

**WORKING-OUT:
WOMEN'S WORK AT A LEISURE FACILITY**

by

Penelope A. Brady

Department of Sociology

Lakehead University

Thunder Bay

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates women's formal and informal marginalization at work, focusing on employment and job assignments in the aquatics department of a leisure facility in Thunder Bay. I outline the theoretical perspectives on part-time work, methods of segregating women in employment, the social construction of space use, and sport ideology. The economic, political, and cultural fabric of the city is detailed, as well as its ties to the employment trends of the Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay and the specific site under study. The work performed in the aquatics department of the facility is described, focusing on the two basic divisions of labour, lifeguarding and instructing, and the mechanisms of control used by management.

The impact on employees' work experiences of traditional concepts of women's natural abilities coupled with the physical and social environment of their work have not been studied extensively. This thesis illustrates how gender ideologies present in contemporary Western culture, especially their specific manifestation in the regional culture as reflected in the discourse and practices of users and workers at the facility, generates gender segregation at the worksite. At the specific work-site investigated, these factors have a substantial influence on the distribution of jobs and tasks among male and female staff. Despite

possessing the same qualifications and being hired under the same job titles as men, gender ideologies and the practices that are inextricably bound up with them function to isolate women in stereotypical jobs.

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INTRODUCTION

AIM OF THE WORK

The goal of this thesis is to investigate women's formal and informal marginalization at work.¹ The work-site under investigation is the aquatics department of a leisure facility in the City of Thunder Bay. This study will illustrate how, through the use of conservative ideologies surrounding women's relation to work coupled with the nature of sport culture, female aquatic staff are segregated into traditional jobs and tasks.

Since the 1960's the nature of work in advanced capitalist societies has changed dramatically. This transformation involves many factors but three of the most significant are the increase in the absolute and relative numbers of women engaged in wage labour, the rise of the service sector in terms of employment, and the growth of part-time work.² These three developments are inter-related in various ways, and are both influenced by and have an impact upon social relations outside wage labour. Of particular relevance to my study is the effect of gender relations and ideologies on formal and informal workplace

¹For this study the term "work" will apply to paid employment only. This is not to deny that those who volunteer or labour inside the home do work, but for the purpose of this study the term will refer only to those who are employed outside of the home for monetary remuneration.

²For the purpose of this study, part-time work will be defined as a work schedule other than regular full-time hours, less than 30 hours per week, year-round employment.

practices. The sociology of work is only now coming to terms with the extent of this transformation and this has resulted in an increasing need to understand women's relationship to and experiences at work (Duffy, Mandell and Pupo, 1989; Wilson, 1991). I investigate how the culture of the work environment influences the formal and informal structure of employment, and marginalizes women in sex-stereotypical jobs.

Traditionally, work has been divided along gender lines, with most "male" jobs situated in the area of full-time industrial and manual labour, while "female" jobs are part-time in the service sector (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1993; Thurman and Trah, 1990; Wilson, 1991). As a result, classical studies of work and work-place culture have been split, with studies on male labour concentrating on relatively large industrial settings employing predominantly men in full-time, blue collar positions (Burawoy, 1979; Carey, 1967; Dore, 1973), and studies on female employment focusing on "pink collar" job ghettos in the service sector and part-time employment (Lowe, 1986; Reiter, 1991; Steedman, 1986). Relatively few studies have investigated the gendered division of labour within jobs where women and men have the same qualifications. This has resulted in, as Reskin (1993) states, the "need to know more about how workers end up in specific jobs - both in terms of their own actions and those of employers" (p. 256).

Work-place culture and the divisions of labour are strongly connected. Padavic (1991) found that social concepts of masculinity and femininity are reflected in the hiring and assigning of jobs, as well as in interactions on the shoproom floor, and result in women's behaviour being constrained to mirror conservative ideas of sex-appropriate actions. Therefore, women may find themselves being excluded from certain areas of work and tasks, if they are hired at all. Sexual or gender harassment and physical and social exclusion from certain work-sites and areas can influence women's employment preferences. These restrictive practices reinforce traditional concepts of "appropriate roles" for women. Although most workplaces do not have segregation of work duties based on sex entrenched in official policy, it is not policies but individuals who directly hire for and assign jobs. This analysis of informal segregation will illustrate how traditional ideas of women's natural abilities and relation to work assist in their marginalization into stereotypical roles.

The specific culture of each work-site, created by both the people who use the site and the work performed in it, affects employees' experiences at work. While previous labour studies have tended to focus on either the work that the people perform or the spaces they use, few have investigated how the two factors combine to effect job and task assignment. Due to this gap in the literature, it has

become necessary to understand the connections between the material environment where we perform work, its ideological fabric, and how, together, they affect job and task distribution among employees. The present research is an attempt to illustrate how women at a leisure facility, although officially employed under the same job titles as men, are marginalized by the formal and informal cultures of the work-site by being assigned different tasks, having fewer avenues of job advancement and having their work judged by a different standard than men.

THE NORTHERN FITNESS FACILITY

The site of this research study is an aquatic, gym and fitness facility owned and operated by the City of Thunder Bay. The Northern Fitness Facility offers a variety of programs related to health and fitness to the general public. This study focuses on the aquatics department within the facility. During the course of my research this department employed approximately 68 staff members, of which two-thirds were women. Although there were six active job descriptions, the majority of those employed worked as an instructor/lifeguard, responsible for teaching swimming and supervising public swims.

Staff relations and job assignments at the facility are affected by the economic, political and cultural fabric of the city in which it is located. Therefore, the prevailing

conservative ideology of Thunder Bay affects the site under study. Although it is changing, local culture contains strong traces of the city's past as a centre of primary industry, resource extraction and transportation, and the gendered ideologies characteristic of these industries. This results in traditional ideas of women's place and relation to work informally governing the jobs and tasks that women are assigned. This is reflected in the hiring practices of the Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay, and through these practices, the distribution of work at the facility under study.

To work as a member of the aquatic staff at the facility, each employee must successfully complete a certain level of aquatic and lifesaving certification before being hired; therefore, employees possess a degree of dedication to the job. There are two basic divisions of work at the pool, lifeguarding and instructing, with both areas requiring the employee to understand a complex set of formal and informal rules. These codes of behaviour are created through a process of dynamic negotiation among the staff, management and patrons, and result in the continual and subtle review of employee job performance. This is not to suggest that the negotiations are entered into by each partner equally. Management uses mechanisms of control such as scheduling manipulation and surveillance to increase its power in the decision-making process.

These actions have different consequences for female staff members than for male. Women are marginalized at the facility by the management, fellow staff members, and patrons. This is achieved through the social construction of skill, avenues for job advancement, the pay structure, and concepts of women's authority. Management uses common ideological beliefs about women, their relation to work and their natural abilities in order to pay them less, to deny them promotions to positions of authority, and to assign female staff stereotypical jobs and tasks.³ These actions are supported and encouraged by the ideologies of sport culture prevalent at the facility; notions that support the domination of the heterosexual male. The result is that the building's physical design and usage support female employee segregation.

METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on qualitative methods of information collection. It takes the form of an ethnographic study of a specific work environment, where material was gathered by means of participant observation and semi-directed interviews. This study started "where I was," to paraphrase Loftland and Loftland (1984). I had worked at the Northern Fitness Facility as an aquatics worker for approximately

³While I am aware of the difference between the biologically based term "sex" and the social construction of gender, this thesis will use the terms interchangeably.

twenty months prior to commencing my study, and therefore I had the advantage of knowing the "cast of characters" as well as the facility's official structure previous to the information-gathering period of my study. The "hands on" nature of the research, coupled with the extensive duration of the study, permitted me to know intimately the life of a Northern Fitness Facility aquatics worker.

During the initial phase of my research, I continued to work at the facility. For a period of ten months, I maintained a daily log of my workplace experiences, of conversations between myself and other staff members, the body language used by patrons and staff, and the ways in which the physical work-space environment was used. A model of the workplace was then developed from this information.

In the second phase of the research process an interview schedule, based on the research log, was devised, and in-depth open-ended interviews were conducted with ten regular part-time employees in the aquatics division of the Northern Fitness Facility.⁴ Interview material were used to substantiate my observations, to test the model I had developed about male and female workplace relations, and to examine differences between male and female impressions of the workplace. Attention was focused on employees' perceptions and experiences of work. Supervisory and managerial personnel were interviewed through informal

⁴For the interview schedule, see appendix A.

enquiries while on the job-site to understand such issues as hiring practices, the division of labour and the distribution of tasks and rewards. This material was recorded in my daily log.

Qualitative or Quantitative Research: Ethnography

During the 1930's and 1940's a chasm grew between the two methods utilized by the social sciences, quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative methods are based on the techniques employed in the natural sciences and are concerned with testing "facts." The qualitative, or naturalist, form of research grew largely as a reaction to quantitative methods and it centres on studying the world in its natural state. Using qualitative methods, social phenomena are perceived as different from those of the natural world, in that they are open to a variety of interpretations across time and space. Naturalism attempts to understand social meanings and how people interpret them.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) discuss, these two methodological paradigms are not mutually exclusive as they both attempt to study, but are simultaneously a part of, the social world. The distinction between scientific and common-sense understanding becomes blurred when we recognize the impossibility of ridding the research process of either the researcher or their bias. All forms of research are social interactions, as they require social participation. Because of this, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that

one cannot eliminate the effects of the researcher, as is often assumed by those who advocate the use of quantitative methods. Therefore, researchers must attempt to understand their personal effects on the social phenomenon they hope to study.

Ethnographic research, a form of qualitative understanding, has a long history of usage in academic studies. It attempts to attain a close relationship with how people actually function in their social worlds. Ethnography is guided by the concept that the nature of social interaction should be discovered through first hand observation, integrating description and theory to assist our understanding of the world in which we live.

Ethnographers research the routine, daily lives of people, searching for commonly shared beliefs and values. These researchers collect and analyze information simultaneously, entering into the field with an open mind, but not an empty head. They begin every study with a defined problem, and a model of what is to be studied. This defined problem assists in controlling researcher bias by focusing and limiting the research scope.

During the research process, ethnographers attempt to understand both the structure and function of the culture being observed. This is usually achieved by examining and participating in the mundane practices as well as rituals and symbolic ceremonies of the culture. They search for

multiple realities, gathering information through an emic perspective. Ethnographic research proceeds inductively, with models and hypotheses formed on the basis of observation and experience. Participant observation is the most common form of material collection in ethnographic research (Ely, 1991, p. 42).

A basic premise of this method of research is that it is possible to stand in another's shoes (Ely, 1991). As an observer, the researcher involves her or him self with the group or area under study, conforming to and immersing within the group to whatever degree necessary and deemed appropriate for the study. At times this can be inhibited by the researcher's sex; female investigators might not be permitted in certain areas, when they are perceived as women first, and researchers second (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). As an observer, it is the researcher's responsibility to participate and record, but not interfere or attempt to change the environment.

It is also vital for researchers to recognize that they are part of the social world being observed. Therefore, they should avoid influencing that sphere by such means as participating closely in line with the needs of the study, being aware of the ripples that their participation creates. By being self aware and understanding their assumptions and preconceptions, researchers are able to better record what happens during the research process.

Participant observation provides the researcher with the flexibility to choose the most appropriate level of involvement for the particular study, enabling the investigator to fully explore the richness of the social world. This method also complements other research methods, such as interviewing, as it permits the researcher to develop relevant interview questions, avoiding irrelevant material. It also permits the interviewer to compare interview answers with actual work behaviour.

Interviewing

Interviews place what the ethnographer witnesses and/or experiences into context. There are several different types of interviews used by academic researchers. Formal and semi-directed discussions compare subject responses and situate these answers in context with group beliefs. They are especially useful when the researcher is familiar with the community. Informal interviews, often casual conversations, are used to discover categories of meaning, and are usually used by researchers to classify individual perceptions of reality.

When choosing interview subjects, ethnographers may utilize judgment sampling. Using a highly structured, random design method, without understanding the people in the study, can lead to research that is high in statistical reliability but low in validity. By selecting subjects on the basis of the ethnographer's previous site experience,

she or he is able to ensure that key actors and topics are not missed. However, the researcher may not be able to interview all those identified as possible participants. Nevertheless, every effort should be made to involve all potential participants recognized as being key.

For this study, I interviewed ten fellow aquatic staff members, five female and five male, who were selected to include a male and female individual in each of the five categories representing the aquatics part-time staffing complement. The first were older workers, those supporting families and not in school. Secondly, were workers from two of the three non-management job descriptions: pool control and head guard. Two lifeguard/instructors were selected for each sex: one attended a local post secondary institution and the other was a person who was working at the facility on a full-time basis. The last interview space for each sex was filled by staff members who had distinguished themselves in some way, by being very vocal at work or being extremely close with the facility's management.

The interviews were conducted at either my house or office. Participants were asked to comment on numerous questions ranging from why they pursued aquatic qualifications to what they understood about hiring procedures. They were encouraged to provide any and all information they wished. Upon the conclusion of the formal interview, the participants were invited to share with the

researcher any concerns or comments about work they wished to add.

Analysis

There are many different levels on which researchers are able to analyze information. Material is often triangulated, comparing one source of information against another. Triangulation verifies the quality of the information and enables the researcher to understand more completely the role that other sources play, as well as assists the ethnographer in placing events and people into perspective and check for consistency. Ethnographic researchers may also use content analysis as another way to triangulate material to examine for consistency.

While analyzing research it is important for the investigator to comb out the patterns of the culture under study. Such motives are a form of ethnographic reliability and enable the researcher to compare many different types of behaviour. As distinct patterns are interwoven into all cultures, many may emerge during the ethnographic analysis.

Key events or focal points are also utilized by researchers to analyze different cultures. They serve as metaphors for the study group, highlighting subtexts and tensions. Dunk (1991) used lob ball as a key event when describing Northwestern Ontario male working-class culture. Such focal points provide a lens through which the investigator may view a culture, and it is by this method

that the dual role of the researcher as both participant and observer becomes clear. Often researchers are not only observers, but are also active participants in the key event.

Maps, flowcharts, matrices and organizational charts are also useful analytical tools. They help researchers visualize connections between people, tasks, jobs and geographic location. They also assist researchers in recognizing informal and formal connections and monitor change over time.

For this study, material collected from my participant observation was triangulated with information collected from the interviews to provide a conceptual map of women's status at the Northern Fitness Facility. Everyday work behaviour configurations and rituals of work are discussed in chapter four of this thesis. Together with the reader I walk through a typical guarding and teaching shifts to detail work patterns, and to discuss the web of interaction at the facility. Key events in everyday activity are presented and discussed in chapter four and five of this thesis. Focal points such as rotations, scheduling, job tasks and assignments serve as events that reveal the subtext of the job.

Feminist Influences

As a woman performing graduate work on the gendered nature of employment, I concluded that it was important for this

thesis to adhere to the principles of feminist academic research. While it has been debated whether there is a single feminist methodology (Ely, 1991; Moss, 1993), feminist researchers do approach problems differently from the conventional (Moss, 1993) as they challenge epistemologies, such as ideas of objective reality and the possibility of both a neutral researcher and purpose of research. Instead, feminists build on the subjective, validating individual experience. Their work is not passive but politically charged toward change, to emancipate women from traditional, unequal status or misinterpretation in research.

