970s. While the Royal Commission on the Status of Women had made some tentative assertions about the need for women's sport, sport was "considered a trivial, frivolous aspect of society" by many feminists.³⁴⁰

In a 1978 interview, M. Ann Hall argued a significant reason that feminist issues in sport had been neglected was because "many women in sport are afraid that if they also become involved in the women's movement and become labeled feminists, their sexual preference is going to be called into question..."³⁴¹ Hall's statement addresses one of the major connections between gender verification testing and feminism, the issue of (homo)sexuality. First, by challenging the gender order, feminists and athletes were likely to be labeled as man-haters or lesbians. Second, homophobia was a problem within the feminist and sport movements of the time. In both cases, it was feared that being openly homosexual or taking a position of 'tolerance' toward homosexuality was "hurtful" to the development of sport/feminist politics.³⁴²

I do not mean to suggest there was an explicit public moral panic over homosexuality. Instead, I draw from Lois McNay's observation that "every society produces

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³⁴⁰ M. Ann Hall, "On Track, Interview with Ann Hall," interview by Mary Lou Creechan, *Branching Out* 5, no. 4 (1978), 23.

³⁴¹ Hall, "Interview," 23.

its own truths which have a normalizing and regulatory function.”³⁴³ The “truism” about the female athlete in this period is that if she looked feminine, she was feminine. Obvious displays of femininity and heterosexuality were a way to assert gender order and clarity as the differences between men and women became less certain. This accounts for the growth in academic interest in topics such as biology and sporting ability, gender conformity and biological sex. It also explains why the heterosexual femininity of the athletes in the images from the late 1960s and 1970s is never in question.

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³⁴² Hargreaves, 139.

³⁴³ McNay, 25-26.

Chapter Five

THE EXERCISED BODY

By the late 1970s, feminists in Canada and the U.S.A began to mobilize around sports issues. *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, the groundbreaking well-woman guide by the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, contained a lengthy section on sport and physical activity. In the second edition (1976), the authors note,

In the past...[women have] accepted limitations on what our bodies can do. But we women are beginning to take our lives into our own hands in countless other ways...and that means also demanding better neighborhood athletic facilities...and well-rounded programs for girls in our schools.³⁴⁴

Likewise, feminists in Canada began to relate androcentrism in sport to gender inequality. CAAWS (The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity) was formed in the early 1980s by a group of liberal and radical feminists. The 1981 mission statement of CAAWS was to “advance the position of women by defining, promoting and supporting a feminist perspective on sport and to improve the status of women in sport.”³⁴⁵

CAAWS and the Boston Women's Health Book Collective linked sport with the advancement of women in all aspects of society, not just the playing field. Each organization employed rhetoric concerned with all women and not just individual athletes. By contrast, advertisements featuring active women and celebrity female athletes from this period depict sport as an individual and private activity. Consequently, “political concepts and goals like liberation and equality were collapsed into distinctly personal, private

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³⁴⁴ The Boston Women's Health Book Collective, *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (second edition) (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976), 119.

³⁴⁵ Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies*, 96-97.

desires”³⁴⁶ and fitness became a metonym for beauty and thinness (femininity), rather than physical well being.

‘Active femininity’ will be the catch phrase used in this chapter to describe advertisements over the last 22 years embracing the fit body of female athletes. I will begin by looking at how the ideal body in advertisements began to be more muscular and toned in the 1980s. I will relate the ethos of self-discipline expressed in these advertisements to the discourse of femininity. Susan Bordo and others argue that there is a socially sanctioned limit on the bulk of women’s muscles, beyond which women are considered unfeminine. I will examine the ‘contained’ muscular physique of athletes who model for *Sear’s*. I will then problematize Bordo’s notion of a ‘contained’ physique by discussing the variety of ways Canadian athletes Silken Laumann, Marnie McBean, Kathleen Heddle and Catriona Le May Doan are used in ads. Finally, I will relate Le May Doan and others’ bodily transgression of the discourse of femininity to their role as representatives of Canada.

Get In Shape! Aerobics in the 1980s

According to Helen Lenskyj, by 1984 aerobic-dance was “one of the most popular physical activities of North American women.”³⁴⁷ From the fitness centre scenes of Denys Arcand’s *The Decline of the American Empire*, to Jane Fonda’s “Prime Time Workout” video, aerobics, dancercise, jazzercise and the like were staples of 1980s popular culture. In a 1988 *l’Actualité* article titled *Le business du fitness*, writer Yanick Villedieu grappled with the new watchwords of physical fitness including *le burn-out*, *les vacances-santé* and *la régénération physique*.

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³⁴⁶ Douglas, Susan J., “Narcissism as Liberation,” in *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, ed. Jennifer Scanlon (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 267. Douglas notes that capitalism’s great strength is co-opting movements that were originally oppositional or alternative and “transubstantiat[ing] criticism into a host of new, marketable products.”

³⁴⁷ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 129.

The abundance of popular culture references to aerobics show they were a text of femininity, a ritual which had permeated the everyday lives of women.

The commodification of woman-centered physical activities has been a key point of contention in feminist cultural analyses of aerobics. For example, Lenskyj criticizes the sexualization of women's pubic areas in high cut or "diaper leg" *Danskin* body wear.³⁴⁸ At the same time, Markula Pirkko's interviews with female aerobicizers found they were less concerned with their overall health and fitness, than with so-called 'problem areas' such as their bums and thighs.³⁴⁹ Lenskyj further argues aerobics' association with fashion, cosmetics and beauty norms in advertisements is a case of the feminization of women's physical activity.³⁵⁰ It follows that aerobics contributed to, rather than challenged the division between male and female appropriate (physical) activities. Suffice to say, this was not the intention of the women's fitness movement.

"Get In Shape" is yet another catch phrase of the aerobics craze, and it is the headline of a 1983 *Tab Cola* ad featuring a double image of a female aerobicizer (5.1). She is wearing a pink leotard with a matching headband, flesh coloured pantyhose with pink legwarmers and ballet slippers. The blurred double image allows for the illusion the longhaired blonde and smiling model is in motion. In the bottom left corner of the ad there is a portrait of another woman with short curly hair in a pink t-shirt holding a bottle of *Tab Cola*. This woman is identified as Barbie Allen; she has designed a "mini-Dancercise Routine for Tab cola...the diet soft drink for women who think it's smart to get in shape."³⁵¹

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³⁴⁸ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 130.

³⁴⁹ Markula, Pirkko, "Firm but Shapely, Fit but Sexy, Strong but Thin: The Postmodern Aerobicizing Female Bodies," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12, no. 4 (1995), 434.

³⁵⁰ Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 129.

³⁵¹ *Chatelaine*, April 1983, 23.

This *Tab Cola* ad makes a correlation between thinness and physical fitness because the product is meant to keep women slim, or “in shape.” Similarly, a 1986 *Kraft Calorie-Wise* salad dressing ad associates low-calorie food with physical fitness (5.2). This ad features a longhaired blonde model wearing a pink leotard with turquoise tights and matching legwarmers. This model is sitting on the ground, stretching one leg vertically above her head. ‘With all the taste but fewer calories,’ *Kraft’s* products are “Pour la forme et par goût.”³⁵²

Although they appeared three years apart and were selling different products, the *Tab* and *Kraft* advertisements are optically consistent, nearly identical, when considering the professional model, copy and message of the promotion. For example, each model has blonde hair, a headband and matching aerobics gear. Coordinating sportswear is a symbol of the active woman which has carried over the decades, from the *Buckingham Cigarettes* (2.2, 2.3) ads of the inter-war years to the *Sear’s* (4.6) ad from the 1970s. Unlike the previous ads, pink is the colour of choice for women in the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads. The use of pink literally codes the women feminine. The juxtaposition of a sweaty exerciser with feminine clothing is an example of active femininity at work. Pink plays upon the tension between physical strength and femininity to soften the image of the active woman.

Being in good shape/forme is not explicitly defined in the *Kraft* and *Tab* advertisements, but rather represented in the form of the two aerobicizers. They are both slim and they have muscle tone (defined, but not bulging muscles). Their tight Lycra clothing reveals more of the form of their bodies than did ads from previous periods, so there is more definition of their figures than in previous images. It is worth noting Barbie Allen’s image is not considered representative of being in shape even though she is the

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³⁵² *Santé*, mars 1986, 19.

designer of the “mini-Dancercise” routine for *Tab*. Although Allen is clearly fit, she is not in *the* shape the advertisers are looking for.

The *Tab* and *Kraft* ads are productive because they make an association between shape/forme (thinness) with aerobics and eating low-calorie food. Accordingly, shape/forme is the (revised) goal of physical fitness and low-calorie food, rather than good health. Like the *Sal Hepatica* (2.10) ad from the 1930s, the choice of a “calorie-wise” product makes the difference between good health and poor health in the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads. Unlike the *Sal Hepatica* ad, the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads emphasize restraint and self-discipline in order to attain/maintain good form.

The Body as a Marker of Personal Order

The *Tab* and *Kraft* advertisements epitomize a discursive association of exercise with diet and slenderness, which is absent from previous periods. Susan Bordo calls this preoccupation “one of the most powerful ‘normalizing’ strategies of our century, ensuring the production of self-monitoring and self disciplining ‘docile bodies...habituated to self improvement and transformation in the service of these norms.’”³⁵³ Bordo is drawing on Foucault who argues the chief function of discipline is to train behaviour.³⁵⁴ Advertisements from the last twenty years featuring active women and celebrity athletes substantiate these theories particularly well because femininity is so explicitly embodied in this discourse.

Bordo further suggests the “size and shape of the body have come to operate as a marker of personal, internal order...as a symbol for the state of the soul.”³⁵⁵ Her argument is similar to Hunt’s conception of moral legibility; that character can be read from signs in

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³⁵³ Bordo, Susan, “Reading the Slender Body,” in *Body/Politics: Women and the Discourses of Science*, eds. Evelyn Fox Keller and Sally Shuttleworth (New York: Routledge, 1990), 85.

³⁵⁴ Foucault, 170.

dress or demeanor.³⁵⁶ In comparison to the *Sal Hepatica* (2.10) and *Ipana Toothpaste* (2.11) ads where a healthy smile was a euphemism for moral children and mothers, muscle tone and slenderness is the marker of good shape/forme in the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads. Like Bordo, Hunt suggests that, since the 1970s, moral regulation has manifested itself in “the pervasive spread of multiple projects of self governance.”³⁵⁷ Hunt suggests contemporary self-help literature is an example of such phenomena.³⁵⁸

Hunt describes self-regulation as “slow, painstaking and detailed work upon ourselves, a continuous and committed self-scrutiny.”³⁵⁹ What Hunt is describing is *not* a new development in the history of women. As Greer Litton-Fox has argued, the discourse of femininity includes continual adherence to an ever-changing standard of feminine behaviour. Hunt also fails to articulate how explicitly gendered the present incarnation of self-regulation is.³⁶⁰ This is evident not only in the gendering of aerobics as a disciplinary activity, but in the association of discipline with women’s day to day activities such as their diet and personal appearance.

What *is* different about women’s incitement to self-discipline in the 1980s is the shape of the feminine body. In the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads, aerobics are associated with beauty. The ideal body is now fit and toned rather than voluptuous and curvy.³⁶¹ Passive femininity no longer makes the grade; instead, active femininity and “working-out” is a symbol of “self-

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³⁵⁵ Bordo, “Slender Body,” 94.

³⁵⁶ Hunt, 92.

³⁵⁷ Hunt, 216.

³⁵⁸ Hunt, 217.

³⁵⁹ Hunt, 218.

³⁶⁰ See for example Faludi’s *Backlash* for her entertaining discussion on the so-called ‘man-shortage’ and such best selling self-help titles as *Women Who Love Too Much* and *Smart Women/Foolish Choices*. Faludi argues the “backlash asserts itself morally through self-help literature,” and turns women’s problems into individual pathologies, rather than political issues. Faludi, Susan, *Backlash* (Toronto: Anchor Books Doubleday, 1992), 336-337.

³⁶¹ Choi, 64. Compare for example, the voluptuous bodies in the Princess Priscilla Bibesco promotion for *Pond’s Vanishing Cream* (1939), *Sal Hepatica* (1936), *Tampax’s* 1966 “Bold Night Skier,” or the female tennis player from the *Peter Jackson* ad.

care” and the mastering of the body.³⁶² Thus, discipline *qua* self-care and presentation become behaviors positively associated with femininity. This is important because active femininity can be demonstrated through self-care, not necessarily just the overt symbols of dress and demeanor.

Sandra Bartky suggests discipline creates the recognizably feminine body, even though “the styles of the female figure vary over time and across cultures.”³⁶³ The self-disciplined body is one such example of a variation in the ideal feminine figure. The symbol of active femininity can be used as a metaphor for self-discipline on several levels. This body can be a symbol of self-mastery and control, used as an ornamental surface to display good health or sexuality or metaphorically to represent the steadiness and reliability of a product or a company. Three ads from the 1980s and beyond use images of active women and celebrity female athletes who are feminized to varying degrees, but each has a compact, toned body.

A 1988 *Northern Telecom* ad depicts “un saut dans le futur” (5.3). The image accompanying the ad features a muscular, young girl (perhaps 10 years old) in a gymnastics leotard executing a forward flip. In total, the flip is depicted in 11 different stages, illustrating *Northern Telecom*’s ability to help businesses “progresser résolument vers le futur.” Like the models in the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads, the young gymnast wears a pink leotard, with a matching pink ribbon in her hair.³⁶⁴

The *Northern Telecom* ad is striking for its use of a very young, muscular girl as a metaphor for discipline, progress and reliability. It is not optically consistent with any earlier ads because the athlete is so young. Moreover, it emphasizes the form and sophistication of

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³⁶² Bordo, “Slender Body,” 95.

³⁶³ Bartky, 65.

³⁶⁴ *L’Actualité*, septembre 1988, back cover.

her athletic endeavor as compared to the static poses of previous images. The way the young gymnast's body and dress echo the *Tab* and *Kraft* models could be interpreted as a sexualization of her image. However, the emphasis of the image is not on the display of the body, but on the execution of the flip propelling her forward. She does not look at the camera, nor does she stop to pose. She is actually exerting herself, unlike many of the images from previous periods.

Some recent feminist cultural analysis of gymnastics has been critical of what seems to be an increasing infantilization of these female athletes. According to Sabrina Millar, the average size of elite female gymnasts has diminished from 5'3 and 106 lbs. in 1976 to 4'9 and 83 lbs. in 1992.³⁶⁵ Thus, the *Northern Telecom* ad must also be interrogated in the context of shrinking women's bodies that are disciplined and confined, either in size or gesture. Bartky suggests, "women's space is not a field in which her bodily intentionality can be freely realized."³⁶⁶ The young gymnast is propelling forward, but her body is still compacted and disciplined in the execution of the flip. It is moving through space, but the movement is controlled.

The small, muscular body is taken as a sign of self-mastery; it is also used as a symbol for healthy eating in a 1984 *Canada Beef*³⁶⁷ advertisement featuring diver Sylvie Bernier (5.4). It reads, "Did you know you can have steak for less calories than a tossed salad with dressing?" The ad explains that beef actually has fewer calories than one might think, and it includes a recipe for "Fresh Orange Herb Steak." Accompanying this information is an

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³⁶⁵ Millar, Sabrina, "Thinness to Success: Eating Disorders in Elite Female Gymnasts," *Canadian Woman Studies* 21, no. 3 (Winter/Spring 2002), 122.

³⁶⁶ Bartky, 67.

³⁶⁷ The advertisement is for beef, but the advertiser is not actually identified in the layout.

image of Bernier with her arms stretched above her head, in a swimsuit, staring straight ahead.³⁶⁸

Bernier's role in this advertisement is ambiguous. The ad's copy refers not to Bernier's accomplishments or her association with beef. Bernier's body, pose and ornamentation are not optically consistent with the *Tab* (5.1) and *Kraft* (5.2) ads. However, the juxtaposition of Bernier's stretched out lean frame with the plate of "lean Canadian beef," is worth noting. The way the two are displayed side by side seems to encourage a comparison. Bernier's muscles and lean form are on display. In a manner of speaking, this makes her optically consistent with the beef in the ad.

