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Creating and Maintaining Gender (In)Equity in Ontario Ice Arenas:
A Case Study of London, Ontario and Windsor, Ontario

By

Lynn M. Campbell

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of Human Kinetics in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2009

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I have examined the way that gender equity is, or is not, created and maintained in ice arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario. I created three sub-problems requiring document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and site visits to the arenas. Using Chalip's (1995) framework for policy analysis, I found that Ontario gender equity policies make little mention of facility use while ice allocation policies fail to address gender equity. I interviewed ten recreation professionals from both cities to solicit their perceptions about gender equity in their prospective municipalities and conducted site visits to assess the gender equitable design of the arenas. An analysis of the three sub-problems highlights that efforts have been made to create gender equity, but due to the age of the majority of public arenas and inequitable historical procedures for allocating ice, it has been difficult to actually create and maintain gender equity in hockey.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my advisor and friend, Dr. Vicky Paraschak. Without your guidance, support, positive attitude, and delicious meals and cooking advice I would not have been able to complete this journey. Thank you for encouraging me to always pursue greater things, for reminding me to always take a strengths perspective, and for giving me the confidence I needed to know that I could do this. You are a true friend and for all your hard work I am truly grateful.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Gender equity has increasingly become an area of focus for practitioners and academics concerned about women's opportunities in sport. In academic studies focusing on gender equity, little attention has been given to the gender specific distribution of facility use and the gendered constructions of space in community recreation facilities. I have chosen to focus this research on the gender specific distribution of the use of ice arenas, as well as the construction of space in these areas. My personal experiences growing up as a female hockey player, my knowledge in sociological issues in sport, and my passion for hockey are what drove me to conduct this research (See Appendix A).

Women's equality in sport became an issue for the federal government in the 1970s with the rise of the women's liberation movement. As a result, the federal government had two separate programs dedicated to sport in the early 1980s. One was the women's sport program and the other was the high performance sport program. However, "Equity initiatives, aimed at transforming sport into an inclusive institution, are ultimately ineffectual as the emphasis in the state sport structure is on high performance" (Ponic, 1994, p. 29). The majority of Canadians have been socially constructed to believe that high performance sports are male-only sports. "Women have not been welcomed into the upper echelons of high performance sport leadership because of the potential cost this might have on Canada's international ranking" (Ponic, p. 29). This is reinforced most evidently through media representations and funding sources, such as sponsorship. However, an area that has generated very little examination is the gendered distribution of facility use and the gendered nature of space in recreation facilities. An emerging area in sport organizations is that of gender discrimination and the allocation of facilities based

upon sex. Gender equity is an area in sport that has gained a lot of interest from professionals in both the educational realm and in sport institutions. Currently there is minimal research on the relationship between gender equity policies and equitable facility practices. I have addressed this by examining the following research problem:

How is gender (in)equity created and maintained in Ontario ice arenas?

To examine this question my research was broken down into three sub-problems:

Sub-problem #1: How is gender equitable facility programming addressed in selected municipal allocation policies and in gender equity policies in Ontario?

Sub-problem #2: How are public ice arenas programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario?

Sub-problem #3: How are publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario physically structured, and how are those spaces allocated by gender?

London and Windsor are two southwestern cities in Ontario that have both similarities and differences with regard to their municipal recreation systems, and more specifically with regard to their arena facilities. The primary reason these two cities were chosen is because London currently has a gender equity policy in place and Windsor does not. This provided an opportunity to examine the actual use of a gender equity policy versus the practices that occur without one. My research entailed a careful examination of both cities, with a focus on the lack of policy in Windsor, and whether it had an impact on the construction and proposed administration of a brand new arena. In London, I examined the role that its existing policy had on the administration of their arena facilities. This thesis is laid out according to the sub-problems I have identified. Each sub-problem is incorporated into subsequent chapters and a final chapter provides a summary, conclusions, and recommendations for future research.

Operational Definitions

Equity vs. Equality

This research deals with equity as opposed to equality. Equality refers to identical treatment, whereas equity refers to comparable outcomes, which may require different treatments/processes for those outcomes to be achieved. “Equity is the belief and practice of fair and just treatment for individuals and organizations. To be equitable means to be fair, and to appear to be fair” (Larkin & Baxter, 1993, p. 4).

Gender equity

“Gender equity is the principle and practice of fair and equitable allocation of resources and opportunities to both females and males. The implementation of gender equity eliminates discriminatory practices that prevent the full participation of either gender” (Larkin & Baxter, 1993, p. 4).

‘Grandfather’/Historical Method

The method of allocating ice time based on historical precedent was termed “grandfathering”, both in interviews I conducted and in some of the ice allocation policies I analyzed. In this method, ice is provided to those who have had the same ice in previous years. For example, if a *user group* has had a time slot from 7:00pm to 8:00pm in the previous two years, then they are entitled to that same ice in the upcoming year. I consider the word, ‘grandfather’ to be a sexist term as it reinforces the naturalized assumption that sport is male-based. Thus I will refer to this method of ice allocation as the historical method throughout the rest of this thesis.

Pads

Pads refer to the ice surfaces in the facilities. For example, a facility may consist of more than one ice surface and each one would be called a pad.

Twinning

To twin an arena is to add a second ice surface to it, called a *pad*. For example, two of the facilities in Windsor used to have only one ice surface, but they chose to twin the facility and make it two *pads*.

User Groups/Users

The groups or individuals who rent the ice are considered the user groups or users.

Assumptions

Sport provides life lessons to children

Historically, young males and females have been separated in both competitive sport and play. As Laura Robinson (2002) explained, it is difficult, if not impossible, to teach children equality in sport when the majority of resources and attention are given to male sports. Youth learn life lessons from sport, which is essential for them to become well-rounded adults. We need to question the kind of lesson we are teaching children when public resources are disproportionately being given for male sports. This is a practice that discriminates against females. These young girls and boys grow up believing that all males are naturally superior to females in sport. The Ontario handbook for fair and full access for women in sport, entitled *Walking the Talk*, specifically addresses the need for equitable treatment to women of all ages. Providing equitable facility use at a young age will help female children feel more empowerment and belonging.

Men matter more in sports

The assumption that men matter more in sports comes from the literature on masculine hegemony in sport. When people in a position of power are able to convince others of that power and have them “buy into” it, they are demonstrating hegemony. Hockey in Canada is run predominantly by males and has little female involvement in positions of power. “Currently many sporting environments fail to welcome girls and women or encourage them to fully participate as leaders and participants” (Vail & Berck, 1995, p. 3). Masculine hegemony is reproduced by the unequal power relations that result from this male dominated structure. With the lack of female involvement, the idea that men matter more in sports is reaffirmed in hockey.

One of the sub-problems used to answer my research question allowed me to direct specific attention to the Windsor Family Credit Union (WFCU) Centre in Windsor, Ontario, which is a public facility. The reason for this is that it houses the Windsor Spitfires, a team in the Ontario Hockey League (OHL). The OHL is a junior hockey league. For many of its players, the OHL is the primary road to the National Hockey League. This arena was chosen based on the assumption that masculine hegemony is a determining factor in the distribution of ice time at this facility even more so than the other arenas in Windsor. Prior to conducting the various methods of data collection, I believed that the information collected would demonstrate that the programming of all of the arenas, including one where an OHL team plays, focused on accommodating male programs more so than it did female programs. This assumption stemmed from patterns in the literature that noted the impact that unequal power relations and masculine hegemony have on gender equity policies in facility use. “Men’s achievements in power and performance sports have been used as evidence of...their superiority over women and their right to claim social and physical space as their own” (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004, p. 241). When

women participate in sport, it threatens the maintenance of traditional gender logic (Coakley & Donnelly), and thus potentially undercuts the historically patriarchal hockey culture. “Feminist analyses of sport have emphasized the significance of sport to the construction of patriarchal ideologies of gender” (Theberge, 2000, p. 139). These particular ideologies stem from conceptions of masculine superiority (Theberge). Research is required to explore the assumption that males who play hockey are more important to society than females who play hockey, and the effect this assumption has on female players’ ability to participate, and to participate equitably and to their fullest potential.

As human beings, we live our lives surrounded by others and cannot help but be provided with other people’s opinions and beliefs. We are surrounded by people with power who try to convince us of what is right by passing on their own ideas. Many of these ideas eventually become a part of everyday life. This is the essence of hegemony. If everyone thinks one way, people assume that it must be “truth” and that it is a truth that has always been there. Because men have consistently been in positions of power within the Canadian hockey system, their beliefs and ways of being have become naturalized beliefs for those at the grassroots level. In Ontario, participants in minor hockey organizations have been socially constructed to believe that men matter more in sports and are therefore more deserving of ideal ice times (ideal ice times being weeknights in the early evening (7-10pm) and afternoons on the weekends). Another construction is that elite levels of hockey are more important to the community than the grassroots level. These constructions only exist because individuals “do” them. It has become part of individuals’ practical consciousness because it occurs over and over again, eventually becoming naturalized and seen as the only option. This research challenges these beliefs and identifies the gender equities and inequities in Ontario ice arenas. By identifying inequities that

exist, this research can potentially contribute to necessary changes that have consistently been overlooked because inequitable rules and resources have rarely been challenged.

Policy does not always lead to action

It is one thing to develop a policy, but another to actually implement it. Policy can be used for effective change in society, but simply creating a policy will not suffice. Through my review of literature on an overview of sport policies, it is evident that policies have been created and seldom followed. Whether it is because of lack of solutions being offered, lack of substance, or lack of commitment, the creation of policy does not always lead to action. For my research I expected that having a gender equity policy does not automatically result in equitable action. Policies need to be accompanied by solutions so that sport governing bodies have the means and resources to abide by the policies.

Practical and Theoretical Justification

The Canadian Sport Policy, released in 2002, aims to improve the sport experience for *all* Canadians (Canadian Heritage, 2002b). The four main goals of the policy are to enhance participation, excellence, capacity, and interaction for Canadian athletes (Canadian Heritage, 2002b). The policy details the significant contributions sport makes “to social and personal development, health and well-being, culture, education, economic development and prosperity, tourism and entertainment” (Canadian Heritage, 2002b, p. 5). These contributions should benefit both males and females equally, something that researchers acknowledge does not happen (Larkin & Baxter, 1993; Pell, 1988; Robinson, 2000, 2002; Vail & Berck, 1995). “Women individually can derive as significant benefits from participating in sport as men can... Women who are involved in sport report positive changes in self-esteem and sense of ‘self’, and increased physical power and well-being, just like men” (Collins & Kay, 2003, p. 105). There is

no reason women should not receive the same opportunities as men in any sport setting. Female hockey players believe they deserve more support than what they have been receiving because they see themselves as serious athletes who are just as committed to the sport as the best male players.

This research was designed to examine the (in)equities in ice arenas in terms of distribution of ice time and gendered spaces. One objective of this research was to help illuminate any inequities by providing evidence which could educate sport organizations and government officials that discriminatory practices negatively affect their status as an equal opportunity provider and that there are benefits to providing more gender equitable services. Not only has this been outlined, but I have also demonstrated ways to develop or implement a policy to aid in this process. This research contributes in a practical way by demonstrating to sport power-holders that policy has the potential to be an effective way to implement much needed change in ice hockey. This research also provides recommendations that can help enact some of these changes.

This research specifically addresses issues of space in arenas by examining two Ontario cities. Evidence is provided to other municipalities to show that arena space should be allocated more consciously to make it more desirable for females to use as their personal space. According to Wearing (1998), this will result in an increase in participation among females because they will be less hesitant to begin participating if they view arenas as a more accommodating and welcoming atmosphere. This research not only contributes to the existing literature surrounding gendered spaces, but also provides new insights into gendered spaces in a sport and recreation context.

With regards to policy analysis, I have used Chalip's (1995) framework (See Appendix B) to identify the rationale and solutions in various types of municipal policies. According to Chalip, these analyses are a means to improve the design and implementation of policies. This research provides insights into the idea that the design and implementation of a policy do not always coincide with one another. Simply designing a policy does not always lead to its implementation. This contribution should not only assist researchers who are studying policy, but also practitioners who are looking to develop and implement policies in their municipal recreation programming.

Research related to gender equity issues in sport have generally focused on funding issues, or on giving girls the opportunity to play on boys' teams. There is a lack of research and information on facility use based on gender and the impact that policy has on the allocation of recreational facility use, specifically for ice arenas. This research has addressed those gaps in the current literature and provides knowledge on a new and intriguing area of gender equity in sport. The Canadian Sport Policy recognizes the importance of sport research and knowledge for the advancement of various aspects of sport including the fostering of greater participation rates (2002). In keeping with this sentiment, this research has broadened current research findings on gender equity in sport by examining the relationship between gender equity policies and (in)equitable facility practices.

CHAPTER II: POLICY ANALYSIS

Introduction

Achieving gender equity in the use of sport facilities is a constant challenge that, with or without policy, is difficult to address at all levels of government. Policies are one mechanism for working towards gender equity. In this chapter I have examined the first sub-problem: *How is the provision of gender equitable facility programming addressed in selected municipal allocation policies and in gender equity policies in Ontario?* “Policies are broad guidelines for the achievement of objectives; they naturally have to be developed after the objectives are established” (VanderZwaag, 1998, p. 11). Individuals in an organization or institution must first identify their objectives (gender equity in this case) and then proceed with the development and implementation of a policy to express their commitment to equity (Holman, 2001).

All levels of government in Canada have identified the impact and significance sport can have on society. Acknowledging that sport is a vital part of Canadian society and has benefits for our country and its citizens, governments have made conscious efforts to improve sport in Canada. In keeping with the objectives of enhancing sport and its effects in our country, federal, provincial/ territorial, and municipal governments have made efforts to develop and implement various sport policies to ensure that these objectives are met. In this section, I first provided an overview of federal and national sport policies that have identified the issue of gender equity in Canadian sport, with special attention given to the inclusion (or not) of facilities. Using Chalip’s (1995) framework for policy analysis, I then highlighted how municipal gender equity and ice allocation policies came to be, their rationale(s), and the solutions provided within them. It became evident that solutions are lacking and any focus on facility (re)distribution to enhance equity objectives was minimal.

Review of Related Federal and National Policies

Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport (1986)

During the 1980s the two Sport Canada programs that evolved were the women's sport program and the high performance sport program (Ponic, 1994). A committee was established by a Sport Canada consultant, Sue Vail, to run the women's program, which resulted in the formation of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS). Together, the women's program and CAAWS worked hard to attain a goal of gender equity in the sport system. After a few years of dedicated work, these individuals concluded that in order to continue to receive funding and support, they needed a political framework to validate their work and accomplishments (Ponic), therefore providing a rationale for the development of a policy.

The Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport was developed in 1986 by Sport Canada, whose goal in this policy was to "attain equality for women in sport" (Canadian Heritage, 1986). The policy outlined that equality implies that women should have an equal opportunity to participate in the sports that they desire as a participant, a coach, an official, or an administrator. This policy covered thirteen areas related to women's participation in sport. These areas were: policy and program development, sport stratification, sport infrastructure, leadership development, high performance competition, participation development, resource allocation, liaison, research, education, promotion, advocacy, monitoring and evaluating. This policy was the federal government's way of addressing barriers to female participation, in hopes of alleviating them.

In their critique of this policy, Bell-Altenstad and Vail (1995) agreed that the barriers addressed in the Women in Sport Policy were the major issues involved in preventing women's

full participation in Canadian sport. These issues included systemic injustices, sport infrastructure and resource allocation, all clearly in line with the equitable distribution of facilities in Canada. The policy stated that “efforts will be made to ensure that financial resources are equitably allocated” (Canadian Heritage, 1986, p. 2). The problem with this, as Bell-Altenstad and Vail illustrated, was that this policy did not have the strength to be substantial and effective in our society because there were no resources tied to the policy to ensure changes would occur in sport. As well, defining terms was, and still is, a major concern with the Women in Sport Policy. “Not only are key terms undefined, but the policy avoids challenging existing social structures which perpetuate inequality” (Bell-Altenstad, & Vail, 1995, p. 110). This overview of the policy highlighted that there is not a lot of substance behind the statements made within it. There was nothing in this document that held the federal government accountable for their responsibility regarding upholding these statements. The policy contained “will do” statements in each of the sections, but lacked the details necessary to ensure these statements would actually be dealt with on an ongoing basis to resolve gender equity issues in sport, such as inequitable use of facilities.

Canadian Parks and Recreation Association Gender Equity Policy (1995)

Almost a decade after the development of the Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport, the Canadian Parks and Recreation Association (CPRA) also decided to take action on issues of gender equity. Members of CPRA agreed at their 1993 Annual General Meeting (AGM) to bring a discussion paper forward to the following year’s AGM. This discussion paper focused on access, leadership, commitment level, and consideration of a policy statement on gender equity in parks and recreation. The policy was agreed upon after this meeting by CPRA’s partners and members with the rationale that females should have “the freedom of opportunity to participate,

enjoy, lead active and actively pursue a leisure lifestyle in an environment that is safe, welcoming, and harassment free” (Canadian Parks and Recreation Association, 1995, p. 1). With that vision in mind, the purpose of the policy was for CPRA and its partners across the country to give guidance and motivation to increase and improve the opportunities for females in recreation.

This policy - a brief, two-page document - categorized issues for professionals in the recreation field as a focus for improvement in their own communities. The three key areas addressed were awareness, access, and leadership. Possible solutions were given in each of these three key areas of focus. In terms of awareness, this policy asked community organizations to continue to educate and increase understanding among staff and volunteers on the importance and necessity of equity. With regards to access, this policy identified that a lot of municipal Parks and Recreation programs are lacking services for females, and it provided a potential solution: that support systems be developed so that females are better able to access programs and participate to their fullest. This section on access lacked any solutions for improving equitable distribution of facility use. For females to have better access to programs and participation opportunities, they must have fair access to facility use. Finally, the policy discussed leadership as a way for organizations to ‘break the barriers of discrimination’ by stressing the importance of female role models. This document was a guideline established by this umbrella association for all municipal Parks and Recreation departments to follow. Concluding the policy was this statement: “As proactive professionals, it is our mandate to ensure fair and equitable access. Making the commitment to change and making it happen is our challenge” (CPRA, 1995, p. 2).

Expectations for Fairness in Sport (2001)

The Expectations for Fairness in Sport was a declaration agreed upon by the

provincial/territorial sport ministers on August 10, 2001 in London, Ontario. At this conference, all Canadian Ministers of Sport decided to place new emphasis on strengthening the ethical foundations of sport by enacting this Declaration. Seven fundamental ethical principles were identified in the document, each one expressing a different rationale for sport. One of these mentioned gender: that “Sport Is For Fun: Governments are dedicated to providing the opportunity for all Canadians, whatever their location, their sex or gender or their level of ability or interest to experience the joy of sport and to share in its bounty” (Ontario, 2001, p. 2). The entire document was based on ethical and fair treatment being integral to sport in Canada; however, no definition was provided to clarify what fair and equitable treatment are considered to be. The actual document signed by the Ministers identified twelve areas that help to ensure ethical behaviour in sport. These twelve were: the principle, participants, reciprocity, barriers, spectators, coaches, officials, volunteers, parents, dispute resolution, behaviour, and transparency. Within these sections were one or two sentences describing how ethical behaviour was expected to occur. Gender equity in sport is an area of ethical concern and should have been identified as such in this Declaration, but was not. Once again, the government put forth a policy that made no mention of facility use for females, even though unequal distribution of facility space is grounds for ethical concern in sport.

By signing the Declaration, the Ministers all agreed to urge stakeholders to take the steps required to ensure that the expectations set out within it were met. The Ministers also agreed to make the Declaration widely known and recognizable within their organizations. The solutions in this Declaration were missing entirely. Providing the rationale - the desire to make sport more ethical - was the first step, but the next step would be to provide solutions to ensure that action is taken and that organizations are being held accountable. Finally, the Ministers also agreed to

begin developing and implementing a Canadian Strategy for Ethical Conduct in Sport.

Canadian Strategy for Ethical Conduct in Sport (2002)

The Canadian Strategy for Ethical Conduct in Sport was created after discussions at the Conference of the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Sport, Fitness and Recreation, held in 2001. A work group was created that was co-chaired by representatives from the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport and Sport Canada and included members from provincial and territorial governments, as well as key stakeholders in the sport community. This group helped work towards the Expectations for Fairness in Sport Declaration. The group's efforts also resulted in this Strategy for Ethical Conduct. According to the Ministers, both of these documents were declared appropriate components of the Canadian Sport Policy, which was being completed at this time. "The Canadian Strategy for Ethical Conduct in Sport is the culmination of desires from sport communities and governments alike to devote more attention to the wide array of ethical issues that are reflected in sport" (Canadian Heritage, 2002a, p. 3). The rationale behind the policy stemmed from the Mills Report in 1998, which highlighted the committee's desire to increase awareness about ethical issues in sport (Canadian Heritage, 2002a).

The reason this document was called a 'strategy' is because the objectives within it could only be achieved through the full commitment and cooperation of governments with the sport community (Canadian Heritage, 2002a). Calling it such acknowledged that simply documenting these ideas did not guarantee implementation would occur in municipal and/or provincial/territorial governments and communities. The Strategy identified the various ethical issues it would address, one of which was "inclusion issues" (p. 2). Although a definition was not provided, it would be expected that gender falls under this category.

Included in the document were both a policy framework and an action plan. The framework included numerous components, ways of implementing them, and desired outcomes. The action plan further described the implementation of the Strategy and the initiatives to which the Federal-Provincial/Territorial governments committed. Although this was a very detailed document, its priorities for immediate action did not include the equitable inclusion of females in sport, but rather focused on doping and performance enhancing drugs. This was, therefore, another potentially relevant policy that lacked a clear identification of the need for improvements in not only facility use, but in all aspects of female sport in Canada.

Canadian Sport Policy (2002)

The Canadian Sport Policy was established in 2002, after two years of collaborative effort from fourteen government jurisdictions and sport communities to put this policy together. The goal of the Canadian Sport Policy was to make the sport system more effective and inclusive. “Above all, the Policy seeks to improve the sport experience of all Canadians by helping to ensure the harmonious and effective functioning, and transparency of their sport system” (Canadian Heritage, 2002b, p. 2). This policy was different from many others because it had direction; it set goals and stated that these goals should be met by 2012.

An important aspect of the Canadian Sport Policy was that it identified, in detail, the impact that sport had on society. According to the policy, “sport contributes to social and personal development, health and well-being, culture, education, economic development and prosperity, tourism and entertainment” (Canadian Heritage, 2002b, p. 5). These significant contributions should be made available to everyone equally. When females are discouraged from participation, or are not given the same opportunities, the system is limiting their ability to achieve these benefits from sport. In a section highlighting the ‘realities, trends, and challenges’,

the Policy identified that barriers to access needed to be identified and eliminated so that sport was more accessible to all. The policy makers then acknowledged that females continued to be under-represented in Canada's sport system. This under-representation was, in part, a result of the inequities that women faced on a daily basis, which created their hesitation towards participation.

One of the key principles of the Policy was that sport should be based on equity and access. This section stated that sport should be inclusive to all, regardless of sex and other grounds for discrimination. In keeping with the vision for the Policy, this was one of the principles that the policy makers intended to be incorporated into the sport environment. Seven years later, and only three years from the desired goal, my research has examined the ways that some municipalities in the Canadian sport system – specifically London and Windsor - are addressing female athletes' equitable access to sport facilities.

These five policies have been developed by Canadian governments and partners in the community to enhance the sport environment for all individuals, including women. It is evident through these policies that women's equality in sport has become more visible in the last four decades. Unfortunately, the policies lack solutions for solving gender equity issues in sport, especially in regards to the use of sport and recreation facilities.