What makes research feminist in nature is not the methods used but the world view that guides the conceptualization of the research. Some methods, such as ethnography, are more amenable to feminist conceptions of the world than others, as they permit the researcher to explore the mundane lives of people, while recognizing individuals as active agents. While not all "insider" research is feminist, much feminist research is of an "insider" nature due to its espoused non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher and researched, as well as contextualizing the concerns and experiences of people. Therefore, feminist research has not necessarily created a new form of investigation, but demonstrates how some tools are more amenable to certain research projects than other.

Feminist researchers are more likely to use combinations and complementary methods, such as participant observation and interviews, to provide increased context to the research question.

Feminist research must meet the standards of both the women's movement and academic rigour. To do this it should give priority to the voices of the study's participants, be guided by an egalitarian research process, and contextualize all research. This exemplifies a need to move beyond the notion that research can be conducted in a social vacuum, as previously discussed. Feminist research is needed to reflect the needs of those who have been traditionally marginalized. Therefore, we must recognize that it is impossible to perform research and then ignore its potential power and influence. This power may be utilized to bring certain ideas to the public agenda, and most often these support inequality. It is the necessity for change that calls for research from the margins.

Research from the margins is not on, but for people. Choosing a method is a political process, reflecting the researcher's ideas surrounding different forms of knowledge and their validity. As methodology, theory and ideology are all linked (Kirby and McKenna, 1989); the methods and theory used reflect the researcher's perception of the world. Feminist methods give validation to the subjective knowledge of the participants and are grounded in the concept that

knowledge is socially constructed, that social interactions form the basis of social knowledge, and that different people experience the world differently and therefore have distinct information.

This research is conducted from a feminist perspective. I worked along with, instead of separated from, those that I studied. I had previous work experience in the environment and performed all of the tasks and assignments performed by my fellow workers. I was able to be both separated from, yet simultaneously a part of the group studied, ensuring that a hierarchical order was not imposed between me and the researched. By conducting open-ended interviews, the voices of fellow employees were heard, enabling the staff themselves to comment on the research at hand. This provided multiple levels of analysis, building on the individual, subjective experiences of the workers.

The qualitative method of ethnography was chosen as the information gathering technique for this study as it permits the researcher to explore the mundane lives of people. Participant observation was employed as it allows the investigator to achieve a first hand understanding of the topic under study. In-depth interviews were conducted to provide additional context for the thesis and permit the individuals under study to express themselves on the research topic. These two complementary methods provided me

with first hand information about the work-site and its employees.

PLAN OF THE WORK

This thesis is composed of four chapters and a short conclusion. Chapter one is an outline of the theoretical perspectives on part-time work, methods of segregating women in employment, use of space, and leisure and sport ideology. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the complexity of the issue and provide a theoretical background to women's employment marginalization.

Chapter two presents the economic, political, and cultural foundations of the city under study. It illustrates and draws out threads between the City of Thunder Bay, the Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay, and the Northern Fitness Facility's employment trends.

In chapter three I outline the everyday work behaviour and rituals that pool labourers perform. Work performed at the facility is divided into the two fundamental tasks, lifeguarding and teaching, and I describe what people who perform these assignments actually do. I conclude the chapter by addressing focal points that affect both lifeguarding and teaching and serve as methods of control.

Chapter four builds on the description in chapter three, and illustrates what these actions mean for women. It demonstrates how, through the use of both formal and

informal rules, female staff members are segregated into gender appropriate jobs. The chapter highlights how the ideological underpinnings and the physical purpose of the work environment assist in maintaining a gendered division of labour.

CHAPTER ONE:**WORK, LEISURE, AND GENDERED SPACE IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY****INTRODUCTION**

While the fact that the labour market has changed in the postwar era is not debated, the nature and causes of these changes are. Many sociologists have argued that fluctuation in the demographic structure of the labour force and proletarianization of female work amount to a new phase in the development of capitalism (Sayer and Walker, 1992). Others suggest, however, that present global restructuring is not ushering in a new form of capitalism but actually represents a return to more characteristic forms of labour in a capitalist economy (Broad 1991; Smith, 1991).

According to Broad (1991), it is not in the best interest of capital for the work force to be fully proletarianized. Complete proletarianization is too costly, as the reproduction and maintenance costs of workers would have to be borne by capital and the state. He argues that the norm for capital is actually a semi-proletarian model of work, where not all labour is commodified; in other words, where maintenance and reproduction costs of labour are borne by the families and communities to which workers belong. Historically, it was the unpaid work of women that literally fed capital accumulation, leading Broad to conclude that, "[p]roletarian labour has always been awash in non-

proletarian labour" (1991, p. 565). Increased levels of unemployment, broken unions and lowered wage scales, an increase in part-time and temporary employment, and the dismantling of the welfare state has resulted in the onus of the reproduction and maintenance of labour being shifted back to the household.

This shift in the nature of work has a strong effect on women. They already dominate part-time work positions; as the number of these jobs increase, so will the number of women employed in them. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how this shift affects the social and material rewards that women receive from their paid work.

THE NATURE OF PART-TIME WORK

Whether a casualization or re-casualization, there has been a shift in the nature of work, changing the composition of jobs and resulting in an explosion of part-time employment opportunities in the service sector. In Canada, approximately 3.8 million jobs are non-standard, with 76.4% of them located in the service sector (Duffy and Pupo, 1992). Over the past 17 years there has been a 46% increase in the number of jobs in this sector of employment (Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, 1994, p. 19). As previously stated, most part-time positions are located in the service sector; the proportion of these jobs as a whole grew from 11% in 1976 to 16.7% in 1992 (Canadian Labour

Market and Productivity Centre, 1994). These trends have resulted in a polarization of employment.

Part-time work is characteristically performed by women. In 1992, 26% of all women were employed part-time, compared to 9% of all men, and 85% of women employed in the paid labour force toiled part-time (Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, 1994). Between 1990 and 1992 seven out of ten job categories investigated by the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre (1994) evidenced a drop in the number of full-time positions occupied by women. This resulted in the loss of 17,000 full-time jobs, while part-time work increased by 35,000 positions. As part-time employment is located predominantly in the secondary labour market, women receive lower wages, are ghettoized into lower-status jobs, have fewer formal or informal benefits, and have poor job security and advancement opportunities when compared to primary labour market trends (Hagen and Jenson, 1988).

Part-timers also experience a wage gap relative to their full-time equivalents. Ideological beliefs surrounding women and their relationship to paid employment support lower levels of financial remuneration for similar jobs. Part-time employment traditionally has been perceived as a means for women to earn "pin" money, a little extra for luxury items. However, the reality of a sole male breadwinner supporting a family was never true; in 1971 one

third of all Canadian families relied exclusively on male income for its survival but by 1981 only one sixth did (Wilson, 1991, p. 88).

Part-time workers receive fewer benefits and promotion opportunities than their full-time counterparts (Negrey, 1990; Thurman and Trah, 1990). Therefore, part-time workers have less financial security and, consequently, fewer options than full-timers. This traps women in a cycle of part-time employment: they need money but do not have the resources that would enable them to quit or lose a job in order to search for another.

The unequal nature of the working conditions, wages and benefits experienced by part-time as compared to full-time workers is not the product simply of the objective features of each type of work. The concept of part-time work is a social construct and understanding it requires understanding the ideological elements embedded in the very notion of part-time work. While part-time work does exist, it does not do so in a social vacuum.

The Social Construction of Part-Time Work

Part-time work is often perceived as "a work schedule other than regular full-time, less than 30 hours, year-round employment" (Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1990, p. 4). However, others, such as Ian Dey (1990) reject the definition of part-time as simply the opposite of full-time work, or its numerical definition as 30 hours a week. Dey

(1990) demonstrates that the division between part and full-time work revolves around a social construction of time, relating to assumptions about the organization of work. The most obvious of these assumptions are ideas about men and women and their role in, and commitment to, the work force. He argues that full-time hours are associated with masculinity, personal responsibility, and being the breadwinner. These jobs are for those who are serious about work, who will commit to paid employment. The marginal status of part-time work is a reflection of women's peripheral status in the work force and the perception that they have greater responsibilities to children and domestic duties.

Dey (1990) investigated the difference in the actual number of hours those classified as part-time and full-time worked and determined that there was little variation. Many people who are employed in jobs classified as part-time actually work the same number of hours, or more, than those in jobs classified as full-time (Dey, 1990, p. 469). He found that the only significant difference between job classifications was that those labelled part-time were dominated by women.

The growth of "flexibility" in the work force is not solely due to changes in full-time work. Much of the new flexibility is the product of increases in the number of jobs and hours deemed part-time (Dey, 1990; Negrey, 1990).

This relabelling of work has resulted in a blurring of time distinctions between part-time and full-time jobs, and has given employers a convenient way to increase temporary and contract work while not disturbing full-time male employment. These factors highlight the gender bias that splits part-time and full-time work classification.

Thus, part-time work is a concept that reflects ideologies about gender roles and identities. These assumptions are then reflected in the way managers hire and assign tasks to workers and in the kinds of work and tasks workers aspire to, resulting in women being segregated into certain areas of employment.

SEGREGATION

Women are segregated from stereotypically male employment in three ways. Initially, they are physically separated by the division between the two spheres: women are supposed to labour only in the private domain of the home, while most men belong in public settings such as offices and factories. Secondly, many women and men are physically separated by being employed in settings that primarily hire only a single gender (Reskin, 1988). Finally, they are estranged through the division of tasks by gender, where men and women are hired in the same setting, but are assigned different duties. This form of social separation in employment

assignments is also characterized by differential access to authority, unequal pay and avenues to job ladders.

Gender and Skill, Technology and Power

The gendered nature of work is based on and reproduces job stereotypes. This has implications for the way jobs are created and reproduced by the "patriarchal relations of paid work" (Wajcman, 1991, p. 33). As the service sector grows, new jobs are not created in a social vacuum as they are affected by existing social relations. Thus, the division and allocation of jobs reflects the power relations between men and women in society as a whole.

The fact that the definition of skill is socially constructed affects perceptions of competence and the way jobs are graded; in turn, this influences the nature of employment, task assignments and pay rates. Often jobs are not classified as skilled because their requirements are perceived as part of women's natural aptitude, such as patience and caring with children. Wajcman (1991) states: "The definition of skill, then, can have more to do with ideological and social construction than with technical competencies which are possessed by men and not by women" (p. 37). The ability of men to define skill in the guise of technical terms has enabled them to defend their possession of jobs that have been traditionally denied to women and grade new jobs to their advantage. These factors have several ramifications for women in part-time work. Many

full-time jobs that become part-time are also reclassified from skilled to unskilled. Women are shunted into these jobs due not only to perceptions that they have fewer skills but also because of society's notions of women's natural aptitudes and primary commitment to the home.

The production of gender roles is a historical process where men and women are defined at one and the same time through their relation to technology, the labour process, and each other (Cockburn, 1990; Jenson, 1992). Thus, one must look beyond domestic and economic explanations of women's subordination in the labour market and focus on the socio-political and physical bases of male power. This focus demands an evaluation of male organization, solidarity, and physique and the reflections of these in technology, space, and physical movements.

According to Cockburn (1990), it is imperative to study "the way in which a small physical difference in size, strength and reproductive function is developed into increasing relative physical advantage for men and multiplied by differential access to technology" (p. 88). She argues that compositors in the print industry were able to use their slight physical advantage to exclude women by including physical strength as a requirement for their job. This action was feasible due to the fact that the use of technology involves choices and assumptions about who performs paid work. For example, the size of the equipment

used to make prints could have been smaller and less heavy, but even in their design it was assumed that men would use them. Once the size was established, it was perceived as an independent variable. It is through such design and implementation of technology that women are excluded from certain areas of employment. Through a study of the evolution of typesetting, then, Cockburn (1990) is able to demonstrate the political use of power to design employment, where men who produce technology and work-patterns plan with preconceived ideologies about men and women and their place in the world of work.

Boundaries, especially gender-lines, are used to control employees and the work environment (Epstein, 1992; Willis, 1980). Gender boundaries "linger below the surface, forming a latent agenda or creating an ideological subtext of discourse. It is infused in the culture, integrated in the social structure, and institutionalized in the patterns and practices of our lives" (Epstein, 1992, p. 232).

Boundaries between the genders are created through social interaction, with men and women working in symmetry on their construction. However, contributions to their construction are not equal, as each side enters with different resources and historical positions.

Most boundaries are based on dichotomies such as black/white, men/women. These dichotomies enable us to make "we"/"them" distinctions that permit us to believe we are

different. Why are we so attached to these distinctions? According to Epstein (1992), our attachments may have ties to material conditions, but usually we invest in these distinctions because they define our self-identity: "personal investments are bound up with authority and hierarchy" (Epstein, 1992, p. 237) and therefore occupational boundaries and self-image merge into self-definition. It is through assumptions of difference that we create boundaries which constrain equality and change. These barriers are conceptual and structural, and while some structural boundaries may change, such as women's admittance into medical schools, conceptual barriers still remain, especially when women enter male dominated jobs.

Epstein (1992) and Padavic (1991) emphasize the fact that when there is social change, such as affirmative action on the job, people strive to reinstate old social boundaries. Men who enter a female-typed jobs such as telephone operator perceive their new, female-dominated work as having a lower status than male-dominated jobs they previously held. Some male telephone operators have been called "tinkerbells" by the public, a blatant comment on wide spread assumptions about the gender identity of such workers (Epstein, 1992). Women entering male-dominated work are subject to harassment by fellow workers in the form of social segregation, verbal comments, and hostile physical

environments that may be littered with pin-ups posters of women.

Padavic (1991) found that, when confronted with women in what had been a male work environment, men typed the women as either feminine or non-feminine. Both groups of women were isolated from male workers, but the "feminine" women were treated either paternalistically or as sexually available. Due to the fact that they were treated as opposites to men, these women were used to confirm masculinity on the job. Non-feminine classified women were regarded as anomalies. These women blurred the distinction between men and women, thereby threatening the status of the job, and so they were ignored by the male workers.

Control over adherence to gender norms often equals control over the job. When women enter the boys' club of manual labour, the prestige of the job, and therefore the perception of its masculinity, is lowered. Combined with women's reluctance to challenge male authority in the home by defining their income as more than pin money, this limits the job choices of women at work.

While the social construction of skill, technology and power affect the work that women perform, these ideas do not exist independently. They are created and reinforced by employers who use these constructions as guides when hiring and assigning jobs, thereby entrenching them in workers' minds. For a complete discussion of women's employment

segregation, we must now turn to the way in which employers use these ideologies when assigning work.

Employers and Gender Ideologies

"Even in organizations committed to reform, reforms geared to reducing sex inequality can be subverted by the people charged with implementation because they wish to maintain the status quo or achieve altogether different goals"

(Reskin, 1993, p. 256). Women are segregated into different jobs and assigned different tasks than men by male supervisors. These men statistically discriminate against women by allocating work along ideological lines. The sex of the person performing the work also affects the evaluation of work performance (Reskin and Padavic, 1988). Reskin and Padavic (1988) investigated supervisors' reactions to women entering male work during a strike at a utility plant. In assigning women to sex-atypical jobs, supervisors were able to witness whether females were able to do male-typed work.