Another *Canada Beef* ad from 1994 promotes the lean, healthy quality of beef (5.5). This layout features pairs figure skaters Isabelle Brasseur and Lloyd Eisler. Eisler is shown in the bottom left hand corner of the ad, with his arms stretched into the air. A pair of legs from the knees down, wearing pink (quelle surprise) tights and women's figure skates extend from the top centre of the layout. One must either read the text, or be familiar with pairs figure skating to understand that Eisler is supposed to have tossed Brasseur into the air, performing one of the sports' trademark manoeuvres.

Even though she is shown from the knees down, the ad celebrates Brasseur who is "all of five foot nothing and a svelte 95 pounds." It explicates the association of Brasseur's tiny body and beef's nutritional value, noting, "it's critical that...[Brasseur] keeps her energy up and her weight down. Something we're sure Lloyd appreciates." The theme of this ad is consistent with the *Kraft* and *Tab* ads, which emphasize a combination of exercise and low-calorie eating to maintain a thin and fit body. It is also worth noting the ad focuses primarily

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³⁶⁸ *Chatelaine*, November 1984, 237; *Châteline*, novembre 1984, 121.

on Brasseur's weight and body and not Eisler's strength and form. Indeed, even the recipe accompanying the ad is identified as "Isabelle's."³⁶⁹

The *Canada Beef*, *Tab* and *Kraft* ads share in common the preoccupation with food and body weight, which, practiced with discipline, constitute the keys to beauty. Along with the *Northern Telecom* ad, they depict small, toned woman who are celebrated for both their strength (via self-restraint and exercise) and their taught bodies. This represents a shift in the discourse of femininity, to a particular emphasis on the tiny, toned body. Bordo calls the body a "medium of culture."³⁷⁰ This is a useful way of understanding how the discourse of femininity relates to shifts in popular culture. For example, The *Northern Telecom* and *Canada Beef* ads indicated a new type of 'ideal' body, which is small, but strong and capable at sport. These ads show an embodied notion of femininity, which goes beyond such tropes as the pink leotard and toothy smile.

A 'Model' of Fitness

Precilla Choi's *Femininity and the Physically Active Woman* cites a 1994 qualitative study of *Shape* magazine suggesting fitness was more associated with beauty and thinness than with health.³⁷¹ Ostensibly a fitness magazine, *Shape* regularly contains fashion and fitness wear layouts, as well as dieting tips and success stories. A perusal of the December 2001 issue of *Shape* reveals Choi's analysis holds true. For example, "the payoff" of the "seated cable row" demonstrated is to "tone the powerful, shapely muscles of your middle back, making your

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³⁶⁹ *Chatelaine*, January 1994, 3.

³⁷⁰ Bordo, Susan, "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity: A Feminist Appropriation of Foucault," in *Gender/Body/Knowledge*, eds. Alison M. Jaggar and Susan Bordo (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 13.

³⁷¹ Choi, 65.

waist and hips appear more slender.”³⁷² It follows that when muscles are ‘shapely’ they are feminine and attractive. Susan Bordo refers to this as the ‘contained’ body.³⁷³ The contained body is another trope of active femininity.

Given the craze for fitness, combined with the reification of discipline and self-control, many celebrity female athletes embody the values of active femininity. *Sear’s* use of female athletes in their catalogue layouts and advertisements illustrates the changing relationship of femininity to muscles. An early example of this is synchronized swimmer Caroline Waldo’s line of fitness and swimwear marketed in 1989 into the early 1990s, not long after Waldo won two gold medals at the Seoul Olympics. Waldo appeared in the catalogue modeling the clothing herself.

The clothing Waldo models includes multi-coloured pink and purple swimsuits, active and leisure wear (5.6). A typical layout features Waldo posing with her head tilted toward the sun, muscles taught, back arched, arms at her side with glistening skin.³⁷⁴ More casual poses show Waldo in multi-coloured jogging suits with her hands on her hips.³⁷⁵ Describing the way the technologies of femininity work through the body, Bartky notes, “feminine movement, gesture, and posture must exhibit not only constriction, but grace and a certain eroticism restrained by modesty.”³⁷⁶ Waldo employs poses not unlike those described by Bartky.

Sear’s use of Waldo not only celebrates her active femininity; it also sets her up as an expert on the topic of fitness. The construction of Waldo as an expert is an example of the productivity of inscriptions, which apply contingent simplicity to what is otherwise a

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³⁷² *Shape*, December 2001, 54.

³⁷³ Bordo, “Slender Body,” 88.

³⁷⁴ *Sear’s Canada Spring/Summer Catalogue 1989*, 102.

³⁷⁵ *Sear’s Canada Fall/Winter Catalogue 1990*, 50-51.

³⁷⁶ Bartky, 68.

complicated relationship. Waldo's first-person explanation of her expertise is as follows, "With my background, I know how important comfort and performance are to exercise wear. My line combines the right fabrics with the best fit."³⁷⁷ The *Sear's* layout conflates Waldo's abilities as a synchronized swimmer with her expertise at exercise in general. Waldo's experience with synchronized swimming is enough to make her an expert on fitness.

In 1996, *Sear's* used athletes from the Canadian women's swimming and diving teams to model their swim wear (5.7). It should be noted that their male counterparts did not appear in the catalogue. Nonetheless, the swimmers are modeling relatively plain, full-coverage bathing suits. Unlike Waldo, they are not bathed in pink, nor do they sport the coordinating shoes, headbands and leg warmers of Waldo and others. Instead, they wear, "ultra sleek fitting and performance stream-lined swimsuits..." in a "brilliant selection of colourful designs."³⁷⁸ This description, like the use of the athletes, combines femininity with functionality.

The athletes in the 1996 layout, who include Sylvie Frechette, Marianne Limpert and Annie Pelletier, are literally models of fitness and good form. Like Waldo, they pose with their backs slightly arched, hips protruding and legs together. Each has styled hair and wears make-up. Limpert, Frechette and Pelletier's bodies are ornamental surfaces in this layout. Not only for the display of the bathing suits, but also because their hair is styled and they wear make-up; they pose alongside rather than within the pool.

Posing the athletes out of the water allows for the display of the bathing suits' colours and fit. However, this convention does not speak to the utility of the suits, which is ostensibly the purpose of using elite athletes in the layout. Thus, the *Sear's* images of Waldo,

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³⁷⁷ *Sear's Canada Fall/Winter Catalogue 1990*, 51.

Frechette, Pelletier and Limpert are reductive in that the whole story behind the swimmers is absent. They are also productive because a new trope, of the posing athlete, the fitness expert, and the ideal disciplined body, replaces the professional model.

Sear's Fall/Winter Catalogue 2000 features Joanne Malar, a champion swimmer (5.8).

These layouts do not even bother with the premise Malar is an athlete. Instead, she is featured throughout the catalogue, modeling women's wear. The swimmer is shown modeling the 'stretch blouse,' the 'textured popcorn-stitch sweater' (half price!), and she is also on the cover of the catalogue.³⁷⁹ A key difference between Malar and her 1996 counterparts is her appearance. She has the compact, toned frame, toothy smile and blonde hair that is a staple of many models in previous advertisements, including the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads from the 1980s. Thus, Joanne Malar is optically consistent with many of the active women (models) from previous decades, with one key difference; she is a 'real' woman.

Yes, yes, yes: A paradigm shift in advertising?!

Cheryl Cole and Amy Hribar argue that in order to understand the changing 'look' of advertisements from the 1990s and beyond we need to look at the feminist critique of images of women from earlier decades. Cole and Hribar call the position of critics such as Naomi Wolf, Jeanne Kilbourne and Judith Williamson the "images of women" position. This position "highlighted a system of representation that produced damaging illusions and psychological harm and...undermined self esteem."³⁸⁰ Cole and Hribar discuss advertisers who, in apparent response to this critique, sought to affirm and empower women. Cole and Hribar's analysis is important to this thesis because it understands that, for better or for

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³⁷⁸ *Sear's Canada Spring/Summer Catalogue 1996*, 116.

³⁷⁹ *Sear's Canada Fall/Winter Catalogue 2000*, 117; 2; cover.

worse, advertisers can and will appropriate oppositional messages into the discourse. It is also critical in order to explain the ongoing tension in advertisements between seemingly progressive images of women and the persistence of feminine poses, ornamentation and abilities.

Linda Scott's "Fresh Lipstick – Rethinking Images of Women in Advertising," argues recent *Nike* campaigns represent a paradigm shift in the history of advertising because they do not condescend or talk down to women.³⁸¹ Scott interviewed a female team who worked on *Nike's* campaigns who believed their work was to "start debunking all these myths that we [women] have to live with everyday."³⁸² An example of a *Nike* ad that addresses itself to *real* women (as the *Nike* executives put it) is a two-page layout featured in the December 2000 issues of *Chatelaine* and *Châteline* (5.9). The copy spills over from the first page to the second. It reads, "Sex, sex, sex, sex...is often less satisfying and over quicker than 10k."³⁸³

The image on the first page features a white, heterosexual couple kissing on a couch. The second image is of a young black woman, framed by a dark gray sky, running along an abandoned, tree-lined road. This ad is an example of the way *Nike* incorporates alternative or oppositional readings of mainstream culture into their advertisements. The image of the couple is meant to mock women's magazine articles. It even features a fake introduction, asking "want to go from girl-next-door to unfettered, super-charged sex animal as quick as you can say *yes, yes, yes?*"³⁸⁴ By contrast, the image of the young black, 'empowered' woman

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³⁸⁰ Cole, Cheryl L. and Amy Hribar, "Celebrity Feminism: *Nike Style*, Post-Fordism, Transcendence and Consumer Power," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12, no. 4 (1995), 350.

³⁸¹ Scott, Linda M., "Fresh Lipstick – Rethinking Images of Women in Advertising," *Media Studies Journal* 7, no. 1-2 (Winter/Spring 1993), 146.

³⁸² Scott, Linda, "Fresh Lipstick," 147.

³⁸³ *Chatelaine*, December 2000, 68-69; *Châteline*, decembre 2000, 60-61.

³⁸⁴ *Chatelaine*, December 2000, 68.

espouses the virtues of running, which is “great for your body. Your insides. Your mind. Even for keeping you young.”³⁸⁵

Scott suggests such *Nike* ads perpetuate the “deceptive idea that one way of being beautiful will be, for all times and all places, more healthy, more natural and less harmful than all others.”³⁸⁶ By juxtaposing the images of the amorous couple and the runner, the *Nike* ad suggests the choice between sexy and sporty is an either/or proposition.

Furthermore, the runner herself is lean and beautiful, not unlike the active women and celebrity female athletes from other images of the 1980s and 1990s, except she is black. Depending on one’s level of cynicism, the model’s race could be taken as a symbol of progress in advertisements, or yet another way to incorporate difference by *Nike*. Either way, her race is a significant shift from previous decades where only white women were associated with fitness in advertisements.

The *Nike* ad is an example of a campaign that works within the discourse of femininity to debunk the discourse of femininity. For example, it mocks such texts of femininity as women’s magazines, without really challenging any assumptions about gender. It is emblematic of a trend in advertisements featuring female athletes and active women that do not talk down to women, but instead acknowledge women’s power as athletes, consumers and individuals. I will use examples of advertisements featuring Silken Laumann, Marnie McBean, Kathleen Heddle and Catriona Le May Doan which can be understood in light of this new way of speaking to women. I will use these examples to problematize both the “images of women” position and Bordo’s notion of the contained physique in order to show there are multiple variations in the way the discourse of femininity works in recent advertisements.

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³⁸⁵ *Chatelaine*, December 2000, 69.

Big Muscles and Big Sponsorships

In 1993, celebrated Canadian rower Silken Laumann told an interviewer, “when I started becoming muscular as a rower, I really had a problem with it. In the beginning, I thought, ‘Oh this is ugly.’”³⁸⁷ Talking about her perception of herself as an adult, Laumann told another interviewer, “I love being strong...it’s a feeling of power, the feeling of being strong and looking strong is so great.”³⁸⁸ Indeed, Laumann’s body is extraordinarily muscular and powerful. However, neither her muscle, nor her short hair and broad shoulders (problematic signs in previous decades) seem to have affected her marketability. At various stages in her career, Laumann has worked with *Nike*, *McDonald’s*, *Brooks*, *AMJ Campbell Van Lines*, *Dynamic Mutual Funds*, *Subaru* and *IBM*. Laumann has appeared in ads for big-ticket items such as cars and computers, products which have not been gendered female nor used images of female athletes or active women in previous decades.

A 1992 Laumann ad for *Subaru* picks up on the rower’s extraordinary comeback from injury to win a bronze medal at the Barcelona Olympics (5.10). The headline reads, “Prétendre que la nouvelle Subaru Legacy 1993 n’est qu’une voiture ordinaire serait comme dire que Silken Laumann n’est qu’une rameuse ordinaire.”³⁸⁹ The ad features an image of Laumann standing beside a car. She wears a tan coloured suit with a white shirt. She leans against the car, smiling, with one hand in her pocket.

A key similarity between this ad and previous ads is that sport is implied, but not shown in the image. Beyond that, this image of Laumann is extraordinarily different from those preceding it. The way she leans against the car so casually is particularly noteworthy. As Bartky has suggested, women tend to be confined in their space, and leaning or spreading

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³⁸⁶ Scott, Linda, “Fresh Lipstick,” 145.

³⁸⁷ Moore, Micki, “Smooth as Silken,” *The Toronto Sun*, 7 February 1993, 18.

³⁸⁸ Olver, Bob, “Silken Steel,” *The Toronto Sun*, 13 July 1991, 48.

out the body is a hallmark of males, not females.³⁹⁰ Laumann's dress is also not coded female; it is not particularly revealing or ornamental, nor is it pink. The contours of her body, including her broad shoulders, are not contained. Simply put, the *Subaru* ad is *not* optically consistent with other ads.

Laumann is not the exception to the rule in advertisements featuring celebrity female athletes from the 1990s and beyond. Fellow rowers Kathleen Heddle and Marnie McBean also appear in ads that speak to 'real women.' McBean is shown in a 1996 *AT&T* ad in mid-stroke (5.11). She wears a baseball cap that covers most of her face, and her mouth is open in a sort of a grimace. A caption accompanying this ad identifies her by name, but otherwise it is questionable if the rower's face would be recognizable.³⁹¹ This ad is a departure from previous images because it conveys the exertion required to row.

Along with her longtime rowing partner Kathleen Heddle, McBean appears in an ad for *Ombrelle* sunscreen (5.12). In comparison to the *AT&T* ad, the *Ombrelle* image contains several signifiers of gender, while still retaining an image of Heddle and McBean in their boat. The rowers are shown with medals around their necks, celebrating a victory.³⁹² This is a significant departure from previous advertisements because it depicts competitive, rather than individual sportswomen. Unlike the *AT&T* ad, both well-muscled rowers appear without caps, their hair is pulled back and their faces are visible. They both smile broadly, a trope of femininity from previous ads. A significant difference between the *Ombrelle* ad and others is that the women smile at each other, rather than at the viewer. This smile connotes teamwork and a shared venture. As chapter four showed, images of female athletes or active women together were conspicuously absent from previous ads.

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³⁸⁹ *l'Actualité*, 15 décembre 1992, advertising supplement "Bonne Roues," 6.

³⁹⁰ Bartky, 68.

³⁹¹ *enRoute* - July 1996, 17.