Review of Literature

Sport and government are two social institutions that have become closely tied together as policymaking has become increasingly important in modern sport. "The increased salience of sport to governments reflects: first, its strong cultural significance; second, its malleability as a resource to help deliver non-sport government objectives; and third, its multi-dimensional character" (Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland, & Rommetvedt, 2007, p. 3). These authors

acknowledged that the Canadian federal government historically expressed minimal interest in sport, leaving concerns surrounding policy to the provincial and municipal levels of government (Bergsgard et al.). In the 1960s, the federal government involvement in sport increased. With all levels of government having a vested interest in sport and its connections to government, policy became a very important aspect in sport.

Creating change through policy can be very difficult. The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS) believed it can also be frustrating because policy making exists within a traditional framework that has been predominantly developed by male decision makers (CAAWS, 1991). Governments need to break away from the traditional framework to develop strong and legitimate policies that are beneficial to all. “Over the past two decades, policy analysis has developed as a collection of formal methods to enhance policy design and implementation” (Chalip, 1995, p. 1). Laurence Chalip introduced a framework for policy analysis that combined interpretive and critical methods, thus improving the creation and implementation of policy. Often times, unexamined assumptions will direct the focus of the policymaker, potentially leading to the inclusion of unnecessary items in policies (Chalip). It is thus important to analyze policies to identify aspects which are critical components and those that are lacking substance. According to Chalip, “the purpose is to identify points of illogic, to facilitate criticism of the driving assumptions, and to locate significant considerations that have been excluded from policy deliberations” (p. 5).

Chalip’s idea of an interpretive and critical policy analysis consisted of five necessary elements: operative legitimations, focusing events, problem definitions, problem attributions, and decision frames (1995). Operative legitimations provided rationale for the government to become involved in the issue at hand. These “legitimations for government interventions establish the

boundaries for policymaking” (Chalip, p. 5). The creation of policy action required more than just the legitimation, which is where focusing events came into play. These events were distressing to the nation and attracted policymakers’ attention to create a solution. Essentially, focusing events were what initiated the creation of policy. The first two elements combined created the next two: problem definitions and problem attributions. Problem definitions outlined precisely what a policy must do and “attributions are the socially ascribed causes of events” (Chalip, p. 5). In order to resolve the issue at hand, attributions directed policymakers’ attention to areas that required the most effort. When the policy was being created, decision frames were what assigned the concepts and categories that should be used in the policy. In other words, frames established what information should or should not be included in the policy.

The use of these five essential elements allowed for a clear and organized analysis of sport policies. Separating the key information into these categories allowed the analyst to select the most pertinent information to their interests and critique the original framework accordingly. Since the introduction of this method of policy analysis by Chalip, various researchers have successfully used it as a reliable method in sport studies. Misener (2001) used it to “determine the meanings of federal sport policy objectives” (p. 20) in her thesis on federal sport policy for youth elite sport in Canada. She explained that “policies are used to direct, redirect, or constrain social, political, and economic behaviour, thus becoming an important tool of social change” (p. 19). Her analysis focused on the inclusion/exclusion of youth in various policies by critiquing the legitimations and attributions of these policies. She found that over time, youth were a more important factor in policy, but elite youth athletes were not identified as an important group. Golob (2008) used the same method, focusing on Chalip’s legitimations and attributions to analyze numerous federal policies in his research. Golob examined recreation policies for new

immigrants to Canada. He analyzed policies that affected the delivery of community recreation programs in Windsor. Golob (2008) found that these types of policies were created to “reduce the public’s dependency on the government for direct service provision” (p. 177). He claimed that public agencies should ensure equal opportunities by providing recreation services when an individual or a group is at a disadvantage. These analyses demonstrated ways that Chalip’s policy analysis framework can be used to critically analyze and interpret sport policy and its effects on Canadian society.

Directional Proposition

I believed that analyzing policy documents for this research would provide a greater understanding of the current trends in municipal recreation policies. I expected to be able to determine whether gender was a factor in the development of the allotment policies, and whether facility use was a factor in the gender equity policies. I assumed that in both situations, what I was looking for would only be briefly touched upon in each of the documents, if at all, because that was the pattern with the federal and national policies. I was also expecting that the various ice allocation policies would vary in terms of the detail and information contained in the documents. Despite the differences that I anticipated, I did expect the legitimations to lead to corresponding attributions. After the proposal stage of my research I had conducted a preliminary analysis of these documents and found it difficult to find common patterns between the different cities. I believed that after a more thorough analysis, trends would be found, but the differences between the cities’ policies would demonstrate a need for a more unified approach in the province.

Methodology

Document analysis was the method chosen to examine this question. Document analysis is similar to content analysis in that it enabled me to examine the trends and patterns in gender equity policies (Stemler, 2001). Policy analysis has traditionally been based on a positivist approach, focusing on quantitative analysis. More recently, a qualitative approach has been emphasized in policy analysis (deLeon, 1998) and has been the focus of this research.

“Interpretive work seeks to combine [qualitative] data into systems of belief whose manifestations are specific to a case” (Chih Lin, 1998, p. 162). In this research, there are two specific cases and a similar method was used to analyze eight municipal documents and then relate them back to these cases.

A list of eighteen Ontario cities was taken from the government of Ontario’s website and each of these city’s websites was searched for a policy on gender equity in sport. In addition, a map of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) was taken from the Statistics Canada website and it provided 13 municipalities whose websites were also searched. Only two such policies were located, a “Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy for the City of London” and a “Gender Equity in the Allocation of Public Recreational Spaces Policy” for the city of Burlington. In addition, six policies were found concerning the allotment of public ice time in other municipalities: Brampton, Mississauga, Timmins, Burlington, Kingston, and Oshawa.

The process for analyzing these documents was based on Chalip’s (1995) analytic framework for interpretive policy analysis. For each document, I first made note of who created the policies, when the policy took affect, and when possible, the process of creation for the policies. Not all of the policies provided background information concerning the development process. The primary focus of these policy analyses included the rationale (i.e., legitimations)

behind them, the solutions (i.e., attributions) provided, and the major areas of focus in each. Focusing on the legitimations allowed for the goals and rationale of the policy to be outlined, and thus provided the reasons why government felt a policy was necessary. Focusing on the attributions provided the recommendations that the government set forth to try to resolve the issue at hand. By examining the rationale and the solutions, the major areas of focus were evident and demonstrated what these particular municipal governments deemed to be essential in the design of these particular policies.

The policies that were found were downloaded from the official websites of the cities and printed on to a hard copy. I then identified common themes and trends, and examined them based on select features of Chalip's framework. Legitimations and attributions of each policy provided the rationale and solutions for the items included in the policies. My reason for focusing on these two aspects of Chalip's framework and not the others is that these will most effectively bring my attention to the major areas of concern that the policy makers strived to address. I was looking for the role that gender equity played in the ice allocation policies and for the role that space allocation played in the gender equity policies. By examining the legitimations and rationale of these policies, I was able to determine the roles that each had on the other. I then compared each policy's written analysis to the others and looked for similarities and differences. This examination included identifying whether the gender equity policies focused at all on facility distribution, and whether the allotment policies focused at all on gender equity. The following analysis of the eight documents has been separated into two sections, one for the two gender equity policies and another for the six ice allocation policies.

Delimitations and Limitations

I have chosen to use Chalip's framework for policy analysis to analyze gender equity and ice allocation policies in numerous municipalities in Ontario. Although there are other frameworks that could have been used, Chalip's has been chosen because of its benefits for making policy change. "A critical policy analysis probes and appraises dominant conceptions of social problems and resultant social policies" (Chalip, 1996, p. 311). This technique allowed me to gain necessary information and knowledge from the policies to contribute most effectively to my study.

I chose to analyze policy based on a modified version of Chalip's framework rather than using all five elements of his framework. To achieve results for my research questions and this particular sub-problem, a full analysis was not necessary. As a result, my results may not be considered a complete analysis of these particular policies.

My method of looking for Ontario cities through the provincial government's website did not provide me with the results I was expecting. After finding only eighteen major cities and towns in Ontario, I knew that I would need more to complete this research. I chose to delimit my further search to cities in the GTA because this was the largest municipality in the province. By delimiting the search to these cities, the resulting limitation is that there may be other policies that I have not found, or that have not been placed on the city's website, and have therefore not been analyzed. As such, conclusions can not be made stating that the policies I have analyzed are all of the ones that exist in Ontario; there may exist others that could have contributed to the results of this research.

Results & Analysis– Gender Equity Policies

Legitimations - Burlington

Burlington's *Gender Equity in the Allocation of Public Recreational Spaces Policy* was created in April 2007 by the Parks and Recreation Department of the city of Burlington. The City and the Department were "committed to achieving access and equity in its governance, services, and administration" (Burlington, 2007, p. 1). Burlington's policy expressed a desire for recreation to be a safe and welcoming environment, and also identified the benefits associated with being gender equitable. These two key patterns provided a strong rationale for creating a gender equity policy in this city.

According to the City of Burlington's definition, a welcoming environment was one that consider(s) "the safety and security of participants, employ(s) helpful and encouraging staff and volunteers, as well as takes into consideration the unique needs of female and male participants" (Burlington, 2007, p. 7). Burlington's document stated that, "The Department and Users will ensure that all participants are provided safe and welcoming environments regardless of one's gender (2007, p. 7).

The fact that gender equitable services are beneficial both to individuals and to the community as a whole was acknowledged in Burlington's policies. These benefits provided a second rationale for the creation and implementation of this policy.

Burlington's policy indirectly identified the community by referring to "every resident" and stating that they all have the right to access public recreational spaces, that they all have the right to participate to the level of his/her ability, and that citizens will embrace the values of respect, fairness, and trust (Burlington, 2007). These statements stressed positive implications for

individuals and the community as a whole by being inclusive, thus addressing ‘all’ residents of the City of Burlington.

Legitimations – London

London’s *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* was created in November 1996 and was the first of its kind in Canada (Varpalotai & Doherty, 2000). Females Active In Recreation (FAIR) was a local group in London consisting of individuals from a variety of occupations who advocated on behalf of female participation in recreation. FAIR’s initiatives, along with research that found a three-to-one ratio of male to female participants in local sports, were the triggers for the city’s gender equity policy (Varpalotai & Doherty). The City of London stated that it was committed to ensuring a variety of gender equitable recreation opportunities, to working with the community to provide these opportunities, and to allocating the appropriate resources in order to achieve this desired outcome (London, 1996, p. 1). The City had high hopes for the Policy, stating that “The implementation of this Policy will challenge the way in which recreation programs will be offered by the City of London” (p. 7).

Aligning with the rationale for Burlington’s policy, London wanted the recreation environment to be safe and welcoming, and also identified the individual and community benefits associated with being gender equitable. The City of London’s document stated that it was committed to creating a welcoming environment in which males and females are encouraged to participate (London, 1996, p. 2). This Policy also said the City was committed to “ensuring that a full range and variety of gender equitable recreation opportunities are available in all areas of the community and are accessible in safe and welcoming environments for all Londoners” (London, p. 1).

The second rationale for developing a policy of this nature was the notion that it would benefit London's citizens. London had identified these benefits and listed them in their policy document. The individual benefits listed were: improved self esteem and confidence, and development of individual skill building. The community benefits were: positive role model impacts on future generations, reduced teen pregnancy rates, reduced illegal drug use, provision of services to all Londoners, provision of community education, increased volunteer involvement, development of a sense of neighbourhood, dispelled myths and perceptions about female participation, and the enhancement of a positive image for the City of London (London, 1996). It was evident by the number of benefits to the community listed that this was London's focus when creating the policy, acknowledging that enhanced gender equity in sport would aid in making the city a better place for all.

Legitimations Analysis

LEGITIMATIONS	BURLINGTON	LONDON
Safe and welcoming environment	X	X
Community and Individual Benefits	X	X

Table 1: Gender Equity Policies' Legitimations

Although Burlington and London are two of the rare Ontario cities that have gender equity policies, they have provided the same rationale for developing them. Burlington's policy deals specifically with the allocation of recreational space, whereas London's deals with a variety of gender equity elements. The legitimations in both are similar in that the rationale for creating a policy stemmed from historical evidence that providing a more gender equitable recreation program would benefit many aspects of the City and its occupants.

The second legitimization found in both of the policies was that sport was supposed to provide a safe and welcoming environment. Coakley and Donnelly (2004) point out that historically women have not necessarily been directly discouraged from participating in recreational sports, but they have not been given the same kind of encouragement that boys have. Traditional roles in sport are dominated by a male presence that may be seen as unwelcoming and unsafe to women of any age. In this thesis, I later examine gendered spaces that have been physically constructed in some Ontario arenas and how women may not feel safe in these types of environments. Both of these cities acknowledged the need to make sport a more safe and welcoming atmosphere for both genders.

Attributions - Burlington

There were several attributions identified in the City of Burlington's *Gender Equity in the Allocation of Public Recreational Spaces Policy*. The first key solution was that the department would provide space based on trends in demographics. The policy stated, "The Department will take a planned approach to the provision of public recreational spaces based on current trends, demographics and gender-specific participation rates" (Burlington, 2007, p. 3). In order to achieve this, the policy stated that:

The Department will review at a minimum its demographic profile, growth projections, quantify trends and unmet demands as well as identify any inequities with respect to gender in the allocation of public recreational spaces. This information will be shared with Users to assist in their own planning and program development to ensure service gaps continue to be addressed. (p. 4)

Providing this solution committed the city to consistently being aware of the demographics and to being equitable based on actual participation numbers and trends.

Female participation rates in hockey in Canada have been on the rise since the early 1990s (See Appendix C). The drastic growth in numbers demonstrates a demographic of which cities, such as the city of Burlington, should be aware when allocating resources. In the ten year span between 1997 and 2007, female participation rates in Canada increased by 170.25%. Women's hockey is undoubtedly considered a high-growth program. A representative from the City of Burlington informed me that there has not yet been a review of any of these demographic trends (personal communications, June 26, 2009).

A second attribution offered in Burlington's policy is that the "Department and Users will plan, promote, and implement sport and recreational activities which provide choice and encourage the participation of Burlington Residents" (Burlington, 2007, p. 6). This solution went hand in hand with another statement in the policy, which read, "The Department will seek to understand the barriers to participation of both females and males in sport and recreation activities" (p. 5). Understanding the barriers to participation would enable the City to be able to plan their programs by alleviating the barriers and in turn encouraging greater participation rates. "By adopting a Gender Equity Policy, barriers to access and participation in physical activity for both females and males will be decreased and removed" (London, 1996, p. 4).

The Canadian Sport Policy (2002) promoted making sport more equitable for all by identifying and eliminating barriers. The Canadian Sport Policy suggested that these barriers can be social, linguistic, cultural, and economic (Canadian Heritage, 2002b). At a more local level, a study done in 1992 by Smale and Shaw surveyed 941 students from London, Ontario (481 females; 460 males). The results of this study identified more detailed barriers: team sports offered are more traditionally male sports, greater time constraints for females, lack of opportunities available for females, lack of skill development components in programming, and a

lack of money and resources (London, 1996). The City of Burlington had identified that males and females experience barriers in sport and recreation. Acknowledging these constraints and trying to eliminate them should lead to an increase in participation rates by both genders.

In regards to attributions concerning the allocation of public recreational spaces, the Burlington *Gender Equity in the Allocation of Public Recreational Spaces Policy* stated that it would “establish criteria for the allocation of public recreational spaces to users” (Burlington, 2007, p. 5). Also mentioned was that “Using gender as a criterion for allocation of public recreational spaces will reduce a significant barrier to participation” (p. 5). The actual solution provided in the document was to require users to follow specific criteria depending on the availability of public recreational space. Some of these criteria were:

- All groups who are permit holders must adhere to residency requirements as stated in the Allocation Policy;
- Permitted space must be maximized and appropriate for the activity age and gender of participants;
- Allocations will respect growth of new and emerging and high growth programs;
- Equitable distribution of prime and non-prime hours will be respected, based on program need;
- Equitable distribution of facilities and facility types will be honoured;
- A commitment by the Department and Users to take remedial and proactive approaches to address inequities with respect to gender equity. (p. 6)

These criteria provided stakeholders with guidelines that could be used to create a more gender equitable recreation program. However, these guidelines, which might also be referred to as ‘formal rules’, were only an initial step towards the goal of achieving gender equity.

There are a lot of 'will do' statements in Burlington's Gender Equity Policy: "will seek to understand the barriers to participation" (p. 5); "will establish their own procedures and approaches" (p. 6); "will respect growth of new and emerging and high growth programs" (p. 6); and "will plan, promote and implement sport and recreational activities" (p. 6). The policy did not offer substantial processes to carry forward with what they are saying they 'will do'. The lack of concrete solutions made it difficult for the city and its users to ensure gender equity in their sport and recreation programs.

On the final page of the *Gender Equity in the Allocation of Public Recreational Spaces Policy* it explained how the city intended to implement the guidelines offered throughout.

Implementation of this policy will be phased in and completed through the collective efforts of the Department and the Users. Meetings will be held each year with respect to the allocation of public recreational spaces whereby the Gender Equity Policy and implementation strategies/outcomes will become a standing agenda item. The first meeting will seek to capture the plans of the Department and Users in supporting the Gender Equity Policy within the upcoming season and another report on the progress made by end of season. (p. 9)

In a recent conversation with a representative from the Burlington Parks and Recreation Department, there was no meeting in 2008 and there is currently no date set to meet in 2009. This individual acknowledged that this policy has not had the attention that it should and that something needs to be done to get back on track (personal communication, June 26, 2009). This response demonstrated that policy needs to be monitored regularly to ensure implementation.

The three attributions that the City of Burlington provided are: to base its allocation on current trends and demographics; to understand and alleviate any barriers for women's participation; and to establish criteria for allocating space. The criteria were outlined in the policy. Unfortunately the policy failed to provide concrete methods to reach these solutions. Simply offering the solution, but not detailing how to go about achieving it, helps explain why this policy has yet to be implemented.

Attributions – London

The city of London's *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* was a more extensive and detailed policy than that of Burlington. The Policy clearly outlined and described in detail eight attributions. After explaining each solution, the Policy continued with examples of processes and tools to evaluate the accomplishment of each attribution as well as indicators of success. These examples gave the city and its users a solid foundation on which to build an equitable program. The question then became whether or not the solutions provided were followed.

The first attribution stated:

The City of London is committed to work with the community to monitor, evaluate and identify gaps and overlaps in recreation service provision through such activities as community planning, community development, and education processes to ensure gender equity. (p. 13)

The description following this solution suggested that the Community Services Division continue to survey local organizations to address any inequities and imbalances. This Division is also responsible for monitoring the gaps and overlaps as a means to ensure community needs are met. Some of the potential indicators of success outlined were: the development of a process

which monitors and evaluates programs by gender; an analysis of programming on a regular basis to identify barriers and gaps; training staff to be able to identify these gaps and barriers; and the development of a needs assessment process to identify program needs (London, 1996).

The second attribution from London's *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* stated:

The City of London is committed to work with the community to provide a range of accessible recreation program opportunities for females and males including single sex and co-educational, team and individual opportunities as well as casual through to competitive levels in all neighbourhoods across the City. (p. 14)

This solution was based on research by Smale and Shaw, which identified that females do not participate in as many sports as males and are not involved in sport as often as males. The City suggested that a needs based program design be implemented so that it could provide what people needed and were looking for. Some of the potential indicators for success were: to keep track of the statistics, and to provide public recognition for fair and equitable community organizations (London, 1996).

The third attribution stated, "The City of London is committed to work with the community to continue to educate and make the public aware regarding the benefits of positive leisure lifestyle patterns for females and males" (London, 1996, p. 16). As previously mentioned in the legitimations section, providing a gender equitable program benefited the development of not only individuals, but also the community as a whole. The Policy suggested educating the community about these benefits by providing information about "the nature of gender equity within recreation services planning, community development and education" (p. 17). Some of the indicators of success were: an increase in the number of participants; numbers of

presentations provided in the community; and making educational tools available (London, 1996).

The fourth attribution provided stated:

The City of London is committed to work with the community to create a welcoming environment in which females and males are encouraged to be participants, coaches, officials, managers, and leaders in physical activities recognizing they will be positive role models for the future. (London, 1996, p. 17)

As already indicated, creating a welcoming environment plays a very important role in creating a gender equitable recreation program. Removing any forms of sexism or harassment was suggested in keeping with this solution. Another suggestion stemmed from the fact that there were few females in leadership and role model positions in sport and recreation. This was connected to the low participation rates in the activities as well. The Recreation and Community Services Division was responsible for hiring and thus should take these facts into consideration. Some of the indicators of success were: females report being welcomed into programs and facilities; statistics show increased numbers in various positions; and females fill roles where they were previously under-represented (London, 1996, p. 18).

The City of London identified the fifth attribution as: “The City of London is committed to ensuring the gender equitable and appropriate marketing of recreation opportunities that are available to Londoners” (London, 1996, p. 19). Promotional materials should equally represent both genders so as not to depict an activity as either specifically for males or specifically for females. This Policy was recommending further assessment of the current materials used for promotion to determine if a different marketing approach needed to be implemented. Some of the indicators of success coinciding with this solution were: to train marketing staff on gender

representation; no stereotypical images used; all images are respectful and reflect the total population; and the development of guidelines and requirements that need to be met for all materials (London).

The sixth attribution listed in the Policy stated that:

The City of London is committed to considering gender equity and safety issues with new facility/park development and existing facility/park operations, including involving a sample of consumers to gain insight into design and operational considerations for females and males. (London, 1996, p. 20)

Again, the importance of being a welcoming environment played a role here. Females have identified feeling unsafe when going to or leaving from the facility where they are participating as a barrier to participation. This solution implied that the designers of the facilities needed to acknowledge these safety considerations. In order to achieve this, the user groups should be included to provide their opinions on the design process. It was recommended that site lines, lighting, and emergency phones be considered. Some of the indicators of success listed were: new facilities should be located and designed in safe and accessible areas; continue to have consumer input; and include knowledgeable females in the planning process (London).

The seventh attribution read: “The City of London is committed to ensuring that gender equity is a criterion in the allocation of City recreation facilities, and ensuring the City supports and uses community facilities that are gender equitable” (London, 1996, p. 20). This solution aligned most significantly with my research question. A barrier to women’s participation in sport is the lack of available facilities, as well as the lack of provision of suitable times. The recommendations included in this Policy were that facilities of equal quality should be assigned to both genders for similar male and female programs. Also, the allocation of prime hours should

be distributed fairly. Some of the indicators of success for this attribution were: ongoing record keeping and statistics to indicate the amount of ice given, the time of day the ice was given, age groups, gender, and type of activity; records showing equal and fair allocation practices; and “facility use records indicate similar levels of programs for both genders” (London, p. 21).

The eighth and final attribution offered in London’s *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* stated that “The City of London is committed to ensuring that gender equity is a criterion when awarding travel grants to sport organizations” (London, 1996, p. 22). Often times these are awarded because of the status of the sport. The Policy identified that women have had less opportunities to achieve this status and therefore less opportunities to receive these grants. The indicators of success here were: that gender equity is a criterion when awarding these grants; and that the levels of funding are equitable (London).