Reskin and Padavic (1988) found that almost two-thirds of the plant supervisors stated that they were neutral to the idea of women doing male jobs, yet half anticipated problems. The perceived obstacles were that women might not be physically strong enough, not want to get dirty, or that there may be a problem "with sexually aggressive women" (Reskin and Padavic, 1988, p. 540). These stereotypes about women's ability, role, performance and influence on men

affected work assignments: women were assigned by the plant supervisors mostly to either kitchen or janitorial duty. Where men and women did work under the same job title, supervisors assigned different responsibilities.

While the supervisors in Reskin and Padavic's (1988) study assigned jobs on the basis of paternalistic stereotypes, some women did work in sex-atypical areas. However, the supervisors were less favourable about the work completed by the women when comparing their work with that of the men.

When asked if they would hire a women for a sex-atypical job in the future, most of the supervisors said no. They expressed doubts about women's ability to handle "men's" work, said they had a more comfortable relationship with male employees, and cited concern for male workers and their reactions (Reskin and Padavic, 1988, p. 538). This results in a continuing cycle of stereotypes; as supervisors constrain women to sex-typical behaviour, they reinforce stereotypes which are in turn used as a basis to exclude.

The nature of women's progress in the labour market can be best understood by examining gender hierarchies, especially those reflected in the organization of work (Reskin and Roos, 1984). Segregation by physical separation into different work settings, functional differentiation into dissimilar occupations, and the allocation of jobs based on stereotypes of innate abilities, operate

simultaneously to isolate women. It is these forces that "in turn symbolize their lower status, maintain their economic inferiority, and ensure that menial tasks are carried out" (Reskin and Roos, 1984, p. 7).

Through an analysis of several case studies, Reskin and Roos (1984) concluded that when women enter previously male-dominated jobs, three interrelated processes happen. Initially, while women may be hired into that occupation, they experience internal segregation. Reskin and Roos (1984) noted an increase in the number of women who became bus drivers in the 1980's, but these women rarely worked for large metropolitan transit corporations but as school bus drivers, or worked part-time. Secondly, many of the formerly male-only employment enclaves that women entered have or are experiencing a period of deskilling, and it is these newly deskilled and usually down-graded jobs that women are slotted into.¹ The field of computing underwent deskilling when two classes of workers emerged, the programmer and the systems analyst. Programmers, whose job is basic and usually consists of entering data, are usually women, while the more complicated, technical and higher paid systems analysts are mostly men (Reskin and Roos, 1984).

Lastly, when women enter an occupation in great numbers,

¹Harry Braverman (1974) discussed how management can gain more control over the labour process and pay workers less by deskilling work.

the work undergoes a decline in rewards. Carter and Carter (cited in Reskin and Roos, 1984, p. 15) described this as "[w]omen get a ticket to ride after the gravy train has left the station." The women who enter these fields receive less status and fewer monetary rewards than men who perform the same tasks. This has resulted not in a de-segregation of work but a re-segregation; as women enter, men exit. Reskin and Roos (1984) do not deny that some women have been able to break into male-dominated work environments. However, they caution those who interpret statistical increases as real gains in terms of women's equal employment.

Beyond a gender division between jobs, intra-occupational sex typing of work and task assignments between men and women under the same job title also exist in the labour force. Bielby and Baron (1986) interpret pay disparities and work segregation as part of the formal and informal organization of work. Using data from over 400 California organizations Bielby and Baron (1986) found that skills, training and turn over costs have a weak impact on how men and women are distributed across job tasks and organizations. Stereotypes of innate ability, resulting in women dominating jobs requiring finger dexterity rather than physical strength, have the greatest impact on job exclusion. The research suggests that job integration

linked with comparable worth policies are necessary to change the organizational design of work.

Employers hire workers for certain jobs and assign tasks based on gender, resulting in women being shunted into work that has a lower status and fewer rewards as well as maintaining gender hierarchies within work. However, these explanations of gender segregation at work are incomplete. While employers may hire certain people for certain jobs, the existing workers in those jobs may reject the new employees if they are inappropriate. This rejection results in employers being somewhat restricted in their ability to hire women into non-traditional work. Therefore, to understand job segregation, it is also essential to understand the role played by workers in their demand for sex-appropriate comrades.

The Workers and Gender Ideology

Workers influence employers' decisions about who should be hired for certain jobs and who should perform certain tasks. These decisions are based on ideas of who should be the breadwinner and bring home the wage packet, in the guise of protecting male work, and task performance. Work-site studies such as those performed by Livingstone and Luxton (1988), Gray (1987), Willis (1980), and Reiter (1991) illustrate the process by which workers themselves assist in the segregation of women from male-type employment.

Livingstone and Luxton (1988) studied the "Women into Stelco" campaign conducted in Hamilton, Ontario from 1979-80. They focused on how the male breadwinner stereotype is reproduced and modified in light of women's entry into the work force, as well as this stereotype's use in defending "male" jobs. They assert that a focus on gender consciousness at work is required to understand the "connection with social practices, particularly in the paid work force" (Livingstone and Luxton, 1988, p. 241).

They explain male resistance to women entering "their" work environment as an attempt to physically protect male jobs and defend masculine social space. A male employee at Stelco described the requirements to work there: "You got to be tough and you got to be willing to take risks. You got to be strong. It takes a real man to work here" (Livingstone and Luxton, 1988, p. 252). Here, the use of language separates women from men, making women "the other" and therefore able to be defined as inferior. Graphic and lewd pictures on the walls of the work environment confirm worker's masculinity and heterosexuality as well as reinforce women as "other". Most of the women on the shopfloor said that many of the men were embarrassed to have their shoproom practices discovered by women (Livingstone and Luxton, 1988).

The majority of the people that Livingstone and Luxton (1988) interviewed did not directly state that women should

not work at Stelco. However, there was still a strong connection with the image of a male breadwinner and the sex-typing of jobs. The women who attempted to gain employment at the factory were perceived as attacking the ideologies of gender. One man stated that, "I think it should be equal pay for sure. There is no argument there for me at all. You know, if a woman does the job of men, then, pay her accordingly" (Livingstone and Luxton, 1988, p. 255). Inherent in this statement is the idea that certain jobs are for either males or females, and that in Stelco's case, maleness was the standard to work toward.

Stan Gray (1987) investigated the debate over affirmative action policy at a Westinghouse plant in the early 1980's, where a dual wage and seniority system was supported by both union men and management. When the plant that employed women was closed, men at the other two factories used the union to resist women utilizing seniority and entering their work world. The male-dominated union and its executive maintained a domestic conception of women. When some females did enter the plant, their presence was resisted in many ways. They were verbally harassed and segregated in newer, lower-grade jobs. During social times, such as lunch, they sat at their own tables, separate from the men. Women were perceived as physically unable to complete the jobs required at the plant, and those who could were "obviously" not "ladies" and therefore did not deserve

any respect. The men resorted to name-calling in an effort to separate themselves from the women, motivated by their traditional ideas of women's domestic role. All this behaviour demonstrates that, "sexism coexist[s] and often is at war with class consciousness" (1987, p. 224).

Grey notes that the women represented a threat to the world that the men had created for themselves, a world where boys could be boys. Before the women came to work at the factory the men were able to "worship this self-identity of vulgarity" (Gray, 1987, p. 226).

In his study of English factory workers, Paul Willis (1980) found the work culture to be bound up with ideas of manliness. The wage packet was regarded by the workers as the "prize of masculinity in work" (Willis, 1980, p. 196), and the idea that women were capable of performing the work properly was rejected. Their entrance into the world of manual labour was therefore regarded as a desecration of the male breadwinner and the job he performed.

There are common themes in the Livingstone and Luxton (1988), Gray (1987), and Willis (1980) studies: the social construction of work as inherently gendered, the segregation of women and use of male power to distribute jobs. The men interviewed gave lip service to the idea of equal opportunity, professing support for it as either policy or a general statement, and then blocking any concrete action made toward this end. The men perceived women as a threat

to their employment and their masculinity. Many of the jobs performed were regarded as too dirty and dangerous for women. These conditions were perceived to add to the importance of the work, and therefore the worker, by making it more masculine.

It is also important to note that the women hired at the factories were the first to be let go during an economic downturn. Many Stelco workers felt it was unfair for a woman to have a job when other men were unemployed (Livingstone and Luxton, 1988, p. 261). At Westinghouse, female workers were the first to be let go, regardless of seniority, due to male control over the union. This demonstrates the use of male power to defend jobs against women, overriding the solidarity of workers.

While women are blocked from entering typically masculine full-time work, they also face discrimination in the part-time work sector that they dominate. In her study of the fast-food industry, Reiter (1991) discusses employment problems women face in the service sector. She notes that women are over represented in the Burger King work force but rarely employed as managers (Reiter, 1991). Women are also assigned tasks based on their gender. Although not official company policy, young women were far more likely than male employees to be placed in public areas or work the cash register, a job which required almost no math skills but did demand the worker to have finger

dexterity. At social events sponsored by Burger King, where attendance was almost mandatory, there was no negative feedback on sexist events such as swimsuit competitions. These events were regarded as a "good training ground for the battle of 'catching' a husband" (Reiter, 1991, p. 147).

Studies of workers and work-sites contribute greatly to our understanding of the gendered division of labour. Male workers utilize whatever means at their disposal to resist women entering their sphere of employment. However, while workers do exercise a degree of influence in who is chosen to perform certain tasks, they do not directly influence who applies to an employer for certain jobs. Therefore, while studies of workers assist in explaining the segregation of workers at the job-site, they are unable to account for the gendered nature of the pool of applicants employers have to draw from in the first place.

Socialization and Gendered Aspirations

Sex-role conditioning, whereby we internalize the behaviour appropriate to each sex, is a key to understanding worker preference for certain forms of employment (Marini and Brinton, 1984). In industrial societies, the split between the spheres of home and work has implications for our occupational role-orientation. Women choose jobs as opposed to careers, and the work we do tends to reflect domestic roles.

Marini and Brinton (1984) found that women's occupational aspirations are higher than their tangible expectations. This demonstrates the perception of barriers to certain jobs, and illustrates that there are forces at work which affect young women's choices before they enter the labour market. In the family, boys are treated different than girls, and children use parents and their work-patterns as role models. The educational system influences occupational expectations and aspirations by role-modelling, sex-stereotyping in educational material and counselling, tracking and vocational education, and training in math and science. The mass media also bombards children with sex-appropriate roles daily. Early work experience was also found to influence women's employment patterns. Marini and Brinton (1984) found that sex segregation in entrance-level or teenage-work mirrors the adult world; young women earn less per hour than young men, and they work in sex-typical areas. All of these determinants teach children to prepare for different occupational roles.

Wendy Wolf (1984) adds a note of caution to the findings of Marini and Brinton (1984). She states that while socialization is an important factor in workplace segregation, it is an individual micro-level analysis, ignoring macro, systemic discrimination. Due to the fact that many of the determining forces of socialization effect young people, Wolf (1984) advocates concentrating efforts to

decrease or eliminate segregation on the processes involved in actual job choice. This concentration would move the locus of analysis away from the micro level and concentrate on structured discrimination.

GENDER AND SPACE

The social construction of work, influence of employers and workers, as well as the socialization process do not fully explain the reasons for women's segregation in the paid labour force. To do this, we also need to understand the connections between concepts of gender and space and the way in which they influence employment choices and experiences. As a society, we live in spatially-bound social groups, and this geographic function influences our life experiences. Due to the link between geography and experience, for a full understanding of work it is imperative to investigate the relationship between society and space. In this manner I will explore the way in which spatial settings reproduce and transform the social relations between men and women.

Spaces become socially defined when we name them, and their form and context are then translated into activities that are considered appropriate in that area (Bondi, 1993; Little et al, 1988). An open space becomes a football field if two parties agree, and the name chosen defines the socially acceptable behaviour for men and women in that space. Due to male hegemony in our society, men most often

are able to define the appropriate behaviours to be displayed. This results in women being constrained to the public ideology of domesticity (Drake, 1984) while working and living in the physical world.

Women are marginalized, both literally and figuratively, in the man-made world (Drake, 1984; Piche, 1988). Ours is a physical environment where women have differential access to space due to tangible barriers, such as proximity of activities to the home, a lack of transportation (Piche, 1988; Pratt and Hanson, 1994) and safety restrictions (Pfister, 1993). Also we are socially prohibited from certain activities and areas due to expectations of the appropriate social conduct in them (Pfister, 1993). All of these factors result in women being unequal participants with men in the use of space.

The Locale of Appropriate Work

Spatial location and the use of our physical surroundings affect both the work women do as well as their experiences of the employment. Supply, demand and informal social networks do not fully explain why women are so vulnerable to exploitation and division in the labour market (Hanson, 1990). To comprehend the connections between these three factors, it is imperative to understand the role of time and space in women's employment segregation. As fewer women than men own or drive cars (Dixey, 1988), they are more likely to walk or use public transportation to get to work.

This reality, along with the added responsibility of women to perform domestic duties, results in women searching for "appropriate" jobs that are close to home (England, 1993; Hanson, 1990).

Simultaneously, companies locate in areas where they can maximize the labour force:

...employers construct jobs and the labour process differently in different areas in line with their perception of the labour force they are aiming to tap. In particular, jobs may be constructed as part-time, full-time, day or nightshift...depending on employer's conceptions of gender (Pratt and Hanson, 1994 p. 10).

This results in female-typed jobs being located predominantly in the suburbs or inner city, where there is a large labour-pool of women (England, 1993). As women's social groups are smaller than men's, and do not normally radiate beyond the family or immediate neighbourhood (Hanson, 1990), women are spatially constrained in their use of informal networks to learn about job opportunities.

From a geographical perspective, then, human capital theory cannot adequately explain the gendered segregation of work because it is focused on the link between education and labour-force discontinuity. As Pratt and Hanson (1994) argue, we also must investigate spatial explanations of women's labour force marginalization.

Women and Place

Although researchers have been extensively interested in the segregation of women in terms of their access and geographic proximity to work, there have been few studies investigating the gendered nature of spatial use within work locations. However, as the world of work is part of the broader social world, which is dominated by a gendered use of space, social relations at work may be affected by space use (Cline, 1984).