Heddle and McBean also acted as spokespersons for *Avon Canada*. Each rower's two-page *Avon* ad includes a headshot of the athlete in street clothes, with full make-up and styled hair. It is accompanied by a small image of the pair rowing in their team Canada uniforms and a larger image of an *Avon* product. McBean's ad reads, "This July, Marnie plans to bring home the gold with a flawless finish" (5.13).³⁹³ Heddle's ad also employs a double entendre (5.14). It reads, "This summer, Kathleen needs a lipstick that can take on the world."³⁹⁴

Each *Avon* ad juxtaposes an image of the athlete in full make-up with the athlete in uniform, implying there is a relationship between winning and femininity. This repeats the theme of the *Pond's* Princess Priscilla Bibesco and *Jergen's* Nancy Greene ads which suggested women protect themselves from the ravages of sport by using beauty products (2.4, 4.10). The implication of the *Avon* ad is slightly different. Rather than protecting themselves from the negative consequences of sport, McBean and Heddle are 'taking on the world' and 'bringing home the gold.' As in the *Nike* example, the product is used to empower 'real women' and make them the agents of their own success.

The Canadian Accent and Female Athletes

Catriona Le May Doan is the latest in this series of active, feminine Canadian women with larger than average muscles. Nikki Kumar argues Le May Doan is portrayed in the media as "either a 'powerhouse' athlete or a 'lovely' woman, but never...both."³⁹⁵ Instead, Le May Doan's "athleticism remains separate from her gendered identity as a (oftentimes

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³⁹² *Maclean's*, 16 May 1994, Canadian Dermatology Association Advertising Supplement to *Maclean's*, 3.

³⁹³ *Canadian Living*, March 1996, 152-153.

³⁹⁴ *Canadian Living*, June 1996, 16-17.

³⁹⁵ Kumar, Nikki, "The Genderized, Sexualized, and Racialized Portrayal of Catriona Le May Doan's Post-Olympic Gold Medal Win," *Canadian Woman Studies* 21, no. 3 (Winter/Spring 2002), 83.

sexualized) woman.”³⁹⁶ It follows that, Le May Doan’s story is subject to interpretation depending on which aspect of her story is most useful to the writer or advertiser.

Kumar’s argument that Le May Doan is always woman or athlete in media coverage overlooks the ways that this so-called woman/athlete dichotomy is reconciled, or women and athlete exist in tension, in other representations of the skater. I contend that a *Cheerios* cereal box featuring Le May Doan reconciles the woman/athlete dichotomy.³⁹⁷ On this box, Le May Doan is a symbol of both nation and sport. Like Marilyn Bell, Le May Doan’s accomplishments *as a Canadian* work to bridge the potential gap between femininity and athleticism.

Le May Doan is featured on the front and back of 2002 *Cheerios* boxes in her speed skating uniform (5.15). This consists of a thin, Lycra unitard covering her entire body and her head, ‘wrap around’ sunglasses and black speed skates, with their trademark extra-long blades. Le May Doan is posed as in a racing position, bent forward, her arms swinging, skating down the ice surface. Despite the asexual uniform, it is clear Le May Doan is a woman. Her breasts are an obvious signifier. Like the *Camel* cigarette ads from the 1960s, Le May Doan’s hands also signify gender. Her fingernails are not painted, but her wedding band and ring are prominent, signifying femininity and heterosexuality. In this image, Le May Doan is both muscular athlete and woman; there is no dichotomy.

The Canadian Olympic Association logo, along with a stylized maple leaf flag stretch across the front of the *Cheerios* box, which appeared around the time of the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympics. Similarly, McBean and Heddle appear in their uniforms or with

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³⁹⁶ Kumar, 83.

³⁹⁷ While *Cheerios* is one of Le May Doan’s key sponsors, no print advertisements featuring the skater were found. The cereal box is included in the thesis because, as an inscription, it shares many characteristics with the advertisements. First, because it features a two dimensional image of Le May Doan. Second, because it is an immutable mobile. Like a print advertisement, cereal boxes are available on wide scale.

maple-leaf imagery in the *Avon* and *Ombrelle* ads. These images constitute a gendered version of Rutherford's 'Canadian Accent.' The athletes embody both the rugged individuality of the *Group of Seven* myth and the down home charm supposedly belonging to all Canadians.³⁹⁸

Recently, sports writers have again jumped on the female athlete bandwagon. *Maclean's* magazine dubbed the 2000 Sydney Summer Olympics the "Girl Games,"³⁹⁹ while the *Globe & Mail* referred to female athletes as "Canada's Better Half" in Salt Lake City.⁴⁰⁰ It is worth noting both *Maclean's* and the *Globe and Mail* simultaneously celebrate the accomplishments of women, while applying traditional 'feminine' terms such as "better half" and "girl" to describe them.

Taking into consideration the media dialogue and recent advertisements, active femininity can be understood as a new trope in the discourse of femininity. The 'active' portion of this binary stems from the overall increase in the number of women participating. Sydney marked the second consecutive Olympic games where women outnumbered men on the Canadian team. Women also accounted for nearly 40 percent of all athletes in Sydney, up from 20 percent in 1976. Overall, the total number of women competing at the summer games in 2004 is expected to reach 50 percent.⁴⁰¹ These numbers show women are an increasing presence on the international sporting scene.

Nonetheless, the persistence of 'femininity' or feminine signifiers in advertisements featuring female athletes and active women from the last twenty years shows that (a changing notion of) female appropriate behaviors continue to be applied to representations

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³⁹⁸ The title of this thesis is inspired by this trope. The phrase "Our Most Charming Girls" is taken from the Peter Gzowski and Jack Batten book titled *Nancy: An affectionate look in pictures at the world's greatest woman skier - and one of its most charming girls: Canada's own Nancy Greene* (Toronto: Star Reader Service, 1968).

³⁹⁹ Deacon, James, "The Girl Games," *Maclean's*, 9 October 2000, 46-48. In fact, the 2000 Olympics were meant to celebrate the 100 year anniversary of the first female competitors, and the Australian news media dubbed them the 'Games of the Dames.'

⁴⁰⁰ Naylor and Maki, A1.

⁴⁰¹ Deacon, 47.

of female athletes. Thus, Le May Doan's appearance on the 2002 *Cheerios* box contradicts Kumar's assertion that she is always athlete or woman. In 2002, Le May Doan is a binary of both; she is the feminized athlete. This union of woman and athlete is achieved through Le May Doan's significance as a *Canadian* Olympian who brings home medals, and therefore pride, for the nation.

My argument is not that an association with Canada erases the feminization of athletes. Instead, nation can expand femininity to include women whose bodies, accomplishments and images might not necessarily otherwise fit the discourse. Moreover, the use of an otherwise transgressive muscular female body such as Le May Doan's is a reminder that there is never one single hegemonic ideal of femininity, but a variety of tropes which work together to construct the meaning of female athletes and active women.

Conclusions

This chapter began with a discussion of the women's fitness movement, which was harnessed by advertisers in the early 1980s. Aerobics were (and are) coded pink, for women. This was evident in the repetition of the colour pink in early images of athletes, used to signify their femininity. Pink is a sort of colour-coded version of the feminine apologetic. Along with feminizing the sweaty exerciser, aerobics were associated in the *Tab* and *Kraft* ads with a low-calorie, toned body. The *Sear's* catalogue, *Canada Beef* and *Nike* ads show that, as the decade progressed, advertiser's preference for a toned and fit body continued (5.4 to 5.9). While women have always been urged to self-discipline, in the context of a discourse of femininity, 1980s self-discipline was particularly embodied with its emphasis on diet and firm bodies.

Latour's contention that inscriptions reduce and simplify in order to produce new meanings is important to this chapter. Many of the advertisements simplify the full complexity of each athlete's training, competitiveness and personality. This is replaced with the notion of active femininity, a homogenized version of each athlete who is prized for her fit body and discipline, more than anything else. *Sears'* use of Caroline Waldo is a good example of this phenomenon. The synchronized swimmer's accomplishments were transformed into the notion of Waldo, the fitness and fashion expert. The use of an athlete as both model and spokesperson is slightly different from a traditional endorsement. This is because the athletes are giving both their names and their bodies to the product.

Concurrent to the shift to a stronger and fitter version of femininity, some advertisers have changed the way they address women. Rather than a threatening or a moralizing tone, they employ the language of empowerment, to suggest that women self-discipline and self-govern their bodies. Or, as in the Silken Laumann *Subaru* ad, advertisers address women as capable consumers (5.10). It is worth noting that the end purpose of the ads, whether it gives women the agency to self-discipline, or admonishes her to take care of herself, is always the purchase of a product meant to improve her life.⁴⁰²

Women's fitness, as it appears in the ads from the last twenty-years, is probably not exactly as early sports feminists intended. Certainly no advocate of sport for women would discount the accomplishments or the numbers of women participating in the 2000 and 2002 Olympic games. However, a consequence of this notion of the "Girl Games" and "Canada's Better Half," is the suggestion that women have somehow arrived in sport. It follows that women's place in sport is confirmed and therefore not political. Like McDonald's suggestion that there has been such a thing as a "Golden Age" of women in sport, the

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⁴⁰² See Berger, 131.

notion of the “Girl Games” obscures the continuing systemic struggles of women in sport indicated by the statistics on female sporting participation in Canada.

CONCLUSION

Sixty-four year old writer Colette Dowling writes that hers is the first generation of women to get a university education, while her daughters is the first to be *physically* educated. Consequently, “elite training, competition and full development of musculature,” are now possible for women.⁴⁰³ The author recalls the 1999 women’s World Cup soccer team victory and the body of American player Brandi Chastain, “stripped down to her black sports bra,” fists clenched in victory “splashed across” the cover of newspapers and magazines.⁴⁰⁴ In awe, Dowling comments, “in my generation a body like Brandi Chastain’s would have been inconceivable.”⁴⁰⁵ Likewise, Silken Laumann or Catriona Le May Doan’s body, sportswear and abilities would be incomprehensible in the context of the 1910 University of Toronto hockey players image discussed in the introduction (1.1). This thesis has discussed the history of the representation of active women, in order to consider how such a transformation in the visual sign of the female athlete and active woman came about.

The more things change...

I have reviewed nearly sixty advertisements, which are texts within a changing discourse of femininity. Some of the changes in the discourse over the last seventy-odd years are reflected in the different ways the visual sign of the female athlete or active woman intersects with feminine behaviors or appearance. For example, in the inter-war years sports such as golf, skiing and tennis were represented as sophisticated or in the context of such

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⁴⁰³ Dowling, Colette, *The Frailty Myth* (New York: Random House, 2000), 43.

⁴⁰⁴ Dowling, 43.

everyday rituals as motherhood and cooking. Competence at sport was feminine in the inter-war years and again after 1970, but in the 1950s, clumsiness and ineptitude with sporting equipment were desirable feminine behaviors. Those sports most appropriate for women have also changed. Images of independent female golfers were popular before World War II, but in the ensuing decades women golfers' sexuality became the object of public scrutiny. Consequently, golf was depicted as a hetero-social leisure activity in the 1970s.

Specific tropes used throughout the decades to signify sport have also undergone transformation. In ads from the last twenty years, women are shown at play, or blurred images are used to signify her movement. Up until the 1970s, active women and female athletes were portrayed in relatively static poses, holding their equipment rather than using it. Also new is the representation of women as competitors. Such images of women as serious athletes have developed in conjunction with the musculature of some women in the advertisements. The 'lady jock' of the 1970s was both sporty and womanly. In recent decades, 'active femininity' was signified by a stronger, leaner and more capable body.

Foucault's notion of embodiment is a theoretical concept that has gained popularity in recent decades, but disciplinary power is a concept relevant to all of the advertisements discussed in this thesis. The concept of moral legibility was used to discuss discipline during the inter-war years. It implied that a woman's moral health was reflected in her outward appearance. Advertisements from this time featuring mothers had a distinctly moralizing quality. The motherhood/sport trope underwent a change after the inter-war period where the *Velveta* mother of 1967 was responsible for the success of her young daughter.

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⁴⁰⁵ Dowling, 43-44.

Conversely, in recent decades, morality has reemerged as a theme of advertisements. The present incarnation relates particularly to the discipline of the body and diet. In such examples as the *Tab* (5.1), *Kraft* (5.2), and *Canada Beef* (5.4, 5.5) advertisements, femininity is demonstrated through self-care. This is a change in the way femininity is conceived in the 1945 *Hold-Bob* (2.5) or 1970 *Jergen's* (5.10) examples, where beauty was maintained in spite of sport. Thus, we can say that exercise constitutes part of the discourse of femininity in the late twentieth century in a way that it did not in previous decades.

Central to Latour's theory of inscriptions is the idea that a change in the way a society makes things visible signals a change in worldview. The changes I have documented in images of active women and women athletes since 1928 are neither abrupt nor radical. However, even small shifts in the discourse of femininity represented in the ads can signal larger changes. This is evident in a juxtaposition of the history of female athletes with advertising imagery of female athletes and active women. For example, Lionel Tiger's reintroduction of biological explanations for athletic ability into popular culture may not have directly impacted representations of active women. Yet the knowledge that such opinions were surfacing in conjunction with gender verification testing of female athletes suggests a biological interrogation of gender had resurfaced in the discourse of femininity.

...The more they stay the same

As Dorothy Smith, Greer Litton Fox and others have suggested, the discourse of femininity is an ever-changing set of behavioral standards applied to women. As I have outlined above, this thesis has shown such an understanding of femininity as discourse to be a useful way to understand the history of images. The notion of femininity as discourse is also important because it moves beyond a critique of women's objectification or

sexualization in images to ask how social relations relate to cultural mediums like advertising. This work also elucidates notable patterns and continuities in the representation of active women and female athletes in advertising. Latour's concept of homogenization is useful in considering these similarities. In terms of the types of women portrayed in the ads, the sameness of their poses, their smiles and their race is striking. These similarities echo Bartky's theory of technologies of femininity that privilege specific poses, ornamentation and body size for women.

In terms of body poses, most of the women are depicted facing forward, posing with, or on, their sporting equipment as in the *Buckingham* (2.2), *Pond's* (2.4), *Jergen's* (4.10), *Max Factor* (4.11), *Canada Beef* (5.4) and *Avon* (5.13, 5.14) examples. Rarely did the imagery imply the women were at play. When the models were active, it was indicated by the blurring of the photograph to signify movement, rather than an "action shot" per se. Examples include the *Bauer* (4.12), *Tab* (5.1) and *Coke* (3.12) advertisements. Women's smiles and coordinated sportswear are a form of ornamentation of these athletes. Coordination and fashionability are tropes of many of the advertisements, from *Buckingham Cigarettes* (2.2, 2.3), to the *Sears* (4.6) and *Jantzen* (4.9) examples. Moreover, specific colours repeat themselves in many of the examples discussed in this thesis. These are red and pink. From red lips, to red shorts to red fingernails, red repeats itself throughout the decades. In the 1980s, pink replaced red as the colour of choice in advertisements.

Another shared feature of many of the advertisements is a preoccupation with the celebrity female athlete's 'expertise' in areas other than her sport. The women are required to demonstrate their competency in other ways, and this directs attention away from their bodies and on to more common tropes of femininity, as well as onto the product. For example, Isabelle Brasseur (5.5) is more than just a champion; she has a "svelte body," and a

good recipe for low-fat beef.⁴⁰⁶ Likewise, Barbara Ann Scott (3.8) and Nancy Greene (4.10) are depicted as housewife figures in their advertisements from the 1950s and 1970s respectively.

The homogeneity of the women in the advertisements I have discussed relates to Latour's concept of optical consistency. As Law and Whittaker have suggested, inscriptions often portray "docile, vaccinated," versions of the original.⁴⁰⁷ The consistent absence of different races or abilities must be seen as political, given Canada's own claims to multiculturalism and inclusiveness. Only one image of a celebrity female athlete of colour, Charmaine Crooks, was found in my survey (6.1).⁴⁰⁸ Similarly, advertisements featuring differently-abled bodies were promotions for the Special Olympics (6.2).⁴⁰⁹ Thus, further research into the question of race and ability is necessary in order to understand their absence from advertisements, given the fact their significant numbers in actual sporting institutions.