To implement these attributions, the City of London assigned six different departments with roles and responsibilities to ensure the most effective method of achieving gender equity. These Departments were: The Community Services Department, The Human Resources Department, The City Administrator’s Office, The Environmental Services Department, The Planning and Development Department, and the City Clerk’s Office. Each of these group’s roles and responsibilities were specifically outlined in the Policy. Attached in the appendix section of the Policy was an excerpt from a Gender Equity Audit Workbook provided by FAIR in 1996. This workbook was available for organizations to use after collecting information related to programming, registration and participant statistics after one full season. The workbook could be completed annually to evaluate the extent to which they are gender equitable in their programming. The City of London designed this policy with careful thought and consideration. The inclusion of the indicators of success after each attribution provided a straightforward

method for monitoring the implementation. With the cooperation of other Departments and the success indicators, the City had the ability to provide a more gender equitable sport and recreation program.

Attributions Analysis

As I expected, the attributions in the two policies were approached and detailed in very different ways. Burlington's policy provided a lot of "will do" statements but lacked substantial solutions that were ready to be implemented and evaluated. London's policy, on the other hand, provided great detail and assigned particular departments to carry out the recommendations. In speaking with a representative from the City, I found that Burlington has not put effort forth to successfully implement their policy. Burlington's policy was not designed to be easily implemented. The list of criteria from Burlington's policy (see page 20) provided statements of what the Department 'will do'. The Policy did not continue with any information on how to implement these guidelines and carry forward with a strategy. Burlington's policy could have provided a more detailed solution by expressing how to go about ensuring that the guidelines they provided were followed. Instead, after listing the criteria for users to follow when allocating recreational space, the policy read, "The Department and Users will establish their own procedures and approaches which align with the Gender Equity Policy and demonstrate a commitment to its principles and requirements" (Burlington, 2007, p. 6). These procedures and approaches should have been outlined in the document to eliminate the guesswork for the User groups and to ensure that a gender equitable program could be developed by all Users, regardless of the sport.

The creation of a policy does not automatically lead to the implementation of it. As Holman (2001) acknowledges, after the development of a policy, organizations must follow

through with implementation as a way to express their commitment to achieving a gender equitable outcome.

The lack of solutions offered in Burlington's policy provided a predicament and was potentially the cause for not having been implemented. On the other hand, London's policy set up the ideal situation for it to be employed. The detailed attributions and steps given to aid in the implementation and evaluation should have been valid enough to enact the policy.

Analysis - Gender Equity Policies

The legitimations and attributions for both Burlington's and London's Gender Equity Policies have been outlined in Table 2. By looking at this table, it is evident that London has a more detailed policy than Burlington does. I expected to find that the legitimations provided in the two policies would lead to corresponding attributions. The legitimations provided the rationale for developing the policy. In essence, the rationale identified the issue that warrants a policy being created. In turn, I expected that solutions would be offered to correspond with the issues identified. London has used two of the items in Table 2 as both a legitimation and an attribution. Other than that similarity I did not find a lot of continuity between the rationale and solutions.

LEGITIMATIONS (L) AND ATTRIBUTIONS (A)	BURLINGTON	LONDON
Monitor, evaluate and identify gaps and overlaps in recreation service		(A)
Provide a range of accessible recreation programs for females and males		(A)
Educate public about benefits of leisure for males and females	(L)	(L, A)

Create a welcoming environment for males and females	(L)	(L, A)
Gender equitable marketing of recreation opportunities		(A)
Consider gender equity and safety issues with new and existing facilities		(A)
Ensure gender equity is a criterion when allocating facilities	(A)	(A)
Ensure gender equity is a criterion when awarding travel grants		(A)
Base allocation on current trends and demographics	(A)	
Understand and alleviate barriers to women's participation	(A)	

Table 2: Gender Equity Policies' Legitimizations and Attributions

It is apparent that there are many similarities in these two documents to the federal and national sport policies that were reviewed earlier. Similar to the Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport, Burlington's policy did not have the strength to be substantial and effective in our society because concrete solutions were not provided. Sport Canada's Policy did identify barriers that women face in their sport endeavours, and Burlington's Policy was similar to it once again in that one of its solutions was to try to understand and alleviate such barriers.

Another similarity was found in the Canadian Parks and Recreation Association Gender Equity Policy. This Policy stressed the importance of educating and increasing an understanding of the importance and necessity of equity to a community's staff and volunteers. London has delegated certain departments to monitor, evaluate, and identify gaps in its recreation services.

Holding the staff in the Parks and Recreation Departments more accountable to providing gender equitable services might have a trickle down effect to the sports organizations as well.

The most evident trend that was found in these municipal gender equity policies and also in the federal and national sport policies was the minimal mention of legitimations and attributions concerning facility use. The items concerning facilities were bolded in Table 2. London's Policy stated that the City should consider gender equity when creating new facilities, and when operating existing facilities. Both London and Burlington stated that they would use gender equity as a criterion when allocating facility use. Although both Policies did address this issue, once again, enough detail had to be provided to enable easy implementation. A further problem arises when the Cities create the Policy but then choose not to carry it out. This is the case in both London and Burlington; the policy exists, but is not being implemented.

Results & Analysis– Ice Allocation Policies

In my search for ice allocation documents, six Ontario City policies were located: Oshawa, Mississauga, Timmins, Burlington, Brampton, and Kingston. Oshawa's Policy was created in 2005 when the City's ice capacities were expanded. The City felt it was necessary "to more clearly define and communicate how ice will be managed, allocated and distributed" (Oshawa, 2005, p. 1). Mississauga's policy became effective in 1996 with the purpose of maximizing revenues while still meeting the needs of the City's residents (Mississauga, 1996). In 1992, a Timmins Ice Review Committee presented their final *Ice Time Allotment Policy* to City Council. This Policy was necessary because after the amalgamation of Timmins and smaller townships surrounding it, the administration of the arenas was informal and had no explicit or written policy. The Department of Parks and Recreation thus needed something more formal for an expanded community to help guide their programming (Timmins, 1992).

Burlington's Policy was created in 1999 after a new twin pad arena was designed. Part of the recommendation for this new arena was that "an Ice Allocation Policy be developed in consultation with the major ice users and brought forward to Committee and Council for approval" (Burlington, 1999, p. 1). Brampton's Policy, implemented in 2007, provided no background information on its development (Brampton, 2007). Finally, Kingston's Policy, which was recently implemented in 2008, came about as a result of Council's commitment to capital and operational investments in arenas (Kingston, 2008). A new four-pad facility was being built and it became "necessary to more clearly define and communicate how ice will be managed, allocated, and distributed" (Kingston, p. 2).

These six policies varied in terms of detail and content. The Oshawa, Timmins, and Kingston policies were the most detailed and specific in their policy statements. The three of them began with a background on why and how the Policy was implemented and then moved forward with the specifics of the Policy. The other three cities - Burlington, Brampton, and Mississauga - were less detailed and directed immediate attention to the amount of ice time their user groups received. There was little information provided concerning the process or the reasoning behind the Policy or its statements.

Legitimations

After documenting all of the legitimations found in the six policies, I focused my attention on the few that appeared in the majority of the documents. The two main rationales for these ice allocation policies were the overall benefit to the community and the desire to be more fair and equitable. Similar to the gender equity policies, the majority of the cities expressed a desire to implement these policies as a means to create more benefits to the community. Four out of the six cities stated that this was one of their goals of the policy. Kingston and Oshawa

documents stated that “The City’s goal is to promote and encourage participation in ice sports to the overall benefit of the community” (Kingston, 2008, p. 2; Oshawa, 2005, p. 1). It was evident that Kingston used Oshawa’s Policy as a guideline when creating their policy. This process should be encouraged for cities looking to create a new policy, since they could use ones that are currently successfully being implemented. Burlington’s Policy identified that because they distributed their ice on a historical basis and there was an increased demand for ice, it was “becoming increasingly difficult to allocate this limited resource to meet the needs of the entire community without an accepted policy and criteria” (Burlington, 1999, p. 1). Burlington acknowledged the needs of its residents and admitted that its current process was not producing maximum benefits for the entire community. Mississauga’s Policy was implemented with the purpose of meeting the needs of the residents of the City, while at the same time maximizing revenue. Although the needs of the community were acknowledged, it is difficult to determine how much importance the City placed on satisfying the community needs versus maximizing revenues. These two statements, if separated, would demonstrate a clear concern for the needs of the residents.

The second common legitimization found throughout the majority of the documents was being fair and equitable. Oshawa, Burlington, Kingston, and Timmins were the four cities who identified this as a rationale for creating a policy. Oshawa developed the policy “to address...the distribution of ice in a fair and equitable manner...” (Oshawa, 2005, p. 1). Part of Burlington’s rationale was “to establish guidelines for the allocation of ice time in City of Burlington arenas to ensure fair and equitable distribution of ice” (Burlington, 1999, p. 1). Similarly, Kingston’s Policy stated “...its commitment to the management of...fair and equitable ice allocation” (2008, p. 2). Lastly, Timmins’ Policy was created to address accessibility and equity (1992). In the

background rationale, the review committee acknowledged that the amalgamation and the lack of a policy lead to inequitable facility use between communities. The legitimization of this Policy was identified in the document: “Every Timmins resident regardless of age, gender, race, income and ability, has a right to reasonable and equitable access to city owned arenas. The Parks and Recreation Department has a responsibility to inform the public and all potential users of this right” (Timmins, p. 5). Timmins’ Policy was the only one of the six that mentioned gender as a function of being equitable. Although it was listed among other social determinants and was not a specific gender equity statement, it is important to note it since it was the only mention related to gender equity throughout all six policies.

LEGITIMATIONS	Brampton	Burlington	Kingston	Mississauga	Oshawa	Timmins
Overall benefit to the community		X	X	X	X	
Desire to be more fair and equitable		X	X		X	X

Table 3: Ice Allocation Policies’ Legitimizations

Evident in this table is the fact that Brampton provided no legitimizations for its policy development. Brampton’s policy provided no background information, but rather began its policy with the methods of distribution.

Attributions

The attributions from the six Policies provided solutions regarding how to distribute the ice. There are three solutions referenced most in these documents. One of the solutions was that ice is distributed based on priority levels. This meant that the user groups are identified and listed in priority order, and receive their ice accordingly. The second solution was the use of a historical approach. This meant that the ice is distributed to groups based on what blocks of ice

they had in the past. Finally, ice was to be identified as either prime or non-prime times and distributions would be based around these set times.

Four of the six cities distributed their ice based on priority levels. These cities were: Oshawa, Mississauga, Brampton, and Kingston. None of these four explained how or why the groups were listed in the particular order that they were. The only slight mention regarding this order occurred in Brampton's and Kingston's Policies. Brampton's Policy explained that "The mandate of the Brampton Parks and Recreation Department is to provide the widest range of recreational opportunities to the widest cross-section of Brampton residents possible" (Brampton, 2007, p. 5). For this reason, the programs within the Parks and Recreation Program received the highest priority in the listing. Other than that description, the remainder of the priority groups (in order: affiliated youth groups, adult hockey leagues, Board of Education school teams, affiliated youth groups' coaches, non-affiliated/not-for-profit community groups, commercial businesses, non-city groups) are unexplained. Similarly, Kingston's Policy explained why their top priority level is there, but otherwise left the rest for the reader to assume. The Policy explained that ice distribution must reflect a Multiplex guideline, which was supported by Council, of a minimum of 70% of ice in the winter going to youth (Kingston, 2008). Therefore youth and recreational programs were the top priority.

In all four of the Policies using priority levels as an attribution, minor hockey was listed as one of these user groups. In the Mississauga Policy a list of minor hockey affiliates was provided and the female organization was listed among them. I was looking for anything that demonstrated that the female organizations were being considered under any particular category. In Brampton's Policy, they listed each of the user groups and provided the amount of ice they were to receive. I compared the top women's team with its male counterpart and found that the

females were getting half an hour less per week for games and were only getting one hour of practice ice per month versus the males getting one hour per week. The fact that the City of Brampton was more willing than the other cities to actually state exactly how much ice its user groups were to receive suggested a general lack of concern over achieving a gender equitable program, because inequitable allocation of ice was evident.

The attribution of distributing ice based on a historical approach was used in five of the six cities. The only city that did not use this historical approach was Timmins. Its Policy stated that, “The practice of historical allocation of ice time, to the same organization, from year to year has been seen to not practice the principles of fairness and equity” (Timmins, 1992, p. 9). The other five cities used this approach to a certain extent. In other words, they all acknowledged that they used the historical approach, but that it could be modified if needed. For example, Oshawa’s and Kingston’s Policies read, “The City reserves the right to change the ice allocated to grandfathered clients only when facility closures or restrictions must be applied...” (p. 3; p. 5). Burlington attempted to be more equitable in their statement concerning the historical approach:

Prior to the beginning of the winter ice season, groups will begin the process of allocating ice with the same package each group had in previous years. This is not to say that past users will automatically receive the same ice every year as community need, scheduling considerations such as blocking of ice, decrease in program registrations and operational needs of the facility must also be taken into account. (Burlington, 1999, p. 2)

Although circumstances may lead to changes in the allocation, this process (outlined in the statement above) still relied primarily on a historical allocation.

The final common attribution found in the six policies was the definition and use of prime versus non-prime hours. Prime hours were the ones most desired by user groups. All of the Policies referred to certain blocks of ice time as prime or non-prime. Brampton is the only city that did not give a definition of it in the Policy, but they did, however, use it in the Policy statements. Oshawa said that youth user groups would receive an equitable amount of prime versus non-prime hours. It was also the only city that referred to gender in regards to the distribution of prime and non-prime hours, “An affiliated user, regardless of gender orientation and level of competitiveness and total hours of entitlement shall not receive relatively more or less prime time ice access than a similar client” (Oshawa, 2005, p. 6). Its prime time ice was considered to be 4:30-10:45pm on weekdays and all hours on Saturdays and Sundays. Kingston’s Policy was identical in its description of how it would distribute the prime and non-prime time ice. Its hours were defined as: 4:30pm-close on weekdays, and 8:00am-12:00am on Saturdays and Sundays. The only difference with Kingston’s in comparison to Oshawa’s was that it stated that a guideline when distributing ice to seasonal and partner groups would be an ice distribution ratio of 50% weekday ice and 50% weekend ice.

Mississauga’s Policy stated that prime time was 4:00pm – 12:00 am on weekdays, 8:00am-9:00pm on Saturdays, and 8:00am-11:00pm on Sundays. It did not, however, mention how the prime time ice was distributed. Burlington’s Policy was similar in that it did not describe the use of prime time hours but it did list what they are. Youth hours were from 6:00am-10:30pm every day, and adult hours were 6:00pm-12:00am on weekdays and 8:00am-12:00am on Saturdays and Sundays. It was not clear why this Policy included day time hours during the week when youth are at school; this is definitely not a prime time for that user group. Timmins’ Policy was the opposite; it did not define what prime time ice was but did state that primary user groups

would receive a proportionate mix of prime and non-prime hours during the week and on weekends (Timmins, 1992).

ATTRIBUTIONS	Brampton	Burlington	Kingston	Mississauga	Oshawa	Timmins
Priority levels	X		X	X	X	
Historical	X	X	X	X	X	
Prime/Non-Prime	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 4: Ice Allocation Policies' Attributions

Analysis - Ice Allocation Policies

This section has dealt with the attributions found in the ice allocation policies. The policies that did not specifically mention the female affiliate organization within the user groups list were at risk of potential complaints from users because if they had a concern and addressed the policy, they could claim discrimination because they were not included in it. In order to alleviate this risk, policies should include a list of all affiliate organizations.

The largest concern stemming from this analysis dealt with the use of the historical approach and the increase of female participation rates. With the ever-growing participation rates in women's hockey, it is hard to believe that municipalities are still using a historical approach for distributing ice time. Distributing ice based on previous years will not take the increase in female participation into account, therefore ensuring it remains an inequitable practice. Based on this analysis, Timmins has the only policy that is gender equitable. The other municipalities protected themselves by stating that the approach was used to a certain extent, and that modifications could be made if needed. Having that statement written in the policy allowed the cities to base their ice allocation approach on the historical method but then modify it if a female organization pleaded their case and successfully demonstrated a need for more and different ice

time. Instead of removing the inequitable practice of distributing ice historically, they included a statement about modifications, and that made it easier for them by putting the onus for change on the disadvantaged female organization. Kingston demonstrated that when implementing a new Policy, you could simply follow the guidelines from another one. Perhaps municipalities in Ontario should follow Timmins' Policy and remove the historical approach to distributing ice time.

Although municipalities had differing views on the actual hours that are considered prime time, it was still vital to include these in an ice allocation policy. Kingston and Oshawa were the most comprehensive policies because they included both a definition of what the prime time hours were and a description of how user groups would receive the hours. The other municipalities' policies were lacking in that they only mentioned one aspect of those two key components. To state what prime time hours are, but then to not provide the solution concerning how those hours will be distributed, leaves user groups and the Department distributing the ice without clear guidelines. To do the opposite, stating that prime time ice will be equitably distributed, but then not stating what prime time hours are, will have the same effect. This type of Policy needs to include both the designated hours of prime time and also how the city will distribute these hours to its user groups to eliminate the guesswork and provide more concrete solutions.

Gender equity is not mentioned specifically in any of the legitimations or attributions in these allocation policies. It can be assumed that the rationale to be more fair and equitable would include gender, but it is not stated that way. As I mentioned in the results, the only time gender is mentioned in these policies is when the female organization is mentioned in a list with the other

organizations. More attention needs to be devoted to not only the allocation of ice, but to gender equitable allocation of ice.

Overall Analysis

After careful analysis of both the gender equity policies and the ice allocation policies, it was important to see how the two connected. The gender equity policies did briefly mention facility allocation, but the allocation policies failed to address gender equity in a substantial way. In order to achieve a truly equitable program, these two need to be more synchronized. The gender equity policies identified a need to more equitably allocate facility use, but then the facility allocation policies failed to acknowledge females as a specific user group. Because women's hockey is rapidly and steadily growing (Hockey Canada, 2008), there should be a greater concern to address this trend in the allocation policies. Unfortunately the lack of significant solutions in the majority of the municipal ice allocation policies makes it difficult to address gender inequitable practices. As mentioned throughout the analyses, more concrete attributions are required to eliminate the guesswork for the Departments distributing the ice as well as the user groups who are entitled to know what they are supposed to be given.

After analyzing both the gender equity and the ice allocation policies, I have determined that municipalities are in need of a Gender Equity Ice Allocation Policy that would consist of aspects from both types of policies. Items to be included in such a policy would include:

- Priority listings to determine which groups of users have priority over the ice. This is important to keep so that youth organizations remain the top priority. Under this listing should be the names of all the organizations ranked in no particular order and including the female organization(s) in the city.

- A formula should be devised to ensure that a particular amount of ice is distributed to organizations based on their registration numbers. This section should include the term ‘regardless of gender’.
- A definition of what prime time ice and non-prime time ice should be included in the document, followed by how this ice is intended to be used. This should be included in the formula to ensure that organizations at each priority level receive an equitable amount of both prime and non-prime hours.
- Any historical approaches to distributing ice should not be included.
- Youth organizations, regardless of gender, should only be allocated ice at facilities that have five or more dressing rooms. The reason for needing more than four rooms in a facility is because often times in minor hockey there are females playing on male teams. In these instances, two dressing rooms have people in it who are on the ice playing, and the other two are for the teams getting ready to go on next. Not having a fifth room results in the females having nowhere to get ready.
- These solutions should provide extensive explanations detailing how to achieve the desired outcome. Similar to London’s Gender Equity Policy, recommended steps to achieve these items should be provided so that implementation could easily occur.

In conclusion, the provision of gender equitable facility programming is scarcely evident in the analyzed policies. The lack of consistency between all of the documents is one reason why solutions are hard to find. An ice allocation policy could be similar across different municipalities, but as we saw in this analysis, that is not the case. Policymakers in the cities should do the research to find out which cities have policies that are being implemented and are having a positive effect on their recreation administration and programming and then should

follow the guidelines from that document. This would ensure that cities all over Ontario had similar priorities. I have outlined key elements that should be included in a gender equitable ice allocation policy; municipalities should also examine existing policies to develop an effective means of programming arena facilities equitably.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I examined the first sub-problem of my research question: *How is the provision of gender equitable facility programming addressed in selected municipal allocation policies and in gender equity policies in Ontario?* The chapter began with an overview of selected federal and national sport policies that have addressed gender equity in sport. These policies were: Sport Canada Policy on Women in Sport, Canadian Parks and Recreation Association Gender Equity Policy, Expectations for Fairness in Sport, Canadian Strategy for Ethical Conduct in Sport, and the Canadian Sport Policy. The purpose of this overview was to demonstrate the increased attention that governments have given to gender equity in sport and recreation. These policies identified that gender equity in sport is a growing concern and that policies are being developed to educate and also help alleviate any inequities that exist and that they only briefly address facilities in their guidelines.

Following this overview of policies, I included a brief review of literature detailing the process of policy analysis and explaining Chalip's framework, which was the basis for my own analysis. The next section provided my directional proposition, which outlined what I anticipated finding after carrying out these policy analyses. The alterations I made to Chalip's framework were explained in more detail in the methodology section of this chapter. With respect to his framework, I focused specifically on the legitimations and the attributions to determine the extent to which gender equitable facility programming is addressed in municipal policies. After

the methodology section, I outlined the delimitations I placed on this sub-problem and the resulting limitations that arose in connection to them.

The final section was the results and analysis, which was separated by sub-headings. I first discussed the gender equity policies, and then followed with the ice allocation policies. Both of these categories were separated by legitimations, attributions, and analyses. I made final conclusions based on the combination of each of these categories. What I found is that the two gender equity policies had minimal mention of facility use and the ice allocation policies did not mention gender at all as a means to distribute ice. Essentially, the gender equity policies identified the need to allocate facilities more equitably between males and females, but in turn, the ice allocation policies failed to acknowledge females as a specific user group. At the national and federal levels there had been a push towards more gender equitable recreation practices. This was evident through the review of policies that I provided. The municipalities are lacking in this regard as is evident by the few policies that I was able to locate. I concluded that the likely reason for municipalities not devoting more attention to policy development is the lack of implementation at the federal and national level. For example, the most prominent gender equity policy at this level is the Women in Sport Policy and I have demonstrated that it has not been successfully implemented.

Just as the Women in Sport Policy had not been implemented, neither are the gender equity policies in Burlington and London. These two policies are very different in terms of detail for the solutions provided. In Burlington, the lack of detailed solutions made implementation next to impossible to achieve. This is because effort, time, and money would have to be put into creating steps towards implementation. In London, the lack of implementation was a result of failing to monitor and evaluate and demonstrated a lack of commitment from the City. Neither

city has held anyone or any department accountable for ensuring that implementation occurred after the development of the policies.

I would recommend a more formal and unified gender equity policy from the provincial government, which all municipalities could use. This would address the inconsistencies between documents and ensure that all cities in the province have additional resources to be more gender equitable in their recreation services. In terms of the ice allocation policies, I have recommended the creation of a gender equitable ice allocation policy that also can be used in all municipalities in the province. The only differences would occur in the formula for distributing ice because of the different populations and demographics of each city. For example, a city with a smaller population may only have one facility to allocate ice to, but a city with a larger population may have multiple facilities.

The next chapter deals with how public arenas are actually programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario. Results from this policy analysis will be incorporated into that section to explore the ways that London's *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* is being used in the actual programming of their arenas.

CHAPTER III: ADMINISTRATION OF ICE HOCKEY SERVICES

Introduction

In this chapter I focused on the administrative practices of ice hockey services. The contents within have assisted me in answering the second sub-problem: *How are public ice arenas programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario?* After a review of existing literature, I have outlined the methodology used to help achieve my findings for this section. The methods used included semi-structured interviews and document analysis. I have provided the results in two sections. The first section includes the results from the interview questions regarding ice allocation, while the second section provides the results from the interview questions regarding the use of policy. The results from the document analysis of the ice schedules are dispersed throughout. Analysis of these sections is provided following each section.