Initially, work sites are created with preconceived notions as to who will be using them. The result is often a panopticon form of construction;² using architecture to reinforce prevailing patterns of privilege through an increased level of surveillance (Spain, 1992). This is reflected in modern office design. Clerical workers toil in open-floor areas, usually pooled together, resulting in a reduction of status caused by isolating them from decision-making³ areas and a lack of privacy. Managers can also maintain constant surveillance of their actions. In contrast, male-centric closed door jobs enable managers to entrench their status by commanding more space and privacy

²This is an architectural style that permits maximum surveillance of a building's inhabitants. It was commonly used for hospitals and mental institutions

³This is not to say that clerical workers do not make substantial decisions while on the job, however, they are removed from the offices where managers create official company policy that they carry out.

through having an office. Women's subordinate station at work is reinforced by their lack of space; women receive 20 to 50% less office area than men doing the same job (Weisman, 1994). Furniture arrangement enables men to affirm their superior status. The placement of a desk as a barrier demonstrates a physical, psychological and status difference (Bell et al., 1990). Therefore, the architectural design of work-sites reinforce and reproduce occupational segregation. Pratt and Hanson (1994) found that employers reinforce femininity by physically constraining and separating people. Therefore, different jobs have spatial consequences and this division in areas of task performance result in the physical separation of men and women as well as reinforcing hierarchies. It prevents women from crossing boundaries, both physical and social.

Other studies of the gendered nature of space support arguments about the spatial inequity between men and women (Cline, 1984; Shaffer and Sadowski, 1975). Through their study of barroom behaviour, Shaffer and Sadowski (1975) found that both women and men are slower to occupy space marked as male by the objects left in it. They also found that female space does not command as much respect as male (Shaffer and Sadowski, 1975; Spain, 1992). Cline (1984) found that men tend to occupy higher status locations, such as the head of tables, and many women accord them these positions.

However, as Molotch (1994) so aptly demonstrates, having identical square footage does not always create equity, due to some of the different physical and social actions that society requires women to perform. Many of these, such as maintaining physical attractiveness through private beauty-rituals, require more physical space to perform. However, as the use of geographic space is controlled by social power relations, women are denied the physical area they require.

As women adapt their use of time and space to the material conditions around them it becomes clear that geography and gender are inseparable (Bondi, 1993). Spatial patterns reflect traditional ideologies in our social definitions, use, and conception of appropriate behaviour in certain physical surroundings. Women learn that they are not to cross boundaries into the superior world of men and this affects the work that women perform. As they do not have control of their environment, many areas are closed to them, or they are expected to behave in a certain fashion when occupying particular physical locations.

LEISURE AND SPORT

Leisure plays a different role in the lives of women than men, and this results in different leisure patterns. The number of public facilities has increased due to an expanding demand for leisure centres that include a variety

of activities, such as sports and cultural events (Eichberg, 1993). The result has been an increase in the number of jobs situated in the leisure industry. As the beliefs that pervade this industry also affect those who work in it, one should understand the underlying ideologies of leisure and fitness to comprehend women's role in its workforce.

Leisure has been defined as a free period, time away from work, time to do activities of our choice (Dixey, 1988; Thompson, 1990). However, these components of leisure affect women and men differently. Primarily, women have less free time than men due to the double work day (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1993). Secondly, during much of their spare time, women are actually "on call" for other activities (Dempsey, 1989; Piche, 1988): watching television while children do their home work, or waiting to pick-up children from school. Thirdly, leisure is often regarded as a family activity (Dixey, 1988). However, during these activities women have less personal time than the rest of the family, as they are busy supervising activities, planning and distributing meals, or performing other supporting roles. In his study of northwestern Ontario, Dunk (1991) found that women's relationship to leisure was purely domestic. Females were expected to be supportive, provide food, and to "ensure that the man enjoyed himself" (Dunk, 1991, p. 96). As leisure is often perceived as a reward for work, often women who do not labour outside the

home are not expected to require or deserve leisure time (Dixey, 1988) and this supports the inequality between men and women's leisure time.

When women are able to utilize leisure time, they have fewer choices than men as to the activities that they can participate in. As many of these activities take place in public areas, women are constrained by publicly held concepts of femininity. Due to domestic and family responsibilities, women's activities are also limited by the time that they can devote to participation in projects that require long continual time commitments or regular schedules.

No matter what amount of time women have, their leisure projects are controlled by consumer culture. Through the use of technology and the mass media we are inundated with messages of how our bodies should look and methods to achieve this ideal (Featherstone, 1982). For most women, the ideal is a body that is artificial in appearance, as present cultural ideals of what is beautiful demand a slimmer body than what was desired in the 1930's (Davis and Cowles, 1991). As medical science continues to extol the virtues of slenderness and body control (Featherstone, 1982), care for the inner body has become an excuse for the enslaving of the outer body. Allard (1986) describes the present fitness movement and the coupling of fitness with health as a social movement. The ideologies of the movement

dictate that fitness is universally desirable, it is associated directly with health, and that fitness can be achieved through body control such as dieting and exercise.

Through consumer culture we have become a society that believes that what is beautiful is good (Davis and Cowles, 1991). Fitness, being thin, and controlling the body's proportions have become a way for women to affirm their sense of personal identity. One woman who worked out regularly stated that "You are more successful in everything if you are thin" (Redican and Hadley, 1988, p. 55). Indeed, contemporary culture has created an image of what success looks like; the more we follow this image, the more socially and economically marketable we become (Allard, 1986; Featherstone, 1982; Redican and Hadley, 1988).

The need to achieve a certain body ideal has resulted in many women utilizing their scarce leisure time to pursue this often unrealizable goal, such as performing the physical activities of swimming or aerobics. One consequence of the endless chase of a fixed body-type is an increase in the number of facilities that offer services to this end. The result of this increase is the simultaneous increase of jobs available in the leisure and sport industry, an area of employment that has its own culture and ideologies. Therefore, to comprehend the work that women who are employed in leisure and sport are expected to

perform, and how they are expected to do this work, one must understand the ideological context of fitness and sport.

Fitness and Sport

Fitness and sport culture is governed by an ideology of heterosexuality and male superiority. Women are expected to excel in only certain sports that enhance their "feminine" traits, while in others they are expected to act in supportive roles to men. Heterosexuality is enforced by male hegemony, with little room for alternative expression. These cultural currents affect those who work in fitness and sporting environments. Women are expected to be workers who personify the archetypal sports woman, resulting in constraints placed on their behaviour and choices of activities.

Due to present concepts of physical attractiveness, women must participate in some form of fitness activity to be considered both thin and fit. Women's work does not provide enough physical activity to achieve the body ideal; therefore, it is necessary for them to spend what leisure time they have in its pursuit.

Because of safety issues, women also have reduced access to public areas, such as parks and trails, to pursue physical activities (Pfister, 1993; Valentine, 1989). Fear of violence compels women to exercise with others, or in controlled environments such as fitness facilities and closed rooms (Pfister, 1993; Piche, 1988), and they are less

likely to pursue activities where they have to fight for space (Firebaugh, 1989; Piche, 1988).

Sporting activities reflect, construct, and reproduce gender relations that oppress women. Therefore, the rules of sport and fitness reflect and reinforce patriarchal and heterosexual norms of society (Dunning, 1986; Lenskyj, 1990; Thompson, 1990); the result is Western sport culture's focus on tests of strength and endurance, the consequences of which are men maintaining hegemony over sporting activities (Lenskyj, 1990). Alan Klein (1993) investigated the culture of male body building and observed that as male "frontier" type employment (hard, manual type labour) is decreasing, men feel a need to "clutch to themselves the only trait that gives them hegemony over women: their size" (Klein, 1993, p. 36). Dunning (1986) investigated British football spectators and hooliganism and concluded that these sports were used to heighten masculinity. Sport has become a symbolic training ground for men: a place to learn what is masculine and heterosexual, and to be instructed on male superiority (Dunning, 1986; Lenskyj, 1990). Women's relation to certain masculine sport activities is either as sex objects glamorizing the activity, or as domestic supporters of the institution.

Women's fitness activities therefore have been designed to make their bodies conform to the common ideas of what is heterosexually attractive and feminine (Cockburn, 1990;

Lenskyj, 1990; Piche, 1988). As a result, women are encouraged to participate in activities that make them thin, as opposed to activities such as football or weight lifting that will increase their strength. In his study, Firebaugh (1989) found that men are more likely to jog, to do yard work, to golf and play team sports such as basketball and soccer. Women are more likely to engage in aerobics, dancing and walking, activities that ensure women look more like chorus girls than athletes. Through her study of gender verification and body building, Daniels (1992) concluded that women who pursue sport are not regarded as female, that "femininity and athletic competence are mutually exclusive" (p. 372). Women are simultaneously barred from some fitness activities and pushed into others.

By limiting the sports that women may participate in, females are prevented from fully exploring their bodies, and discovering the extent of their power. When women do enter male dominated sports, they usually face harassment from both their fellow participants and the general public (Daniels, 1992; Lenskyj, 1990; Thompson, 1990).

Women who work in fitness and leisure facilities are affected by its culture. They are expected to not only be employees, but physical examples of the body ideal to the general public. The culture's celebration of heterosexuality and masculinity make these centres restrictive environments in general for women who use them,

and specifically for the females who work in them. Therefore, women who labour in these environments must conform both physically and socially to male-dominated, heterosexual ideologies of them.

CONCLUSION

As the nature of the work force changes, there has been an increase in the number of part-time jobs. These jobs, located predominantly in the service sector, employ mainly women, receive fewer material rewards in the form of pay, benefits, and regularity of hours, as well as decreased social benefits, such as respect, than full-time work. However, this division between part and full-time work has been socially created, based on our concept of gender suitability to certain work, as well as the perception of gender-based commitment to the labour market, and results in women being relegated to certain sectors of the economy.

The segregation of women in the labour force is achieved through the social construction of skill, technology and power, and results in jobs being designed and implemented with preconceived concepts of who will perform them. Employers assign work based on stereotypical ideas of women. Male workers contribute to women's segregation by attempting to exclude women from areas of employment that they dominate. This is done through both union activity and shopfloor culture. Socialization teaches people sex-

appropriate behaviour in terms of employment and results in women applying to work in areas that complement notions of femininity.

Work takes place in specific geographic locations, and these influence women's work experiences. Due to transportation problems and the cult of domesticity, women often must find acceptable work close to their homes. Women are also constrained by the physical use of their work environment. They receive less space, and the areas that they do receive are accorded less respect than male space. Male domination of public areas lessens women's control over their physical environment.

The activity performed at the specific work-site also affects women's employment experiences. When women work at leisure facilities they must conform not only to traditional ideas of women's work, but also to their role within the hyper-masculine and heterosexual leisure and sporting culture.

This chapter sets the theoretical stage for an ethnographic study of women's work experiences at a leisure centre. It is now time to focus on the specific area under study. In the following chapter, I discuss the site of the research, outlining the economic, political, and social influences on the local and regional culture in which the particular facility under study is situated.

CHAPTER TWO

ECONOMY, CULTURE AND GENDER IN A REGIONAL URBAN CENTRE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to provide the background necessary for a discussion of work in Thunder Bay. It provides an outline of the economic, political, and cultural milieu of the city, with specific reference to how this impacts on women residing in the city. The major point that I want to establish is that the local culture of the area have an impact upon women's experiences of paid work in Thunder Bay, affecting the places where they are hired, and the jobs and tasks they are expected to perform. This chapter will illustrate the links between broader cultural ideas about women, their relation to work, and the jobs and tasks women end up performing within their employment.

There have been relatively few recent inquiries into the political, economic and social influences on the culture of Thunder Bay. Most of the limited research performed has focused on the region of northwestern Ontario, of which Thunder Bay is the urban core. In spite of this, the general themes of these studies can be applied to Thunder Bay since the city is an integral part of the region that they discuss and that Thunder Bay was built on primary and resource extractive industries prevalent in the area.

THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL FABRIC OF THUNDER BAY

Thunder Bay is the financial, social, and cultural centre of Northwestern Ontario. Situated 1,387 kilometres from Toronto and 700 kilometres east of Winnipeg, it is isolated from other major urban centres. The present city is a result of the amalgamation of the former Port Arthur and Fort William. The City of Thunder Bay's population in 1991 was 124,427, a 1.8% change from 1989 (Statistics Canada, 1991). Fifty one per cent of the population is female, with the largest age cohort for both sexes being 30-35 (Statistics Canada, 1991).

Although it has a large service sector, Thunder Bay's culture is still influenced by primary and resource extraction industries. While Thunder Bay's two founding cities were developed for different purposes; Fort William was initially a fur trading post and Port Arthur a shipping port, the present city has been used as a rail transport point, inland harbour and mining community, as well as for logging, the production of pulp and paper, and limited manufacturing. During the course of this study, it had three paper mills, eight saw mills, 372 mostly small light manufacturing industries and shipped an estimated \$1,197,735,000 worth of goods from its port per annum (Thunder Bay Economic Development Board). Pulp and paper and wood products comprised almost 75% of the manufacturing and production in the area. The service sector, however,

accounts for approximately 60% of all employment, with primary and secondary industry employing approximately 10% and 30% respectively (see Table 1). Although the service sector is the dominant source of employment in Thunder Bay, these jobs generally pay less than resource extraction work. This fact, combined with psychological factors such as having a sky line littered not with sky scrapers but smoke stacks and grain elevators, has contributed to Thunder Bay being perceived as a working man's town (Dunk, 1991).

Table 1
Occupational Profile (in percentages*) of the Experienced Female and Male Labour Force in Thunder Bay

Occupation	Male	Female
Managerial, Administrative, and Related Occupations	12.8	9.8
Teaching and Related Occupations	3.6	6.2
Medicine and Health	2.3	11.6
Natural and Social Sciences, Religious Artistic and Related Occupations	8.2	6.5
Clerical and Related Occupations	7.1	32.7
Sales Occupations	7.2	8.7
Service Occupations	9.8	18.7
Primary Occupations	3.9	0.7
Processing Occupations	6.3	0.9
Machine, Product Fabricating, Assembly and Repair	11.6	1.1
Construction Trades	11.4	0.3
Transport Equipment Operating	7.4	1.4
Other Occupations	8.8	1.5

Source: Calculated from figures in Statistics Canada (1994a)
*Due to rounding, columns may not total 100 per cent.

Thunder Bay has a work force of approximately 65,000 people, of whom in 1993, 56,400 were employed. In 1991 the average income for men was \$31,646 and for women, \$17,494 (Statistics Canada, 1994a). Prior to the recession of the early 1980's, Northwestern Ontario's unemployment rate was

lower than the national and provincial averages. However, the late 1980's saw employment decline and the unemployment rate is now higher than the national and provincial averages.

As outlined by McBride, McKay and Hill (1993) the region of Northwestern Ontario is permeated with the boom and bust mentality of resource extraction employment. While the city is not as adversely affected as other municipalities due to its more diverse economic base, these cycles have an impact. Numerous people leave smaller towns in search of work in the larger city of Thunder Bay, and they bring with them the cultural traces of life in resource-dependent communities. Additionally, even though the area no longer relies primarily on extractive industries, the historic roots of Thunder Bay colour the city's culture.

Much of the city's culture revolves around its hinterland status (an area where people, material, and money are extracted to serve a metropolis which acts as a political decision-making centre) relative to the industrial south. The city is also affected by an outflow of people, as many of those who attend the local university or college are trained for jobs that do not exist in vast numbers in Thunder Bay and therefore they seek employment in southern Ontario and the rest of Canada. Though Thunder Bay is geographically not that far north in terms of Canada's

geography, and has an increasingly service-based economy, it possesses a cultural legacy of resource extraction which permeates the "structure of feeling" of the city (Williams, 1977, p. 128-135).