Another aspect of the advertisements that merits further investigation is the association of particular products with women. A cursory examination of the advertisements I have discussed shows that active women and female athletes were used to sell primarily female-identified products. Among these are kitchen appliances, feminine hygiene products, make-up and hand lotion. However, athletes such as Silken Laumann, Catriona Le May Doan and Nancy Greene have appeared in promotions for cars.⁴¹⁰ Thus,

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⁴⁰⁶ *Chatelaine*, January 1994, 3.

⁴⁰⁷ Law and Whittaker, 169.

⁴⁰⁸ *Chatelaine*, January 1994, 12. Crooks appears for *Nature Made Ginseng*.

⁴⁰⁹ *Maclean's*, 26 February 1996, 65.

⁴¹⁰ Le May Doan appeared in print and television promotions for Chrysler during the winter of 2002. See for example *Globe and Mail*, 9 February 2002, A13. According to Dawn MacDonald's article on Nancy Greene, the skier was sponsored by Pontiac, however no such advertisements were found in my review. See MacDonald, Dawn, "Nancy Greene: From Olympic Star to Happy Housewife," *Chatelaine*, January 1970, 22, 51-54.

the possibility exists that this gendered relationship between sports for women and product placements is breaking down.

The Canadian Accent versus Sexualization

A great deal of the literature on women and advertising considers representations in terms of the sexualization of women. Arguably, some of the images discussed in this thesis could be subject to a similar analysis. However, the findings of this thesis indicate that the sign of the active woman or female athlete in advertisements is slightly different from what the literature on women and advertising has suggested. This does not mean that images featuring sport are any less normative, only that physical activity by its very nature signifies something different than an image of a woman sitting in a chair. Indeed, *Sal Hepatica* used such a juxtaposition in conjunction with a tennis player who wore a “smile of health” (2.10).

The sexualization of active women and female athletes is far from being the key issue of their representation. Instead, it is important to articulate those tropes that are specific to female athletes and active women in advertising. Not only do such tropes as the ‘lady jock’ or ‘active femininity’ illustrate patterns within the representation of athletes, they can also be used to nuance or challenge existing literature on women and advertising. The advertisements I have reviewed are not simply about objectification or the beauty myth. Physical activity acts as a signifier for moral and bodily health as well as beauty, youth, vigor and a host of other tropes.

Our Most Charming Girls: *Canadian Women Athletes in Advertising*

Another reason that advertisements featuring female athletes are less sexualized is because of their association with nation. The role that nation plays in advertisements

featuring female athletes is twofold. First, it impacts the meaning of the athlete. She is the “ordinary heterosexual girl next door,” a figure of which Canadians can be proud, in the manner of Marilyn Bell, Nancy Greene or Catriona Le May Doan. Second, nation can act to neutralize or write over a body or persona that might not necessarily fit the mold of active femininity preferred by advertisers. To consider how this works, one need only compare a model such as the one used in the *Max Factor* (4.11) example with the “real things,” Marilyn Bell or Marnie McBean. Moreover, the pride an athlete brings to Canada can neutralize sports that might not otherwise be celebrated or considered feminine. Thus, a sport like marathon swimming, with no emphasis on display is recouped within the system of advertising, by focusing on those behaviors that made Marilyn Bell both exemplary and feminine.

I chose the phrase “Our Most Charming Girls” to describe the way women athletes, and to a lesser extent, active women appear in ads, precisely because of the unthreatening way sport is associated with femininity in advertisements I have reviewed. In her discussion of Catriona Le May Doan, Nikki Kumar suggests Le May Doan is always portrayed as either woman or athlete, but never both. This dichotomy between woman and the masculine-identified notion of athlete is important. However, before arguing that woman and athlete are always portrayed as opposites, one must ask what a merger of the two would look like? Popular culture messages are always mixed. All of the images I have reviewed have portrayed women/athletes, who were feminized to varying degrees, depending on the way and time in which they were depicted. Susan Douglas argues that, in order to explain such contradictions “we must reject the notion that pop-culture for girls and women didn’t matter, or that it consisted only of retrograde images.”⁴¹¹

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⁴¹¹ Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 9.

Discipline and Representations of Women in Sport

Similarly, the technologies of femininity as a disciplinary phenomenon do not have to be seen as only negative. Discussing his theory of disciplinary power, Foucault remarked,

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.⁴¹²

This notion of power as both productive and pleasurable is essential to understanding that femininity and the athlete do not have to be dichotomous. Tropes such as the 'lady jock' or the celebration of a figure like Barbara Ann Scott in the era of the 'feminine mystique,' show athleticism and femininity are not necessarily opposites. More than that, the nuances and inconsistencies of the discourse of femininity show that "several notions of 'the beautiful' can be seen to compete in any particular period."⁴¹³

Laura Robinson's *Black Tights: Women, Sport and Sexuality* is a recent sports-feminist take on Canadian women and physical activity. Robinson both celebrates the pleasure women take in their strong, athletic bodies, and denigrates athletes who present themselves as sex symbols.⁴¹⁴ However, Robinson's thesis assumes that femininity and athleticism can not coexist. It lacks an understanding that the interplay between a discourse of femininity and stereotypes about female athletes is dynamic. The tropes used in

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⁴¹² Foucault, Michel, *Two Lectures in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper (Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1980), 119.

⁴¹³ Scott, Linda, 151.

⁴¹⁴ Robinson, Laura, *Black Tights: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2002), 4; 54.

advertisements, from the lady jock to active femininity, do not exist separate from actual everyday practices.

While acknowledging that the images of women in the ads I have discussed are not “all bad” and that women have agency and power in the contradictory discourse of femininity, this thesis does not argue that representations of female athletes show they have ‘arrived.’ Some images, and some statistics, show the performance gap between men and women is closing. However, the gendering of sport persists.

A 1996 article in *Canadian Living* referred to middle-aged women in sport as the “new teammates.”⁴¹⁵ Laura Pratt documented the stories of women who had ‘discovered’ “the gift of involvement in organized team sports.”⁴¹⁶ This notion that women are just now discovering sport is preposterous, in light of Alexandrine Gibb’s 1928 claims that women had finally proven themselves as athletes. Pratt’s article, like David McDonald’s notion of a “golden age of women in sport in Canada,” ignores the politics involved in women in sport. The persistence of this notion that women are just *now* finding sport is problematic. When will women finally arrive?

Given the persistence of this idea that women are the “new teammates,” CAAWS’ recent claim that female athletes need more media coverage is dubious. My survey of female athletes in advertisements has yielded examples of women who have transgressed popular notions of the feminine, with no consequent paradigm shift in the everyday lives of physically active Canadian women. Likewise, women’s association with nation in advertisements has not neutralized gender assumptions or liberated female athletes. CAAWS’ call for women to get more media exposure does not get at the heart of the issue, which is the gendered nature of such uncontested institutions of sport and nation.

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⁴¹⁵ Pratt, Laura, “Making the Team,” *Canadian Living*, June 1996, 75,77,79.

This thesis has illustrated how the discourse of femininity intersects with ideas about women in sport. Before 1928, the athletic woman transgressed notions of the feminine, while in 2002 a toned body is a symbol for femininity. Nonetheless, signifiers of gender persist throughout the decades. Potential points of tension, such as overly muscular bodies, 'lesbophobia,' and public success were normalized through their association with femininity. In the case of the active woman, sport accentuated her femininity, or somehow fed into notions of femininity. This was accomplished either by the technologies of femininity, or in later years, self-care. Any tension or transgression women in sport might bring to an advertisement was harnessed and used to signify liberation, self-discipline, health and beauty. Thus, the female athlete is both a transgressive figure and a normalized figure; she is feminine but her athleticism hints at masculinity. These tensions have been used to reconfirm, rather than challenge the discourse of femininity.

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⁴¹⁶ Pratt, 77.

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University of Toronto 2002-2003

Commemorative Calendar

175 Years of Great Minds

175

University
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Toronto

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Yes - She has an ELECTRIC RANGE

JUST because a woman plays golf, goes motoring or indulges in an occasional afternoon bridge is no reason at all why one should suppose she is neglecting her housework.

Very likely her home is well equipped with electric appliances, an electric range, an electric washer and so on. Therefore, she finds that housework is not a long, tedious job—and she finds herself in possession of welcome leisure hours.

Consider the Electric Range, its simplicity, its cleanliness and its uniform heat. It is not an eye-servant—it will cook dinner while you are absent.

Your own electrical dealer will gladly show the benefits of cooking electrically, or if you will call in at one of the Toronto Hydro Shops you may obtain information about the easy payment plan for Toronto Hydro customers.

"It cooks food perfectly and easily yet it doesn't heat the kitchen", that's why an Electric Range is ideal for summer cooking. And there are no fumes, smoke or dust.

Toronto Hydro-Electric Shops

Yonge St. at Shuter
12 Adelaide St. East

Telephone ADeLaide 2261

Keep Canada Prosperous—Buy Goods
Made in Canada

CHAS

Buckingham
CIGARETTES

BUCKINGHAM
CIGARETTES
BUCKINGHAM

Distinctive

"THIS YEAR IT'S BUCKINGHAM"

Her Petal Smooth Skin

**STOPS HIM IN
HIS TRACKS!**

**"BLIZZARDS
ROUGHEN MY
SKIN? NO!**

**I PROTECT MY
SKIN WITH POND'S
VANISHING CREAM.
IT KEEPS MY SKIN
NICE AND SOFT
IN SPITE OF SNOW
AND WIND"**

Priscilla Bibesco

A keen ski runner, Princess Priscilla is often seen at
Lunzerheide, fashionable Alps resort, for winter sports.

NOW BRINGS EXTRA "SKIN-VITAMIN" TO HER SKIN*

Now Pond's Vanishing Cream brings to its many users this extra beauty care—it contains Vitamin A, the "skin-vitamin." This vitamin is necessary to skin health—and skin that lacks it becomes rough and dry. But once "skin-vitamin" is restored, it helps skin become smooth again. Now you can smooth some of this necessary vitamin into your skin with every Pond's creaming! Same jars. Same labels. Same prices.

CORONATION-YEAR DEB

H. H. Princess Priscilla Bibesco

—DAUGHTER OF THE FAMOUS ROUMANIAN DIPLOMAT, AND
GRANDDAUGHTER OF THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD AND ASQUITH

"Pond's Vanishing Cream always was grand for
smoothing away little roughnesses. Now I'm
even more excited about the extra 'skin-
vitamin' it brings to my skin."

*Statements concerning the effects of the "skin-vitamin" applied to the skin are based upon
medical literature and tests on the skin of animals following an accepted laboratory method.

weren't worrying about me, we I didn't want you to be but I know where to find you. I left though. And, oh! I did have wonderful time! Honestly, on get that lad's undivided attention simply goes to town! And can out the entertainment. Wah! long-distance call, no less, ask —no, telling me—to dress up v joining the gang and going on a

Dud felt as if Jake were calling on long distance, and the con was very bad. He could feel there beside him. Could feel he to help him, trying to guide v should say to this bubbling creature.

Jake was rattling on. "Of course there'd be a chaperone a thought you wouldn't mind. sent me a corsage—how do y that?" She sighed. "But it c has been a heave and take pretty cagey work on my par him worked up to all this. I some men are the biggest goon:

Elena had slipped her ha Dud's and was holding it tight tight . . . tight.

Tommy snorted. "Cagey toots? And just what men mean are goons? Name three omitting the name of your brother. Because he's the g gave the big stiff the fina Personally I couldn't see that of the Old Men's Home y

The

Co

the scarlet lips suddenly lightly. "I would say he has up. You see, we're not going. We're just—leaving."

Was she doing this just to stir interest? Well, what if sl Everett's spirit rose to me He grinned at Tony. "Sure just—leaving."

He left Tony and Joan there. He shot the car up the and turned it away from t Chalet, away from his home, his university. Away from stupid imitation of things of n ance, the world under the d sky with the quiet girl be seemed very sweet and good.

How the yellow light from made a golden tunnel of the leaves! He slowed the car, how the dark leaped at him, turned to gold. Maybe life, he was so afraid, would be l turning to gold if he advanced lessly into its dark.

But not too fast; that was t flavor of it by the way. He sl car softly, so that the wood trees and each one came into gently, tenderly. That was a How many people knew that those brilliant leaves was a incredibly shiny red berries, and unreal as if bought from at the Five and Ten? The Ten was where so many pe content to buy their red ber not he. He was not going to l with what was less than livin

He turned and looked a beside him. He found her c in the darkness, gravely rega

stairs with mamma when
id Claribel could entertain
orch alone.
ou," Frank Bender smiled.
going to ask if I may."
g in his voice made Ann look
dy. She saw to her surprise
ed eyeing Claribel and was
er again, and something in
did it, something positive
told her when he did come,
to see her, not Claribel!

in the next room gave the
final whack. Young Ann
cleaning her room, then the
sewing room pushed against
photographs.
looking?" Ann asked, stick-
l through.
er looked up, her eyes filled
of the past.
ing over some old pictures.
a dress I wore the time your
announced our engagement.
ade it." Holding up the

in," Ann demanded.
er gave the box a shove.
ie gal with the hairdo?"
named Claribel Tevis.
red in 1908."
she now?"
don't know. But because of
randmother made me this
ching the little blue satin
urned herself making quince
h was when I sent for your
you've heard before—and
, as he says
ied for the blue goods.
she said
?"
rying a doctor."

mebbe I will."
er sat up. "Ann! You're
on us!"

Ann giggled. "Don't look so bothered.
I'm not—much."
"Ann, something's happened you're
not telling. It isn't that Stewart boy, is
it?" with concern.
Ann slid out of the door, sticking her
head in again to shake it at her mother.
"Nope." She had her father's eyes,
dependable brown ones. "But you'll
like him. I do!" tormentingly, then she
ran downstairs.
Mrs. Bender sat back, photographs
spilling off her lap. Ann in love, marrying,
having her own home and babies!
Her eye came back to the pictures,
mamma's and Uncle Norrie's. She
picked up the little roll of blue material.
Someday Ann would be glad to go over
all these things with her. It was nice to
have pictures of your mother's people
and friends; see the different dresses she
wore.
"Which pile's going out?" a voice
teased from the door and her husband
pushed it wide.
Mrs. Bender looked up at him. Frank
had changed surprisingly little in 37
years, grown grey, of course, but his
face was still the same kind strong one, if
noticeably tired.
"Frank!" she lowered her voice.
"You know what . . . Ann's interested
in a doctor!" Then Mrs. Bender
stopped at something in her husband's
eyes. "Frank! You've heard from
Toby!"
Her husband let the letter drop in her
lap. "Flown the Hump of the Himalayas
and is off on leave for a while." And
something of tension eased in his fore-
head as he said it.
Mrs. Bender swept the blue goods and
photographs from her. They were part
of the past and dear to her heart, but
this was the present, and dearer, this
moment, with word from her boy.
Toby was all right! And unmindful of
anything around her, Mrs. Bender
picked up her son's letter and read! ♣

Tessie played tennis... Her strokes were alarming

But HOLD-BOB pins kept her hair tidy and charming

• Why is a bobby pin? To hold your hair—smoothly, firmly, invisibly. And that's the way HOLD-BOB bobby pins are made: for longer-lasting, springy power. Remember, only HOLD-BOBS have those small, round, invisible heads. Add satiny finish and the rounded-for-safety ends...and you have the advantages that make HOLD-BOBS America's favorites! Look for, ask for, the HOLD-BOB card.

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"The bobby pins that HOLD"

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Jumpers for the Young 'uns

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are two versions of a pretty
per dress you can run up easily for
summer or back to school. One version has front buttoning, the other
the laced effect. Long or short sleeves for the convertible collar blouse.
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- So much softer—with its luxurious softspun filler. You can tell Modess is softer when you touch it. So much safer—for Modess gives you *full-way* protection. There's a triple, full-length shield at the back!
- All this is the wonder of Modess...yet it costs no more! Learn about it and live *every* day!