Review of Literature

Sport in Canada has been described as having numerous benefits for all citizens (Canadian Heritage, 2002b). Unfortunately, sport is a traditionally male dominated institution that discriminates against women (Coakley & Donnelly, 2004; Robinson, 2002). Granted, efforts have been made to end discrimination in sport, but to this day there is still considerable work that needs to be done to ensure that females are receiving fair and equitable treatment in all aspects of sport and recreation.

Holman (2001) defines discrimination as, “Any failure to treat all persons equally, where no reasonable distinction can be made between those favoured and those not favoured” (p. 254). There are certainly legal entities that insist on gender equity, which partially explains why sport organizations and governing bodies are now including policies as part of their organizational structure. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms states in section 15(1):

Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability (Canada, 1982).

At a provincial level, the various legislations are all similar, stating that it is a discriminatory practice “To deny, or deny access to any goods, service, facility, or accommodation to any individual; or to differentiate adversely in relation to any individual, on a prohibited ground of discrimination” (Corbett, Findlay, & Lech, 2008, p. 96). However, just because a law is in place does not mean that everyone will abide by it. When analyzing the implementation of Title IX in the United States, Lisa Keegan (2005) argued that by simply passing a law, you are not guaranteeing that all attitudes and behaviours will change. This is why policies need to not only be created, but also implemented and evaluated.

Despite paying the same amount of money to participate in recreation programs as women in many instances, male athletes have historically had more and better facilities available to them. Males have also been given more ‘prime times’ (Pell, 1988). This idea reinforces the notion that men are superior and matter more than women in sport. This can be very damaging to a female’s sense of self-worth, and may lead to her exclusion from participation (Robinson, 2000). “The societal attitude...tends to berate the athletic accomplishments of women and has provided much of the ‘rationale’ for continuing flagrant discrimination against women in sport” (Geadelmann, Grant, Slatton, & Burke, 1977, p. 3). Regardless of women’s accomplishments at any level of sport, men are often held in higher regard and their rewards magnify the inequity.

The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity (CAAWS) in cooperation with Canadian Heritage developed a handbook guide for

creating gender equity for women in sport. This handbook helps sport organizations to acknowledge that embracing the idea of gender equity within sport must influence the way they approach the allocation of resources and facilities. The goal of the handbook is to “ensure equitable allocation of resources for girls and women in physical activity and sport” (Larkin & Baxter, 1993, p. 15). This handbook was created to help organizations understand that sport is one of the most important and vital areas of Canada’s cultural and social life. It is also acknowledged in this handbook that it is still mostly males who comprise the greatest number of players, coaches, officials, and administrators, which means that women are missing out on the personal, social, and economic benefits of being involved in sport and physical activity (Larkin & Baxter, 1993).

In 1995 Susan Vail and Phyllis Berck created a handbook for Ontario’s sport leaders with three goals in mind:

- 1) To help Ontario sport leaders gain a better understanding of full and fair access for girls and women in sport.
- 2) To encourage the development and implementation of policies and programmes that ensure equal access and participation for girls and women in the Ontario sport system.
- 3) To give examples of best practices that might assist in achieving the above statements. (p. 1)

The handbook was directly aimed at governing bodies within Ontario, to address and improve the issue of full and fair access for women in sport. The handbook is a very detailed document that advocates that females “have opportunities to participate, to ensure that these opportunities are comparable to those offered to boys and men and to ensure that these opportunities are made available to girls and women in ways that recognize their specific lifestyle needs” (Vail & Berck,

1995, p. 3). Although the handbook is a big step towards increasing equity in Ontario sports, there are no guarantees or evidence that sport leaders in Ontario are using this handbook as a guide for allocating facility use.

Hockey is a sport that has a long history of discriminating against women (Robinson, 2002). “The biggest barrier that keeps women and girls out of hockey comes from hockey itself. Hockey associations are all about serving the needs of men and boys and often see women, and their demands for ice-time and recognition, as competing interests” (Robinson, 1997, p. 123). Even at the national level women have experienced inequalities in facility use. Laura Robinson (1997) describes where the accommodations during training camp for the 1997 Women’s World Championship team occurred. She explains that it was located at an abandoned army base in Montreal, with athletes staying two to a room in military dorms. The men’s 1996 World Cup team, however, stayed in a hotel at one of Canada’s most prominent locations, Whistler Mountain in British Columbia. It is differences like this that reinforce the notion that men are superior to women in hockey and deserve better treatment.

Looking specifically at the sport of ice hockey in the city of Toronto, Megan Williams (1995) wrote an article explaining the process involved in trying to convince the government to begin allocating the city’s ice time more equitably. She highlights the content of a meeting where the Toronto Parks and Recreation Department recommended that ice rink management boards increase access for female hockey participants. Having the municipal government take action on this matter was rare, but potentially very beneficial to female hockey players. A major concern of Williams, however, is that there were no repercussions created for those who failed to comply with the new action put in place (Williams). She also stated that “Women and girls are continuing to be dealt fewer resources and programs, inferior facilities for competitions, and

events scheduled at unsuitable times” (Williams, p. 79). Without policies being developed, implemented and evaluated, there is no guarantee that the use of facilities will ever be distributed equitably between genders.

Directional Proposition

My decision to examine London and Windsor was based on the fact that London has a gender equity policy in place and Windsor does not. I expected that I would be able to compare and contrast the two municipalities’ current systems for distributing ice time, which would allow me to draw conclusions surrounding the importance (or lack thereof) of gender equity policies for recreational facility use. I expected that the analyses conducted for my first sub-problem would contribute to determining whether London’s current policy was sufficient, and if not, I would be capable of making recommendations on how to better their situation to become more gender equitable. I would also be able to determine whether the city of Windsor should implement a policy or whether they are already efficiently managing their arenas in an equitable manner. By analyzing the existing policies, and intertwining those findings with the responses from the interviews, my knowledge would allow me to identify which aspects of each type of policy are making effective differences and which areas are not being utilized. Even though London already has a policy in place, this information might benefit both cities for future policy changes and considerations. It was my belief that because London has a gender equity policy, their allocation would be more equitable than Windsor’s allocation of ice time.

Furthermore, I chose to focus more carefully on the WFCU Centre in Windsor as a result of the existing research regarding masculine hegemony. This arena is home to the Windsor Spitfires of the OHL. In keeping with my previously stated assumption that men matter more in sports, I believed that patriarchal underpinnings would be even more prevalent in an arena that

houses a junior hockey team. Junior hockey is driven by masculine ideals and I expected that this would be evident in the way this arena is structured and programmed for ice allocation.

Specifically, I anticipated that the representatives from both cities would defend their existing systems and provide rationale for why hockey programming works either with or without a policy. It was my belief that both the Manager of Parks and Recreation and the Manager of Allocations in the City of Windsor would provide justification for why a policy is not necessary. In London, I thought that these two individuals would be familiar with the existing policy and refer to it in their responses to demonstrate that equitable practices are occurring.

Based on the literature surrounding gender inequities in sport, I expected the presidents of the two female organizations to be more aware of any imbalances in the distribution of ice time than the presidents of the male organizations. The reason for this is because females would be the ones faced with the potential discrimination. On the other hand, I anticipated that the presidents of the male organizations would claim that no inequities exist.

Methodology

The case study approach was chosen to effectively research this question. Researchers have been warned that choosing the case study approach will result in challenges from numerous scholarly perspectives. However, case studies have proven to be a legitimate and valid research method providing solid data and evidence (Yin, 2003). A case study's purpose is to contribute to existing knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena (Yin). This research will certainly add to existing data about groups and organizations in the province of Ontario surrounding gender (in)equities in hockey arenas. This type of study is used "mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary

interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else” (Stake, 2005, p. 445). This particular case study aids in understanding how municipal recreation departments program and administer public facility use. It has also allowed me to reflect on the completed policy analysis (sub-problem #1) to understand the effect that policy does or does not have on administration of recreational services. The case study method was chosen because of my desire to understand and to educate others about the “complex social phenomena” (Yin, p. 2) of gender equity in sport.

By conducting a case study, I was able to focus more fully on the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions that underlie the gender (in)equitable practices in these two cities, thus enabling me to contribute to existing knowledge about gender equity in sport (Yin, 2003). This case is a multiple case study approach, which can require extensive resources and time, and may be beyond the means of a single student (Yin). In my particular circumstance, I conducted only two cases involving cities close in geographic proximity and both with a similar administrative structure. The only difference between the cities, and the reason that I chose them, is the existence of a gender equity policy in London, and the absence of that policy in Windsor. Using a multiple case approach as opposed to a single case allowed the method to become comparative. The differences between the two cases (the cities’ current or non-existent policies, and the different arenas) allowed for critical comparisons. These comparisons provide the basis for my analysis and recommendations on this issue, making it imperative to have conducted two cases. Each of the cases involved three sources of evidence: site visits, interviews, and document analysis. For this sub-problem, I have used the interviews and the document analysis.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to critically explore the perceptions of recreation professionals concerning the benefits and challenges of having, or not having, a gender equity policy to follow when constructing and programming ice arenas. As Fontana and Frey (2005) note, “interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow humans” (pp. 697-8). This method was ideal for gaining information from the people directly involved. Semi-structured interviews rely on a standard set of questions where the researcher can be flexible and alter the sequence of questions or probe for more information. With the semi-structured approach, the questions were largely open-ended to allow the respondent to lead the direction of the interview (Fontana & Frey).

The individuals I originally intended to interview in both cities were: the Manager of Parks and Recreation, two arena managers (one being the facility manager of the WFCU Centre, while the other three would be randomly selected), and the president of both the local minor boys’ hockey league and minor girls’ hockey league (total of ten). After discussion with individuals from these cities, I found that the administrative structure was slightly different in the two cities. London did not have arena managers, but did have an ice allocation manager. I was also aware that Windsor had an ice allocation manager. I felt my research would benefit from interviewing these two individuals because they would provide information that would be valuable for my results concerning the allocation of ice time. The individuals actually interviewed in each city thus were: the manager of Parks and Recreation, the president of both the local minor boys’ hockey league and minor girls’ hockey league, the ice allocation managers, and two arena managers in Windsor (including the manager of the WFCU Centre).

The interview guides (See Appendix D) were created after completing an extensive review of literature and developing ideas of what needed to be answered in order to understand how ice hockey services were programmed by gender in both cities. The questions I wanted to ask were categorized into three main themes: policy, ice allocation, and facility structure. The policy questions sought to determine what role a gender equity policy does/does not have when programming arena services. I included questions concerning the ice allocation methods in each city to establish the differences between the two and also to hear opinions from various individuals who all play a different role in the administration of arena services. Finally, by including questions about the structure and design of the arena facilities, I was able to use the results from these and tie them in with the results of my site visits at each facility. These results are found in the next chapter.

After ethics approval was received, the interviewees were contacted initially via e-mail to ask for their consent to participate (See Appendix E). For most of the interviewees, it took two emails to get them to respond. All ten individuals agreed to participate and they were then emailed the list of interview questions to prepare for the interview. By receiving the questions in advance, respondents were aware of what they would be asked and could prepare more substantial responses and therefore potentially more valuable responses. In order to gain the most beneficial information from the interviewees, their comfort and trust was of utmost importance (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Each of the respondents was asked where they would like the interview to be conducted to ensure their comfort level was at its highest.

Pilot interviews were conducted prior to the actual interviews. These are a smaller scale run through of the interview to help prepare for the real thing. Pilots should be conducted to check the wording in the questions, to check that the sequence of questions is appropriate, to

assess the likely completion time, and to give the interviewer the practice required to conduct the interview successfully (Gratton & Jones, 2004). From my years playing hockey in Toronto, I was able to use individuals who were in similar positions to the ones I was going to be interviewing. I piloted the interviews with an arena manager, a president of the local girls' hockey organization, and a representative from the City of Toronto.

After analyzing the results of the pilot interviews, necessary adjustments were made to the interview schedules and the planned process. Some of the responses were not as detailed as I had hoped for, so elaboration probes were added to elicit a more in-depth response (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Piloting the interviews was also a valuable practice for transcribing the actual interviews and estimating how long the entire interview and transcription process would take.

In the initial letter to the interviewees, I asked for their consent to digitally record the interview. Recording is necessary to guarantee that all pertinent information is remembered and made available later on in the analysis process (Gratton & Jones, 2004). The ethical concerns with recording this information were addressed prior to the completion of the interviews through the Research Ethics Board at the University of Windsor. Respondents were informed that confidentiality could not be guaranteed because of the positions they held. I assured them that their names would not be used but that readers could potentially identify who the interviewees were based on their responses and on an awareness of the positions they held.

The interviews were saved on a disc that is being kept in a locked cabinet which only I, as the researcher, can obtain. In one instance, the digital recorder was not functioning properly and adjustments had to be made. Although, unexpected, I was prepared for such an instance with a pen and paper. The interviewee in this case was very understanding and cooperated with the technological difficulties.

After completion of the interviews, I transcribed the information into a computer-based word-processing program. This system enabled me to easily locate and work with the data at various points during the research. I transcribed the interviews on my own, which allowed me to become more familiar with the data. Although it is possible to listen to interview tapes and transcribe only the sections that seem important, it is not recommended because it will impose my biases on the interview (Seidman, 1991) and potentially risk missing out on valuable information by making premature judgements. For these reasons, I transcribed the entire interview and kept them organized individually in separate files. Only one interviewee wished to review his transcript; I emailed this to him and received no revisions.

The ten transcribed interviews provided me with an enormous amount of text that then had to be reduced for analysis. According to Seidman (1991), this needs to be done inductively as opposed to approaching the data with already established hypotheses and theories that I then match to my findings. As the researcher, I needed to have an open mind and address whatever emerged willingly, trying to be aware of any biases I have.

To analyze the interview transcriptions I used manual coding, which is appropriate given the number of interviews conducted. This entailed reduction of the text by first marking with brackets the information that was relevant to the questions I was answering. As a result of using open-ended questions, there was a significant amount of irrelevant information in the interviewees' responses that would have no effect on my results if excluded. This data was discarded after being highlighted in a particular color, so that it was still there if I needed to go back to it, even though it was identified as being unrelated to my research question. I am aware that this stage involved exercising my judgement about what appeared important, but it was the beginning of my interpretation of the data (Seidman). This allowed me to make more sense of

the responses I analyzed, and also identified areas that may not have initially been viewed as important. For example, when preparing the questions, I had not considered asking about inequities in regards to dressing rooms for officials. In more than one interview, this issue was mentioned and therefore became important to include in the facility design category.

After extracting the most relevant information from each of the interviews, these excerpts were then categorized into themes. The three main themes upon which the interviews were based are: facility structure, ice allocation, and policy. While there were minor differences in the interview guides for the different positions being interviewed, the questions were all based on these three categories. While reading through the transcripts, I highlighted the questions pertaining to each category in a different colour. I then labelled passages within these responses by writing key words in the margins. After reading through each respondent's interview, I picked out similar key words that I had labelled and connected them to the category where they fit. Each identified passage was coded by a number scheme to help me identify where to place the information, this also helped identify its original place in the transcript (Seidman, 1991). The key at this stage of the analysis was to keep everything organized so that it could be easily identified and traced back to its original source. Because this process was very time-consuming and demanding on my part as the researcher, by the end of the coding, having read the interview transcripts over numerous times, I was extremely familiar with the data and was able to easily recognize important pieces of information that should be included in my results.

The practice of labelling and categorizing the data is part of the analyzing process (Seidman, 1991). The final step to make the analysis complete was asking myself what I learned from the interview transcripts, and what connections I could make between the responses of the different interviewees (Seidman), as well as the literature.

Document Analysis

Documents detailing the programming and allocation of ice were analyzed in both cities. During the interviews, I asked both ice allocation managers if I could see a sample schedule of the distribution of the ice at each arena. They each provided me with a copy of one week's worth of ice bookings at all of the arenas in their prospective cities. To analyze the documents, I went through each day at each arena and highlighted in different colors the ice allocated for the female organizations and the ice allocated for the male organizations. In doing so, I was able to see exactly what time slots were allocated to the leagues of the two presidents that I interviewed, and what arenas they used. The purpose was to compare this data with the interview responses and either support or correct what each of the interviewees had revealed. I included this analysis throughout the results section of this chapter to further support the responses provided in the interviews.

Delimitations and Limitations

I have delimited this study to two cities in the southwestern Ontario region, London and Windsor. These two cities are similar in size and are close in proximity to my residence. I was able to make comparisons between the two and develop a better understanding of the way in which these municipalities view the importance of gender equity in facility use. Based on the size and scope of my Master's thesis, a case study of the two cities was sufficient for the results I intended to obtain. A resulting limitation was that it was not possible to make conclusions concerning all of the cities in Ontario based solely on these results. I understand that further research would be necessary to draw such conclusions, and my research is only the beginning of future studies in this field.

In-depth interviews were conducted with selected individuals as outlined in my methodology section. Each of the interviewees has contributed to my findings in diverse ways. The differing roles that were selected provided me with a wide array of information surrounding my topic. Although it would have been ideal to interview more of the facility managers in each city, to include more opinions and varying responses, the timing and size of my master's thesis did not permit this. I had to delimit the number of people I interviewed, as well as who I chose to interview. One resulting limitation from this is that I was unable to collect information directly from female and male hockey players and coaches. I chose to focus more on the administrative aspect of gender equity in hockey rather than including the experiences from females who may or may not have an awareness of inequities existing in their programs.

Results and Analysis

Introduction

The interviews were based on three categories: ice allocation, policy, and facility structure. The last category focused on the third sub-problem of this research and the results are therefore discussed in the next chapter. In the next section of this chapter, I focused on the responses from the recreation professionals about the distribution of ice time and their feelings concerning policy. These two categories have been separated and given sub-headings for a more uncomplicated read. Following the results and analysis of the interview data, I provided more analysis concerning the document analysis that was also conducted to assist in answering this second sub-problem: *How are public ice arenas programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario?*

Background Information – London

Of the four people interviewed in London, two were employed by the city and two were volunteers with minor hockey organizations. The two city representatives had a combined total

of over 24 years working in the administration of parks and recreation in a variety of roles. The two volunteers had been involved in the administration of minor hockey for a combined 29 years, also in various positions. For the purpose of confidentiality and simplicity, the following pseudonyms were used to identify these individuals:

L1: The Director of Parks and Recreation (Male)

L2: Supervisor of Allocations (Male)

L3: President of Local Minor Girls' Organization (Female)

L4: President of Local Minor Boys' Organization (Male)

Background Information – Windsor

Six individuals were interviewed in the City of Windsor. For these interviews, two individuals were volunteers with minor hockey organizations, and the other four were employed by the City's Parks and Recreation Department. The combined years of service in the administration of Parks and Recreation between the Manager of Parks and Recreation and the Ice Allocation Manager was over 60 years. The two arena managers had been involved for over 50 years combined, and the volunteers had been involved in the administration of minor hockey for over 24 years. The following pseudonyms were used to identify these individuals throughout the rest of this chapter:

W1: The Manager of Parks and Recreation (Female)

W2: Manager of Arenas and Concessions (Male)

W3: President of Local Minor Girls' Organization (Female)

W4: President of Local Minor Boys' Organization (Male)

W5: Arena Manager (Male)

W6: WFCU Center Manager (Male)

Interviews – Ice Allocation Results

To begin with, it is important to know the method by which ice is distributed in both cities in order to comprehend the responses. The ice allocation manager is responsible for distributing the ice to the various representatives from each organization, who are then responsible for allocating the ice they received among the teams within their association. The presidents of the minor hockey organizations were asked if they knew the method used by the city to distribute the ice. In London, the president of the boys' league identified that there are certain criteria that need to be met in order to receive ice time. He believed it was 65% of the organization's population had to be residents of London. The president of the girls' association claimed that she was unaware of the method and that it seemed like the city does not willingly divulge that information. In Windsor, both presidents identified that it is distributed based on a demands and needs approach. You have to state your case and provide your registration numbers and the ice is distributed accordingly. For this question, everyone appeared satisfied with the method except for the president of the girls' association in London; this pattern was common throughout the interview process.

From the administrative point of view, the Manager of Allocations for the City of Windsor responded that there is no policy, but that it is done on a historical basis:

W2: There's actually no policy for ice allocation. It's done on a historical basis because it's been like it has been since Noah. Um, the only time we changed was back in '90; they twinned Forest Glade and the mandate then was 50% minor sports organizations, 50% adults. In '95 they twinned South Windsor Arena; the mandate then was 50% minor sports organizations, 50% women's groups. That's where the Lady Lancers get involved and Sun Parlour Female Hockey started

growing. So that was how we get the twinning process in both of those rinks. And now you've got all the players, male and female, in a municipality where there was an ice deficiency scenario. In 2009, Windsor Family Credit Union opened, we picked up a rink and a half, which now offsets and puts us in a – it's no longer an ice deficiency scenario, you're looking at a surplus... It's gonna make life real interesting I predict in a couple of years from now; we'll have a lot of dark hours, a lot of open ice time, we've got a surplus.

He also added that the organizations fill out a 'wish list' at the end of each season stating the ice that they previously had, the ice that they want in the upcoming season, and the justification for that need (the registration numbers). The City then tries their best to meet these needs. London's process is fairly similar:

L2: What we do is we collect registration numbers from all our organizations in the city and that being minor and they have to meet a certain criteria um, to be included in our allocation process. So they have to be not-for-profit, they have to be an organized group so they have to have general meetings and those types of things. Um, there's a list of criteria that they would have to meet, but once they qualify for that and they're a part of our pool then it goes by number of kids in the program and then from that um, we also look at where they're located regionally in the city. And so we try and match up, let's say uh, North London hockey we try and get them as much ice in the North end of the city if possible to alleviate driving and those types of issues with parents.

Each interviewee was asked to provide an explanation concerning whether or not they believe that ice time is equitably distributed between genders. In addition to that, the presidents

of the leagues were asked whether they believed that their organization received fair and equitable ice time in comparison to other organizations in the city. London's responses were as follows:

L4: Oh yeah...there's so much ice in our city, like we have so many arenas that there's never an ice shortage...If anything we have too much ice.

L3: Absolutely I do not think personally within the city that ice is allocated evenly either amongst gender or appropriately amongst associations...we really have to advocate for our association to ensure that the ice that we're provided is equitable to boys' associations and that it's at good arenas. So, in the past even though we have 900 members and we're one of the largest associations in the city, we don't get the prime ice as like the Junior Knights boys would get. So um, we're still stuck with ice at Silverwoods, we were stuck with ice at Farquharson, we managed to fight tooth and nail to get rid of that, but then you'll have associations like the Junior Knights who, 80% of their ice is at Western Fair, well go figure. How can (we) not have that percentage of ice allocated to our association because we have just as many members within our association as some of the boys would, whether that be London Minor Hockey or the boys Junior Knights.... Yeah it's still a struggle, we seem to fight and we seem to be making strides year over year but it's really small, it's really small right and you really got to fight for it. If you don't fight for it with the city then you don't get it.

Results from the analysis of the ice schedules shows that on an average week the Junior Knights that she refers to in this response receive 36 hours of ice at Western Fair and her organization receives only 12 hours of ice. The significance in the disparity is that her

organization had over 900 registrants and the Junior Knights had around 340. The Junior Knights are the 'AAA' organization in London; in other words, they are the most elite of the minor hockey organizations. I then asked her what they have to do to 'fight for' the ice and she responded:

L3: Well I think it's just advocating right...I mean, the process for us to do is to continue to advocate and fight for our association and that's how we could support and show that there is inequity.