As discussed by Dunk (1991), Thunder Bay is often perceived by residents as a working man's town, where manual labour is glorified and mental labour stands as a metaphor and metonym for southern Ontario, bureaucrats, and corporate executives; in other words, the region and social categories that are often said to determine local opportunities and live off local resources and labour. The local imaginary, although changing, is still strongly masculine. The image of the physically powerful, hard-working, hard-drinking, working man still has purchase in the cultural and social fabric of Thunder Bay.

It also assists in the ideological construction of women. Women are expected to fit into the very traditional roles of nurturer and domestic supporter, but not equal partner. In his study of masculine working-class culture in Northwestern Ontario, Dunk (1991) found one of the most striking factors to be the social exclusion of women, masculinity being defined in the past by control over them.

The ideological construction of women has implications for the gendered division of labour within the city. Due to the coupling of the legacy of the primary industry based culture and common notions of women's relationship to paid

employment, women are segregated into lower paid, service-sector work. Women dominate clerical, service, and teaching occupations, while men work in managerial positions, in primary industry, construction, and machine occupations (see Table 1). As jobs that employ primarily women pay less than those filled by men, women earn less than men when compared to national and provincial averages (see Table 2).

Table 2

Average Female Employment Income (as a percentage) of Average Male Employment Income for Canada (Can), Ontario (Ont), and Thunder Bay (TB) (1991)

Type of Employment	Can	Ont	TB
Full year/full time	67.3	67.1	65.1
Part year/part time	62.6	61.3	52.5

Source: Calculated from figures in Statistics Canada (1994b).

Although writing about the region of Northwestern Ontario, Wall (1993) discussed tangible barriers to employment that women in Thunder Bay encounter. These include a lack of adequate transportation, fewer female role models, a system of education that encourages them to stay at home, enforced stereotypes, and a lack of interpersonal networks. As the available jobs can be divided into two basic groups, skilled well-paying work performed by men, and unskilled, poorly-paid work for women, many women remain at home or hope for marriage. As Dunk (1991) points out:

A woman facing a future serving doughnuts at a coffee shop, or making beds in a hotel, or working on the cash register at K-Mart, may very well earnestly look forward to the day she is married to a man with a steady job at

the mill, or perhaps a skilled trade" (p. 61).

Women who do enter into the business community do so in the service sector, as this is the area of the city's economy where the number of female owned businesses is increasing (Northern Ontario Heritage Fund Corporation Service Sector Study, 1990). In her study of federal job creation programs, Heald (1991) found that the government supported the creation of jobs for women in stereotypical roles, such as waitressing, and devalued them as managers.

These economic, political and cultural undercurrents in the city effected work at the facility. During the time of my research, the Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay, of which the facility under study is a department, underwent a restructuring program in an attempt to save money. Staff members were told that they would have to pay for the staff award and appreciation lunch; the first-aid kits were always short of supplies such as band aids (staff were told that they were taking them for personal use), and the wages for aquatic staff were not increased for the fourth year in a row.

The political milieu at the facility was very conservative. While many people grumbled, limited, if any, action was taken to rectify problems at work. This is exemplified by the fact that when it came time to effectively "vote" on the competence of the immediate supervisors by completing a job performance evaluation, very

few of the staff participated, contributing to the lack of any real change in the political order of the facility.

The city of Thunder Bay continues to riven by local parochial interests, a phenomenon with a long history (Weller, 1993), there was a constant rivalry between the two corporate departments that operated pools, City Aquatics and the Northern Fitness Facility. After the departments were amalgamated during the restructuring, the supervisors of both received positions of equal rank, effectively nullifying the purpose of the reorganization's goal to cut management jobs. At the facility, rivalry among the staff was played out in terms of scheduled hours. Those who were assigned the number of hours, shifts, and courses that they wanted were regarded as favoured.

In terms of the social fabric at the pool, there was a very clear division between those who created policy and made decisions, and those that carried them out. Staff members were not consulted on decisions that directly affected them, such as the purchase of toys over safety equipment, the placement of equipment, or the appointment of direct supervisory staff.

The glorification of manual work and masculinity described by Dunk (1991) had ramifications for the female staff. As discussed in detail in chapters three and four, traditional ideas of women and the superiority of masculinity and heterosexuality permeated the facility.

Women workers were engaged in duties that highlighted their femininity and domestic roles. Those who were "good female workers", demonstrated by performing feminine duties well, as well as having an appropriate heterosexual relationship with a man, were rewarded.

The result was that women faced numerous employment barriers at the pool. As the majority of the supervisory staff were male, there was a distinct lack of female management role models for women staff. The system of training and certification encouraged women to pursue more female-typed qualifications, such as working with children, and women were compelled to conduct and present themselves in a stereotypical manner, such as maintaining a certain body shape. They also lacked the personal networks to improve their working conditions by way of improved schedules for lifeguarding rotations and classes, or to advance within the job hierarchy. This resulted in a job ghetto of poorly-paid employment for female staff.

As a work-site in the City of Thunder Bay, the city's economic, political and social fabric effects employees' experiences of work. Work is designed and executed in relation to local employment norms, and the staff relate to each other under the auspices of local ideologies.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF THUNDER BAY

The economic, political, and cultural fabric of Thunder Bay effects the distribution of jobs in the city. However, this fact cannot account for how specific jobs are assigned. Therefore, to develop a complete picture of employment within the Northern Fitness Facility, it is important to investigate employment trends within the entire corporation; how tangible people assign work. Of its approximately 3,215 workers (1994) the city employed approximately 2,000 people in full-time positions of which 200 are classified as management. All management positions are non-unionized, as are 15% of the part-time and temporary workers who are concentrated primarily in community services and recreation. The Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 87, is the largest labour organizations representing city workers, and in 1994 had a membership of approximately 1,020.

Fifty two per cent of the corporation's employees are female, with most hired into sex-typed jobs. Female-typed work such as communications, clerical, and civil support employ 85% women and 15% men. Male-typed jobs such as fire, police, city council,¹ maintenance and craft workers employ 13% women and 87% men. A stark example of the gendered division of work within the city is the C.U.P.E Local 87

¹Although elected, city councillors inhabit positions of leadership within the community, and this type of authority has been associated with men (Wall, 1993). In 1994 only two women occupied seats (of a possible 13) on the Thunder Bay City Council.

membership, where women represent only 3% of the outside workers and 78% of those employed inside. In total, more men are unionized within the corporation, with male union membership standing in 1994 at 61%, and female 39%.

The corporation is divided into eight different departments, of which aquatics and fitness is one of the six divisions within the Department of Community Services. It is under this division that the Northern Fitness Facility and the other city pools operate. The department has one male manager, five supervisors, of which two - the supervisors of fitness and of services - are women, and four assistant supervisors, all of whom are women. This results in the department being operated under a male-dominated power and supervision structure.

The Structure of the Northern Fitness Facility

While we realize that Thunder Bay will be the centre of activity for the Games, our main legacy, the new [Northern Fitness Facility], will become a recreational and training legacy for thousands of people in our part of the province for decades to come... Thunder Bay Mayor Assef, 1977 (from Mauro, 1981, p. 378-79).

The Northern Fitness Facility was constructed to host the 1981 Canada Games. It has since been operated by the City of Thunder Bay as a leisure facility for the Thunder Bay residents. As a public facility, it has a diverse membership base and caters to many populations marginalized by other private fitness facilities, such as the physically and mentally handicapped. It is also the most comprehensive

fitness centre in the area, facing relatively little competition.

Due its public nature the facility has no enrolment limitations, and this, combined with a lack of similar centres in the city, results in the facility often being used to capacity. Total users in 1993 surpassed 450,000, with an average weekly usage of 15,000 patrons. During 1994, the facility had approximately 43,000 members, with 5,000 participants enrolling in learn-to-swim courses. The largest age cohort of users for both men and women are those between 25 and 34, with the busiest time at the facility being 12 noon to 4 pm on Wednesdays.

Centrally located, the facility houses a 77 metre olympic-size pool, 73 metre waterside, diving platforms and springboards, heated baby pool, 1,500 square feet of fully equipped weight space, a fitness lab, multi-training area, 280 metre running track, four squash courts, a racketball court, child care centre, pro shop, restaurant, tanning centre, sauna and whirlpools. A local masters swim club, diving and running clubs, and the squash association are associated with the facility. It closes only for nine days out of the year, excluding a three week maintenance shut-down every second June.

In terms of programming, the facility offers the public numerous courses to participate in. These range from fitness courses for all ages and abilities to health and

relaxation-oriented courses such as Tai Chi and yoga. The facility offers a variety of learn-to-swim and advanced aquatic and lifesaving courses as well as numerous levels of first aid and recertification programming. Occasionally, special programs such as scuba, fitness instructors and running seminars are offered. During the summer months and on all school board professional development days the facility runs children's programs.

At the commencement of this study the facility employed 14 staff full-time, of whom six are classified as management, as well as approximately 200 people working part-time. Part-time employees work at the front desk and admissions centres, as fitness facilitators, or aquatics staff. The only unionized employees are the maintenance workers.

The Aquatics Department

During the course of my study the aquatics department was the largest employer in terms of the number of staff at the facility. During the school year, it employed 79 part-time staff, 68% of whom were female.² Throughout the summer months of May-August it employed 61 people part-time, of whom 67% were female. The majority of the aquatics staff are employed under the job titles of lifeguard and instructor.

²For a break down of the staffing complement, see appendix B.

The aquatics department is managed by two full-time staff, a male supervisor and his female assistant.³ Beyond these two positions, the pool also employs numerous mid-level supervisors, a senior instructor to facilitate learn-to-swim programs (a female), and head guards, who directly supervise the lifeguard staff on the deck. Although there is no formal number of head guard staff required, during the course of my study there were nine people employed regularly in this position.⁴ Of these, eight were men. One woman was employed as a head guard during the school term, with another female being assigned regular head guard shifts several weeks before my field research concluded. Therefore, for most my study period, there was only one female working as a head guard. The majority of the head guards were attending a post secondary institution, while two worked full-time hours.

The bulk of the aquatics staff were students attending either high school or the local university or college. This resulted in the staff members' ages ranging from approximately 16 to 44. During the school year, the average number of hours worked per week was 10, while most attempted to work at least 35 hours per week during the summer months.

³For official job descriptions for the aquatics department, see appendix C.

⁴The senior instructor also worked as a head guard, but was mainly perceived as the person in charge of the learn-to-swim program, and so is not included in the discussion of head guard activities.

During my study term there were six people working full-time hours at the facility. Of these, three were older adults, the rest were individuals who had recently finished their post secondary education.

CONCLUSION

Work at the Northern Fitness Facility both reflects and perpetuates the economic, political and cultural ideologies of Thunder Bay. The social fabric of the city affects the corporation's hiring practices, resulting in women dominating lower-level, sex-stereotypical jobs. It also influences who works at the facility, the tasks they perform, as well as the attitudes of the workers. To examine the behaviour and rituals of the targeted workers themselves. In the next chapter I explore how the social realities presented in this chapter are played out by the aquatic staff at the Northern Fitness Facility.

CHAPTER THREE

GENDER, SPACE, WORK RELATIONS AND THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL CULTURE OF A LEISURE WORKPLACE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to outline the day to day routine of the Northern Fitness Facility's aquatic employees. As previously discussed, an integral part of ethnographic analysis involves combing out the patterns, rituals and behaviours of the culture under study. This analysis will be achieved by "walking through" typical shifts of the two basic categories of work at the pool, lifeguarding and instructing.¹ Also, I will discuss the focal points of these areas by triangulating the data gathered through participant observation and semi-directed interviews, and discuss the mechanisms of staff control used by the management, noting their effects on the everyday work patterns.

Although lifeguarding and instructing are two separate job descriptions, people are not hired to perform one exclusively. Lifeguarding is the more monotonous of the two jobs. However, while instructing is more active and social, those who teach intensively experience a high level of job

¹ This is, of course, an artificial separation for the purpose of discussion. In reality, these areas interplay to create a dynamic work environment.

burn-out². The execution of these jobs involves a complex relationship between the staff and managers. While managers develop job and facility policy, staff members are responsible for the policy implementation, necessitating interpretation by staff members and often culminating in negotiations between the staff and managers. However, pool employees also undergo extensive aquatic training and scrutiny before becoming staff, therefore, it is necessary to understand the process that individuals must complete prior to employment at the facility.

TO WORK AS AQUATICS STAFF

To work as aquatic personnel an individual is required to have attained a significant number of specific certifications³ prior to employment. Courses taken to obtain this level of aquatic expertise demand a substantial expenditure of both time and money; to be successful in them the candidate must have a history of extensive exposure to water and aquatic activities. To work as a lifeguard a person must progress successfully through the three levels of certification: Bronze Medallion, Bronze Cross, and

²Burn-out occurs when instructors teach too many classes or have been instructing for too long. Their teaching quality diminishes and they usually begin to dislike or even dread going to work.

³To be certified in a skill means that the individual has been examined in specific skills and has demonstrated competence in their performance at that particular time.

National Lifeguard Service (NLS)⁴. Successful completion of these levels demands a person be technically and physically competent in lifesaving skills. To teach swimming, an individual must first pass the Red Cross Leaders' award, a course which primarily focuses on teaching through the use of games and apprenticeship-instructing. After obtaining both the Bronze Cross and the Red Cross Leaders award, the candidate enrolls in a Red Cross Society of Canada (Red Cross) and Royal Life Saving Society of Canada (Royal Life) Instructor course (usually run simultaneously), which focus on the teaching and development of aquatic skills. To be successful at these levels the candidate must demonstrate a positive attitude toward swim instruction, demonstrated by a desire to participate in group activities and by having an enthusiastic personality. Once all levels are successfully completed, the candidate is qualified to teach the Red Cross learn-to-swim colour program and all of the Royal Life lifesaving programs from Lifesaving I to Bronze Cross.

However, while being certified in numerous aquatic skills is a job prerequisite, it does not guarantee employment. As the number of qualified individuals increases, managers of pools such as at the Northern Fitness Facility are able to pick and choose who they hire. One

⁴The qualifications for lifeguarding and instructing are legislated under the Ontario Health and Safety Act (1985), 146/8146/85, S. 1(7) and 381/84, S. 17(19).

male interviewed, aged 20, applied three times before he was hired. To work at the pool you must be legally qualified to lifeguard and instruct, as well as certified in Cardio Pulmonary Resuscitation (CPR) and first aid. Recognized certification can be attained through the Red Cross, The Heart and Stroke Foundation, and St. John's Ambulance. All teach courses that require the candidate to understand and demonstrate basic lifesaving skills. Beyond these primary employment qualifications, many of the staff members at the facility staff have successfully completed other courses that qualify them to instruct others in fitness, first aid, and CPR, as well as the Red Cross preschool program. During the duration of my study there were eleven people qualified to teach some of the highest levels of instruction for Red Cross and Royal Life.

A potential Northern Fitness Facility employee must also possess what was described by those interviewed, regardless of age and gender, as a "good attitude" [female, 21]. There are two components to management's conception of what conveys a good attitude. Firstly, the candidate has to be able to fit in with others. One respondent stated that potential employees had to be like the rest of us, to "have the healthy type look...[be] the wholesome person..." [male, 21]. Secondly, the individual has to simultaneously convey a "go getter" and "team player" attitude.