Modess

SANITARY NAPKINS

INSIST ON MODESS—THERE REALLY IS A DIFFERENCE

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To Those About to
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nan.

*You feel like stepping lively
Through sun-drenched fields
Or in the busy city,*

*Whatever time of the month it is
Because you've discovered the wonderful freedom from
discomfort, the blessed confidence that Modess alone gives
you, even on difficult days. Modess is far, far softer, with
its downy softspun filler. You can tell that when you
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SANITARY NAPKINS

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Home.... TO OUR CUP OF Fry's

Cheeks aglow, through ice and snow...happy
...and eager to warm up with delicious and won-
derfully satisfying cups of FRY'S COCOA!

A steaming cup of FRY'S COCOA made with
milk is particularly welcome at this time of year,
to children and adults alike.

DELICIOUS FRY'S COCOA So QUICKLY And EASILY Prepared.

For each cup required, just put into a jug
one teaspoon of FRY'S and one of sugar
...mix dry...add enough cold milk to
make a smooth paste...then fill up with
hot milk...stir and SERVE.

A CUP OF FRY'S IS A CUP OF FOOD

Resist No More

Continued from page 11

"Dinah will do, but the last name Hammond," Dinah said, feeling sud-
denly very old and battered and wor-
The girl wasn't much over 20, she had
fresh bright face and wide blue eyes as
the fairest hair Dinah had ever seen, as
she wore a slick suit that looked costl-
and a blouse that exactly matched.
The golden girl, Dinah thought in
dazed way, fresh out of a handbox.

"I feel awfully strange and awkward
the girl said eagerly. "I do hope you
won't mind if I ask you an awful lot
questions— if I just lean on you for
little while till I get to know my way
around?" She had a charming voice to
as fresh as a child's.

"Not at all," Dinah said. "This is
your first job, is it?"

"Oh, no, I've been a year with
Prescott & Otis... the law firm."

"Well, then, you won't find it hard
it's the usual secretarial stuff. Tha-
your desk over there. Miss Johnson I
things in pretty good order. You c-
sort of look things over. Don't hesi-
to ask questions."

She regretted saying that a half ho-
later. Miss Lindley asked nothing but
questions; she filled the busy morn-
with questions, like someone pack-
dishes in sawdust: "And where's the
letterhead kept? ... Is this the gen-
file? ... Do you
mind if I open
the window another
inch? ... Is it all
right to smoke in
here? I noticed your
cigarettes ... Do
you happen to have
a match? ... I'm
so stupid, I don't
even know where
the washroom is ...
Should all these things be filed? ... Y-
Mr. Keating be back tomorrow morn-
... Is there a pencil sharpener anywh-
about. Oh, I see it ... Where would
find carbon paper? ... And so on, ;
so on. Well, she's new, after all, Din-
told herself sternly. Have a little pi-
Remember you were new once too. I
that seemed an awfully long time a-
She longed for 12 o'clock to come wh-
she could go down to Macklin's lab ;
escape for a while, and see Macklin,
be happy for a little while in his compa-

And then at five minutes to 12
door opened and Macklin came wanc-
ing in with the report in his ha-
"Hello, friend," he said, looking arou-
curiously and grinning at her.
brought it up by hand—special serv-
There's a rumor making the rounds t-
you've got a wonderful new blo-
buster type here ..."

"Yes," she said, relaxed and chee-
by the mere sight of him, "all blond ;
beautiful, but in the washroom j-
now."

"How about another of those
arettes?" he said, sitting on the e-
of her desk and taking one, and peo-
into her open handbag for a pack-
matches. "Pen, pencil, compact, k-
handkerchief— matches. Good. Ho-
the morning going?"

"Awful," she said, smiling.

"Still blue and sad and discourag-
"With good cause," she said, laugh-
a little, and started to tell him why.

he stopped listening and got up from
desk because Miss Lindley had c-
back from the washroom freshl-
dered and lipstickked and hair-com-
dazzlingly pretty, and Dinah's v-

As soon as y
think, and not
son has thoug
the way to
man.

Cependant, depuis son départ, Bob y pensait, malgré lui, et il se demandait si elle ne reviendrait pas fiancée à Régis de Braynes car, bien qu'il n'en eût aucune confirmation, il était à peu près certain que le comte était, lui aussi à Mégève.

C'est pourquoi, pour rien au monde, il n'aurait voulu troubler cette idylle. Il connaissait trop bien Catherine pour espérer autre chose qu'un refus catégorique d'abrèger son séjour, alors qu'au contraire elle avait décidé de le prolonger. Une telle intervention eût été sans portée et Bob avait horreur du ridicule.

Or, tout ceci ne pouvait être dit à M. Arthuis qu'il sentait préoccupé. Aussi, ne tenant pas à prolonger l'entretien sur ce thème délicat, il prit congé.

— Si tu réussis, comme je le crois, à amorcer cette affaire Broders, déclara l'industriel en lui serrant la main, tu pourras, après m'avoir rendu compte par téléphone, prendre quelques jours de liberté avant de regagner ton poste.

Dans cette proposition venant tout de suite après la conversation précédente, Bob vit une arrière-pensée. Aussi précisa-t-il :

— Je vous remercie. Dans ce cas je pousserai jusqu'à Chamonix où j'espère rencontrer un de mes amis.

Si M. Arthuis éprouva quelque déception, rien, cependant, ne le décêla au regard pénétrant de son subordonné. Il dit simplement :

— A ton aise, petit, et bonne chance!

* * *

Bob habitait avec sa mère un petit pavillon, rue du Chalet, à Boulogne-sur-Seine, et il lui fallut à peine dix minutes pour s'y rendre à pied, en quittant l'usine. D'ordinaire, il allait et venait avec la voiture mise obligeamment à sa disposition par son patron; mais ne devant pas, avant son départ, rentrer au bureau, il avait préféré la laisser au garage.

Sa joie de s'évader durant quelques jours des soucis de son métier était mitigée du fait que sa mère en serait contrariée; mais l'affaire valait la peine d'être tentée et il était sûr que l'excellente femme ne saurait lui en vouloir.

En traversant le jardinet embryonnaire précédant la maison, il aperçut par la fenêtre de sa salle à manger la table mise avec un luxe inaccoutumé, et il songea à la déception que sa maman eût éprouvée s'il lui avait fallu renoncer à déjeuner avec elle.

Suivant le vestibule, il s'en fut directement à la cuisine minuscule d'où lui parvenaient des odeurs prometteuses. A pas de loup il entra et, surprenant la cuisinière qui, une cuiller de bois en main, appréciait le dosage d'un chef-d'œuvre de sauce, il la prit dans ses bras et la tourna vers lui. Mme Mareuil poussa un cri; mais, reconnaissant son fils, elle murmura, grondeuse :

— Oh! Bob! Tu es insupportable! Tu m'as fait peur!

C'était une toute petite femme, mince, trop mince pour sa santé. Les traits étaient beaux, réguliers, les yeux très bleus, le regard très doux. Bob ne lui ressemblait point et devait tenir de son père.

En se dégageant de l'étreinte de son fils, elle contempla la magnifique gerbe d'oignons pourpres dont il était porteur et elle s'émerveilla :

— Bob! tu as fait des folies!

Mais son regard démentait ses paroles.

— Bonne fête, maman! Puisse ce jour nous apporter un surcroît de bonheur!

Mme Mareuil hocha la tête :

— Avons-nous vraiment besoin de cet appoint? N'es-tu pas heureux?

Sur ce sujet, Bob aurait eu peut-être beaucoup à dire; mais il n'était point dans ses intentions de se livrer à des variations psychologiques sur ses propres sentiments. Il répondit néanmoins :

— Je suis parfaitement heureux, mère, et figure-toi que cela n'a tenu qu'à un fil que je le sois moins aujourd'hui.

Déjà Mme Mareuil était sortie de la cuisine, emportant ses fleurs. Bob la suivit jusque dans le salon où elle se mit en devoir de les disposer. La phrase de son fils l'intrigua et elle se détourna :

— Que veux-tu dire?

Bob ne savait comment lui annoncer son départ. Il prit le parti de brusquer les choses :

— Eh bien! M. Arthuis m'expédie à Genève pour quelques jours. Il voulait que je parte à midi cinquante.

— Oh! protesta la brave et digne femme. Tu as refusé, au moins?

— C'est-à-dire que j'ai reculé mon départ jusqu'à ce soir. La mission dont il me charge est si importante et dénote chez le patron une telle confiance en moi que je n'ai pu refuser.

Lisant sur le visage de sa mère un véritable désappointement, Bob précisa :

— Tu sais, maman, c'est une affaire qui peut avoir pour moi, pour nous, des conséquences inespérées. Il s'agit de planter des jalons pour la création d'une filiale de la maison Arthuis en Angleterre, sous le couvert de Willy Broders, maître de forges à Lincoln. Or, le patron envisage pour moi, dans cette succursale projetée, la charge de fondé de pouvoir. Nous pourrions nous installer là-bas, tous les deux, dans un joli cottage en cette vieille ville, si riche de souvenirs saxons, romains, danois, normands et médiévaux.

Bob s'enthousiasmait. Mais Mme Mareuil ne semblait pas devoir partager son exaltation. Elle était devenue très pâle et, prête à pleurer, déclara :

— Tu sais, mon chéri, que jamais plus je ne passerai la mer!

Bob se mit à rire et protesta :

— Voyons, maman, ce n'est pas un long voyage, surtout que maintenant, on ne descend même plus du train, si l'on prend le ferry-boat!

— Jamais! répéta-t-elle.

Une expression d'effroi se lut dans ses yeux.

Bob ne connaissait que trop bien la terreur que la seule pensée de la mer suscitait chez sa mère. Il en avait souffert étant enfant, alors qu'il lui était interdit d'aller jouer sur la plage avec ses petits camarades.

A cette frayeur morbide il y avait une raison. Le 14 avril 1912, quand, ayant heurté un iceberg, le paquebot anglais "Titanic" fit naufrage, engloutissant avec lui quinze cents personnes, Mme Mareuil se trouvait à bord avec son fils, âgé d'un an à peine. Tous deux échappèrent, comme par miracle, à la catastrophe; mais les heures atroces que la pauvre femme avait vécues étaient restées à jamais gravées dans sa mémoire. Elle allait rejoindre son mari à Baltimore. Recueillie avec d'autres pas-

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**En partant avec la
'Magic', elle fera
toujours des
gâteaux légers
comme les vôtres**

VOUS éprouvez toujours du plaisir à enseigner toutes sortes de choses à votre chère petite fille, qu'il s'agisse de lui montrer comment glisser ou de faire des gâteaux.

L'enfant, pour sa part, aime à vous imiter en tout. Et quand elle emploiera, comme vous, la Poudre à Pâte 'Magic', elle pourra, elle aussi, faire des gâteaux aussi tendres, légers et délicieux que les vôtres.

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She took Sal Hepatica—the laxative that helps correct acidity, too. She feels on top of the world.

What a difference! When you take a laxative that **COMBATS ACIDITY**, too!

MAYBE you didn't know it, but constipation often increases the acidity in your system.

And if you take a laxative to rid the intestines of wastes, be sure you take one that combats your acid condition, too.

Otherwise, your constipated feeling is apt to hang on... you continue to feel tired and logy.

Don't let acidity linger

Try Sal Hepatica. This mild, thorough laxative is more than a laxative. For while Sal Hepatica is cleansing your system, it is also combatting your

acidity. You see, Sal Hepatica brings about a definite alkaline (anti-acid) reaction, in your system.

And what a difference that makes in the way you feel!

Clearer-headed, peppier, more alive.

So, whenever your system signals you that you need a laxative, take *the* laxative that can cleanse your system and

make you feel better, too. Take Sal Hepatica—two teaspoons in a glass of water.

This bubbling drink contains many of the beneficial minerals found in famous mineral springs. As a laxative, Sal Hepatica is especially mild, especially efficient and contains no harmful drugs. This, with its alkalinizing effect, makes Sal Hepatica doubly beneficial.

Wear the "smile of health." Get a bottle of Sal Hepatica today.

Sal Hepatica does BOTH!

Margaret Hill of Pointe Claire, Quebec, and "picture-of-health" son Barrie

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Sparkling Smiles Call for 'Model' Dental Care

THESE lovely Canadian models have smiled at you from countless magazines and fashion photos. With their healthy youngsters, they've brightened many a page in Ipana's famous "Model" Mother series. Now see them together—and see how effective "model" dental care can be.

For these mothers have taught their children to follow their own prized dental routine: Regular brushing with clean tasting, refreshing Ipana to make teeth sparkling bright, followed by gentle gum massage. Ipana is specially designed not only to clean teeth thoroughly but also to aid in keeping gums firm and healthy.

This dental care *must* be the right one—it's based on the very same theme that thousands of schools and dentists teach—that a radiant smile depends on sparkling teeth. And sparkling teeth call for firm, healthy gums.

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GOODYEAR
Life Guards

The LifeGuard is a 2-ply fabric reserve tire within a heavy tube which fits any make of tire. Should you have a blowout the LifeGuard retains air long enough to support the car until it can be brought to a safe, smooth stop.

Goodyear LifeGuards make any tire safer

peinture, tableaux, peut-être du pittoresque — des vieilleries, par exemple, qui se sont à la photographie en cou- pour tirer parti de certains distinctifs qu'il isole au moy- de l'abstraction. D'excellentes ures sont faites d'éléments à prime abord, auraient pu être négligeables. Ainsi Mor- représenté le Saint-Laurent river dans un tableau qui con- en un filet sombre pour l'eau, bande bleuâtre pour les colli- au-delà et, au premier plan, profils humains dans la neige. Neige, par un jeu subtil de con- es, est moëlleuse et belle. en y regardant de près, on croit que la toile laissée à nu esente la neige; rien autre e. C'est comme l'éloquence de ause ou de certains silences, l'art dramatique. Un autre eau de Morrice, représentant "Pont de Glace", est extrême- simple, comparé à ceux de ghoff et de Gagnon. Il com- d un traîneau à bâtons, deux es marquant la route et, au une vague rangée de mai-

sincérité et de son penchant pour le vrai, s'est révolté contre le faux goût qu'avait développé, à Mont- réal, il y a vingt-cinq ans, l'im- portation de mauvaises peintures européennes et l'influence indue des courants d'outre-mer. Aussi passe-t-il à l'avant-garde d'un groupe d'indépendants qui, chez nous, inaugura un mouvement national, et il prit part à la lutte cou- rageuse qui s'engagea, après 1912, entre les innovateurs et la majori- té des confrères artistes et des amateurs qui se contentaient des sentiers battus et du lieu commun. Mais comment se fait-il que Jack- son, dont le surnom est Père Ra- quette, se soit ainsi rangé du côté des insurgés lui qui fut formé aux académies, qui étudia en Fran- ce et dont les tendances sont tra- ditionalistes? C'est là une question à laquelle il est impossible, à cause de son importance, de répondre en si peu d'espace; car il faudrait donner un aperçu du progrès re- marquable qu'a fait, depuis vingt ans, la peinture canadienne.

L'ESPRIT DE LA TOUR DE BABEL...