These responses demonstrated that the president of the male organization is satisfied with their ice allocation, and the president of the female organization is not. Some contradiction is found in the responses from the Allocation Manager and Parks and Recreation Director. The Allocation Manager simply stated that he believes that ice is equitably distributed between genders and that the female organization is one of the biggest in the city and therefore gets the majority of the hours. The Director of Parks and Recreation stated:

L1: I think we're meeting the needs of both genders. Is it a 50 – 50? No. Is it equitable? Is there access for any females that want to play hockey? I believe so...what we're not hearing is that females are under-represented or that we have an issue that there's not enough ice to allow this to happen.

The only dissatisfied interviewee from this set of questions was the president of the minor girls' hockey association. While the city representatives claimed that ice was being distributed equitably, she expressed concern that her association had to 'fight' for quality ice on an annual basis, and that although improvements had been made, there were still inequities with which she had to deal.

When asked the same questions regarding ice being equitably distributed between genders in Windsor, responses were not as varied as they were in London. Both arena managers claimed that they believed ice was equitably distributed. One response was:

W5: I believe it is, it's done really well here. They've made sure that they've taken care of both sides. We do reasonably well considering we don't have an ice allocation policy in place, but they seem to do historical values and they do look at youth as being the ones who should have the ice earlier and even older kids go a little later which is kind of something that everybody did in the early 70s and 80s.

The responses from the two volunteers in minor hockey were very similar in that they believed that ice was equitably distributed. The two also added:

W3: I think we've always been able to advocate and say like, you know, how come we're not getting these hours or it looks like somebody's getting preferential treatment. But I think it's always been accessible and having to make your case for ice on a yearly basis.

W4: I know a couple people that are involved with the girls' hockey and I don't think that they've not got the ice they wanted, especially now because of all the ice that's been turned back but I get it, I think it's a growing process because girls' hockey is newer within the last ten years or so, so they can't just come in and we want this, and we want that, take it from the boys or you know; the minor hockey groups I think is something that everybody works pretty good together. I know our ice scheduler has traded ice with girls' hockey before.

When the same question was posed to the two representatives from the city, similar responses were provided. The Manager of Parks and Recreation for Windsor acknowledged that prior to 2008 the distribution was more skewed in favour of males; however, now that the new four-pad arena has been built, the distribution is equitable.

The minor boys' organization in Windsor, whose president I interviewed, had almost three times the amount of players registered as compared to the female organization whose president I interviewed. The ice ratio matched the registration numbers; the boys received almost three times the amount of ice received by the females. In terms of the facilities where the ice was given, both organizations had some ice at each of the five facilities in the city. The most prestigious of the arenas is the new WFCU Centre, and neither association had very much ice there.

The last common response from the interviewees occurred with the question regarding whether they could recall any comments or complaints concerning the current method of distribution. The responses were as follows:

L1: Not from an organization's point - that are delivering the actual programming – no. We revisit it every few years but we're basically - we believe we have a system that works for our community, that people believe is fair and if we try to tinker with it they think you're up to something... It's very efficient, it's highly volunteer driven, it's community serving.

W1: Before 2008 female hockey had to take leftovers and this was a concern for them. We informed them that there would be additional ice and that they were a priority and I believe we requested their needs. We addressed the concerns, but without policy we've still left ourselves open to criticism.

W2: Nobody's totally happy with it...none of them ever will be because their time is not what they needed...you'll never please them all.

Although the previous responses identified that the city representatives believed that ice was being distributed equitably, there were still concerns arising, along with the notion that not everyone was satisfied with the ice allocation. The reason for this was that it was not necessarily just the number of hours that were a concern to some. The president of the minor girls' association in London stated:

L3: Well you get it based on your ice that you had allocated last year and based on the number of participants, but they kind of somehow go through their own system and when you see what you know the Junior Knights have been given, and you see what (we) have been given, to me it's not even as much about the hours that we've been allocated because usually we can work within the hours, it's not that we're necessarily short within our whole contract, um, it's the locations for me that's the biggest concern.

Although she expresses more concern over the locations her organization is given, analysis of the ice schedules identified that despite her organization having almost 600 more registrants than the Junior Knights, they receive only twelve more hours of ice in an average week.

In regards to my assumption that the Windsor Spitfires would receive more and better ice time and be treated in higher regard than the most elite female team in the league, I learned from these interviews that they receive a certain amount of ice time just like any other organization. The only difference is that they receive the ice time that they choose, and they have priority over the large ice pad (referred to as "the bowl") at the WFCU Center. What this means is that if the Spitfires make it to the playoffs and have to fit a game into a tight schedule, people who

currently have that ice time would have to be moved out. Because of the current surplus of ice, these situations always resulted in the user receiving ice elsewhere or in a different time slot. In terms of the facility structures, the Spitfire organization paid for their dressing room and management office facilities.

Interviews – Ice Allocation Analysis

The most relevant questions that were asked concerning ice allocation were how it was allocated, whether it was done equitably, and if there had been concerns regarding the method of distribution. Both London and Windsor distribute their ice in a very similar manner. Both cities request the needs of the organizations based on their registration numbers as well as what they had in the past and then claim to do their best to meet these requests. London uses a historical approach to a certain extent, whereas Windsor uses a historical approach as their primary method of allocation. In light of the increase in female participation rates in Canadian hockey (Hockey Canada, 2008), the historical method of allocating ice time cannot be viewed as an equitable practice. The increase in female participation should actually be reflected in the distribution because both cities ask for registration numbers of each of the organizations before distributing ice; unfortunately this is not the case. It is not enough to try to meet the needs of the various organizations; instead, a formal method needs to be developed to ensure equitable practices. This is an example where a gender equitable ice allocation policy, which was recommended in the previous chapter, would be the most equitable approach to take.

In London, there was some contradiction in the responses because the president of the girls' organization did not feel ice was equitably distributed, but the rest of the interviewees believed that it was equitable. This president says that every year her organization has to advocate and fight for ice from the city, but the representatives from the city say that everyone is

happy with the distribution method. As stated in the review of literature, despite women's participation rates being on the rise, hockey in Canada remains administered predominantly by males and has little female involvement in positions of power. In my London interviews, only the female administrator was complaining about ice, and the three male interviewees were claiming that everyone was satisfied. This contradiction was an example of unequal power relations and male dominance in hockey.

The interviews in Windsor were different because all the interviewees were happy with the current method of distribution and believed that it was done equitably. The president of the girls' organization in Windsor said that they also had to advocate for their ice, and that years ago when they could not get ice from the city, they took any hour they could just to get their foot in the door. Robinson (1997) acknowledges, "Hockey associations are all about serving the needs of men and boys and often see women, and their demands for ice-time and recognition, as competing interests" (p. 123). By accepting any hour of ice that was offered and not advocating for more prime and equitable ice times, the organization was allowing male power holders to determine what the females would receive. Female organizations need to continue to do what both Windsor's and London's minor girls' associations claim to do, and that is to advocate and fight for ice on a regular basis.

The actual allocation of ice in London is quite different than what the interviewees perceive. The Manager of Ice Allocation is the only person who knows how much ice each organization receives. The president of the girls' association believed that ice was not distributed equitably, but she was more concerned about the inequities arising from the locations of the ice time. She is unaware of exactly how much ice the other organizations receive. Her organization plays out of almost all of the arenas in London because it is a city wide association and she has

females coming from all over the city. She was correct in saying that the Junior Knights receive far more ice at Western Fair than her organization does. What she failed to acknowledge was that by comparison, they also receive far more ice in general than her organization does. The Directional Proposition section of this chapter explains that I believed London would be more equitable when distributing ice because they have a gender equity policy in place and are therefore more aware of the need to provide fair services for both males and females. After conducting these interviews and analyzing the ice schedule documents, it is apparent that London is not more equitable than Windsor and the presence of a policy will not guarantee equitable practices.

Similar responses from the different interviewees were provided to the question about concerns over the current method of distribution. In Windsor, there was more concern before the new WFCU Centre was built. Now that there is an ice surplus, the concerns are not present. If this research had been conducted prior to the construction of this facility, the stakeholders may have taken a different approach when asked these particular questions.

In the first chapter of this thesis I pointed out my assumption that the administrators of the new WFCU Center would be more concerned with accommodating the Windsor Spitfires of the OHL than the rest of the City's organizations, including the female association. I made this assumption based on the literature surrounding masculine hegemony in sport. Coakley and Donnelly (2004) identified that when women participate in hockey, it has the potential to cause unrest among the males who administer the sport. This literature suggested to me that because Junior Hockey is a priority in Canada, the Spitfires would receive more favourable treatment when it came to programming the new facility.

The Spitfires have most certainly benefited from a brand new state-of-the-art facility that has been paid for by taxpayers in the City of Windsor. Although they are not the sole users of the WFCU Center, they are definitely the highest priority as outlined in the results. Based on the fact that they are viewed as the most elite level of male hockey in the City of Windsor, they have been provided with special treatment that other organizations do not receive. Providing the Spitfires with the ice that they choose, along with the ability to move existing users out when necessary, demonstrates privilege for elite male athletes versus non-elite athletes. With regards to gender, the most elite female team in the city, the Windsor Wildcats, does not have these comparable privileges. This elite female team falls under the girls' association and is allocated ice through them.

Canadian society has placed elite male hockey teams and athletes on a pedestal. Instead of challenging these beliefs, practices such as the ones occurring with the Spitfires continue to uphold the notion of male dominance in sport. Until attitudes and beliefs change towards these ideals, inequities will continue to exist. While males continue to possess positions of power in the Canadian hockey system, it is difficult to create a positive change for females in hockey.

Interviews – Policy Results

The second category stemming from the interviews was in regards to policy. The interviewees were asked a number of questions concerning their beliefs and opinions about municipal gender equity policies. The subjects from London were asked about their familiarity with their existing gender equity policy. All but one were unfamiliar with it and the one who was, admitted that he became familiar with it that morning because he knew I was going to ask about it. This interviewee explained that a policy of that nature would only be looked at if it needed to be (L1). The fact that it exists was enough so that they could go to it if a concern arose.

The interviewees from both cities were asked how necessary they believed a policy was and whether this type of policy would have a positive, negative, or neutral impact on the distribution of ice time. The Director of Parks and Recreation from the City of London believed that a gender equity policy wouldn't change the ice allocation because that process was based on needs and registration numbers, regardless of gender. Where he did believe it could make a difference was in facilities, to make sure that females were not changing in closets and were not treated differently in facilities than males. When the City of London's Supervisor of Allocations was asked if a policy was necessary, he replied:

L2: At this point, I would say in our city no, but depending on where hockey goes in the future, as far as the number of kids. Right now we have a little bit of a surplus of ice so there's not really an issue with demand, but if that became the case in the future then possibly yeah, it would be good to fall back on something like that.

When asked what effect a policy would have on the distribution of ice, he responded with:

L2: I would say neutral at this point. I think that it would be redundant at this point, but like I said, I think possibly in the past it was an issue and even going forward I think I said to have one would be nice. I don't think it would ever need to be enforced just because everybody is on board and gets it.

By admitting that a policy would be good to have, especially for the future, he was identifying that there is potential for criticism from Users. This criticism could lead to more serious circumstances, which is why he said that it would be good to be able to fall back on a policy. He also claimed that there was no need for a policy because 'everyone is on board', however in the previous section it was made evident that the president of the minor girls'

association is not on board and does not understand the allocation process. Again, these contradictions need to be addressed, and the application of a gender equitable ice allocation policy would be a viable solution. The president of the girls' association addressed this concern in her response to the same questions:

L3: Yeah absolutely, I mean if there was a gender policy that was kind of more cut and dry and everybody was treated fairly and equitably then I think that would help solve a lot of the issues. And so it's not unknown, so if you say you don't think you've been treated fairly or I don't think our association has enough ice time or enough ice in a cross section of the arenas in the city... But again, when I go back to Junior Knights, I hate to pick on one association but they are the elite boys association within the city of London, they have a large portion of ice at the Western Fair Arena, they would probably be more similar to us because they're kind of the best of the best of boys in the city, we say we're the best of the best and we're the only girls, then why don't we have 50% of our ice at Western Fair if we wanted to? And I mean, it's the nicest facility in the city so obviously – and it is fairly central, I mean still kind of in the east end but it's fairly central, but I mean yeah, we'd love to have more ice at Western Fair and you know, why does the Junior Knights get more ice there but (we) don't.

Western Fair is the most recently built and most desired facility in London. Her example, comparing her organization to their male counterparts, shows her desire to change the current method of distribution. By not having a policy, she was left to wonder why her organization did not receive ice similar to the boys' organization. A gender equitable ice allocation policy could help to formalize the process and make all stakeholders aware of the method. This demonstrated

that both sides of the spectrum (the City representatives and the volunteer organizations) felt they would benefit from a policy that they could ‘fall back on’.

The interviewees from Windsor were also asked how necessary they believed a gender equity policy was and what kind of effect it would have on the distribution of ice. The Manager of Parks and Recreation told me that some preliminary work on creating a gender equity policy had been done when she first began her position in 2003. Unfortunately, the plans for the new facility (the WFCU Centre) took over and the policy plans were pushed aside because everything else fell into place. Although she thought a policy would have a neutral effect on the distribution of ice time right now, she did believe that a policy was still important because it would address any issues that might occur. She gave the example of major events coming in and moving users out of their original time slots. She also stated that it would take away the guesswork and allow everyone to know how decisions are made.

The Manager of Allocation also believed that at this point in time, a policy would have a neutral effect because of the surplus of ice. He said five years ago might have been a different story. In terms of how necessary a policy of this nature was, he replied:

W2: I do believe a policy is necessary because it eliminates the guesswork, it eliminates all subjectivity - here's the black and white of it. Yeah, a policy would be great, but to make it happen in a city who is putting their ice time out on an allocation based on historical basis, that would be difficult.

I then asked him what the strategy would be to develop such a policy:

W2: It would be the simplest thing in the world; I get on the internet and I would hit every municipality, I would hit ORFA (Ontario Recreation Facilities Association). I'd hit them all and I'd say ice allocation policies, if you've got any

Windsor would like to take a look at them if you could send them down. And we'd take a look at them and see what – we'd make it fit here. Why re-create the wheel; there are standards out there that are working.

He was acknowledging the benefits that a policy would provide and stating that it would be the 'easiest thing in the world' to develop, but at the same time claiming that it would be too difficult because they distributed their ice on a historical basis. Instead of eliminating the historical approach, which I advocate in this research is inequitable to females, the City was opting to keep it intact and choosing to not develop a policy that various stakeholders have argued could be beneficial. Communication among the stakeholders needs to occur. If a policy is 'easy' to develop and numerous people believed it would 'eliminate the guesswork' and be 'good to fall back on', then a strategy needs to be put in place to develop this type of policy.

Both presidents of the minor hockey organizations in Windsor believed that a policy would not help facilitate the gender equitable administration of arenas.

W3: No, I think that all of our arenas are beyond that. I think it's – if you had said that maybe ten years ago, but everybody's beyond that now. I don't think it would serve any purpose other than more administrative backlog and I think it's because these municipal rinks do answer to the politics and I think that society has really moved forward... I think we're well advanced beyond the need for such a policy. I think it's [the current ice allocation approach] effective and reactive and accountable and answerable to the population and females are playing an active role in our society, I don't think that that is something that we have to have.

The two arena managers in Windsor had very similar responses to the rest of the interviewees regarding how necessary a policy is:

W5: Um, I'm not sure in this city here because we're already kind of practicing it but maybe something official wouldn't hurt. There are places probably that could use it still in the province.

Interviews – Policy Analysis

Some of the interviewees in both cities have claimed that a gender equity policy would be good to fall back on, but at the same time is not necessary. The Manager of Parks and Recreation in Windsor made it clear that before the construction of the WFCU Center in 2008, the ice was not distributed equitably. She also identified, when asked about concerns surrounding the method of distribution, that without a policy in place the City was left open for criticism and at risk of more serious outcomes, such as a lawsuit. An example of this occurred in Coquitlam, British Columbia with David Morrison, the father of two female gymnasts, and a son who played hockey. He filed a human rights complaint alleging that Coquitlam did not provide enough funding to sports dominated by females as compared to sports dominated by males. Morrison argued that the city was discriminating against females by not giving them equal access to subsidized sports. The city agreed that girls were adversely affected by the subsidy policy. The two parties were able to enter into a voluntary settlement without a tribunal hearing or an actual finding of discrimination (Corbett, Findlay, & Lech, 2008).

As a result of this settlement, the City of Coquitlam became the first municipality in Canada to introduce a comprehensive gender equity program in sports and recreation. With this program came a Gender Equity Committee, including a coordinator to help run all aspects of the committee. The city also established a \$50,000 Gender Equity Fund, which provides grants to

predominantly female sports groups who do not have access to public facilities subsidized by the city (Corbett, Findlay, & Lech, 2008). Having a policy such as this in place would be a good means to ensure that future complaints and concerns from stakeholders do not escalate into legal battles.

London currently has a *Gender Equity in Recreation Services Policy* that provides a specific solution for the distribution of public facility space. It states:

The City of London is committed to ensuring that gender equity is a criterion in the allocation of City recreation facilities, and ensuring the City supports and uses community facilities that are gender equitable. (London, 1996, p. 20)

This policy identifies that the need to accommodate the scheduling of females should be addressed. The policy even comments on the idea of using a historical approach: “When facility allocation is based on traditional use and provided to ongoing users, there is little opportunity to expand service to other potential users” (p. 21). Lastly, the policy also states that “Facilities of equal quality should be provided to females and males for programs of similar levels” (p. 21). These three key solutions are provided in the policy that London implemented over a decade ago, but each point was raised as a concern by one or more interviewees in this research. This contradiction demonstrates that the policy is not being implemented in the distribution of ice at public arenas. This may be occurring because only one of the interviewees was familiar with the policy. This individual also claimed that the policy was there if need be, but otherwise it would not get read. To ensure implementation after the development of a policy, careful monitoring and evaluation needs to occur. Because the City of London already has this gender equity policy in place, the creation of a gender equitable ice allocation policy could be easily completed. The next concern would be whether or not it got implemented.

I originally expected to find greater differences between the administration of London's and Windsor's ice services. I made the assumption that having a policy in place would result in a more equitable system than a city that had no policy. What I have found is that London's policy exists, but is not being implemented in the area of public arena use. In the solutions of the policy, it is advised that using a historical approach to distribute ice is inequitable, yet the City is still using this approach to a certain extent. Windsor, on the other hand, uses a historical approach but the administrators have recognized that a policy would be beneficial and would be easy to implement. Because this type of policy would be 'the easiest thing in the world' to implement, it is a shame that priorities have not shifted towards that process.

In the previous chapter I provided an outline of what a gender equitable ice allocation policy might look like. Regardless of whether a city has a gender equity in recreation policy or not, this type of ice allocation policy could be beneficial to municipalities across Ontario. Both representatives from the female organizations claimed to advocate and fight for ice on a regular basis. The development and implementation of a gender equitable ice allocation policy would alleviate the need to fight for ice for both males and females.

An interesting element that arose when analyzing the questions concerning policy were the various roles that the interviewees thought policy would fill. Comments such as: 'eliminating the guesswork'; 'something to fall back on'; and 'eliminates all subjectivity' were given when discussing the necessity for a policy. These statements were made from individuals in London, where a policy exists, and also in Windsor, where no policy exists. It is evident that these recreation professionals believe policy is a positive thing and could benefit their municipalities in various ways. Because the policy already exists in London, the City would need to begin implementing it and monitoring it in order to achieve the benefits. In Windsor, the reason given

for their lack of a policy is that it would not work with their historical approach. It is unfortunate that the City has not considered removing the historical approach and instead having the benefits and transparency that a policy could provide.

In this chapter I have identified the potential risk that organizations have put themselves in by not having or implementing a policy.

Full and fair access is an issue of legal responsibility. Every individual in Canadian society has the right to be treated fairly and reasonably by government, institutions, organizations, and other individuals. The law says clearly that sport organizations cannot grant or revoke rights or privileges except in accordance with the principles of natural justice and procedural fairness. There is a growing expectation that sport organizations will govern themselves in a manner consistent with what Canadians value to be important – equity, fairness, and justice. To continue to receive government, public, and corporate support, sport organizations must meet certain legal and ethical obligations. (Vail & Berck, 1995, p. 5)

It only takes one concerned stakeholder to feel discriminated against and to do something about it. Lawsuits can be avoided if organizations are following a formal guideline in administering their services. The creation and implementation of a gender equity ice allocation policy would be an effective way to create a more equitable system in minor hockey in London and Windsor.

Chapter Summary

With this chapter I set out to answer *how public ice arenas are programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario*. After a brief introduction I have provided a review of existing literature regarding gender equity in sport. Following that section is the Directional Proposition, which explains what I expected to find by conducting the interviews. I have then given a detailed account of the methodology used, as well as the items I had to delimit and the resulting limitations that arose.

The Results and Analysis section has been separated according to the two categories of interview questions that I looked at to answer this sub-problem. Firstly I provided the ice allocation results and analysis, followed by the policy results and analysis. Conclusions that I have derived stem from the combination of these two categories. I have determined that the differences between the two cities are not as significant as I originally anticipated. I originally thought that because London has a gender equity policy, that its administration of recreation services would be more equitable than Windsor's. The fact that my anticipated differences do not exist supports the argument that having a policy in place does not always lead to implementation and effective changes. I believe that a major reason why I did not find the inequities in Windsor that I thought I would is because of their current ice surplus situation, as a result of the completion of the WFCU Centre in fall 2008. I believe that my results have been skewed in favour of Windsor being more gender equitable because they have this surplus. Had I conducted this research in 2007 or any year prior to that I believe, and was assured by the Manager of Parks and Recreation, that I would have had different results and that Windsor was less gender equitable in their allocation of ice time. London also currently has a slight surplus of ice, and yet the female organization is not satisfied. This can be attributed to the fact that London, despite

having a gender equity policy, is still using a historical approach to distribute ice, which is an inequitable method of programming. I have illustrated in my research that women's hockey is a growing sport and continues to develop more and more participants. That being said, it will be impossible for them to ever receive equitable ice time if historical approaches continue to be used. For this reason, I believe that the development and implementation of a gender equitable ice allocation policy for Windsor and London would be the most practical and reliable approach for achieving equity. Many of the interviewees informed me that policy has many benefits, including eliminating the guesswork and being good to fall back on (i.e., good to provide justification for the decisions made). Now that gender equity is such a driving force in society, it is too risky not to have such a policy in place.

With regards to my belief that the Windsor Spitfires would receive more accommodating and favourable treatment than other organizations in the city, I was correct. The Spitfire organization did, however, have to pay for their own dressing room and office facility space. In terms of the ice time, I was accurate in that they do have the top priority over 'the bowl'. In terms of the facility space, I was pleasantly surprised to learn that that was not paid for by the City and that the female organization was offered a similar set-up, even though they declined. The third category, the design of the arenas, has been used to answer my third sub-problem, which is detailed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV: GENDERED SPACES

Introduction

I decided to join a women's recreational hockey team at the beginning of the 2007-2008 hockey season. For the previous four years, I had played Varsity hockey and thus was used to having a team dressing room with proper amenities for females. Before getting dressed for our first game of the season, I needed to use the washroom and was shocked to discover that our dressing room had a urinal, but no toilet. This was an arena in Windsor, Ontario that had the local women's association playing out of it weekly. I was shocked that women had to leave their dressing room and walk back upstairs to the main lobby to use the washroom. After careful reflection, I realized that numerous arena facilities at which I played while growing up in Ontario were similarly constructed. Up to that point, the thought of gendered spaces had never crossed my mind. This experience made me question for whom this arena was built.