The Hiring Process

New pool employees are hired as either pool control attendants or lifeguard/instructors. This process initially entails completing a City of Thunder Bay job application form and undergoing an interview with the supervisor and assistant supervisor of aquatics. Interviews are conducted in September, January, and May, although applications are accepted year-round. If found acceptable by the two managers, one is then required to attend a facility orientation, swim 50 metres each of the five recognized Red Cross strokes, as well as retrieve a 20 pound brick off the bottom of the deepest area of the pool (13 feet). If one is able to complete all of the required tasks to the supervisors' satisfaction one is officially hired, signified by completing the required government employment forms.

Red Cross and Royal Life courses presently cost between \$100-\$150 each, with bi-yearly recertification courses varying from \$30-\$50 each. Standard first aid and CPR courses cost approximately \$40, and \$30 to recertify. Once employed, workers receive a discount on CPR and first aid courses, but not on Red Cross or Royal Life. As well, bathing suits cost approximately \$50-\$60 dollars and need to be replaced every few months. Working at the pool, therefore, is a constant expense. Due to the fact that employees must maintain a minimum of five levels of qualifications current, it is usually necessary to recertify

at least one course every year, resulting in workers being in a constant state of recertification.

It takes approximately one calendar year to obtain all of the certifications required to work at the Northern Fitness Facility pool. Due to the time commitments and monetary investments, lifeguarding and instructing are not jobs that a person can acquire without significant planning and preparation. Therefore, those who work in this field normally have a high level of dedication to the occupation. An examination of the job performance by employee follows below, illustrating and discussing the focal points of work at the facility pool. This will be achieved by dividing the work into two basic tasks, lifeguarding and instructing.

LIFEGUARDING

Lifeguarding is one of the two main areas of work at the facility, requiring the employee to perform a complex set of formal and informal actions and rituals. It is important to comprehend the ebb and flow of the lifeguarding patterns and its impact upon the work employees performed. Therefore, in this section I will "walk through" a typical guarding shift, and then discuss key points of guarding, utilizing them to highlight subthemes and tensions at work.

A Typical Shift

As soon as I walk onto the pool deck I can feel the temperature change and I begin to sweat in my outside

clothes. I could tell even with my eyes closed that I have entered the pool, a place that defies nature by remaining at a steady temperature year-round, where there are no sun rises or sets and always the steady smell of chlorine, sweaty feet and something that I have yet to find a source for.

I go right into pool control to see when I am to go on, which means when I am expected to begin guarding. I am not scheduled to go on until 7:15, so I have time to put the book I am going to read as well as my dinner in the staff room. The head guard is frantically attempting to find out who has shown up for work, who Sarah is (she is not on the schedule, so he is trying to find out who she is working for), as well as what guards have just finished instructing and need to have 15 minutes to shower and get dry before they go on. Since the lessons for the evening are just finishing and public swim is beginning, pool control is full of people coming and going, as well as those who are still not sure which way they are headed.

Still in pool control, I stop and chat with some of the instructors, and catch the eye of the head guard to let him know that I'm here. I then leave pool control and walk across the deck toward the staff room. Along the way I stop and tell some kids not to play on the ramp leading into the pool. I walk into the staff room where one of the instructors is on the phone, making last minute plans for

the evening. She looks up and then turns her head and body so her back is toward me. I put my sandwich in the fridge, which is packed with plastic grocery store bags with unidentifiable contents. I place my novel on the counter and leave.

I head back into pool control. All of the lessons have finished now and the place is packed. There are lots of people crowding around the hours sign-in book, or people sitting in the plastic chairs discussing their classes. Occasionally an instructor will stick her or his head out of the window and say good-bye to one of the kids, but otherwise the activity is centred within the room.

At 7:15 I go on. I am going long, which means that I am guarding the deep area and lanes until 7:30, and then go to guard half of the shallow area and the swirl pool. The person who goes short guards at the first bulkhead that divides the shallow area and the lanes and will go off at 7:30. You guard each position for 15 minutes, and then move onto the next. The deep end is quiet, but because the slide is on I cannot sit in the guard chair. There are some teenage boys running on the diving boards, and some others swimming under the bulkhead into the lanes, and I tell both groups to stop. I do all of this from the same position on the bulkhead, so it requires me to yell at the boys on the boards. The rest of the 15 minutes passes by rather uneventfully.

When the large clock in the diving area reads 7:30, one of the people who was formerly instructing comes down the deck to take me off. I have been watching for her for the last two or three minutes and when I see her heading down the deck, I move to the end of the bulkhead. This provides me with a quicker getaway, but an incomplete view of the pool. She takes the flutter board from me, a signal that we have passed the responsibility for the area, say hi, and I head down to the position know as "swirl" as it is right by the little heated swirl pool.

On the way I stop and say hello to the lifeguard at mid and then take the flutter board from the guard at swirl. He points to two children and tells me that they have already broken two rules, and if they do not calm down they should be thrown out, and then takes the short walk into pool control. While at swirl, I prop the flutter board up against a metal post and lean against it. Most of my attention is centred around the lower half of the shallow end and the little slide at the end of it. Two little girls keep climbing up at the same time and I have to tell them repeatedly to only go up the ladder one at time. The boys in the corner of the swirl pool have gone into the shallow end, and I keep my eye on them while two kids come racing down the deck; I tell them to walk as they come tearing by. They either don't hear or ignore me, and run off toward the

bathrooms. A parent sitting at the end of the swirl pool looks up at me and I just shrug.

At 7:45, two guards come out of pool control and head up the deck. The head guard has decided that we are going to four, which means that we are going to be increasing the number of guards on the deck and I will only get a 15 minute break. Betty comes down from deep and takes me off. I head into pool control to sign in my hours and see what's up. The rest of the evening continues along these lines.

The boys eventually end up being kicked-out, some children lose their goggles, and a woman calls insisting on speaking to an employee who is not there. We end up having five guards on deck during the public swim, eventually reducing this number to two by the adult swim. Shortly before 10:30 we gather up our stuff and make a hasty exit at 10:30.

The Ebb and Flow of the Lifeguard's Work

As long as the facility is open to the public there are lifeguards on duty, supervising a variety of swims throughout the course of each day. They all wear the regulation uniform for lifeguarding: a City of Thunder Bay lifeguard shirt (which employees must purchase from the city), a bathing suit, and whistle. At times when the pool air is cold, guards wear t-shirts underneath their lifeguard shirts. If they want to wear shorts while working they are supposed to purchase regulation blue ones from the facility,

but many guards wear their own blue shorts, seemingly without reprisal. While no street shoes are permitted on the deck, many guards wear sandals or flip-flops while working.

Due to the diversity of its programs and activities, the facility attracts a wide range of people who use the centre at different times, resulting in a discernible patron usage pattern. In the early morning, people who work outside of the home attempt to squeeze in some exercise before going to work. At this time the swimming pool lanes are full and it is occasionally difficult to get onto a fitness machine. During the mid-morning, young families come to swim, parents enrol their children in day-care while they work-out, and numerous seniors frequent the facility. At noon the office crowd is back, attempting to work-out during their lunch hour.

During the mid afternoon, families and post-secondary education students frequent the facility. Between 3:30 and 7 p.m. the facility is dominated by high school students, people coming home from work, as well as those who participate in a variety of the courses offered. By the late evening, the facility becomes very quiet, with few people remaining once the doors close at 10:30 p.m.

This pattern of patron use affects the work the lifeguards perform. More staff are required on deck during public swim times, lessons, and aquatic club activities held

in the pool. Therefore, to appreciate the work lifeguards perform it is important to understand the pool schedule. Weekday guarding commences at 6:30 a.m with an adult swim⁵. This is actually a very popular swim time and usually patrons are required to share the lanes. At 9 a.m a family swim⁶ officially begins. However, if children were brought during the early morning adult swim, no one would ask them to leave. The morning guarding shift lasts until noon, with three guards scheduled. As guards sometimes double as teachers, employees are not always sure who is going to be coming on next, often resulting in breaks not being divided evenly. During the afternoon a public swim⁷ is scheduled and three guards come in at noon to take over from the morning staff. The majority of this shift's patrons are fitness swimmers who use the lanes and deep area, or parents with young children. At 4:15 p.m learn-to-swim lessons begin. At this time a new guarding shift for the scheduled family swim also commences and it runs until 7 p.m. Although four guards are scheduled, rarely are three workers required on deck at any one time. The employees, as a result being on deck for half an hour and then take a half

⁵Adult swims are those where only those 18 years and over are permitted to use the pool.

⁶Family swims permit only adults and children accompanied by adults use the pool.

⁷Public swims are those that permit anyone to swim, regardless of age.

an hour break. Nonetheless, guarding during lessons is more stressful than in the morning or mid-afternoon. There are usually enough people in the pool to warrant having up to four guards on, but because most of the children are with instructors, they are not included in the bather-load count⁸. However, everyone in the water tends to look alike, therefore guards often monitor everybody. Additionally, during this shift the lifeguards have to interact with the public more than they do during other swims. Often parents will initially go to one of the lifeguards with lesson problems, or guards have to direct lost children to their class or parent.

From seven to nine in the evening the schedule changes to a public swim. Usually six guards are scheduled to work; many of those whom were instructing earlier become guards. Numerous groups of teenage boys frequent this swim, but the members change continually as many eventually are evicted often enough that they do not come back. In addition to these teenagers many children and adults regularly frequent this swim.

At 9 p.m the schedule switches to an adult/teen swim,⁹ with three guards remaining to supervise the rest of the evening. Often the guards get out the tarzan swing or

⁸This is a count of the number of people in the pool, which determines the number of lifeguards required on deck.

⁹Only those over the age of 14 are permitted to swim during a teen swim.

permit patrons to use the diving towers. At 9:45 p.m the teenagers leave, with the final 45 minutes reserved for adults. There are usually no more than 5 swimmers at a time and they tend to use the lanes. This means that the guards are free to chat with one another while on deck. At 10:30 p.m the facility closes. Before leaving the guards are responsible for ensuring that everyone has left the pool area, that there are no toys left in or around the pool and deck, and that pool control and the staff room are tidy. Usually the staff are able to leave at exactly 10:30 p.m.

As different swim times entail distinct patterns of patron-use, some scheduled swims are considered more preferable to guard than others. When asked which swims they preferred to guard, an equal number of men and women interviewed stated that they liked guarding the busy swim times. Two women, 21 and 32 years of age, cited an enjoyment of the personal contact and interaction with the public that these swims permitted. This is exemplified in one woman's statement that she liked "to be there on a regular basis...to see the same people, the familiar faces, it makes the job more interesting when you can say hello..." [female, 21]. The women's responses were dissimilar from the two men, 23 and 44, who enjoyed working busy swims. They enjoyed them due to the numerous activities that occurred, as they caused the time to "go by quicker..." [male, 23]. A notable gender division also developed

between those who explained why they did not like to guard busy swim times: the men stated that they did not enjoy the chaos created during these swims, while the three remaining women responded that they found the children unruly and impertinent. Their answers reflect frustration with the level of respect they received from the public. Two of the women stated that the children "don't want to listen to you" [female, 17], or, "kids don't respect you, they just don't listen..." [female, 22]. Therefore, women either enjoyed the busy swim times due to the possibility of personal contact, or disliked it due to a lack of respect from the patrons. However, none of the men interviewed echoed similar concerns, indicating a significant gender division in the interviewees responses.

Either a disdain for confusion or a lack of respect demonstrated by patrons led the majority of the men and women interviewed to prefer the quiet morning and daytime swims. This was due to the fact that employees can "[j]ust sit there by yourself, like, if your at an empty swim...your mind wanders...you can talk to adults" [male, 17].

Obviously, employees found it more desirable to work certain swim times than others. While the early mornings are quiet and permit the workers to accumulate a substantial number of hours, they compel the guard to get up very early in the morning, which many prefer not to do. Other times, such as during public swims, were less demanding on guards'

sleep, but more so on their patience. Therefore, different lifeguards preferred different work schedules. While the goal for many is to maintain a certain number of hours, I personally would consider the time-span covered before I would accept someone else's shift. At times finding a replacement for assigned shifts is difficult; the swim schedule is a factor that affects the ease with which an employee can find a substitute.

The Life of the Guard

While on deck, time almost seems to stand still for guards. When asked why he guards, one of the men interviewed, aged 23, stated "Well, I lifeguard because I like being bored." Every other interviewee expressed similar sentiments about guarding. While working, lifeguards do anything to keep themselves distracted, including conversing over walkie-talkies, watching the divers, or day-dreaming. At times employees would literally forget where they were, suddenly realizing that they had not really been watching for several minutes. One woman asserted that "At the facility you could pretty much fall asleep and nothing would happen" [female, 22].

So why do people lifeguard? When asked, those interviewed stated that they had pursued their swimming qualifications for different reasons: their parents wanted them to, friends encouraged them, it evolved from their other swimming activities, or because they thought

lifeguarding was cool. These reasons were consistent across all gender and age categories.

Common themes were prevalent among all the respondents when asked why they worked at the Northern Fitness Facility. They stated that they enjoyed the convenience of the hours, liked the relationships formed with the other staff, and that the money was better than working for minimum wage at a fast-food restaurant. Many employees enjoyed the free facility membership they received by being on staff. If they were to pay for a membership, it would cost between \$193 and \$498 per annum for a general membership¹⁰. Two men also expressed that they enjoyed the emergency situations they participated in, and two older workers stated that they liked being around younger people. One woman, 24, summed up the primary motivations for working at the centre when she said, "I like being at the facility, like the environment....the free membership [at the facility], and it's better than minimum wage...."

Although boring, lifeguarding is a stressful job. One woman, 32, stated that she was "not big on guarding because I have never been that keen on being responsible for the life and death of people, like if I turn my head, not looking...you turn away and ten seconds, face-down in the pool is a lot." During the period of my field research I

¹⁰For 1994 membership and admission rates see appendix D.

experienced recurring nightmares about people drowning in the pool while I was lifeguarding. When I discussed this with other staff members, I discovered that many had similar experiences.

For a lifeguarding shift to run smoothly, employees are required to understand and follow a complex set of written and unwritten codes of behaviours and procedures. Some of these formal rules, for example, the role of each guard during a rescue situation, are learned through the legislated preemployment training. Informal rules, such as when you may sit while guarding, can only be learned on the job. While there are numerous rules and procedures to lifeguarding, not all are strictly followed, resulting in workers negotiating the parameters and components of the job during its performance. This complex bargaining process takes place during rotations and staff communication, and often culminates in employees devising methods of avoiding work and resenting fellow pool workers.

While guarding, each employee monitors a certain area of the pool, deck, and track for 15 minutes and then rotates to another section. Normally workers are on deck for half an hour and then have a 15 minute break. However, if not enough guards are available to guard the patrons in the pool, it is possible to guard for up to an hour straight. Conversely, if there are too many guards scheduled for the swim, it is also possible to guard for half an hour and have

a 45 minute break. Those employees who do not guard the last 15 minutes of their shift are able to leave the pool precisely when they are off the schedule, while those on deck have to wait until they are taken off by another guard. These workers are often relieved of duty several minutes after they are officially off the schedule. Therefore most guards obviously prefer to be off deck for the last 15 minutes of their shift.