(Suite de la page 15)

nt bien passé. Sans doute, cha- le droit de parler la langue es pères, mais l'histoire et la rature ont donné à quelques- d'entre elles une prééminence sur les parlers et dialectes se- ndaires. Le français, l'italien, le uilien, l'anglais, l'allemand ont eur actif des trésors que ne édent pas, que ne posséderont ais, le serbe, le tchèque, le on, par exemple. C'est là un dont il faut bien s'accommoder e peine d'être à côté de la coche. cinq grandes langues ont servi hículos à tout ce qui a expri- notre civilisation, leurs gram- es se sont constituées dans le s des siècles, leurs poètes, leurs osophes, leurs historiens, leurs eurs, ont fixé en sonorités, en ences, en usages, des parlers our desquels tourne l'Occident. ertaines de ces langues, à ers moments de l'histoire, ont arlées, et le sont encore, bien delà des limites de leur pays gine. L'anglais, dans le monde uier, est la langue des affaires: français reste le véhicule par ellence de la bonne compagnie; on ne peut faire de haute éru- on sans connaître un peu d'alle- and. Quant à l'italien, il reste ce est depuis Dante: la langue la poésie et du soleil. L'espaa lui, se parle dans presque l'Amérique latine, et rivalise ec l'anglais pour la suprématie u Nouveau-Monde. e flamand, le romanche, le raque, l'albanais, dix, vingt au- s parlers d'Europe ont droit à e respect possible, mais s'ils vent définir une nationalité, si out on doit les dresser contre e des langues majeures, on e et l'on met le pied à côté u chemin. Et si l'on donne dans ravers, on n'en sort plus. Voici siècles que les Espagnols se erellent pour savoir laquelle e s deux langues, toutes deux monieuses et toutes deux lit- raires, prévaudra — du castillan u catalan. D'autre part, les emands ont pu constater, pen- les 47 ans qu'ils ont occupé asace, que l'Alsacien savait res-

ter français, tout en parlant alle- mand.

Et la Suisse?... avec ses quatre langues: allemand, français, italien, romanche, n'est-elle pas la plus harmonieuse des nations? Nous- mêmes, pour finir, qui parlons le français, et qui cherchons de notre mieux à resserrer nos liens spiri- tuels avec la nation-mère, nous ne sommes plus des Français; notre histoire nous a fait évoluer dans un sens différent de celui de nos cousins d'Europe. Et nous sommes, à notre manière bien caractérisée, les sujets les plus loyaux de la Couronne.

De tout ceci se dégage la conclu- sion que la langue n'est pas syno- nyme de la nationalité. L'histoire et la géographie ont souvent joué chacun de son côté. S'il fallait constituer des nationalités selon les langues, ou établir ses propres frontières politiques en y inté- grant de force des étrangers qui n'ont de commun avec soi que le parler, l'univers tomberait dans un chaos auprès duquel le désordre présent est un âge d'or.

De tout temps, il s'est produit des événements d'une extrême cruauté qui n'étaient que la consé- quence de la bizarrerie des fron- tières et du caprice des langues. On a annihilé les populations de certaines provinces. On en a dépla- cé d'autres. Ici même, en Améri- que, où les populations sont pres- que homogènes, nous avons connu, nous avons vécu un intense drame de nationalités.

Le Grand Déplacement, la dé- portation des Acadiens, est l'une des pages noires des annales de ce continent. Le procédé fut bien cruel: on sépara les mères des en- fants, les amants des fiancées, et l'on embarqua, dans les cales de mauvaises frégates, la population de toute une province. Si pathéti- ques furent les circonstances et les suites de ce drame qu'elles inspi- rèrent une épopée, qui prend place dans la littérature mondiale à côté des tragédies grecques.

Cette violente réussite du trans- plantement d'un peuple n'était pourtant que l'enfance de l'art. Les

Coucher de soleil près de Banff, dans un décor de beauté et de paix silencieuse

L'évasion dans le rêve et l'infini...

DANS CES temps troublés que nous traversons, nous éprouvons plus que jamais le besoin de sortir de nous-mêmes et le désir des vastes espaces libres aux lointains horizons.

Si vous vous sentez parfois abattu par la monotonie de la vie quotidienne, apprenez à oublier vos soucis dans quelque chose de plus grand que vous. Que ce soit un spectacle magni- fique, une musique prenante, un beau livre—vous trouverez dans ce dérivatif le courage de reprendre les tâches de tous les jours et de les accomplir avec plus d'entrain et de goût.

Obtenez le plus de la vie en lui donnant le plus possible

Il faut vivre sa vie—mais comment la vivre pleinement quand on se sent, d'esprit et de corps, abattu et découragé?

Il existe toutefois un moyen—un moyen que prennent des milliers de personnes—de combattre cet état d'esprit et cette lassitude physique.

Le moyen de vivre plus heureux C'est d'enrichir son régime alimen-

taire, deux fois par jour, d'un aliment tonifiant supplémentaire. Ce supplé- ment alimentaire, c'est la Levure Survitaminée Fleischmann, riche en 4 vitamines—A, B₁, D et G—dont chacun de nous a besoin régulière- ment pour se sentir parfaitement bien. Et, sous forme de levure fraîche, ces vitamines vous aident de façon plus efficace. La levure fraîche active la digestion—et vous permet de mieux assimiler les vitamines.

Pourquoi ne pas commencer—aujourd'hui—à en manger 2 gâteaux par jour—un gâteau ½ heure avant deux de vos repas. Nature ou dans un peu d'eau.

Vous vous sentirez bientôt une tout autre personne—vous aurez plus d'entrain, plus de courage et la vie, de nouveau, vous paraîtra digne d'être vécue!

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better
with
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up his daughters' pin curls while she goes out to committee meetings) and Builds a Close Father-Child Relationship (takes turns getting up with them at night).

It's different if there is a new baby. Or is it? Husbands can give bottles too; they are taught that new mothers need their sleep. Even if the baby is breast-fed, a husband to whom these things have been explained will get up, change the diapers and bring the baby to his wife in bed. He wouldn't want the milk to get chilled, would he?

The one tough thing about our work-

ing hours is this: that little children need noses wiped, and more, seven days a week, and nothing can be done about it. We tacitly accepted this when we took our job, and we ought to realize that our husbands work seven days too—five at tough, competitive jobs and the other two mowing lawns, washing windows, digging dandelions, repairing toys and other occupations which are called work when we do them and hobbies when they do.

Finally, let's examine our working conditions. We housewives like to make out that we work ourselves to the bone

would raise a question) at back-breaking jobs with poorly designed equipment, no household help and children always underfoot. I doubt if this has been true since grandma threw out her washboard and wood stove.

The housework most of us do is no longer hard work. Bed-making, for example, uses 4.2 calories of energy per minute, as much as any chore and slightly more than a brisk walk. Dusting uses 3.5 calories and cooking 2.5, only a little more than twice what it takes just to

represent hard physical labor."

If it did, I wonder, why would so many of us get fat?

Our homes have all the labor-saving devices our husbands can afford, or more. Our stoves turn themselves on, cook a perfect dinner, then turn themselves off without burning it, which is more than some of us can be depended on to do. We can get an entire meal just by unwrapping packages from the freezer. Our potatoes come frozen or powdered, packers squeeze half our oranges, but forty percent of our strawberries and shell eighty percent of our lima beans. We heat a cake or pudding mix for dessert, and our coffee is either instant powdered or brewed automatically.

To clean up, lucky people can dump the garbage into automatic disposal units, standard equipment in some new homes, and the dishes into the dishwasher.

The drudgery of washday has been reduced to tossing the dirty clothes into a machine which delivers them washed, rinsed and dried. With the new fabrics there is little or no ironing.

The modern approach to cleaning starts with air conditioning, which doesn't let dust into the house. Five out of seven homes in Ontario have vacuum cleaners, floor polishers are standard equipment in our neighborhood. We won't have to steer even those much longer, for somebody's husband has invented a mechanical charwoman for us, which scurries around the floor scrubbing, washing and polishing.

We no longer have paid helpers to push all these buttons, but we have our husbands, aptly described as "the new servant class." One survey found that eighty-seven percent of husbands between twenty-one and twenty-nine lend a hand with the housework. A Canadian poll showed that four out of five men work around the house at least twenty-two hours a week, and spend more than four hours of that time either in the kitchen or with the children.

The nuisance of children underfoot has been eliminated by the great electronic baby-sitter, television. From eight to nine-thirty in the morning and from four-thirty to six in the afternoon, the housewife has uninterrupted freedom to tidy her house or prepare her dinner. Where are the children? In the basement watching television. Clearly, Popeye and Mickey Mouse are deliberately scheduled for those hours as being the only ones when the housewife has something she has to do.

When it rains or snows housewives stay snug inside; only a brute would object that we should have shopped for his supper instead of opening a can of baked beans. Instead of steaming in a dress, girdle and stockings, or jacket, collar and tie, we spend hot days in a bathing suit, parked in front of a fan with a frosty drink and a new magazine. Nobody expects a housewife to work in such weather.

The best proof that housework is easy work is that some women do get it done quickly and efficiently, in a reasonable working day. Then they have time and energy left for fun. We all know housewives like my friend, whose house is the cleanest and whose three children are the best-behaved in the block. Yet she has time to do the entertaining her husband's job demands, read books, work in her church and take one day a week to keep up with the scientific profession she practiced before marriage. And she always looks calm and pretty too.

How does she do it? She has a secret, but you can find out what it is. Just put down that coffee cup, and pick up the broom. ★

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Saba Bros. Limited, Vancouver, B.C.
Vandy Hosiery & Lingerie, Vancouver, B.C.
Woodward's Stores Limited, Vancouver, B.C.
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book, *Decision-Making in the White House*, who most precisely outlined what a president of the United States can and cannot do. President Johnson cannot change the direction of American policy, just as Kennedy could not. He inherited from Kennedy, and the whole complex of men and institutions which surrounded Kennedy, a national consensus on certain issues. The people wanted the *détente* with the Soviet Union extended beyond the test ban, and Johnson would obviously have to

continue that policy. The people wanted Negro rights emphasized in any administration program, and Johnson would have to do that, too. Sorensen wrote:

"Politics pervades the White House . . . It is . . . an ever-present influence — counterbalancing the unrealistic, checking the unreasonable, sometimes preventing the desirable, but always testing what is acceptable."

"What is acceptable": this is what governs the presidency. The forces

at work in the country, from local school boards demanding federal grants to chambers of commerce demanding less federal spending, are constantly at work, creating the consensus as to what is acceptable. "With public sentiment on its side," Lincoln said, "everything succeeds: with public sentiment against it, nothing succeeds." Kennedy learned during his short, tragic presidency the truth of what Franklin Roosevelt said: "I cannot go any faster than the people will

let me." There are enormous limitations on the president, and they are not all rooted in the anachronisms of the legislative system. Sidney Warshaw, a California political scientist, recently wrote that "It is doubtful whether anywhere in the world today is executive leadership more hemmed in, more effectively limited by political considerations, more vulnerable to debilitating pressures from within and without than in the United States."

The public-opinion polls now indicate that Johnson has every chance of being re-elected president next November, no matter whom the Republicans choose to run. In the meantime, he cannot seriously change the policy he inherited from Kennedy; he can only shift it, emphasize one point more than another, enlarge or shrink a little. When John F. Kennedy came to the people of the United States, the world recognized that they had a young giant, but even Kennedy could not make the great changes he had promised to make.

His accomplishments were more subtle: he brought a generation of remarkable young public servants to the administration; he produced a more alert and thoughtful new approach which threw fresh light on defense and foreign policy; and he provided leadership for both the Western peoples in their crises and for the American people in the agony of the civil rights dispute. A spiritual and moral leadership which they badly needed. These are modest accomplishments with which, apparently, even an excellent American president in the twentieth century must ultimately be satisfied. ★

PARADE

For the birds

With the winter bird-feeding season upon us, *Parade's* special squad of bird-feeder watchers offers these helpful hints. A housewife in Kamloops, B.C., lets the neighbors provide bread crumbs and other mundane tidbits while she concentrates on the main course — bird candy made of lard, peanut butter and birdseed. A man in Vancouver has carefully enclosed his feeding station in chicken wire so

nice little songbirds can get at the lunch — but one warbling vireo has been caught to get bread cubes down to a pigeon befriended. In Birtle, Man., there's an eighty-one-year-old woman who uses it takes more than a full story to get a bird through a Prairie window — so when the temperature takes a nosedive she warms up all her ironing on the stove, wraps them in it and puts them in an upturned bucket by her kitchen door. The sparrows come up on the clothes line to take advantage of warming their feet.

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ing him if they were still interested. No secret is Gouzenko's feeling that he has been rather shabbily treated. But the adopted country to which he presented some of the secrets of his own has been insufficiently grateful. In the bright autumn days of 1945, however, all these troubles lay in an unsuspected future. Gouzenko was eager to talk, and the Mounties to listen. The trouble was that Gouzenko didn't actually know any of the Canadian spies he was exposing — to him they were merely names in a coded message, and "cover names" at that. It took months of careful checking and cross-checking to identify the eighteen Canadians eventually arrested and tried.

The case was an international sensation when it broke in early 1946, as near as anything could be to an open declaration of the Cold War. The Russians, after a brief interval of embarrassment, decided to present themselves as aggrieved. Gouzenko was an "absconding criminal" who had "stolen some money," and should be delivered up by the authorities of his friendly country. Canada had become instead a "centre of anti-Soviet activity," spreading false charges. At the Paris Peace Conference that summer, where treaties were signed with the minor satellite powers, Molotov and Vishinsky would walk out whenever Prime Minister Mackenzie King or any other Canadian rose to speak. Thin as the Russian grievance was, it got a few flickers of response for two reasons. One was concern for the abuse of civil liberties in the spy case — the suspects were arrested before being held incommunicado for days without charge, denied the right to counsel. (Asked why the suspects hadn't been allowed to see their lawyers, one cabinet minister was patently frank: "If we had let them see a lawyer, he would have told them not to talk.") Many loyal Canadians in all parties felt uneasy about this, and some still do.

The case for stealing secrets

The other reason for sympathy with the Soviet Union, or at least for something less than normal outrage, was the fact that secrets had been kept from a wartime ally which (as we all remembered then, more keenly than we do today) had made colossal efforts and sacrifices to win the war. Wasn't it reasonable, after all, that military secrets should have been shared with our Soviet allies? And when they found they were being excluded, especially from the greatest secret of all, the atomic bomb, was it surprising they should take steps to find out for themselves? These questions sounded more plausible in 1946 than they do now. To many who were communists, they made sense.

Some of those doubts and hesitations might have persisted to this day, if the enormous advantage of the Soviet Union, had it not been for the brutal stupidity of Josef Stalin. Much has been said and written, even in Soviet Russia, of how cruel and vindictive and ruthless he was. It is less often said, but equally true, that he was also a fool. His cruelty was not only monstrous, it was

foolish. The treacherous arrest of the Polish delegates in 1945 was a relatively trivial example, among Stalin's many treacheries, but it was typical. Those sixteen Poles could not possibly have done him as much harm, free, as their arrest did. It started the dispersal of a fund of good will for Russia which, after the heroic victory at Stalingrad, was tremendous, and which Stalin managed to dissipate in less than three years.

Curiously, during those years it

gave the West little comfort that we had the atomic bomb and Stalin did not. This was not at all because we expected the Russians to acquire one soon — in 1947, one member of the United Nations atomic energy committee assured me that the Russian atomic bomb was "at least twenty years away." ("Even if they had enough physicists, which they haven't," he said, "they just haven't got enough plumbers.")

But in spite of our belief that we

had a monopoly, it was we who were frightened by the bomb, rather than Stalin. Apparently only those who possess atomic weapons know enough to be scared of them. (Encouraging thought: maybe this will also prove to be true of the Chinese.)