In this chapter, I address the concept of spaces being designed with particular genders in mind. Specifically, I asked the question: *How are publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario structured, and how are those spaces allocated by gender?* To answer this problem, I first looked at the perceptions of individuals in the administration of hockey by asking for their opinions during the interview process. In addition to the interviews, I also conducted site visits to all of the publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor and completed a checklist outlining key elements concerning the structure and space within these facilities (see Appendix F). In the Results and Analysis section in this chapter, I detail my findings.

Review of Literature

Bruce Kidd (1990) wrote an article about Toronto's Skydome, calling it a "men's cultural centre" (p. 32) because it was created by, operated by, and used by men. Kidd identified that this

facility was largely a celebration of the interests of men and neglected to encompass the needs and wants of females in the sport realm. “In the absence of comparable opportunities for female athletes, coaches, managers, and sports impresarios, the MCC [Men’s Cultural Centre] will provide almost daily ideological justification for patriarchal power” (p. 32). Although the Skydome was built for professional purposes, the similarities between it and smaller facilities, such as local ice arenas, are immense in the sense that sport as an institution and the constructions within it are shaped by male ideologies.

Betsy Wearing (1998) discussed that a vital part of the leisure experience for both males and females is space for leisure. These physical spaces for leisure remove people from everyday work tasks and allow time away from labour. Leisure then becomes one’s ‘personal space’ that, unfortunately, is difficult for males and females to share (Wearing). Females have to be comfortable in their personal space in order to want to be there. If women do not view ice arenas as a feasible space for their personal leisure time, they will not choose this as their personal leisure space. Referring back to Kidd’s MCC example, hockey and ice arenas are predominantly administered by males with the interests of males in mind. “Hegemonic masculinity is difficult to shake, even in leisure spaces which may be expected to provide an arena for resistance to masculine hegemony” (Wearing, p. 66). This results in males and females becoming spatially segregated in sport.

Daphne Spain (1992) explored many ways that gendered spaces are used by men to (re)produce power and privilege. Women’s inferior status was reinforced by the spatial segregation of males and females. “Spatial segregation is one of the mechanisms by which a group with greater power can maintain its advantage over a group with less power” (Spain, p. 15). She then continued to explain that both males and females allow spatial segregation to

occur - for men, it serves their interests, while women believe there is no alternative (Spain). This magnifies the dominant position of men in sport, and the “differential access to knowledge, resources, and power” (Spain, p. 18). Throughout history, cultural, religious, and ideological reasons have been given to justify this type of segregation (Spain). Separating men’s and women’s dressing rooms in arenas is justified, for privacy and safety reasons, but the means and the process of this segregation heavily favours males. Spain’s concept - that physical space is organized in ways that reproduce gender differences in power and privilege - can be applied when examining hockey and ice arenas. Due to the historical male dominance of hockey, arenas present another form of a ‘male cultural centre’ in that they are dominated by men.

“Spatial arrangements produce and are produced by status distinctions” (Spain, 1992, p. 233). Robinson (2000) acknowledged that women are in an inferior position to men, who are viewed as having a higher status in hockey. Therefore, making changes to spatial arrangements could possibly alter the status hierarchy, which is a shift men are not prepared or willing to allow. Males in hockey who hold positions of power continue to create arena spaces favouring their male colleagues. To ‘degender’ space, women have to be willing to proactively work for it. Women have to resist the power holders and understand that there is an alternative.

In order to conduct the site visits, I thought it was important to research some background information on the design and construction of arena facilities. The *Time-Saver Standards for Building Types* is a substantial 1277 page book that is used as a reference guide for design criteria in all different types of buildings. According to the editors, this book provides information on the essential component elements of all major building types (DeChiara & Callender, 1980). Despite being a reference for all major building types, there is nothing in its contents describing arena dressing rooms. The only description for hockey provides the

standards for the dimensions of the actual ice surface. Under the Governmental and Public heading I was able to find dressing rooms for boys' clubs, and shower rooms for recreation centres. Under the Recreation heading I found locker rooms. Not one of these descriptions was the same design structure as arena dressing rooms. These had more of a recreation centre focus to them. By that I mean that the rooms were separated by walls of lockers. After not finding any standards for arena dressing rooms in this book, I examined other design standard books with the hope of finding something I could use to reference when completing the site visits.

Architectural Graphic Standards for Architects, Engineers, Decorators, Builders, and Draftsmen by Ramsey and Sleeper (1998) was similar to the Time-Savers book because it provided headings under which standard designs were found. This one also did not have any particular section for hockey arenas or dressing rooms. It did, however, have a section on bathrooms and provided me with information on the standard height of shower heads and hooks. I am aware that these are for bathrooms and not specifically for dressing rooms, however I used these guidelines to compare with my findings. According to these standards, the height of the shower head should be around 6 to 6.6 feet tall and the height of the hooks should be 6 feet tall.

A third design standard book that I examined was *Building Construction Illustrated* by Ching and Adams (2000), which provided very specific features for the design of buildings. For example it had details concerning the placement and dimensions of stairs and doorways. Once again, there was nothing in this book concerning arenas or dressing room facilities. The only mention of bathrooms provided dimensions and standards for a home bathroom.

Directional Proposition

I have a great passion for hockey and have grown up playing in different arenas across the province. As I mentioned in the introduction, until beginning my graduate degree, I had never

really opened my eyes to see the physical inequities in these facilities. I expected to find a variety of things during these interviews and visits that would enlighten me even further. After conducting the interviews, I anticipated being able to compare the respondents' views on the design and space provided in the facilities with what I was actually able to see during my site visits.

After conducting the interviews I expected that I would receive varying opinions from the people in the different roles that they held. For example, I thought the representatives from the cities would have less criticism towards the design of the arenas than the presidents whose organizations played out of them. This is because the presidents frequent these facilities more often and are more familiar with them, and the concerns of their participants. This would allow me to draw conclusions based on who feels changes are necessary and who does not.

Based on my experience in arenas, I expected to find facilities that did not have toilets in their dressing rooms, and also dressing rooms that shared washroom space with each other. Having only urinals in the dressing rooms discriminates against females, who would have to leave the room to use the public washroom facility. This is in line with Spain's (1992) concept that the way things are spatially arranged helps to produce and is produced by status distinctions. Having washroom facilities that only men are able to use reinforces the notion of male privilege in hockey. Two dressing rooms sharing one washroom space poses a problem when a female team and a male team are the two teams sharing that washroom. From my experience, often times my female team would need to use the showers, but had to wait until the male team on the other side cleared out. In this situation, there is also the potential for a person from the other team (and other gender) to walk in on someone using the washroom facility. This poses a threat to

women's comfort in this type of recreational space. Women who deem this type of facility as unacceptable may choose not to participate.

I anticipated that older facilities would be less equitable than more recently built ones because of the emerging awareness of the importance of being gender equitable in recreation. While I did expect to find some inequitable facilities in both cities, I was also expecting to see changes that were being made to newer facilities to remove or prevent inequities in design and structure. I was fortunate to be conducting my research at the same time that the construction of the new WFCU Centre in Windsor was concluding. I expected to find that the new facility would be up to standard in terms of a 'gender equitable' design. I also assumed I would draw comparisons between the older facilities in Windsor and this new state-of-the-art one. The comparisons between newer and older facilities, as well as between facilities in the two cities would play a significant role in my findings because it would demonstrate whether gender equitable practices are already occurring, or where they need to be implemented.

The final result I expected to find was that the facilities in London would prove to be more gender equitable than Windsor because of the city's gender equity policy. I anticipated hearing from the interviewees that London had made efforts to create more equitable facilities, and I expected to see that reflected in my site visits.

Methodology

The first method used to answer this sub-problem was semi-structured interviews. These are the same interviews that I conducted to answer my second sub-problem in the previous chapter. The description of the methodology and the interviewees can be found in the methodology section of the previous chapter (see page 60). My reason for separating the interviews between these two chapters is because there were a few questions I asked concerning

the design of the facilities and they correspond more with this sub-problem than with sub-problem two.

In addition to interviewing individuals from both cities, I also conducted site visits to most of the publicly owned arenas. Site visits are a method of observational analysis, which is an unobtrusive method of research because it requires no interaction between a subject and the researcher that might influence the data being collected (Gratton & Jones, 2004). The only interaction I had during these visits was with the individuals working at the facilities at the time of the visit. In some instances, this individual accompanied me on my walk-through, but the majority of the employees allowed me to complete the visit on my own. In the five instances when the individual was with me, it was still unobtrusive because the employee had no impact on the completion of my visit, but was merely unlocking doors and pointing me in the right direction. The individual was simply there to show me all the areas of the facility that I requested seeing.

I visited all five of the publicly owned arenas in Windsor and nine of the twelve in London. I was unable to visit three of the arenas in London because they were already closed down for the summer. In these instances I spoke to the Manager of Recreation Operations for the City of London, who was familiar with all of the public facilities.

There are five arenas in Windsor:

1. Adie Knox Arena (1968)
2. Forest Glade Arena (1971; twinned in 1990)
3. South Windsor Recreation and Customer Care Complex (1968; twinned in 1995)
4. Windsor Arena (1924)
5. Windsor Family Credit Union (WFCU) Centre (2008)

The twelve arenas in London are:

1. Argyle (1973)
2. Carling (1956)
3. Earl Nichols (1980)
4. Farquharson (1954)
5. Glen Cairn (1963)
6. Kinsmen (1973)
7. Lambeth (1950s)
8. Medway (1977)
9. Oakridge (1962)
10. Silverwood (1970)
11. Stronach (1965)
12. Western Fair (2000)

The date beside each arena is the year it was built.

I completed a checklist of information based on my observations at each arena and/or the information provided by the Manager of Recreation Operations in London. The purpose of the checklist was to determine the use of space throughout the facility in relation to my section in the review of literature on gendered spaces. When creating the checklist, I initially drew from my own experiences of what a typical hockey dressing room looked like. The things I listed were the number of dressing rooms available and if there was one specifically for females, the presence of a toilet and/or a urinal, whether the rooms had their own washroom or if the washroom was shared, whether the washrooms had doors or stalls in them (and if they locked), whether women's and men's teams shared the rooms consecutively, whether the dressing rooms locked from the inside, and whether the female organizations were represented in the trophy cases. After defending my research proposal, my committee members contributed other items to include on the checklist. Some of these were: the height of the hooks and shower heads, the lighting in and outside the rooms, and whether there were mirrors and counters in the dressing rooms.

A typical visit consisted of me introducing myself to the employee working at the time and explaining the reason for my visit. I then asked this person about whether teams share the

rooms consecutively before heading over to the dressing rooms to complete the analysis. After first entering the room I made note of the lighting inside it versus the lighting just outside. I would then use myself as a guideline for measuring the height of the hooks before making my way into the washroom area and checking for all of the necessary items for that area. Concluding the visit would consist of me looking at the trophy cases (when applicable) in the lobbies.

The three arenas that I was unable to visit were: Carling, Medway, and Silverwood. For these arenas I spoke via telephone to the Manager of Recreation Operations and asked him to answer all of the questions on the checklist. After all of the checklists were completed, I created charts with all of the checklist information for each of the cities (See Appendix G). This allowed me to easily see the results and make comparisons among the arenas within each city and between the two cities. When outlining the results from this method, I used these charts and went through each item to provide information from both cities. After that I analyzed the checklist data and gathered my results to answer how publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario are structured and how those spaces are allocated by gender. These results have all been detailed in the Results and Analysis section of this chapter. When standard washroom amenities are referred to in the results section, I am referring to a toilet, a sink, and a shower.

These visits and the completion of the checklists have allowed me to physically see the way space is used in the arenas, as well as to make comparisons between facilities of different ages and facilities in two cities that formally and structurally appear to have differing views on gender equity in recreation.

Delimitations and Limitations

The first delimitation I placed on this research was choosing the specific people that I interviewed. The information concerning this delimitation and the resulting limitation has been outlined in the previous chapter (see page 66).

This research focuses specifically on arenas, as opposed to all public recreation facilities, and ice hockey, as opposed to other ice sports. I have set this boundary not only because it is an area in which I am greatly interested and have extensive experience, but also because of the tremendous increase in female hockey participation rates in Canada over the last decade. This growth should result in increased attention to gender equity in arenas. My personal experience as a female hockey player in Ontario poses a resulting limitation in that I may have personal biases towards the results and conclusions being drawn. These biases are that as a female hockey player, I have faced discrimination and know that inequities do exist; therefore I may inherently show favouritism towards the female organizations and focus more on negative inequitable practices that do exist rather than positive equitable practices that are occurring. I designed my research methods to allow me to be objective in following the guidelines I laid out, in order to reduce my personal biases. In the following section, under the sub-heading '*site visit analysis*', I have provided an example when being objective was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to overcome. There was an item on my checklist that I originally wanted to examine, but could not avoid the subjective analysis that came with it. Specifically, I found that it was difficult to remain consistent when analyzing the lighting inside and outside of the dressing rooms. One reason for this is that there were times when I went days before visiting the next facility and therefore it was challenging to remember how I ranked the rooms on the likert scale. For example, if I ranked a room a seven, I could not guarantee that a room with similar lighting would also be ranked a

seven. The second reason for this item being very subjective is that when I was unable to visit certain arenas, I could not ask the person completing the checklist for me to provide me with his opinion on the lighting. I thus limited the role that the lighting played on my results and findings, even though it can be an important factor affecting women's sense of safety in the arena.

During my data collection, I was forced to delimit my study in a way that I had not anticipated. I chose to conduct my site visits in the latter part of the winter months and as a result I was restricted from access to three of the facilities because they had closed for the season. The resulting limitation impacting my research was that I could not personally visit all of the arenas that I originally intended. Fortunately I was able to speak to someone about it and could still get valuable data concerning these facilities. Although a representative from the City of London was able to complete most of the checklist via telephone, my limited access to those three arenas may have slightly affected my overall results and analysis. Specifically, I did not ask for his subjectively-determined assessment of the lighting inside and outside of the dressing rooms, which meant that my results are missing some of the originally intended data.

Results and Analysis

Interview Results

During the semi-structured interviews conducted with recreation professionals in both London and Windsor, some of my questions addressed the design and construction of the arena facilities. The city representatives were asked whether the construction of arena space mattered for gender equity; the arena managers were asked to explain the use of the dressing rooms; and the volunteers from the organizations were asked whether they believed that the arenas their organization played out of were designed effectively in terms of dressing rooms for both males and females. These responses are compared with what I found during my site visits to the arenas.

In both cities, the Ice Allocation Manager and the Director of Parks and Recreation were asked whether the construction of arena spaces mattered for gender equity. All four individuals were in agreement that they certainly did matter. In London, the Ice Allocation Manager identified that one of the constraints they have with their female groups is that there are certain facilities at which they cannot play. The reasons given were because of the lack of dressing rooms, rooms being too small, or a higher risk of someone walking into the room. He acknowledged that those aspects of construction design have been considered and are no longer an issue because they do not place the female organizations at those specific arenas. He also mentioned that this actually benefits the females because it is typically the older and less desirable facilities that are deemed inadequate.

In Windsor, the Manager of Ice Allocations specified the need to address sightlines as a major concern in the design of arenas. Sightlines refer to the visibility of specific locations. For example, some female specific rooms have no barrier when the door is open to block visibility from the rest of the facility. Having to label a dressing room as “Female Dressing Room” did not have to happen previously, but now is a priority so that males do not walk in unannounced (W6). In regards to the new facility, the WFCU Centre, the City purchased a ‘pre-designed facility’ plan (also known as a design build). In doing so, they saved eight million dollars. The Ice Allocation Manager stressed the principle that money determines design. They were able to make a few changes to the pre-designed package. For example, the design had only four dressing rooms for each pad and the Manager of Parks and Recreation said that having more dressing rooms was her number one concern. She originally wanted six, but that was not feasible, so they were able to include five smaller rooms instead of the four in the pre-packaged design. The purpose of having a sixth room is to be as equitable as possible. In facilities with six dressing

rooms, you can ensure that male and female teams do not share the same dressing room consecutively, which will avoid any unwanted walk-ins.

The Manager of Parks and Recreation for the City of Windsor also spoke about space allotment in the WFCU Centre for the Windsor Spitfires versus the most elite female team in the city, the Windsor Wildcats. The Spitfires were given space in the WFCU Centre, but their organization paid for everything in it. The equivalent female team was offered space in the new facility as well, but chose to stay at their current location. The City is now looking to work with this female team to try and upgrade their current facility.

One of the arena managers who I interviewed in Windsor spoke about the need for more dressing rooms and the difference between older and newer facilities. He said that they have an extra room at his facility so they can accommodate females playing on predominantly male teams. Unfortunately there are older facilities that still only have four rooms. He said:

W5: I think it's coming around, there's kind of been a lag in the construction of the arenas though. Like the other day I was on a website and they recommend a minimum of six rooms now per single pad rink.

The manager of the WFCU Centre was also able to have one room assigned specifically to females because that facility has five dressing rooms per pad. A magnetic sign is placed on the door when needed, saying "Female Dressing Room". However, the temporary nature of this signage thus implies that unless posted, this space is "naturally" a male dressing room, further reinforcing the male-based nature of hockey.

The presidents of the girls' and boys' associations in both cities were asked whether they believe that the arenas their organization plays out of were designed effectively in terms of dressing rooms for males and females. The president of London's girls' association made it clear

that the older facilities are often inadequate. She stated that the arenas with better quality washroom and dressing room facilities are the ones that have been upgraded or have been recently built. When asked about what happens at these arenas when there is a girl playing on a predominantly male team, she responded:

L3: They try to find them separate dressing rooms and at times they can't.

They're shoved in a referee's room, a tiny little room. So even if you have two or three girls with a hockey bag, that's not enough room.

After the Gender Equity Policy was enacted in London, a budget was prepared to upgrade the arena facilities to be more accommodating. There are still four pads in London that would be considered inadequate by today's standards, regardless of gender, but improvements have been made to many.

In Windsor, the president of the minor girls' association explained that the City asked for their input when designing the new facility. She is not sure how much of their input was used in the design, but she was happy that they had asked. She also identified that the WFCU Centre was built 'gender neutrally' and that the newer facilities in the area are as well. Her biggest concern was with rooms for the officials. Women's hockey is trying to develop a solid cohort of female officials.

W3: We're trying to build and grow our female officials...so you need separate referee rooms. You can't just have one common room because they want to take off sweaty shirts and change clothes too and that was something that they thought about for these new rinks as well.

The Manager of Parks and Recreation in Windsor also noted that this issue has not been properly addressed. She acknowledged that the City is aware of the need to accommodate female officials

in hockey, but that they have yet to meet this need. So far in Windsor, the only time they have encountered a male and female refereeing together is in girls' hockey. In this instance, the female officials were able to use the fifth room in arenas that have one available. The problem will arise more often when there is not an extra room available or when a female player is already occupying the extra room. Both women who were interviewed in Windsor brought this point to my attention without being asked specifically about the officials.

Interview Analysis

According to my directional proposition, there were two main results I anticipated finding with regards to the interviews. I expected that the city employees in both cities would provide different responses in terms of their satisfaction towards the design of the arenas than the volunteers who I interviewed. I also expected that there would be changes made to newer facilities to make them more equitable than older ones. I assumed that this would be evident in the responses from the interviewees. I mentioned in the directional proposition that I expected to find things that would open my eyes even further, and this was the case when the notion of inequitable facilities for officials was brought to my attention. This analysis details these three areas.

I originally anticipated that the interviewees from the city and the ones from the organizations would provide me with differing responses concerning the arenas. I believed that the City representatives would be more defensive and justify the quality of the arenas, even the older ones that are considered inequitable. On the other hand, I thought the volunteer presidents of the male and female organizations would have far more complaints about the arenas than the other interviewees. I found that all interviewees, regardless of their current roles, acknowledged the poorly designed state of the older facilities and stressed the importance of upgrading the

inadequate arenas in both cities. For example, some of the arenas in London did not have standard washroom amenities in their dressing rooms, something that is not only a gender equity issue, but also an issue concerning today's standards, which explains why the representatives from the male organizations had concerns as well.

It is apparent that recently built arena facilities are more adequate in terms of addressing spaces aligned with gender equity than some of the older ones. The responses from the individuals who I interviewed provided an idea of how different the facilities are. This enabled me to focus more carefully on certain aspects of the design when conducting my site visits. For example, the president of the minor girls' association in London claimed that they will not have any games against other cities at a particular arena because it is simply unacceptable. When I visited this arena I came to the realization that it is unacceptable, regardless of gender. The dressing rooms were extremely small and had absolutely no washroom facilities in them at all. Fortunately, this is not the case in most of the facilities I examined. It is good to know that, with or without policy, significant improvements have been made over time to improve the design of arena facilities.

Two of the interviewees discussed the next step in making these facilities more gender equitable, and that is developing more than one referee's dressing room for officials. Despite the steady increase in participation rates among female hockey players, women are still significantly under-represented in executive and administration positions, as well as in coaching positions (Larkin & Baxter, 1993). There is a desire to have more females involved in all aspects of hockey. Females are now being provided the opportunity to become officials and adopt a major role in the actual games being played. There is potential for problems to arise when female referees are not given a separate room in which to change. Females and males need to feel

comfortable in their workplace, and having a co-ed dressing room does not provide that necessity. This is a potential barrier to female's participation in officiating because of the lack of comfort and the feeling of being less important. It is not fair when females do not have their own place for getting changed and are expected to fit into a male model of sport. This is something that needs to be considered in the future when designing and constructing arena facilities.

Site Visit Results

Conducting site visits enabled me to focus specifically on the design and the contents of dressing rooms in Windsor and London public arenas. The results demonstrated differences within and between cities. Of the five arenas in Windsor, only one had just four dressing rooms and no room designated for females. The two newest facilities had five dressing rooms per pad and the other two had four, but had created a 'ladies room' to accommodate females. The WFCU Centre (2008) and South Windsor Arena (1968; twinned in 1995) each had five rooms per pad of ice that were equal in size and amenities. Windsor Arena (1924) was the one that only had four dressing rooms. Adie Knox (1968) and Forest Glade (1971; twinned in 1990) were the two facilities that had added a room designated for females. Adie Knox was a single pad arena and the 'ladies room' was slightly smaller than the other rooms, but still had all of the same standard amenities. Forest Glade was a twinned arena; the one pad had a full size room that was recently built to be the 'ladies room', but the other pad had a small storage room transformed into a room for females. This room now consisted of a small bench, some hooks, and no washroom facilities. Money from the City was given to build a 'ladies room' in the one pad with the thought that females playing on the other rink could also use this room to change in (W4). There have been numerous complaints from parents who do not feel it is fair for their daughters to have to walk through the hallway to the other ice surface to get dressed (W4). Due to these complaints, the

storage room in the other pad was converted into a room for females to change in. In all the instances where storage rooms have been converted, my estimation (without having actual measurements) is that they are about a quarter of the size of regular rooms.

Within London's twelve arena facilities, there were twenty-two pads of ice. Some of the multi-pad facilities had a different number of dressing rooms for each pad (ranging from four to six), so these results have been provided based on the pads and not the facilities. Fourteen of the ice surfaces had five or more regular sized dressing rooms with standard amenities. Seven of the pads (all built prior to the 1980s) had four dressing rooms plus a 'gender equity room', which is what the rooms designated specifically for females are called in all of the applicable London arenas. Only one ice surface had four dressing rooms, and this was at Farquharson (built in 1954), a facility that did not have any washroom amenities in any of the dressing rooms. According to the Director of Parks and Recreation, this arena was one that was to be decommissioned once newer facilities were constructed. The three facilities that did not have any washroom amenities in the dressing rooms were Farquharson, Glen Cairn, and Oakridge, all of which were built prior to 1964.