Guards are responsible for monitoring their area to ensure that no one is in distress, as well as preventing accidents from happening. Officially, lifeguards are supposed to perform a walking patrol, which means traversing the deck or bulkhead¹¹. However, most workers supervise from one position, and spend a large amount of time standing still on the hard tile deck or bulkhead. At times lifeguards sit on one of the four deck guard chairs, however, this is only acceptable during some swims. Negotiations between the staff and management often result concerning when it is acceptable, when it is frowned upon, and when it is totally forbidden for one to sit while on deck. During morning shifts everyone typically sits. In the afternoon, some guards sit in the deep area while most stand in the shallow end. While sitting is frowned upon, it is unlikely that the guard would be reprimanded, unless she

¹¹The pool is divided into three 25 meter sections by two 1 metre bulkheads spanning its width.

or he was sitting during a public swim, when the slide was on, or during swim lessons. The rationale behind standing and performing a walking patrol is that it results in the guards being more accessible to the public. However, in actual fact, you are able to see more of the pool from the chairs. When standing, there is a glare from the lights off the water that often prevents lifeguards from seeing the bottom of the pool.

While on deck, lifeguards are not expected to talk to anyone but the public. Nevertheless, when there are no swimmers in either the shallow or deep sections, an exception to this formal rules exists and guards supervise the pool from the same position and talk. Such conversations between guards often happens during the morning and late adult swim shifts, but rarely during the rest of the day. Occasionally during my field research patrons would complain about this form of guarding, stating that we were not alert. The management told us to change our guarding patterns and for a few weeks we did, but eventually we went back to our original patterns. Guards also "buddy guard" (two guards on, standing together and talking), when there are three guards on. However, this is frowned upon and eventually the guards will be separated.

Lifeguards communicate with each other through three main mechanisms. During quiet times, it is possible to yell down the deck or up to the slide to get someone's attention.

Usually if the supervisors want to talk to an employee they will come down onto the deck, but occasionally they yell out their windows. When the assistant supervisor comes into work, she always passes through pool control and the deck, chatting with the guards before going to her office.

During busier swims, guards communicate by the use of walkie-talkies. These are located at five main points in the pool: on top of the slide, at the guard chair at the bottom of the slide, the staff room, pool control, as well as the supervisor's office. If an employee leaves the pool area, she or he is supposed to take a walkie-talkie with them, ensuring that the majority of the staff members are able to stay in contact with each other, no matter what area of the pool or facility they occupy. However, this equipment is intended only for use during emergency situations or to request information from people located in different areas of the pool. In actuality, the walkie-talkies are rarely used during emergency situations, due to the fact that most guards did not perform any of their original training using walkie-talkies, and forget to use them during emergency-situation practices.

The most official means of communication is through a combination of whistle and flutter board signals used only during emergency situations. Two short whistle-blasts signals a guard alert, while one long blast and the waving of a flutter board above the guard's head signals that an

emergency situation is taking place and the pool must be cleared of all patrons. These are recognized by all staff and are the few standardized rules respected by all.

When on break, the lifeguards attempt to do as little as possible. If they want to be left alone, have a nap, read, or telephone a friend, they go to the staff room. Others who want to socialize, or are not comfortable in the staff room, go to pool control. While it is a more social setting, the danger of staying in pool control is that you may end up being told to do something. These tasks vary from providing a patron with a toy, answering the phone, getting water from the whirlpool, or making an announcement over the public-address system. If the number of guards required on deck increases, it is usually the employees in pool control who are instructed go on before those in the staff room.

Near the end of the evening public swim, the lifeguards who are not on assist the pool control staff clean-up. This entails the retrieval all the toys from the pool, and straightening up the deck area. However, lifeguards never actually go into the water themselves¹²; they ask patrons who are already wet to bring the toys to the side. Occasionally, if bricks have to be retrieved from the bottom

¹²The only exception to this informal rule is when a guard accidentally falls in. This employee is then responsible for retrieving the bricks off of the bottom of the deep end as informal punishment.

of the deep end, some older boys have to be bribed with the promise of opening the swing or tower.

The procedure that creates the most friction among pool employees is rotations. Lifeguards are supposed to begin their rotation several minutes early, and relieve the staff, who then travels directly to their next position. However, what typically occurs is that the guard going on does not leave for their position until absolutely necessary. Some guards walk at a slower pace than others, or stop and chat with people along the way. This cycle continues throughout that particular rotation, and results in the person going off losing from one to five minutes from their break. Among the staff the worst rotation offenders were recognized; all were men, and the majority were head guards. Unfortunately, it is impossible to "get them back," for making you wait. Periodically a sign will go up in the staff room reminding people to begin rotations early, but these warnings are ignored.

The lifeguards are formally evaluated by the management, but the staff members interviewed hold mixed opinions as to how they performed their assigned duties. Of those workers interviewed, two men, 20 and 44, and two women, 24 and 32, thought that the staff in general were doing a good job. They stated that the guards were well-trained, and while some individuals were better lifeguards than others, "there have been lives saved..." [female, 32].

These interviewees consider employees to be doing a good job if they discipline patrons appropriately, possess strong public relations skills, are not late for rotations, and managed emergency situations skilfully. The majority of these respondents are older people who have worked in aquatics for numerous years, and had all previously worked at other facilities. The other six - three men and women - interviewed felt that the guards were "slacking" [female, 22], that they behaved "as lax as possible, and do as little as possible..." [male, 21]. The six also agreed that it was too easy to not pay attention, "especially when it's not busy and all, you're kind of sitting there talking, and I do it too. You just sit there talking, there're a couple of people in the lanes and something serious could happen" [male, 17]. While I perceived no gender division between the responses, the interviewees who had minimal pool experiences before their employment at the facility tended to perceive the lifeguards as not performing their duties well.

During the discussion of lifeguarding performance, one man, 17, brought up an important point when he expressed concern about the number of hours guards work consecutively: "It's really hard, sometimes, like you'll take hours and it'll put like ten hours straight, and how can you guard as good at the end as at the beginning?" There is no legally set ceiling to the number of hours a lifeguard may work

consecutively. Although the management does not schedule employees for more than nine hours in a row, they did not stop people from working longer. I once guarded for 11.5 hours continuously, and during the course of my study was aware of numerous individuals who had also guarded for long durations.

While formally all employees are supposed to perform walking-patrols, refrain from talking while on deck, rotate on time, and share guarding and break assignments equally, rarely are these procedures followed, although the head guards directly oversee and are supposed to enforce these rules. When asked to evaluate head guards' performance, a distinct gender division emerged between the responses of those interviewed. Of the men, three, aged 17, 21 and 44, felt that the head guards had done a good job. However, this opinion of their ability seemed to be judged solely by virtue of their employment at the facility for a long period of time. One man commented that "they had been in their role for quite a while and they knew what was expected of them" [male, 21]. Another asserted that, "[w]e had an exceptional group of guys who finally had their day in the sun..." [male, 44].

All of the women, except the 17 year old, and one of the men felt that the head guards abused their power. Certain head guards, they declared, "abuse their positions,...take advantage of guarding time,..." [female,

24], elaborating that they "shouldn't be sitting on the chair going uhhh, you know, when its busy or something and then get mad at someone else for doing it...once inside they can't have a bias" [male, 20]. These interviewees commented that head guards "should be more sensitive about their staff, their relations with them..." [female, 21]; that they "have to start treating employees as adults and not as children, like...we're at a lower level and stuff" [male, 20]. The only woman who did not perceive the head guards as abusing their power had not worked at the facility for a significant amount of time compared to the other women and man. Therefore, while the men were split as to their perception of how the head guards performed their duties, the overwhelming majority of the women felt that the head guards abused their power. This is significant due to the fact that during the field study period, depending on the time period, 80-89% of the head guards were male.

Only one man, 23, discussed the head guard's performance in terms of public and not staff relations. The concentration on internal issues by all other respondents highlights this as an important issue that effectively blocks any other way of perceiving the head guards' performance.

The majority of the head guards do not lifeguard as much as the other staff using their positions to ensure extra breaks. They also tend to assign shorter shifts to

the employees that they like. I witnessed a conversation between two head guards discussing how they could maximize their breaks by making another employee, whom they both disliked, work longer. On another occasion, after a woman had gone into the water to rescue a young child who was drowning, the head guard sent her back on, wet, so he could have a complete half-an-hour break.

While lifeguarding is considered to be a very boring task, it actually involves a complex set of procedural and behaviour-patterns. Workers are required to complete and maintain numerous qualifications, which have to be constantly upgraded. Once hired, workers negotiate the work routines through rotations and communication, often in the attempt of avoiding work and causing contention among employees. As a result, those interviewed possessed differing opinions of how the lifeguards and head guards performed their duties, the opinions divided centred along either gender or experience line.

INSTRUCTING

Instructing is the second of the two basic task-divisions at the facility. Like lifeguarding, teaching requires the staff to perform a complex set of formal and informal procedures. Therefore, to understand the work it is important to comprehend the rituals that the employees

perform. In this section I "walk through" a typical instructional shift.

A Typical Shift

It is four in the afternoon as I enter the girls' day-use change room to get ready for the afternoon lessons. I open my locker, seeing that there is not any room for my stuff, as the other two women I share with are also here. I change into one of my suits and then jam my belongings in around theirs. There are several other women who have lockers in the same area as mine and we have a casual conversation, all while in various states of undress.

Once I have changed I head toward pool control. Inside, there is the usual group of instructors hanging around, talking to each other. You can tell who is instructing and who is guarding by the way they are dressed. Guards have on facility shirts, while the instructors are in t-shirts or just bathing suits. There are not enough seats for us all, so some people are standing, while others sit on anything available, the desk, freezer or counter space. One guard is mulling around trying to get an instructor to guard for her from 7-9; so far no one is interested.

Every once in a while a parent or child ducks their head in one of the windows and asks where a certain colour meets or where the senior instructor is. Who ever happens to be sitting the closest to the patron is the one who is unlucky enough to have to find out. The rest of us remain

intent on one of the conversations. Often one of the instructor asks another about a particular child, and we discuss the behaviour and attitude of children whom we have all taught.

At exactly 4:15 one of the instructors gets up to go out onto the deck. Once this happens, the rest of the teachers get up and follow to meet their classes, where the children are waiting for us. One or two normally come running out to meet you, others stay by the wall. At this time, the instructor usually attempts to either find some space by the wall or ping-pong table to sit and talk to the class and take attendance, or heads straight into the water. If the instructor needs to use one of the lanes, they will often forgo attendance until later and head straight for the water.

My yellow class is waiting for me around the yellow sign on the wall. I head over and say hello to everyone, review safety rules and generally put off getting wet for as long as I can. When this is no longer possible, I hesitantly slip into the water in the shallow end, starting my class with a jumping-in game called "jelly bean." All of the children are excited, except for one who immediately begins to cry, complaining that she does not like getting her face wet. Her mother comes over to reassure her and strongly encourages her to rejoin the lesson. During the course of the game the rest of the children splash

profusely, and each time this child gets splashed in the face she gets out of the pool. The rest of the lesson continues in this pattern. At five the class is over and I go into pool control to chat with the other instructors and wait until my next lesson at quarter after five.

Lessons that begin at 4:15 usually end at 5:00, and often the instructor gets a break until a quarter after five. Most instructors head back to pool control to chat and maybe ask some questions. After this, instructors are really on their own with their classes. Instruction is over at seven p.m, although sometimes an instructor will have a private lesson until half seven p.m. At seven, all of the instructors gather in pool control, put their teaching folders away in the file, chat with one another, sign their hours into the time-sheet book, or leave to have a shower before they guard.

Instructing vs. Guarding

This section will explore the world of instructing, its relation to guarding, the work the employees perform and the impact it has on them. The facility relies heavily on aquatic instructional programs to generate income. Therefore, these programs are promoted extensively throughout the community. Aquatic courses are offered throughout the day, but the majority of the Red Cross programs are scheduled from 4-7 p.m. Royal Life and other life saving courses, such as first aid and CPR, are

conducted in the late weekday evening or on the weekend. One course involves ten lessons of various time durations, and its instructor is responsible to teach all of the classes or find a suitable replacement. When teaching, the aquatics staff are expected to ensure that all class participants have an enjoyable aquatics experience.

Of those interviewed, only three preferred instructing over guarding. Two women expressed a preference for teaching due to the fact that they enjoyed working with people, "seeing people gain appreciation and sometimes skills from what I'm trying to teach..." [female, 32], or watching people progress and thinking "oh, I helped them get there" [female, 21]. Often instructors bond with their students, referring to them as "my kids". They track the progress of children they like and dislike, warning new teachers about them, or informing them of what skills a particular child needs to work on. By the end of my research, I had maintained contact with some of the children and parents from the first session I taught.

One man, 21, expressed similar sentiments as the women, but also stated that he felt free from management supervision when instructing: "What I like about teaching is that I have my own freedom. I don't have to worry...I can do it how I want to." All three of these people were very experienced staff, with numerous advanced instructional certifications, demonstrating a teaching experience and

qualification division between those who enjoyed instructing and those who did not. The rest of the interviewees stated that they preferred to lifeguard because teaching "tires you out a whole lot faster and often it gives you a headache" [female, 22]; a sentiment shared by her fellow staff members.

However, as previously described, all those employed as lifeguards must also instruct. Therefore, even those employees who prefer not to, do teach. There was a marked gender difference between the levels the interviewees preferred to teach. When asked, most of the men elected to instruct upper-level Royal Life courses, preferring their technical components and the fact that they were "not like yellow and all that...where you have to be a little bit fake" [male, 20]. However, the responses given by the female staff were very different. Two women, 17 and 24, did not even consider Royal Life courses in their response, restricting their discussion of teaching to Red Cross programs. Only one women, 21, stated that she enjoyed teaching Royal Life courses, but that she "usually end[s] up doing a lot of the preschool classes because no one else wants to do them". Therefore there was a gender division between the courses each sex elected to teach, with men preferring Royal Life programs and women, Red Cross.

A dislike for preschool classes was shared by many; with four men, 20, 21, 23 and 44, and three women, 17, 22

and 24 directly stating that they did not enjoy instructing these levels. The only person who overtly stated that he enjoyed teaching preschool qualified his statement, saying that "one class is good because they are floating and all that, but the others...they are just uhhh, all over the place, you know...I don't like teaching those classes" [male, 17]. Therefore, his preference extended only to the advanced preschool levels, not the ones where the children have difficulty.

The World of Instructing

Aquatics teachers are responsible for up to ten children at a time, for a period between half-an-hour to an hour, depending on the level. At the facility, most instructors only teach one or two days of the week. Due to burn-out, most instructors are not able to teach more, and during my research many requested a reduction in their instructional schedules.