And so the shadow of the bomb hung over the second half of the 1940s like a cloud across the sun. People talked dimly of "the nuclear age" and its vast possibilities: even before the leaves turned red in 1945, every

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as the girls came from were
y death or separation and
at the great majority came
ete homes, with both par-

ne of the young unmarried
der twenty-one, who account
alf of illegitimate births in
he lives in a pleasant To-
rb with her parents (the
rsonnel manager for a large
surrounded by pleasant,
ome people. Joan is con-
nice, well-brought-up girl by
ow her, seventeen years old
d student. She had a steady
for a year, a boy living in
neighborhood, of similar fam-
ound, and a year older than

bruary Joan told her mother
was pregnant. The mother
ave been more shocked if
told her she had leprosy.
reaction was: "How could
at will the neighbors say!"
little solicitude for the men-
f her daughter who had been
y trying to conceal her preg-
four months. Joan's father
whole situation embarrassing
to his wife to handle.

as packed off to an aunt in
ntil she could enter one of
thirty-eight shelters for un-
others to await the birth of
She was fortunate. All the
ave long waiting lists. Joan
e boy who was placed with a
are agency for adoption as
Joan was able to leave the
Joan is back home but has
ned to school as yet. She is
ends and doesn't know what
out of life at this stage. Her
is no longer in the picture.
ts thought it wise to move to
nt part of the city when they
about his involvement.
I know, we shouldn't have,"

**MISS C
DIET BOOK**

**IS YOUR
DAUGHTER
OVERWEIGHT?**

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Pocket Diet Book
— just 25 cents
his compact little booklet
contains an entire diet
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Diet Menus, Food Facts
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Pages to record progress

urse-size, handy to take
her everywhere.

Send 25 cents to
Miss Chatelaine Diet Book,
481 University Avenue,
Toronto 2, Ont.

Joan says. "We went too far. I guess
you can only neck so long and you are
bound to lose control. Birth control?
Yes, I have heard of birth control,
but we didn't plan this to happen. It's
kind of cold-blooded if you use birth
control and all that. And it just hap-
pened to us. You read all about these
couples trying for years to have a baby.
I thought it was more difficult to get
pregnant than that!"

NO ONE TO TURN TO

Joan was lucky. Her parents stood
by her. Incredible as it may sound,
there are parents who turn their daugh-
ter out of the home when they learn
she is in trouble. These are the girls
who flock to the big cities in search of
anonymity, straining child-care facili-
ties to bursting point in the urban
centres. Of course, a good many un-
married women have been living on
their own when they become pregnant.
Some have had no family to turn to in
their predicament and others, like
Anne, an attractive twenty-year-old
secretary in Ottawa, are too proud to.
"I would rather die before telling my
parents," she says. "The father of the
baby worked in my office. He was
married, but he told me his wife didn't
understand him. I was lonely. When
I told him I was pregnant, I thought
he might get a divorce and marry me.
Instead he accused me of being a tramp
and said he would fight me every inch
of the way if I named him as the
father."

Anne worked until three weeks be-
fore her baby was born, trying to
minimize her bulging waistline with
tight girdles and suits three sizes larg-
er than her trim size twelve. She
had managed to save \$150 to tide her
over her confinement. She never got a
cent from the father and found it too
humiliating to ask him for help.
"When I first saw Cathy, my baby,"
she says, "I felt so sorry for the child
that I cried all day. I sure hadn't
wanted her, but now I found it impos-
sible to part with her. I thought I
would go back to work and keep her
and have a baby-sitter look after her
during the day."

Between September 1964 and March
1965, little Cathy and her mother
changed residence three times. "The
baby cried at night and the landlady
would give me notice," Anne says.
"I couldn't afford a self-contained
apartment, at around \$100 a month;
I clear \$220. The baby-sitter cost me
\$10 a week and I was lucky if I could
get one for that. Cathy had five dif-
ferent baby-sitters in seven months."
When Cathy was eight months old and
the fourth landlady was threatening to
turn them out, Anne asked the Chil-
dren's Aid Society to take her baby as
a permanent ward and place her for
adoption. In her own words, she had
"lost all hope of ever being able to
provide a home for Cathy."

A social worker, who sees unmar-
ried mothers every day, says: "A
good many of the mothers I meet
would be willing and capable of look-
ing after their children, with sufficient
moral and practical support. But with-
out outside support, life is an endur-
ance test for the mother. I was born
and raised in Holland and my first
contact with unmarried mothers in
Canada was a shattering experience to
me. Here were these girls, obviously
nice, well-brought-up girls, some in
their late teens, some in their early
twenties. They were giving up their
babies. Some broke into tears when
asked if they realized that they would
lose all further rights to their child.

"I have known quite a few unmar-
ried mothers back home, and when I

THE BOLD NIGHT SKIERS

Curfew shall not ring tonight.
Down the mountain she whips,
wind in her face, snow
powdering behind her,
till she wheels into the valley
and stems to a stop.

The girl who doesn't let
darkness deter her is not one
to hang up her ski poles
for a few days each month.

Like so many of today's active
young moderns, she uses
Tampax menstrual tampons.
And finds that differences
in days of the month all but
vanish. A Tampax tampon
can't bind, chafe, irritate—or
even be felt, when it's in place.

Take Tampax tampons on
your next ski trip. You
may be glad you did.

Your choice of 3 absorbency sizes
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such products are sold.

Developed by a doctor—
now used by millions of women

TAMPAX INTERNAL SANITARY PROTECTION IS MADE
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Le bon temps vous attend! Pourquoi vous en priver à cause des douleurs périodiques? Midol* vous aidera.

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GRATIS! Brochure de 14 pages qui explique ce qu'est la menstruation. Envoyez 10¢ pour couvrir les frais de poste et de manutention à: Mme Helen Graham, Box 3000, Dept. TV-01, Aurora, Ontario.

Midol

*Marque déposée.

BILLET

PAR FRANCINE MONTPETIT

DU NERF MON GARÇON T'ES UN GARS!

À part mon frère, beaucoup plus jeune que moi, à part mon neveu et filleul, je n'ai pas eu souvent l'occasion de tenir dans mes bras un petit bébé garçon. Mais j'ai toujours souri quand des gens de ma connaissance, à qui le «sort» avait décerné un spécimen mâle, affirmaient avec le plus grand sérieux: «Les garçons, ce n'est vraiment pas comme les filles!»

Au fond, si mes amis flirtaient de la sorte avec La Palice, c'était beaucoup moins en fonction de la «petite différence» (fou rire de salon!) que des problèmes d'éducation qui, selon eux, surgiraient au fur et à mesure des années. Une fille, c'est soumis, doux, gentil et si facile à élever! Un garçon, c'est... vous savez le reste.

En bien, si c'est «ça» un garçon, ce n'est pas parce qu'il l'a voulu. Pourquoi, en effet, déciderait-il tout à coup, à quatorze ou quinze ans, qu'il lui faut cracher par terre, sacrer, pelotter les filles dans les coins et être le meilleur de sa classe en maths et en sports? Pour que chacun puisse admirer sa mâtitude naissante?

Je n'ai pas eu charge de garçons mais je sais, par exemple, que 85% de toutes les noyades de jeunes adolescents sont provoquées par des besoins de *performance*, d'*endurance* ou d'*épate*. Plusieurs garçons se tuent bêtement chaque année parce qu'ils ont voulu *prouver* aux autres qu'ils étaient tout aussi solides sur rouli-roulant ou sur une moto (jeux meurtriers s'il en fut) que sur leurs deux pieds... Des centaines d'accidents de voitures imputés à des fraudeurs de moins de vingt ans se sont soldés par des drames, surtout quand ces jeunes avaient ingurgité de l'alcool...

Dans une récente enquête menée par Chatelaine (anglais) au cours de laquelle on a interrogé des filles sur le comportement et la psychologie de leurs «petits amis», ceux-ci ont été définis comme suit: «De grands bébés profondément égoïstes, possessifs, exigeants, incapables de communiquer leurs sentiments ou de laisser éclater leur sensibilité.» Dur jugement, c'est vrai... mais combien réaliste dans l'ensemble, quand on songe à quel degré les notions de pouvoir et de puissance prennent le pas sur toutes les autres lorsqu'il s'agit de «dresser» les garçons sous prétexte de les ajuster au monde qui les entoure.

Il est curieux de constater que les bébés garçons, durant les toutes premières années de leur vie, sont le plus souvent caressés et comblés de tendresse tout autant que leurs sœurs. Et puis, tout à coup, comme si les parents décidaient de prendre en main le sort de leur gars, ils exigent de lui qu'il refoule ses larmes, se défende à coups de poings, vainque ses peurs, ou même cache ses penchants naturels pour des activités définies d'avance comme féminines ou ses goûts pour la lecture, la grande musique ou la danse...

On pourrait croire qu'avec les changements amorcés depuis quelques années, les femmes ont revu leurs propres conceptions de l'éducation des mâles et, du même coup, incité leurs maris à jouer davantage la carte tendresse plutôt que de nourrir systématiquement le stress de la compétition que les garçons subissent suffisamment à l'école et dans la rue. Hélas... non!

Pas étonnant alors que nos gars fonceent comme des dingues pour démontrer qu'ils «sont capables». Pas étonnant qu'à dix-huit ans, la voiture de papa devienne voiture de course. Pas étonnant qu'ils aient tant de mal à établir des liens profonds et solides avec leur entourage. Une plus grande compréhension de ce qu'ils sont les amènerait sans doute à être eux-mêmes. Des être humains, des vrais. ■

P.-S.: Bonne, bonne, bonne année à tous et à toutes!

Behind every successful little girl is a mother who serves Velveeta

Any girl or boy who sits, stands, runs, jumps, throws or grows can use the food energy that mild-tasting Velveeta Pasteurized Process Cheese provides.

Big League Casserole

*1/2 lb. Velveeta Process Cheese, sliced
1/2 cup milk
1/3 cup chopped, green pepper
Parkay Margarine
4 cups diced, cooked potatoes
6 frankfurters, cut diagonally
Salt and pepper seasoning*

*Nutritious because
it's made from milk.*

Heat Velveeta and milk in double boiler; stir until smooth. Cook green pepper in margarine. When tender, combine with potatoes and frankfurters. Season and place in a 6-cup casserole. Cover with hot Velveeta sauce. Delicious Velveeta is a good source of protein, calcium, vitamin A, and contains other important milk nutrients. Bake 20 mins. at 350 degrees.

KRAFT for good food and good food ideas.

Win your own Olympic
the superman

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"Physical Fitness Program?
Sure. What channel is it on?"

"If we were
meant to walk,
there wouldn't
be any cabs."

"I've taken lessons and
still can't swim a stroke.
But I can float like mad."

"Oh well, a little exercise
won't hurt me."

Even if your favorite sports are the
spectator variety, there are lots of reasons
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CHATEL

Chatelaine - August 1970 p. 18

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PLACE
DE LA
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AIR CANADA

There's a taste to
match the good times

Peter Jackson

AT BETTER SPECIALITY AND DEPARTMENT STORES ACROSS CANADA

Why Mrs. Raine loves Jergens just as much as Nancy Greene does.

Mrs. Alan Raine is a housewife. She washes dishes and windows. Hangs drapes. Goes shopping. Entertains friends.

Mrs. Raine loves Jergens Lotion because it keeps her hands soft and smooth. Her complexion fresh and natural-looking. And because "it's the best lotion ever for all-over skin care".

Nancy Greene, as you know, is a skier. She's used (and loved) Jergens Lotion for a long time now.

To protect her face from harsh winds, and sleet, and year-round weather extremes.

To keep her hands looking soft and nice.

To give her silky, smooth skin from head to toe.

And Nancy's not the only one. In fact, more women use Jergens than the next six lotions put together. Since Jergens makes a girl feel like a girl all over, shouldn't you be using it too?

Take it from Nancy Greene (now Mrs. Raine)—you'll love what Jergens Lotion does for you.

For beautiful skin.
From Jergens.

THE AMERICAN METAPHYSICAL CIRCUS with Joseph Byrd and the Field Hippies (Columbia). If you're planning a co-operative freakout and don't ever want to come down, your best friend is the audio experimentalist Byrd. Joe and his Circus won't let anyone down.

RACHMANINOFF'S GREATEST HITS (Columbia). Apart from the potboilers usually found on a "Hits" record, this one has two happy surprises awaiting the serious student of piano playing. Gary Graffman playing the Preludes in G Minor and G Sharp Minor has achieved an almost perfect balance between poetry and thunder. The illusive inner voices of the G Minor Prelude are superbly outlined by Graffman whose playing until just recently has been marred by effort.

DON NEWLANDS

TV & Radio

Listings are subject to change

MIDSEASON CHANGES (CTV, Tuesdays, 8:30-9:30 p.m.). Johnny Cash reappears as a regular after his roaring success last summer. Saturdays (CTV, 10-11 p.m.). Swashbuckling Engelbert Humperdinck replaces The Survivors (and maybe lures viewers from a rival network mixed bag).

THE NEW MAJORITY (CBC, Sundays, 4-5 p.m.). For the "under-25s," producer Don Elder has assembled a group of four story editors, average age 22. However, Richard Wells, Marie Morgan, Allen Kates and Ed Fitzgerald are aiming at a general audience. Jan. 25: The Alternate Societies studies communes. Feb. 1: The Doll Show looks at consumer attitudes in the buy society.

A majority of four

CANADIAN FIGURE-SKATING FINALS (CTV, Feb. 3, 9:30-10:30 p.m.). In 1947 the star of this event was a young blonde called Barbara Ann Scott. Subsequent winners have included Donald Jackson, Maria and Otto Jelinek and Petra Burka. This season's telecast was taped Sunday night in Edmonton.

CANADIAN CRIME TEST (CBC, Feb. 26, 10-11 p.m.). A burglar threatens you in your home. Should you shoot? Answers for this and other crime questions in this lively successor to the Physical Fitness, Drivers and History test shows. Produced by Bill Bolt, with Fred Davis, Judge Carl Stewart and Professor Desmond Morris as hosts.

RADIO

CBC TUESDAY NIGHT (CBC, 8-10 p.m.). A new Tuesday Night series to contrast the old and new works of Canadian dramatists. Feb. 10: the old — Joe Katona. Feb. 17: the new — To Keep the Lightning Out.

CBC SHOWCASE: Sonny And Cher (Feb. 15, 4:03-5 p.m.). The folk-rock

couple in concert, recorded in Vancouver's Cave Theatre.

THEATRE 10:30: The Sin Sni (CBC, Feb. 23-27, 10:30-11 p.m.). Five-part adaptation of the late novel by Hugh Garner (author: C. bagetown, The Silence On Shore); rumored to be too racy publishers! DONNALU WIGMORE

Shopping

Lamps from Habitat

HOME, PAMPERED HOME Habitat: a branch of the famous English store and a goody cornucopia: mod trays, \$1.80, hobbyhorses, \$9 fabric dolls and animals, mc size, \$1.30. Plus such delecta as wine racks, dollhouses, carz furniture cushions and cookware you can't shop in person, write the free mail-order catalogue: Habitat, 277 Victoria Street, Toronto 200.

CANADIANA While there's no shortage of old pottery, there is a lac information that makes Early Decorated Pottery In Canada, by B. Webster (Musson, \$4.95), a come paperback for collecting wanting illustration and identification.

MOON GEMS Man-on-the-Moon charms are now available in 14K gold, and sterling silver with prices ranging from \$4 \$57.50. Choice includes the footprint, an astronaut, LEM landcraft and the moon with the w From Birks, Simpsons-Sears, ton's. Enquiries: Rembrandt Jew Limited, 748 Warden Avenue, No. 6, Scarborough, Ont.

EYE BEAUTY The heavy fur look fake eyelashes is no longer chic. soft spider look is in and Ceza makes them in two thicknesses three lengths: micro, mini, n Prices are from \$4.95 to \$7.95 include surgical-type adhesive F Harridge's, Shoppers Drug Mart leading cosmetic counters. Enquiries: Natrop Limited, 771 York Street, Toronto 285.

CARE FOR SPORTS When it co to winter skin protection, Ar doesn't separate the boys from girls, but offers unisex creams screen burning rays, bitter w and encourage tan. All fit into a ka pocket and include High Alt Cream, a sun screen, \$4.25 for ounce; Weather Shield, an antic stick, \$3.25. From fine cosr counters everywhere.