The 'gender equity rooms' in the seven arenas that have them were significantly smaller than the other rooms in the facilities. Again, I would say they were about a quarter or a fifth the size of the average dressing rooms. Only two of these rooms had washroom amenities. At one of these two facilities, a washroom was shared between two small gender equity rooms that held about four people each; at the other, the rooms had their own washroom with a toilet, sink, and shower. Similar to the one described earlier for Windsor, these smaller rooms consisted of only a bench and some hooks. That left five gender equity rooms that I would describe as closet-size with no washroom amenities.

Another item on the checklist was the height of the hooks and the shower heads. The reasoning behind examining these features was the inherent differences in height between men and women. Typically, average males are taller in height than average females. I decided to look at the height of these features to determine if there were any differences in the standard rooms versus the gender specific rooms, and also to see if the standard rooms were still feasible for women's use. To measure these items I used my height and/or the number of concrete blocks in the space. When I measured one of these blocks in two different arenas, they were both 8 inches tall. All of the other arena facilities I visited appeared to use the same size blocks. In Windsor, the height of all of the facilities' hooks was 9 blocks. This was slightly taller than my height, which is 5'6". In essence, this height is adequate for either males or females. The showers were not the same height in all of the facilities. The shortest one was 8.5 blocks and the highest one was about 2 feet taller than me (no blocks to measure).

The height of the hooks and showers in London were similar to those in Windsor. The height of the hooks in all of the facilities was either 8 or 9 blocks high. The only arena whose gender equity room had a different height was Argyle, whose hooks were 6.5 blocks high. The showers in London also varied anywhere from 8 to 10 blocks when blocks were present. When there were not any blocks to measure, I used my height, and the showers were about 1 or 2 feet taller than me. Once again, the shower used for the gender equity room at Argyle was my height, whereas the other ones were a foot taller. Argyle is where a large portion of the girls' association's ice is located. This raises the question of why, in this facility, they shortened the heights of the hooks and shower heads for females, when that was not done elsewhere.

Unlike my previously described personal experience at a private arena that had no toilets in the dressing rooms, all five of the Windsor arenas had toilets in all of their rooms. In London,

three of the facilities did not have toilets in their dressing rooms, but these were the arenas that did not have any washroom amenities at all. With regards to either doors or stalls in the washroom area of the dressing rooms, three of the arenas had them in all dressing rooms, Windsor Arena had stalls in three of their four rooms, and Adie Knox did not have anything separating the toilet from the rest of the washroom. In this situation, the toilet (and anyone using it), would be visible from certain areas in the rest of the dressing room. In London all of the dressing rooms that had toilets also had doors or stall doors separating them from the rest of the washroom area.

As for washrooms being shared between dressing rooms, I did not find what I had expected. Other than the two gender equity rooms in London's Argyle Arena, which shared a washroom facility, only one other arena in London shared one washroom for two dressing rooms. All of the arenas in Windsor and the rest in London (excluding the ones that have no washroom facilities) had dressing rooms with their own washroom areas.

The reason for examining whether washrooms were shared between dressing rooms was to see the potential risk that exists for people to walk in on someone of the opposite gender while changing or using the washroom. In a similar vein I looked at whether opposite gender teams used dressing rooms consecutively. For example, if a female team is finishing up in a dressing room and a male team is coming in after them, there is a risk for a male to walk in on a female who is still getting changed. In both cities, this situation does occur. For the arenas that had six dressing rooms, this situation was easier to avoid but still was not guaranteed, depending on the ice rentals that are allotted. In the arenas that had four or five dressing rooms, it was impossible to avoid. In London, all of the arena personnel try to avoid opposite gender teams sharing rooms consecutively (L2), but again, it is nearly impossible to avoid in all instances. One way to avoid

having someone walk in unannounced to a dressing room would be to have the doors lock from the inside. In Windsor, all of the dressing room doors lock from the inside so tenants can lock the doors when changing. In London, five of the facilities had locks inside the dressing rooms, three of them only had locks on the outside of their dressing room doors, and four of them could unlock from inside the dressing room, but not lock. According to the Manager of Recreation Operations in London, the reason for being able to only unlock from the inside was so that children were not able to lock themselves in the rooms.

Another item that I examined during the site visits was whether the trophy cases in the arenas showcased any items dedicated to female hockey. Forest Glade Arena in Windsor is considered the home arena for the women's organization and it did have a trophy case dedicated solely to them, containing trophies and memorabilia. South Windsor Arena had trophies dedicated to females in its case as well as ones for males and the ratio was about 75% female to 25% male. Trophy cases in the other arenas in Windsor did not contain any female trophies or memorabilia. In London, Argyle Arena is the home facility for the women's organization and it had two large cases holding only their organization's trophies and clothing. No other arena in London had any items dedicated to female teams or organizations in their trophy cases.

Having curtains or doors on the showers is another way to guarantee that if someone of the opposite gender accidentally walks into the dressing room, everyone's privacy is guaranteed. The only facility in Windsor that had curtains on the showers was the new WFCU Centre. The Manager of Parks and Recreation said that she insisted that showers were covered to ensure privacy. In London, only two facilities offered this privacy feature, and in both cases it was only offered in the 'gender equity rooms'. Earl Nichols had shower curtains in both of its gender

equity rooms and Argyle had a door separating the shower from the rest of the washroom in the shared girls' dressing room space.

In keeping with Wearing's (1998) concept of making leisure spaces more comfortable for women, one aspect of my visits was to analyze the lighting inside and outside of all of the dressing rooms. On a scale from one to ten I ranked how dim (one) or bright (ten) I thought the lighting was both inside and immediately outside the dressing rooms. The rationale for this evolved from the literature on making recreation spaces more comfortable and safe for women so that they are not hesitant to participate. The ranking varied between and within cities. In Windsor, I ranked the rooms anywhere from a five to an eight. Three of the five facilities had brighter light outside the dressing room than inside. This is because the rooms led to the ice surface where there had to be bright lights. In London, the rankings were also between five and eight and in two instances the dressing rooms led to hallways that I deemed to be dimmer than inside the dressing rooms. I did find that I gave the newer facilities a brighter rating. For example, the WFCU Centre was ranked an eight both inside and out, and the oldest facility in Windsor was ranked a five both inside and out. This could be because the bulbs are newer or because of the placement and amount of lighting. I was unable to access the use of a light meter to measure the lumen levels (measurement of light). In light of the subjective nature of my assessment as a result, I would definitely recommend using a light meter in follow-up studies to enhance both reliability and validity.

The final item I examined during these site visits was whether there were mirrors or counters in the dressing rooms. My reasoning for looking at these is because I assumed females use more toiletries and spend more time in the washroom after playing hockey than males do. This assumption was based solely on my own personal experience, having played hockey on

both male and female teams. All of the facilities in Windsor had mirrors in their changing rooms to some extent. Windsor Arena had distorted mirrors in all of its dressing rooms, and Adie Knox only had a mirror in the 'ladies only' room. The WFCU Centre is the only facility that had a small counter around the area where the sink and mirrors were, which occurred in all of the dressing rooms. In London, only six of the twenty-two ice pads did not have mirrors in the dressing rooms, and only six pads (at two facilities) had small counters as well as the mirrors in all of their rooms.

I was fortunate to have conducted these site visits because it was an educational experience for me and contributed greatly to my research. I was able to take a step back from being a hockey player who enters the dressing room and focuses solely on playing the game. Looking at the rooms from a research perspective allowed me to see things that I would not have otherwise. In some instances I was surprised at what I found and in others I confirmed what I already expected. The next section is my analysis of what I learned from this experience with regards to how publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario structure and provide physical space by gender.

Site Visit Analysis

I originally anticipated finding four key trends as a result of these site visits. First, I expected to find arenas where dressing rooms had urinals, but not toilets; dressing rooms that shared washroom space with other dressing rooms; and overall gender inequities in the design of the dressing rooms. The next expectation I had was that I would find that newer facilities were more equitable than ones built decades ago. A third expectation was that the WFCU Centre would be designed effectively in terms of gender equity because it was the most recently built facility in both cities. Lastly, I expected that I would find London's facilities being designed

more equitably because of its gender equity in recreation policy. This section provides details on each of these expected outcomes.

I had anticipated finding arenas that had urinals, but no toilets in the dressing rooms and also arenas that had two dressing rooms sharing one washroom space. My reason for believing this was because of my personal experiences in hockey arenas in Toronto. I was pleased to see that this is not particularly the case in London and Windsor. Although I did not find the inequities I thought I would with regards to these two criteria, I did find that the majority of female specific rooms were inadequate when compared to the other standard dressing rooms.

In the situations where old storage rooms or furnace rooms were changed into dressing rooms for females, inequitable practices are occurring. While it may be viewed, by people who are unaware of gender equity, as being equitable because an attempt has been made to create a space for females, the 'makeshift' rooms that have been produced are inadequate as a dressing room facility. These rooms force females to have to walk through the hallways and lobbies to use a washroom facility. Unlike the males, females are not even able to fill their water bottles without leaving their rooms. These rooms are not only significantly smaller than the average dressing room and lacking washroom facilities, but they are also poorly placed in terms of sightlines. Standard dressing rooms typically have a wall blocking the view of the entire room when the door is opened. Because these makeshift rooms are just storage and furnace rooms that have been converted, they are lacking this wall. The doors to these rooms open to the hallways and lobbies in the arenas. Females particularly need this barrier to prevent males in the building seeing into the dressing rooms. These rooms, which have been created for females, are inadequate in terms of protecting their privacy.

The practice of creating ‘makeshift’ dressing rooms for females occurred at older facilities that originally only had four rooms per pad. It was apparent that newer facilities have tried to be more accommodating and typically built more than four regular size dressing rooms. In both London and Windsor, there is no formal method developed by provincial or municipal governments for how to structure and provide physical space by gender. It is apparent that newer facilities are more suitable for female participants and are structured in a more equitable manner. This is likely a result of the growing advancements related to gender equity in sport.

The notion that money determines design was very apparent after conducting the interviews in Windsor. The fact that the City saved eight million dollars by purchasing a pre-packaged design of the facility shows how important money is in such a significant decision. This design had each of the ice pads only housing four dressing rooms. Considering newer facilities typically have five or six dressing rooms per pad, this design was deemed unacceptable by the City of Windsor. Although the Manager of Parks and Recreation wanted six dressing rooms, she had to settle for five because the budget wouldn’t allow for more. Five is certainly more accommodating than four would have been, but settling for less than what was desired shows the impact that money has when trying to design a sport facility.

I expected my visit to the WFCU Centre to be critical to my examination of Windsor’s absence of a gender equity policy because it was the most recently built arena and because it was home to a junior hockey team. As the most recently built arena in the city, I was curious to see how the municipal government intended on providing the facility space (in)equitably. Knowing that the Windsor Spitfires had priority over ‘the bowl’ in terms of ice time, I wanted to learn how, or if, space would be provided for females. In terms of the dressing rooms in the facility, no inequities were found. Each of the rooms in all four pads was designed similarly and was not

targeted to a specific user. The Spitfires have their own private dressing room that they paid for and the most elite women's team in the city was also offered a similar type of space, which they declined to have, likely because they did not have the funding to pay for it.

With regards to my expectation that London would have more gender equitable facilities because of its gender equity policy, I found that this was the case. After London's Gender Equity Policy was implemented, budget adjustments were made to upgrade arenas that were not deemed to be gender equitable. London invested significant money into its arena facilities through the implementation of gender equity rooms, which was evident through my site visit results. I found that in the standard dressing rooms, the amenities were designed effectively for either males or females. Minor changes could be made to make them more accommodating to females, such as including counters, mirrors, and curtains on the showers. Overall, the rooms did not pose major threats to being inequitable.

The largest form of gender discrimination occurred in the 'makeshift' rooms that were more prevalent in the older facilities in both cities. These rooms demonstrated that both cities are attempting to structure and provide the physical space more equitably, but unfortunately they fall short in terms of being sufficient dressing room facilities for any gender to use. More funding needs to be provided to build larger and more adequate rooms designated specifically for females. It is evident that policy is not the issue here, but rather an issue of age. The facilities were not designed effectively for gender equity in previous decades.

Interviews and Site Visits

The information that was provided to me through the interviews that I conducted is in line with what I found during my site visits. Once again, regardless of gender, both male and female representatives had concerns about the design of the dressing room facilities. The issue

was not whether or not the city has a gender equity policy. Creating a policy or having one in place will not change the fact that some of these facilities are inadequate. The key issue is the age of the facilities and the solution is to somehow find the resources necessary to do major renovations on these arenas to provide more appropriate facilities. Unfortunately, this is a solution that is simply not feasible because there would not be enough funding to complete such renovations.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I focused on my third sub-problem: *How are publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario structured, and how are those spaces allocated by gender?* After a review of existing gendered spaces literature I outlined what I had anticipated finding when answering this question. The methodology section described the way in which I carried out the interviews and site visits, as well as how I analyzed the data I collected. The final section of this chapter has been separated by these two methods, providing first the interview results and analysis, followed by the site visit results and analysis.

Results from the interviews have shown that some of the facilities are simply inadequate, regardless of the gender of the participants using them, because some dressing rooms do not have any washroom facilities in them. Arenas being built nowadays would never include a dressing room without a toilet, sink, or shower. What I have found is that the gender inequities are not in the arenas that have been built more recently, which have five or more equal sized and equally equipped dressing rooms. By equipped I am referring to all of the amenities that I believe a dressing room should have, such as a toilet, sink, and shower. The facilities that are providing inequitable practices are the ones that have turned old storage rooms or furnace rooms into

makeshift 'gender equity' rooms. These rooms fail to create a welcoming environment to females of any age.

The fact that there is nothing in the design standard books I reviewed that illustrated a formal guideline for creating a dressing room in an arena is problematic. This certainly needs to be added to more recent editions of these books. Not having specific guidelines results in designs that are not in line with the wants and needs of a city that has a large population of female hockey participants. As well, the effect that money had on design was clear. An example of this relationship was the pre-packaged design that Windsor purchased for the WFCU Centre. Another aspect of the importance of money on design related to the upgrading of older facilities. For example, representatives from London were aware of the facilities that would be deemed inadequate and require upgrades. The problem was that these types of upgrades require a lot of money. If a municipality does not allocate funding for this purpose, appropriate rooms are not able to be created; instead, they have to settle for 'makeshift' rooms, which women inevitably end up using.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

I began this research as a result of my passion for and experience in ice hockey. It was not until I began studying sociological and legal aspects of sport that I realized I had seen many inequities while growing up playing hockey in Toronto. To understand these inequities I decided to complete research on this topic, which had recently stimulated my interest. The research question I decided to undertake was:

How is gender (in)equity created and maintained in Ontario ice arenas?

In order to tackle this problem, I created three sub-problems:

Sub-problem #1: How is gender equitable facility programming addressed in selected municipal allocation policies and in gender equity policies in Ontario?

Sub-problem #2: How are public ice arenas programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario?

Sub-problem #3: How are publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario structured, and how are those spaces allocated by gender?

These sub-problems were the foundation of this thesis. They have each contributed in answering my overall research question.

For the first sub-problem concerning policy analysis, I used Chalip's (1995) framework to determine the legitimations and attributions that were found in two types of policies. First I looked at two Ontario municipal gender equity policies, followed by an analysis of six Ontario municipal ice allocation policies. I was particularly looking for whether the gender equity policies mentioned facility use and whether the allocation policies referred to gender equity.

The second sub-problem regarding the programming of public arenas in London and Windsor allowed me to conduct a comparative case study between the two cities. For this question I conducted semi-structured interviews with employees of the Parks and Recreation Department of both cities, as well as volunteers from the male and female hockey organizations in both cities. I also completed a document analysis of the schedules of ice time in each city. To address this question, I was asking for individuals' perceptions about the programming of the arenas. After obtaining this information, I was able to compare their responses with what I found in the ice schedules. These sources of data, together, provided insights into how London and Windsor program their public ice arenas.

Site visits and semi-structured interviews were the methods used to examine how arenas in London and Windsor are physically structured and space is allocated by gender. I analyzed the physical design of the arenas and then tied what I found to the responses about interviewees' perceptions of the design. Some of the items I was looking for on these site visits were: the number of dressing rooms; whether the rooms had toilets, sinks, and showers; the lighting of the rooms; and the height of the hooks and showers. After examining these facilities and asking for the interviewees' opinions, I was able to reach conclusions about how these two cities structure and provide physical space by gender.

Each of the sub-problems have been given their own chapter consisting of a review of literature, a directional proposition, an outline of the methodology, the delimitations and limitations that have been placed on that question, and then the results and analyses that I have derived.

Conclusions

Sub-Problem #1

How is the provision of gender equitable facility programming addressed in selected municipal allocation policies and in gender equity policies in Ontario?

Through policy analyses of two municipal gender equity policies and six municipal ice allocation policies I have been able to answer the above stated sub-problem. I have concluded that the two types of policies are not well linked. The gender equity policies in Burlington and London both provide the solution of allocating facility use in a more equitable manner. The ice allocation policies, on the other hand, fail to address equitable allocation as a means of distributing ice. Although the gender equity policies have addressed the notion of gender equitable facility programming, implementation of these policies has not occurred and therefore the provision of equitable programming has also not occurred.

Sub-Problem #2

How are public ice arenas programmed in London and Windsor, Ontario?

For this sub-problem I conducted interviews with individuals in both cities and I also analyzed the ice schedules for each city. Both cities program their arenas on a needs and numbers basis; the organizations present the Allocations Manager with their registration numbers and the amount of ice that they believe they need. A historical method of allocation is also used by both cities. This means that blocks of ice times are distributed to the same organizations that had them in the previous years. This is a straightforward and effortless process for the Allocations Manager. After an examination of the current year's needs and numbers, small changes may be made to determine who gets what ice. This method of programming is informal and subject to the Allocation Managers' discretion. As a result of female hockey players'

growing registration numbers, a historical method of programming ice results in women's hockey being discriminated against. It is difficult for female organizations to get certain blocks of time because, historically, male organizations have had them. Despite asking for the organization's registration numbers, both cities still use the historical method.

Windsor currently has a surplus of ice and therefore the female organization is satisfied with the ice that they receive. Had this research been done in previous years, I would likely have arrived at different results. Despite this surplus, a gender equitable ice allocation policy could provide these two cities with a more equitable approach to programming their arena facilities.

In regards to the Windsor Spitfires receiving more favourable and accommodating treatment than other organizations in the City, I have concluded that in terms of ice time they do, but in terms of facility space, they do not. It has been shown that they do receive highest priority when allocating ice at 'the bowl' of the WFCU Centre. In terms of their dressing room space, they were given the space and had to pay for its design themselves. The most elite female team in the city, the Windsor Wildcats, was also given this option of space, but chose to stay at their current location. Although the information was not provided, it can be assumed that the Wildcats would have also had to pay for their space had they chosen to relocate at the WFCU Centre. While male junior hockey is privileged and has financial support, the female equivalent does not. The Manager of Parks and Recreation stated that the City will try to help this elite female team design and build a similar space at their facility. I am looking forward to following this proposed development and seeing what comes of it.

When analyzing the responses concerning how necessary policy is, it appears as though Windsor takes a very systematic approach to the administration of arena facilities. Nobody wants to deviate from the way things have been done over the years. "In our society, continuous

systematic reinforcement has benefited those groups that have historically enjoyed an advantage” (Larkin & Baxter, 1993, p. 4). Administrators have been taking the ‘if it’s not broke, don’t fix it’ approach and continuing to follow the historical trends. This is particularly apparent because all of the responses from the set of interview questions regarding the necessity of policy were so similar. It seems as though everyone involved was buying into the current administration methods and was hesitant to make changes and disrupt this system.

Sub-Problem #3

How are publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario structured, and how are those spaces allocated by gender?

To answer this sub-problem I have conducted site visits to the publicly owned arenas in London and Windsor, Ontario. In terms of structured physical space, some of the older facilities are inadequate by today’s standards. They are lacking all washroom amenities in each of the dressing rooms. In these instances, gender is not a factor in the structuring of space because these facilities are insufficient for both males and females. There is currently nothing concerning the design of dressing rooms for hockey arenas in any of the reviewed design standard books. In terms of structuring this space, it is thus up to the design team to determine how this is done. It is common practice for newer facilities to have five or more equal sized dressing rooms with consistent amenities. This allows for the provision of space to be equitable by gender in these facilities.

There are still numerous facilities in both cities that provide physical space inequitably. My results have shown that girls who have to get dressed in ‘makeshift’ rooms with no washroom amenities and sightlines that are open to the entire building are being discriminated against while their male team-mates are changing in standard rooms that do not have these same

features. Both cities have acknowledged the need to be more gender equitable when providing physical space, but in most situations the money and resources are not available to allow this to happen. The fact that ‘makeshift’ rooms have been created, or that larger, more suitable rooms have been added to facilities that only had four demonstrates that these cities are indeed aware of the need to be more equitable when providing physical space.

Overall Conclusion

How is gender (in)equity created and maintained in Ontario ice arenas?

The results and analyses from all three of my sub-problems have contributed to making conclusions about my research question. Efforts to create gender equity in Ontario arenas have occurred over time. This is evident through policies that have been created and through changes to facility structures. The problem is that these efforts have not been enough to initiate a consistent gender equitable program, let alone maintain one. In essence, gender equity has not been fully created in Ontario arenas.

Burlington’s and London’s Gender Equity Policies were great steps towards achieving gender equity, but as my results show, neither city has taken the steps necessary to successfully implement these policies. The six ice allocation policies fail to acknowledge gender equity as a factor when distributing ice, which also demonstrates that gender equity is not present. In London, the female president is not satisfied with the current method of allocation and believes their organization is being discriminated against. In both London and Windsor, there are some facilities that fall short of being completely gender equitable. These factors, drawn from my various sub-problems, demonstrate that gender equity has not been created in Ontario ice arenas.

I have concluded that the concern over gendered spaces in arenas is not only a policy issue, but also an age issue. Gender equity in sport has become more of a concern in the last

twenty years. Only two of the public arenas in London and Windsor were built sometime during the last twenty years. For this reason, it is understandable, though not acceptable, that there are still arenas not providing equitable space for females. My results show that newer facilities typically are built to provide more equitable spaces, however, there are no formal design expectations enforcing gender equity in arenas. This research has demonstrated that there should no longer be facilities built with only four dressing rooms. Whether a formal design plan is created or not, no municipality in Ontario should accept designs with only four dressing rooms per pad. Another finding that arose in my results is the idea of being more equitable towards female officials as well as the participants. New designs should also consist of two officials' rooms per pad of ice.

The fact that effort has been put forth illustrates that these Ontario cities are aware of the importance of providing a more gender equitable hockey program. Creating a gender equitable ice allocation policy and having a more unified policy that all municipalities could use is a recommendation I would make. As I have alluded to, the creation of a policy does not guarantee its implementation. Further actions could be made and would require that administrators devise creative means to help promote gender equitable practices. Some creative suggestions are:

- Rotate both males and females through the 'makeshift' rooms so that it is not always females who have to use them.
- When a team or organization has to give up their regular ice time to meet the demands of a more elite team (i.e., the Windsor Spitfires), they should be compensated with double the amount of ice time they lost.
- Provide male organizations and female organizations with an equal amount of ice regardless of registration numbers. If the female organization does not need all of the ice

allocated to them, they are allowed to distribute that ice as they see fit. For example, they could provide this extra ice to male teams that are willing to advocate and market on their behalf.

I do believe that gender equity can be created in Ontario arenas, but it will require policy implementation as well as funding and creative solutions. Once this is established, then gender equity must be monitored to ensure its maintenance.

Recommendations for the Future

There is little existing research concerning the allocation of public ice arenas in relation to gender equity. This thesis has provided a foundation for future research. To extend this work, I would recommend conducting a similar study in smaller Ontario cities where there is less available ice to meet the demands. Windsor and London are both considered to currently have somewhat of an ice surplus. Had this not been the case when I conducted this study, I expect I would have received different results and perhaps would have seen more of a need for policy. In a smaller city, with less ice to be allocated and a high population of youth hockey players, I would expect to see more inequities and therefore more need for changes to be made. This extension of my research would also provide a look at more Ontario cities, contributing towards eventual generalizations on this topic.

Another recommendation to academics is to conduct a similar study but from a different perspective. Including the opinions and experiences of the young hockey players and coaches from both the male and female organizations would add in the point of view of the individuals who are currently experiencing the (in)equities that are occurring. In my thesis, I have provided the outlook of the administrators, but the participants may have a completely different perspective on the situation. It would be interesting to learn what hockey players and their

coaches observe or fail to understand in terms of gender equity. In addition to the perspectives of the players and coaches, there should be an inquiry into the perceptions of female officials.

A gender-based assessment of government subsidies provided to/by different municipalities for recreation programs is another area where further research is required. Once the actual amount of resources being provided for male versus female organizations is established, conclusions can be made about whether inequities are occurring at the municipal level. This research could raise awareness about (in)equitable practices and therefore have the potential to promote change. When municipalities are in close geographic proximity to universities, I recommend creating a partnership and using their students and/or faculty to aid in these research ideas.

From a practical perspective I would recommend that sport organizations focus more on creating awareness about the importance of achieving gender equitable services. This needs to be done for all volunteers and employees of any organization that offers recreational services to both males and females. This aligns with some of the policies that this thesis analyzed, in which the importance of educating and making people aware was stressed. Unfortunately, there are people who are unaware that inequities exist; without this knowledge, improvements will be hard to make.

In the policies that I examined (either gender equity or ice allocation policies), each city implemented their policy in different years. I recommend that new cities interested in developing these policies seek out existing policies, as a guideline for the development of their own. This would provide more consistent policies throughout Ontario municipalities and would enable cities that did not have one to follow an effective template for creating one. In order to ensure implementation of these policies, I recommend that an individual in the recreation department be

assigned this responsibility as part of their job portfolio. In other words, this person would be responsible for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the policies as well as reporting back to the department annually on related developments.

In addition to the previous recommendation I suggest that a gender equitable ice allocation policy template be developed through the Ontario government for consideration by all municipalities. Slight changes could be made to this template for allocating ice by prioritized groups, depending on the demographics of the city. This template would also include detailed solutions so that cities would outline specifically how they will have the means and ability to implement this policy. A brief outline of some of the items to be included has been provided in this thesis (see page 48). I would suggest having one individual identified, whose job portfolio includes monitoring, evaluating, and reporting back to the provincial government. In order to hold the municipalities accountable, the provincial government could provide additional resources as an incentive. Alternatively, resources and funding could be removed if the policy is not being implemented. This would provide incentives for the municipalities to adopt more gender equitable approaches in their ice allocation process.

The absence of standards for achieving gender equitable arena dressing room facilities demonstrates a downfall in design literature. These books are used by many as a reference for quick and simple guides to building designs. It is my recommendation to include arena facilities in future editions of these books. I believe these types of standards would alleviate inequitable designs and make money less of a determining factor. For example, if design standards were set for multi-pad arena facilities, the 'pre-packaged' design in Windsor would not have been suggested; instead the preferred six dressing room pads could have been implemented. In addition, I recommend that standards for equitable facility design should be set by Hockey

Canada. A rating system could be developed with facilities receiving a grade based on how gender (in)equitable they are. A minimum rating could be required for hosting Hockey Canada tournaments. This would allow arena facilities to promote and market the fact that they are rated “more equitable”, and would provide incentives for facilities to become more equitable in order to host tournaments and benefits from those events.

Lastly I recommend that female hockey organizations continue to do what they have had to do since their inception, and that is to advocate on behalf of young females to obtain the fair and equitable ice time that they deserve. Without this advocacy, changes will likely not be made. Those involved in female sport need to continue to campaign for themselves until gender equity is created and maintained in arena facilities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Researcher Autobiography

Although it is not possible, I sometimes wonder if my love for hockey is a genetic trait passed on to me by my parents. My Dad played hockey his whole life, and later went on to coach, which he still does to this day. My Mom was one of the players on the first women's team in Leaside, Ontario when women's hockey was in its infancy in the 1970s. I have been a fan of hockey ever since my dad took me to my first Toronto Maple Leaf game at Maple Leaf Gardens when I was seven years old. For as long as I can remember as a child my parents literally begged me to start playing hockey. I was part of the local figure skating club that went on the ice once a week during the winters. My Mom was adamant that I would have more fun in hockey and that the social aspect of it was enough reason to join. My reason for not playing, although I am ashamed to admit it now, was because I did not want to play a boys' sport. I remember asking my Mom if I agreed to play would I be able to wear girls' skates (referring to figure skates). Finally, I agreed to play as long as one of my best friends was allowed to play with me.

My first time on the ice was a horrible experience. I was embarrassed to be playing a 'boys' sport', I did not know how to skate in boys' skates (hockey skates), and my feet hurt a lot from trying to skate backwards for ten minutes. So inevitably, I was mad at my parents for making me join this ridiculous sport. About a week later, and after three more practices on the ice, I was mad at my parents for not forcing me to join at a younger age; I absolutely loved it once I got the hang of it, and I have not stopped loving it since.

When I discuss my love and passion for the game, it is probably hard to understand to what extent I actually have a place in my heart for hockey. I will try to explain it by providing evidence of how it was part of my life as a child and young female growing up, and how it

helped shape who I am today. In my first year, I played house league and select in the girls' league. House league is recreational hockey for anyone who wants to participate, while select is the more competitive level for the select players who can make the team from the house league level. Despite playing on both teams, I still wanted to play more hockey. The following year I decided to join the boys' house league as well and play with all of my friends from my soccer team. The year after that I also joined the boys' select team, all the while still playing on both girls' teams. For five years I played on these four hockey teams, and I honestly do not remember having a night off. Of course, the only way I would have been able to make the select teams is if I practiced really hard and improved my skills, so I had also joined two different hockey schools.

Some of my fondest memories were driving with my dad from one game to the next one, across the city still dressed in my equipment because I did not have time to change in between my games or practices. On the rare occasion when I did have a night off, I was at the hockey rink anyways because one of my four siblings would also have a game. I sometimes feel like I was raised in a hockey rink and I have no problem admitting that. I truly believe that my leadership skills, confidence, and responsibility are a result of my experiences playing hockey. More importantly, my Mom was right; my closest and dearest friends, still to this day, I would not have met had I not become a hockey player.

My background in hockey is quite extensive. I have played on both female and male dominated teams, been a captain on my team for more than seven years, and been the only female instructor at a male dominated hockey school. I completed my Bachelor of Human Kinetics degree at the University of Windsor where I played on the varsity women's hockey team for four years. It is my love for hockey and my interest in sociological issues in sport that brings me to where I am now. It was not until I connected my schooling to my hockey playing

that I started to acknowledge the inequities that exist in women's hockey. Becoming more educated really opened my eyes to discriminatory practices that exist surrounding the sport that I love. After deciding to pursue a Master's degree, I knew that I wanted to learn more about these inequities, and in turn, educate others about them as well.

APPENDIX B

Policy Analysis Framework

Name of Policy:

Type of Policy (Gender Equity or Ice Allocation):

Who created the policy?

Focusing Events:

Problem Definition:

Legitimation (Rationale):

Attributions (Solutions):

Decision Frames:

Does the policy make reference to gender if it is an ice allocation policy? If so, to what extent?

Does the policy make reference to the distribution of facility use if it is a gender equity policy? If so, to what extent?

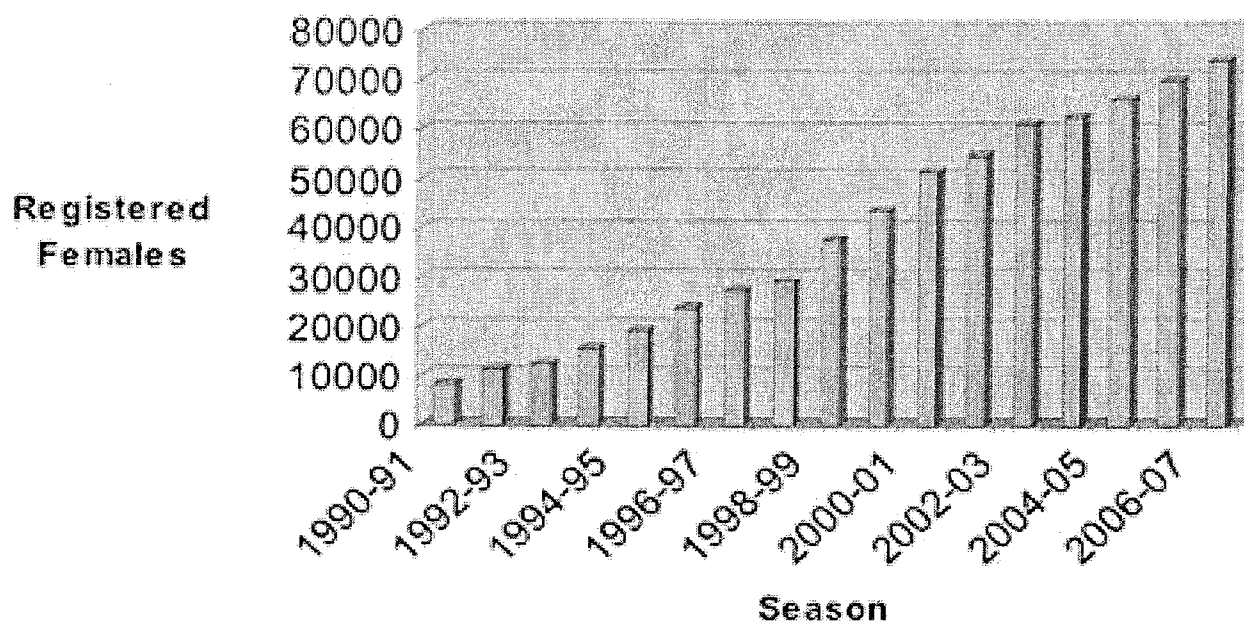
Major Areas of Focus?

Additional Comments?

APPENDIX C

Women's Participation in Canadian Hockey

Growth of Female Hockey in Canada 1990-2007



(Hockey Canada, 2008)

APPENDIX D

Interview Guides

Interview Guide – Manager of Parks and Recreation

- 1) Tell me about your background in Parks and Recreation.
- 2) How did you get involved in the administration of Parks and Recreation?
- 3) How long have you been the Manager of Parks and Recreation?
- 4) How many males/females work for you?
- 5) What are your primary responsibilities in this position?
- 6) What is the process you follow for distributing ice time in public arenas?
- 7) Do you believe that ice time is equitably distributed between males and females?
Why/Why not? What factors impact on that distribution? (e.g., level of competition, type of sport)
- 8) What do you know about London's gender equity policy and its implementation?
(*London*)
- 9) Are you aware of any gender equity policies from other Ontario cities with regard to the distribution of the use of facilities?
- 10) From what you know, has the city of Windsor ever considered implementing a gender equity policy for recreation services?
- 11) How necessary do you believe a policy of this nature is?
- 12) From what you know, what was the process for developing this policy? (*London*) OR
What would the process be to develop a policy of this nature? (*Windsor*)
- 13) Was there a strategy in place to implement this policy? (*London*) OR What would the strategy be for implementing a policy like this? (*Windsor*)
- 14) From your recollection, have you received any comments from citizens concerning the current method of ice distribution? (*both positive and negative*)
- 15) Was it difficult to adjust your ice allotment after the implementation of this policy or were changes not necessary? (*London*)

- 16) As the manager of Parks and Recreation, do you believe that a gender equity policy has or would have a positive, negative, or neutral impact on the distribution of ice time? Explain.
- 17) With the new arena being built, have there been discussions about how to ensure that ice time is distributed equally? (*Windsor*)
- 18) Does the construction of arena spaces matter for gender equity?
- 19) Is there anything related to gender equity in hockey arenas that you feel I did not cover that you would like to touch on?

Interview Guide – Manager of Ice Allocation

- 1) Tell me about your background in Parks and Recreation.
- 2) How did you get involved in the administration of Parks and Recreation?
- 3) How long have you been in this current position?
- 4) How many males/females work for you?
- 5) What are your primary responsibilities in this position?
- 6) What is the process you follow for distributing ice time in public arenas?
- 7) Do you believe that ice time is equitably distributed between males and females?
Why/Why not? What factors impact on that distribution? (e.g., level of competition, type of sport)
- 8) What do you know about London's gender equity policy and its implementation?
(*London*)
- 9) Are you aware of any gender equity policies from other Ontario cities with regard to the distribution of the use of facilities?
- 10) From what you know, has the city of Windsor ever considered implementing a gender equity policy for the distribution of facility use?
- 11) How necessary do you believe a policy of this nature is?
- 12) From what you know, what was the process for developing this policy? (*London*) OR
What would the process be to develop a policy of this nature? (*Windsor*)
- 13) Was there a strategy in place to implement this policy? (*London*) OR What would the strategy be for implementing a policy like this? (*Windsor*)
- 14) From your recollection, have you received any comments from citizens concerning the current method of ice distribution? (*both positive and negative*)
- 15) Was it difficult to adjust your ice allotment after the implementation of this policy or were changes not necessary? (*London*)
- 16) Do you believe that a gender equity policy has or would have a positive, negative, or neutral impact on the distribution of ice time? Explain.
- 17) With the new arena being built, have there been discussions about how to ensure that ice time is distributed equally? (*Windsor*)

- 18) Does the construction of arena spaces matter for gender equity?
- 19) Is there anything related to gender equity in hockey arenas that you feel I did not cover that you would like to touch on?

Interview Guide – President of Minor Hockey Organization

- 1) Tell me about your personal background in minor hockey.
- 2) How long have you been involved in the administration of minor hockey?
- 3) Is your current position a volunteer or a paid position?
- 4) How did you first get involved in minor hockey?
- 5) Does your program offer any girls' programs?
- 6) What are your responsibilities in this position?
- 7) Who is responsible for creating the ice schedules?
- 8) What is the process followed for distributing ice time in the arenas?
- 9) Are you familiar with the gender equity policy for the city? (*London*)
- 10) Are you familiar with any gender equity approaches for the city? (*Windsor*)
- 11) Do you believe that ice time is equitably distributed between genders? Why/Why not? What factors impact on that distribution? (e.g., level of competition, type of sport)
- 12) Do you believe your organization receives fair and equitable ice time in comparison to other organizations in the city?
- 13) Has your organization ever encountered problems getting ice time from the city?
- 14) Which arenas in the city does your organization play out of?
- 15) Do you believe the arenas where your organization plays are designed effectively in terms of dressing rooms and washrooms both for men and for women?
- 16) Are you aware of the method used by the city to distribute ice time? If so, can you describe the process?
- 17) Do you believe a gender equity policy facilitates gender equitable administration of arenas? Why/Why not?
- 18) Is there anything related to gender equity in hockey arenas that you feel I did not cover that you would like to touch on?

Interview Guide – Arena Managers

- 1) Tell me about your personal background in sport and recreation?
- 2) How did you get involved in facility management?
- 3) How long have you been this facility's manager?
- 4) What are your primary responsibilities in this position?
- 5) Who is responsible for creating the ice schedules?
- 6) What is the process followed for distributing ice time in the arenas?
- 7) Are you familiar with any gender equity approaches for the city? (*Windsor*)
- 8) Do you believe that ice time is equitably distributed between males and females?
Why/Why not? What factors impact on that distribution? (e.g., level of competition, type of sport)
- 9) Can you explain the use of dressing rooms for men's and women's teams? (How are they distributed? Lockers provided? Time limits?)
- 10) Do you believe a gender equity policy facilitates gender equitable administration of arenas? Why/Why not?
- 11) How necessary do you believe a policy of this nature is?
- 12) As an arena manager, do you believe that a gender equity policy has or would have a positive, negative, or neutral impact on the distribution of ice time?
- 13) Is there anything related to gender equity in hockey arenas that you feel I did not cover that you would like to touch on?

APPENDIX E

Letter to Interviewees

Dear (name of subject),

My name is Lynn Campbell and I am a Masters candidate with the Faculty of Human Kinetics, at the University of Windsor. I am conducting research on creating and maintaining gender equity in Ontario ice arenas in terms of ice allocation and the structure of physical space. My purpose with this research is to develop an understanding of how communities are accommodating the growth of women's hockey and the pressures this growth places on facilities.

My research requires me to have a thorough understanding of all issues surrounding my topic. In order to achieve this level of understanding I will be conducting interviews with various people in the fields of parks and recreation and municipal hockey. I would like to interview you to gather your thoughts and opinions on this important matter. Interviews that I conduct will be transcribed and provided to the interviewees to ensure the information is accurate.

I would like to contact you personally to discuss the possibility of an interview and to schedule a time and location that is most convenient for you. Your input into this study is invaluable and I look forward to discussing it with you.

If you have any questions regarding this study please do not hesitate to contact me by email at campblu@uwindsor.ca or you can contact my advisor, Dr. Victoria Paraschak by email at parasch@uwindsor.ca.

Sincerely,

Lynn Campbell
Graduate Student Human Kinetics
University of Windsor

APPENDIX G:

Summary Checklist Charts

WINDSOR	Windsor Arena	Adie Knox	Forest Glade (Pads A B)	WFCU (4 Pads)	South Windsor (2)
Dressing rooms	4	4+ladies	4+ladies/pad	5	5
Room for females	No	Yes "Ladies DressingRoom"	Yes	Yes	No
Own washroom	Yes	Yes	Yes (except pad A girls')	Yes	Yes
Washrooms shared	No	No	No	No	No
Toilets	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urinals	Yes – in 2 of them	No	Yes (except girls')	Yes	Yes
Washrooms have stalls/doors	3 rooms have doors for toilet only	No	Yes- stalls	Yes	Yes
Locks on washroom	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Light in	5	6	6	8	6
Light out	5	7	8	8	7
Share consecutively	Yes	Yes	Yes – arena has magnetic signs 'Female Dressing Room'	Yes	Yes
Lock from inside	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Trophy case	No	No	Yes – Sun Parlour's home rink	No	Yes ¾ is girls
Height of hooks	8.5blocks (just taller than me)	9 blocks	9 blocks	9 blocks	9 blocks
Height of showers	2 ft taller than me	Foot taller than me	Just taller than me	8.5 and 9.5	10 blocks
Doors/curtains on shower	No	No	No	Curtains	No
Mirrors/counters	Distorted mirrors	Mirror in ladies room only	Mirrors	Mirror, small counter	Mirror
Comments	One room has toilet and shower – no sink, no door for toilet	Ladies room is bit smaller but still fairly big, exact same amenities inside	Pad B - full size room all amenities; Pad A is just a small storage space		Dressing rooms segregated (separate hallway in one pad)

LONDON	Argyle (2 pads)	Carling (2) – 7 or 8 yrs old	Earl Nichols (3 pads – A B C)	Farquharson (2pads – A,B)
Dressing rooms	A – 4; B – 6	6 /side	A-4, B-5, C-6	A- 4, B- 4+ gender equity room (GE)
Room for females	Yes (2 for girls' only)	No	Yes (A &B – smaller – see comment)	GE room (see comment)
Own washroom	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Washrooms shared	Only for the 2 girls' rooms	No	No	n/a
Toilets	Yes	Yes	Yes	n/a
Urinals	No	No	AB– no, C-yes	n/a
Washrooms have stalls/doors	Yes	Yes doors	Yes	n/a
Locks on washroom	Yes	Yes	Yes	n/a
Light in	6		6	5
Light out	8		7	7
Share consecutively	If need be	If need be	If need be	If need be
Lock from inside	Yes	No – unlock from inside	Yes	No
Trophy case	Yes-see comment	No	No	n/a – not their arena
Height of hooks	Girls – 6.5; other 7.5 block		9 blocks	My height
Height of showers	Girls' – my ht; other – ft taller		2 ft taller than me	n/a
Doors/curtains on shower	Door in girls'	No – walk through hallway to get to them	No (except 2 girls' rooms in A, B)	n/a
Mirrors/counters	Mirrors	Mirrors	Only in C	n/a
Comments	2 cases, one for clothes, one for trophies, girls on pad A have to walk over (through lobby) Girls' rooms are small (4 ppl) per washroom	Big dressing rooms (Not a site visit)	Girls' rooms in AB, one bench, toilet, curtains. C is the newer pad	No washroom facilities in any rooms. GE room has sign on door, bench with 5 hooks my height This arena is to be decommissioned

LONDON	Glen Cairn	Kinsmen (2 pads - identical)	Lambeth (1993)	Medway
Dressing rooms	4+GE (comment)	6 each	6	4+GE
Room for females	Yes	No (but 6 rooms)	No	Yes
Own washroom	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Washrooms shared	No	No	No	No
Toilets	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urinals	No	No	No	No
Washrooms have stalls/doors	n/a	Yes for toilet (not shower)	Yes – doors	Yes
Locks on washroom	n/a	Inside door for toilet	Locks on door	Deadbolt inside
Light in	8	7		
Light out	8	5		
Share consecutively	If need be	If need be	If need be	If need be
Lock from inside	No	Yes	No – unlock from inside	No – unlock only
Trophy case	No	No	No	No
Height of hooks	8 blocks in GE room	9 blocks		Standard
Height of showers	Foot taller than me in reg. Room	9 blocks		Standard
Doors/curtains on shower	No	No	No – walk through to get to shower	No
Mirrors/counters	No	Mirror, small counter	Mirrors	No
Comments	GE has no washroom facilities. Others – 2 have showers only; other 2 have nothing	Two arenas are identical – all rooms are same size	Big rooms, reason for unlock only is safety (kids). Not a site visit	GE room- much smaller, no washroom, just bench and hooks

LONDON	Oakridge (60s)	Silverwood	Stronach (2-A,B)	Western Fair (4 – 3 small, 1 big)
Dressing rooms	4+2GE rooms	4+GE room	6/pad	Small-6; Big-5
Room for females	Yes	Yes	No	No
Own washroom	No	No	Yes	Yes
Washrooms shared	n/a	Yes	No	No
Toilets	n/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urinals	n/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Washrooms have stalls/doors	n/a	Stalls for toilet; door for washroom	Door	Yes
Locks on washroom	n/a	Yes	Yes	Yes
Light in			7	6
Light out			8 (leads to arena)	5 (dark hallway)
Share consecutively	If need be	If need be	If need be	If need be
Lock from inside	Unlock from inside	No	Yes	Yes
Trophy case	No	No	No	No
Height of hooks	Standard breakaway hooks	Standard	8 blocks	9 blocks
Height of showers	n/a – open concept	Standard	2 – one at 8 bl. One at 9	10 blocks
Doors/curtains on shower	n/a	No	No	No
Mirrors/counters	No	Mirrors	Mirror	Mirror & counter
Comments	2 GE rooms – smaller with benches & hooks. No washrooms in any dressing rooms – just one common shower.	GE rooms – small, just bench and hooks		4 ref rooms. Junior B team took 6 th room in big rink

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