BEAUTIFUL HANGUP Posters all tastes — zodiac prints, ca counters, gourmet guides, an maps and a potpourri of owls, p cats and sunbursts. Printed on ity paper 21 by 29 inches and idually plastic-wrapped. Cost each from Coles, W H Smith, Eaton's, Simpsons and Hudson's stores and gift shops. Enquiries: Daniels & Storr Ltd., P.O. Box 1 Postal Station A, Toronto 116.

UNA ABRAHAN

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MAX FACTOR

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Debbie Van Kiekebelt

Debbie Van Kiekebelt has made her transition from world class athlete to a happy, active woman in great style. Her workouts these days are of the same enjoyable kind that all of us are able to experience.

Yet even though her fitness program is more casual, her attention to it is not.

No matter what Debbie is doing, she knows her activity starts from the ground up.

And on Debbie's feet, you'll find Bauer.

Bauer's athletic shoes for women not only answer all the demands of the sport but they do so in great fashion.

For example, Debbie's Bauer Court Hp Racquetball shoes are a stylish combination of mesh and leather. The sole is structured to accommodate quick movement on the court, yet give the firm footing for "kill" shots.

"See how solid my footing is? The Bauer Court Hp Racquetball shoes are perfect."

"I don't play without my Bauer Court Tennis shoes. If I'm on the court for an hour or so, I'm not going to have my feet mad at me."

The Bauer Court Tennis shoe is a dandy.

Behind those clean summer looks are soft foam and tricot padded uppers with a fully padded rear quarter and a comfy thick foam padded terry-lined inside. (They even feel good when you're down love-30.)

Then there's Debbie's favourite shoe, her Lightfoot II. This trainer is a runner's delight. In new shades of powder blue, beige or orange and blue, you'll find a lighter, more flexible shoe that gives superior cushioning.

You can see how good Bauer looks on Debbie; see how good they feel on you at any authorized Bauer dealer. If fitness is the fashion, then you should have some fashion in your fitness.

"I can't tell you how I love to run. I have always loved it. Now I do more distance and more pleasure jogging. The Lightfoot II Trainer feels so good I sometimes don't want to stop. However."

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LIAISONS

DID YOU KNOW

You can have steak for less calories than a tossed salad with dressing?

Beware of false impressions. Today's lean Canadian beef is a lot more than an excellent source of protein and a good source of iron. It's got less calories than you ever imagined.

A salad bowl of mixed greens with tomato, croutons and 2 Tbsp. of commercial dressing (no cheese, no egg, not even a bacon bit) serves up 225 calories. While this lean steak, tempting as it is, tallies only 216.* (And only 189 without the sauce.)

Today's great Canadian beef. Nutrition you can count on. *Calories per serving: 216 (with zucchini: 243).

Fresh Orange Herb Steak

4 oz. (125 g) eye of round steak (1" thick)
½ cup (50 ml.) freshly squeezed orange juice
1 tsp. (5 ml.) grated orange peel
1 tsp. (5 ml.) red wine vinegar
½ tsp. (1 ml.) thyme
dash of salt and freshly ground pepper

Pierce steak several times with a fork. Place in a small deep bowl. Combine remaining ingredients and pour over steak.

Cover and marinate in refrigerator at least 3 hours. Drain marinade. Broil 4-6 mins./side for rare or till desired doneness.

The marinade may be heated and served as a sauce. Serves one.

Lookin' good, beef.

Sylvie Bernier

WHEN ISABELLE finally decides to come down, you'll notice that she's all of five foot nothing and a svelte 95 pounds. Still, as a world champion figure skater, her body's nutritional requirements are as demanding as her training. It's critical that she keeps her energy up and her weight down. Something we're sure Lloyd appreciates. So Isabelle makes

ISABELLE BRASSEUR & LLOYD FISHER *for* BEEF.

sure she includes beef as part of her balanced diet. As often as several times a week.

Athletes like Lloyd and Isabelle know beef is an important source of iron. Technically speaking, iron is needed to help deliver oxygen throughout the body where it is used to release energy from the food we eat.

A fact you don't need to be a world-class athlete to appreciate.

Truth is, a single serving of lean Canadian beef not only contains iron, but 11 other essential nutrients. That includes protein, niacin, zinc, vitamins B6 and B12. All being essential for growth and development. Even more impressive, a 120 gram serving of trimmed beef, full of all that good stuff, adds up to a mere 178 calories. But don't

take our word for it. Canada's Food

Guide to Healthy Eating says you can enjoy 2-3 servings of meat per day. So if you haven't already planned your next meal, here's a little inspiration. Compliments of Lloyd and Isabelle. Wherever she is.

ISABELLE'S MEXICAN STIR-FRY SALAD RECIPE

- 1 lb sirloin steak, cut into 1/4" strips
- 2 tbsp vegetable oil
- 1 clove garlic, minced
- 1 tsp each ground cumin and dried oregano
- 1 medium onion, sliced
- 1 red bell pepper, sliced
- 1-2 jalapeno peppers, slivered
- 3 cups romaine lettuce, sliced

Combine oil, garlic and spices. Reserve half. Stir-fry onion and peppers in remaining oil until tender crisp. Set aside. Stir-fry steak in reserved oil to desired doneness.

Add vegetables and re-heat. Serve over lettuce. Serves 4.

For more recipes and nutritional information, write: Beef Information Centre, 2233 Argentia Rd., Suite 100, Dept. A, Mississauga, Ontario, L5N 2X7.

CANADA BEEF
OFFICIAL SUPPLIER TO
CANADA'S OLYMPIC TEAMS

130 g serving size, trimmed beef. Energy: 178 Cal (750 kJ), Protein: 26 g, Fat: 7.3 g, Carbs: 17 mg, Fibre: 0.5 mg, % Recommended Daily Intake: Vit. B12: 10%, Vit. B6: 14%, Niacin: 41%, Zn: 36%, Fe: 30%, Vit. B1: 100%, Vitamin A: 40%, Riboflavin: 21%, Magnesium: 11%, Iron: 16%, Arg: 61% *% Officially Made in Canada's Beef Program

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Tall sizes 6, 10, 12, 14, 16.
073 044 105 A 36.00

C T-Back tank is ideal for the active swimmer. Contrasting inserts at the legs. Narrow stripe pattern.
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"Hi, I'm Carolyn Waldo and I'm thrilled to be a part of the Sears team in launching this exciting new line of swimwear, activewear and workoutwear."

Carolyn Waldo is a competitive swimmer, coach and author of the book "Olympic Swimmer's Secrets".

Carolyn Waldo

Olympic performance

Sears is proud to feature three outstanding athletes who are striving for gold in '96. Olympic gold medalist, Sylvie Frechette, (top right); Commonwealth and Pan American Games gold medalist, Annie Pelletier, (bottom right); and five time Pan American medalist, Marianne Limpert, (top left, bottom left). Good luck in Atlanta!

A-C GO FOR GOLD in these ultra sleek fitting and performance stream-lined swimsuits from Speedo®. A brilliant selection of colourful designs — all in a chlorine-resistant blend of Antron® nylon-Lycra® spandex. Lined with nylon-Lycra® spandex fabric. Hand-wash.

(A) 'FLO CHECK' TANK SUIT has sleek checked pattern against solid Black. Techno-back style. Fully-lined front. State colour choice by number: 11(Yellow/Black) or 12(Green/Black). Regular sizes 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.

073 044 46Y A..... 69.99

Long Torso 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.

073 044 47Y A..... 72.99

(B) 'SANDSTONE' SWIMSUIT with a super pro-back. Fully-lined front. Blue print. Regular sizes 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.

073 044 459 A..... 71.99

Long Torso 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.

073 044 460 A..... 74.99

(C) 'RAINSTORM' SUIT features an engineered design on Black. Super pro-back with fully-lined front.

Regular sizes 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.

073 044 458 A..... 71.99

POOL COURTESY OF THE ETOBICOKE OLYMPIUM

SPEEDO SIZE CHART

SIZE	8	10	12	14	16	18
Bust	32	34	36	38	40	42"
Hips	34	36	38	40	41	42"
Torso	60	61½	64	66½	69	71½"
Long Torso	—	62½	65½	67½	70½	72½"

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Sex, sex, SEX

Want to go from girl-next-door to unfettered, super-charged sex animal as quick as you can say *yes, yes, yes*? We asked women who rev up instantly, and insatiably, to tell all.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHEA GORDANER

[illegible]

IS IT LESS SATISFYING AND OVERSTRESSING?

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Prétendre que la
nouvelle Subaru Legacy 1993
n'est qu'une voiture ordinaire
serait comme dire que
Silken Laumann n'est qu'une
rameuse ordinaire.

Son histoire a fait le tour du monde. Après avoir été gravement blessée à une jambe, Silken s'est miraculeusement rétablie et a remporté une médaille pour le Canada aux Jeux de Barcelone. Avec pareille personnalité, il n'est pas étonnant qu'elle conduise une Subaru Legacy.

Les Subaru, en effet, sont depuis longtemps réputées pour leur durabilité et leur fiabilité. Fait révélateur : 93 % de toutes les Subaru immatriculées ces dix dernières

années sont toujours sur la route.* Il y a de quoi : l'extraordinaire traction intégrale de Subaru, par exemple, est conçue pour affronter toutes les routes par tous les temps. Et en cas d'arrêt d'urgence, le fameux système de freinage antiblocage à quatre canaux de la Subaru vous permet de conserver une maîtrise parfaite.

Bref, vous pouvez compter sur la Subaru pour vous conduire à bon port, quelles que soient les conditions du temps ou de la route.

LEGACY TURBO À TRACTION INTÉGRALE

*Selon une étude des immatriculations de R.L. Polk & Co., en date de juillet 1991.

How
to
share
an
Olympic
moment.

(or, for
that matter,
any other
moment)

Marnie McBean: Double Olympic Gold Medalist and an official spokesperson for AT&T Canada.

WHEN MARNIE MCBEAN dips her oars in Atlanta's Olympic rowing basin, will you be there to cheer her on? Or will you travel instead to the edges of the Grand Canyon, to the top of the Empire State Building or across the sweeping expanse of the Golden Gate Bridge? No matter what part of America you plan to discover this summer, AT&T can help you share the moment with just about anyone on the planet. Just dial 1-800-CALL ATT^{TM} from any push-button phone. Call home. Call ahead to confirm a reservation. Call Aunt Macy in Tuscaloosa to let her know you'll arrive just in time for dinner. You can use your Canadian calling card or any major credit card, even call collect.

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Before they wore gold they were wearing Ombrelle.

Canada's Olympic Rowing Team spends a great deal of time outdoors, on & off the water. During the team's quest for gold, Ombrelle Sunscreen Lotion 15 was chosen to protect them from the searing effects of the sun.

Ombrelle Lotion 15, developed in Canada, is a unique, broad spectrum sunscreen that provides protection throughout the UVA spectrum as well as providing approximately 93% protection against UVB rays. Paba and perfume-free, Ombrelle is a moisturizing lotion

that is non-greasy, waterproof, hypoallergenic and does not irritate the eyes.

Ombrelle is a new generation sunscreen developed with the assistance of Canadian dermatologists. Which makes it easy to understand why Ombrelle Lotion 15, like Canada's rowing team, takes the gold.

DERMTEK

Recognized by the Canadian Dermatology Association and Founding Sponsor of the Canadian Melanoma Foundation, Ombrelle Lotion 15 is the official sunscreen of the Canadian National Rowing Team. Photo: Canadian Sport Photography.

Ombrelle is recognized by the Canadian Dermatology Association.

This July, Marnie plans to bring home the gold with a flawless finish.

From the moment she won her first medal some ten years ago and thousands of miles away, Marnie McBean's goal has been to be the very best. But once she gets there, she pushes her goal even further. And it was two Olympic golds in 1992. Then it was just years's world championship with partner Kathleen Hedderley. Now, her goal is double, and Olympic gold once more.

Marnie's on her way to being her very best. And Avon is thrilled to stand behind her... if only she'd stand still for a minute!

Marnie McBean
Double Olympic Gold Medalist, Rowing

Shade: Ivory Beige

When it comes to world-class performance and flawless finishes, there's never been a rowing like Marnie McBean. Or a foundation like Avon's New Lifting Foundation.

This is foundation that thinks it's a facelift. By combining flawless coverage with a firming skincare treatment, skin looks and feels firmer, more vibrant, and more toned - yet looks incredibly natural.

It also contains today's most effective moisturizer, and state-of-the-art light deflectors - which reduce the look of lines, helping skin feel more supple.

Avon Lifting Foundation. For Marnie, you, and every woman out to be her best.

Helping women be their best
AVON

Available now in your Free Avon Brochure!
Call Toll-Free 1-800-665-8072

In 1992, after two Olympic gold medals with her partner Martin McKeown, Kathleen left rowing completely - for two years. When she came back, it became clear that she hadn't missed a stroke: within months, they were world champions. In Atlanta, they hope to become the first Canadian women to win a total of four Olympic gold medals.

This summer, Kathleen needs a lipstick

that can take on the world.

Introducing Avon Beyond Color Lipstick -
it's like skincare for your lips!

Patented Nutrient Complex

- Helps give you fuller, smoother, younger-looking lips!
- Helps repair & redefine!
- In as little as 2 weeks!
- We Guarantee It!

New Beyond Color is the smoothest, creamiest, most luxurious formula Avon has ever created: in ten beyond-creamy shades.

But Beyond Color lives up to its name, thanks to a patented elastin/collagen nutrient complex. This moisturizing, environmental barrier protects, repairs, and beautifies lips, reconditioning them for a fuller, younger appearance. In just two weeks, lips appear fuller and younger, become noticeably

smoother, and feel more supple. Beyond Color even helps minimize fine lines and wrinkles.

Where did Avon test this breakthrough? Whinnipeg - where lips get nature's worst dryness, and cold - and it was proven to provide these and more benefits to even severely dry, chapped lips.

testers Beyond Color Lipstick. For Kathleen, you, and every woman out to be her best.

Helping women to their best

AVON

Available now in your Free Avon Brochure! Call toll-free 1-800-665-8072

Kathleen Heekin
Double Olympic Gold Medalist, Rowing

Kathleen Heekin is on her way to being the very best. And Avon is happy to stand behind her, and cheer her amazing drive.

† SEE SIDE PANEL
† VOIR SUR LE CÔTÉ

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"Chinese Red Panax
Ginseng in a soft gel
capsule. Another world
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*Charmaine Crooks
Canadian Olympic Medallist*

Praised for centuries by the health conscious ... used by athletes worldwide in their daily regimens... Chinese Red Panax Ginseng is one of the most valued plants on earth.

And now, thanks to Nature Made, you can enjoy the benefits of this premium Ginseng source...along with the convenience of the modern soft gel capsule. Each easy to swallow capsule contains the equivalent of 250 mg of premium Chinese Red Panax Ginseng.

Nature Made Ginseng is guaranteed for purity, potency and release. And it contains no artificial flavours or colours. No preservatives, lactose, yeast, sugar or gluten.

Put Nature Made Ginseng on your team. Ask for it at fine pharmacies and supermarkets everywhere. And look for new Nature Made Odourless Garlic and Nature Made Vitamins A, C & E OXY-BALANCE™ ANTIOXIDANT FORMULA.

World class products that will keep you in the running. From Nature Made.

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VITAMINS

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After all, she is mentally challenged. Conventional thinking says keep her away from the pool – it's just not safe.

But is it **safe** for Jennifer to go in the water?

It's a good thing that Jennifer's parents didn't listen to conventional thinking. Jennifer, who is hyperactive and suffers from Attention Deficit Disorder has gone from being shy and introverted to becoming a champion-calibre swimmer.

Through participation in the Special Olympics, she has overcome her shyness to become the leader of her swim team, able to swim 25 metres in fewer than 20 seconds. She's embraced competition. Her confidence has soared.

The Special Olympics...from a love of sport comes a love of life. Call (416) 927-9050.

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Pool: Gus Ryder

Photo: Nancy Shanoff

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