Although the components of each level must be taught, there are numerous ways to achieve this, some more acceptable than others. Like guarding, teaching involves a complex set of interrelated formal and informal rules, negotiated by the staff, the result being diversity in the manner in which each instructor imparts the course information. Therefore, staff use different methods to avoid work, relieve stress, and cope with the trials of the instructional world.

Not all of the aquatic courses require their instructors to get wet, and individual teachers vary in the amount they go in the water. While all instructors are supposed to get wet for the lower colour and preschool levels, there was one male teacher who taught preschool from the side of the deck. For the more advanced levels, most instructors do not go in and remain dry. Depending on the class levels, it is possible to teach for an entire evening without getting wet and experienced instructors develop teaching techniques that enable them to impart the components of the course while remaining dry. The reason for attempting to remain dry is that a regular instructional shift continues for approximately three hours, and if the teacher is constantly getting in and out of the water they become very cold and physically uncomfortable.

During the lessons, instructors use various pieces of equipment. These include toys, mats and tot docks for lower levels; tires, lifejackets and lifesaving equipment for the upper levels. At the end of a set of lessons, all of these items are supposed to be put away by the instructor who used them. However, often this does not happen and results in contention between instructors; the head guards then become responsible for the deck and order the lifeguards or pool control staff tidy up. One person I interviewed, male, 21, reported that a head guard telephoned him at home and was

verbally abusive after he did not put away the toys he had used for instructing.

While lifeguards have back-up staff while working (some one who will go on duty if the person has to go off), there is no such support for instructors. Although officially part of her job description, the senior instructor during my research never got into the water to assist teachers. Occasionally instructors may have an apprentice teacher, but this person might not be trusted to attend all of the classes, and cannot be legally left with the students. Therefore, teachers have a high degree of individual responsibility to attend and appropriately conduct all of their classes with very little support.

Sometimes, more than one teacher needs to occupy the same lane. Adults are permitted to swim during lessons and while I was working, twice a week an adult swim club practised in the pool at the same time. Therefore, the number of lanes available on these days was substantially reduced. If an instructor required a lane for the class she or he often had to ask a patron to move and share another lane with a fellow swimmer. Most of the time the patron was very polite and relocated without a problem, but sometimes they became very irate and refused to move. Some lanes were more preferable to teach from than others, so the competition for certain lanes was augmented when several instructors simultaneously required the same one.

Different class sizes present various problems for instructors. With only one student, the instructor is able to spend a substantial amount of time with the child, but is limited in the activities they can perform. If the instructor has a larger class, it is often hard to divide their time equally among the participants. Instructing is especially difficult when the class participants are at different skill-levels. For example, some participants in the children's classes want to go to the deep end while others are afraid to even put their faces in the water. These classes are extremely hard to teach, causing frustration for the instructors, children and parents.

Parents are another challenge faced by teachers. During preschool lessons, they often sit right across the deck from the instructor, "practically sitting in your class...constantly watching you..." [female, 22]. While most parents are content to sit and wait for their children's lessons to end, occasionally talking to the instructor to check on progress, others regard themselves as full class participants. On occasion these parents would follow my classes around, pull their chairs close to the edge of the pool, or yell advice from the bleachers. When their child did not complete the level, they would rush immediately to discuss the matter with the senior instructor, never consulting me. During my study period, several of these parents developed a reputation for being so

negatively intrusive, that many instructors were reluctant to teach their children due to the added stress that the parents inflicted upon them.

Teaching was identified by all those interviewed as a stressful job, with very few overtly stating that they preferred it over guarding. It requires the instructor to communicate on a different level than with their peers and often be physically uncomfortable. A lack of support from staff, as well as parents results in a high degree of worker burn-out.

MECHANISMS OF CONTROL

As exemplified by the daily routines of lifeguarding and instructing, the work performed at the facility comprises a complex set of negotiations between the staff and management. However, as discussed by Epstein (1992), these negotiations are not entered into equally by each party. Management uses the hiring process, scheduling, and surveillance as mechanisms of control over their relations with the staff.

The Hiring Process Revisited

Through the formal interview process, management is able to screen the people who are employed at the pool. As previously discussed, potential employees must have a sense of team work as well as be an outgoing individual. At times, these qualities can be mutually exclusive. The

management attempts to hire those who will "fit in" [male, 21], and to screen out those who may disturb the status quo.

Scheduling

The guarding schedule is completed by the assistant supervisor on a weekly basis. Every Wednesday it is posted in the pool control office, while the instructional schedule is hung up at the beginning of each session. At the commencement of every session the assistant supervisor requests that all employees inform her of the times they are available to lifeguard and the classes they want to teach. However, employees are not guaranteed any of their chosen hours or courses.

At the facility the schedule is used as a form of sanction. Those workers who do not have their current qualifications on file with the supervisor, who do not regularly attend staff training session, or do not perform well in an emergency situation usually experience a reduction in the number of hours they receive. The schedule is also used to unofficially fire people. When the management no longer desires certain workers to be on staff they stop assigning them hours. To officially terminate someone, the management is required to follow a strict City of Thunder Bay policy¹³. It is much easier to just not give that person any hours.

¹³For the Corporation Employment Termination policy, see appendix E.

Scheduling is a very complex process, involving interplay between the staff and management. While workers enjoy the flexible nature of the job hours, many prefer regular shifts. As well, most instructors appreciate the permanent nature of teaching hours, but most are only able to work a certain number before they burn-out. The assistant supervisor assigns hours according to staff availability and how the management perceives that particular member. While this process was considered by all those interviewed to be unfair, in reality none of them felt that they had suffered on the schedule due to its nature.

Although officially part-time employment, during the course of my study ten staff members worked full-time hours at the facility¹⁴. While the majority of those who worked these hours had just left full-time student life, one man worked full-time at the pool in addition to operating his own business. Two women were married during the time of my study and supported their families on the wages they earned from working at the facility.

Consistent with part-time employment trends outlined by Duffy and Pupo (1992) and Wilson (1991), none of these employees are guaranteed a certain number of hours per week, resulting in managerial control of their week-to-week income. A female employed full-time ended up in tears when

¹⁴For the this study full-time hours are considered to be 30 hours per week.

her hours were reduced from just over 30 to 10 in the space of a week. A full-time male worker once complained that he was unable to see a medical specialist due to the scheduling process. One woman described the pros and cons of the work:

...not being considered a 'real job', is that it doesn't have a schedule, you don't have a schedule really, you can be teaching the same time for ten weeks, but you don't know when you are guarding...On the other hand, I like the flexibility in the schedule, what other job can you say...I'm not coming in next week, I'll be off for three weeks and then I'll be back. [female, 32]

None of these employees receive any of the benefits that full-time employees city employees do. One woman interviewed, 21, whose husband was unemployed, stated that she needed to see a dentist, but could not afford it and had no dental coverage. Even medical costs that could be considered job requirements, such as hepatitis B shots, are not covered by the city. This policy is consistent with employment trends in service-sector jobs officially classified as part-time, while scheduling full-time hours (Thurman and Trah, 1990).

Surveillance

The head guards are responsible for the daily activities conducted on the pool deck, therefore they constantly monitor their staff's actions. While the two supervisors occasionally come down to the deck, they are always able to observe the staff from their office windows, which face out onto the deck. As well, the supervisor constantly monitors the pool via the walkie-talkie in his office. While the

assistant supervisor always comes into work early in the morning and leaves regularly at 4 or 5 p.m, the supervisor does not keep such regular hours; he rarely comes into work before 11 a.m and is usually gone by 5 p.m. In between these times it is impossible to tell where he is, as he could be in his office, working out, or attending a meeting. Therefore, the employees are never sure where the supervisor is and whether he is watching them. Less formal supervision is also provided by the patrons constantly circling the deck from the track above.

Therefore, the physical design of the building reflects the panoptic design described by Spain (1992). Due in part to the way it was constructed, the management is able to continually monitor the staff, while the employees are kept unaware of their actions. The lifeguard/instructors are constantly being watched, either formally by the multi levels of supervisory staff, or informally by the patrons using the facility. It is impossible for the staff to do anything without the action being noted.

The facility uses the hiring process, the schedule and surveillance mechanisms to control the workers. Through the interview process, the management is able to screen out potential employees that might challenge the status quo. During the negotiation of work, employees may be sanctioned through a loss of guarding hours or by not receiving the courses they request. The high level of staff surveillance

allows the management to be continuously aware of the employees actions while at work, reducing the employees' bargaining power during informal task negotiations with management.

CONCLUSION

To work as aquatics staff at the Northern Fitness facility an individual is required to possess a certain level of formal aquatic qualifications, as well as informal personal attributes. Work at the pool is divided between lifeguarding and instructing and the performance of these tasks involve both formal and informal routines. However, while many work rituals are strictly followed by the staff and enforced by the management, many are informally negotiated. These negotiations take place through rotations and communication. The techniques used during instruction, as well as mechanisms utilized to avoid work result in friction between staff members. These negotiations are not entered into equally, as the management is able to use the hiring process, scheduling and surveillance techniques to increase their strength during the work bargaining process.

The articulation of work at the Northern Fitness Facility pool is not equally divided between the male and female staff members. Women employees are assigned tasks that reflect conservative ideas of their sex-appropriate roles. Therefore, it is now important to understand how the

work processes described in this chapter effect female employees' experiences of work.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENDER, SPACE, WORK RELATIONS AND THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL CULTURE OF A LEISURE FACILITY

INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter I described the work routines of the lifeguard/instructors employed at the Northern Fitness Facility. In this chapter I will illustrate the ways in which the performance of these routines result in the segregation of female staff members into sex-typical assignments and tasks. Through the articulation of a job that is grounded in traditional concepts of women's appropriate roles and relationship to paid employment, female aquatic employees are excluded from certain job opportunities and experiences.

While officially a public facility, the centre caters to the needs of heterosexual men, reproducing and promoting the hegemonic control they enjoy in society. This is achieved through the social construction of work, job promotion practices, the pay structure, commonly held concepts of women and their relation to authority, methods of control, as well as male de facto facility ownership.

The social construction of work at the facility ensures that women perform work that reflects their conservative stereotypical roles. This is achieved primarily through the division of teaching assignments into two areas: those that

require instructors to possess stereotypically male characteristics and those that require teachers to possess stereotypically female characteristics. At the pool female staff are assigned sex-appropriate teaching schedules by the management and these instructional choices are supported by both workers and public expectations. Women employees are also denied promotions to positions of authority. While the facility's formal job promotion policy does not discriminate against women, informal qualifications such as guard team experience, interpersonal networks and concepts of authority, do.

Demonstrated by challenges presented by both staff and patrons, female employees are not perceived as capable of and appropriate possessors of authority over men. Harassment and gossip are methods used to ensure that the female staff's behaviour conforms to the conservative standards and expectations expected of them. Male patrons enjoy more freedom in the facility and male staff members have more control over the physical work environment. Therefore, men have a de facto physical and social ownership of the centre, affecting women's work experiences.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF WORK

As exemplified by Wajcman (1991), the concept of skill is not an objective reality but a social construction. The Northern Fitness Facility's notion of skill is reflected in

the attributes perceived necessary for instructors to teach particular swimming levels. Although, as outlined by Cockburn (1991), our choices between and use of technological innovations are often gender-laden, the swimming courses offered at the facility are not necessarily geared toward an instructor of a certain sex. The course materials contain illustrations of both male and female instructors and the program texts and instructor guides are not written in overtly biased language. However, at the facility each program's instruction is associated with a certain sex; women teach courses that require compassion, caring, and being good with children. The linking of certain programs to particular genders highlights the conservative nature of Thunder Bay described in chapter two. Management, staff and public expectations regarding gender roles reinforces the gendered distribution of jobs and tasks.

The Swimming Levels

There are two basic areas of aquatic instruction offered at the facility: Red Cross aquatic program and those courses created by the Royal Life¹. Red Cross programs focus primarily on learn-to-swim and stroke techniques courses, while Royal Life focuses on lifesaving skills.

¹For a complete list of the aquatic courses offered by Red Cross and Royal Life, see appendix F.

The Red Cross learn-to-swim program has two sections, preschool and colour badges, each with seven different levels. Preschool lessons teach students through games and offer courses for children alone or accompanied by a parent. The colour program is for children aged six and over unaccompanied by their parents and concentrates on stroke development. Children may enter both of these streams at the program's first level with no swimming ability and leave at the highest level with the capability to either, depending on the section, swim on their front and back or perform the five recognized strokes perfectly. Participants also learn basic lifesaving skills such as when and where to swim, artificial respiration and boating safety throughout the stages of both the preschool and colour programs.

The majority of those who enrol in Red Cross programs are children, and, for many, it is their first experience in the water unaccompanied by their parents. Red Cross programs, therefore, require instructors to be patient and caring towards children. Many of the initial class levels compel instructors to teach skills using games, such as breathing control through blowing bubbles under water, or proper body position through the use of floats. Instructors have to be "up" and able to interact with parents and children simultaneously. The program's higher levels necessitate teachers to be competent in instructing

technical skills, such as proper arm movement in free style, in an positive, encouraging, and enjoyable manner.

Royal Life is the governing body that designs the lifesaving courses offered at the facility. Although classes, such as boat safety and fitness, are available through Royal Life, the programs conducted at the centre are Lifesaving I through III, Bronze Medallion combined with Senior Resuscitation, Bronze Cross concurrently with Aquatic Emergency Care, and NLS. While it is recommended that individuals complete all of the lifesaving courses, they are not prerequisites for the Bronze Medallion program.

However, Bronze Medallion, Senior Resuscitation, and Bronze Cross are prerequisites for NLS. Royal Life teachers are required to understand lifesaving skills, be knowledgeable about a wide variety of aquatic activities, and be able to work with teenagers and adults.

When questioned about the attributes required by Red Cross and Royal Life teachers, the responses of all those interviewed were similar. Red Cross programs were perceived to demand teachers who are good with children, patient, kind, social, and creative. Instructors of this program should always "want to help them [children] do better..." [male, 17], and should be "happy, smiley, friendly, open to the parents...they shouldn't exhibit any hate to people,...no hostility...they really need to enjoy what they are doing" [male, 22]. Red Cross instructors must "always

want to help them [the participants] do better, listening to them...have a cheerful attitude" [female, 17], and be someone that "can work with kids, who likes kids..." [female, 24]. These are all very stereotypically female attributes.

The opinions as to the ideal attributes of a Royal Life teacher are very different. Good Royal Life instructors were perceived to "need to know their material, they need to be able to take a good stand on it, they need to be able to take other peoples' opinions, but be able to tell them when they are wrong" [male, 21]. Instructors "have to be creative and know [their] stuff" [female, 22]. These courses were described as requiring instructors with a greater technical understanding and wider knowledge-base of lifesaving methods, and specialized skills. These perceived requirements are commonly associated with masculinity.

Only one woman, 32, acknowledged that the skills used to teach Red Cross courses are the same as those required for Royal Life. She said that

[i]f you can have someone teach a really good preschool class and do a really good job,...those same skills will be transferred to teaching Bronze Medallion and Cross because that professionalism comes through.

While all the respondents grouped the two areas of teaching into those that required patience and caring and those that demanded a knowledgeable instructor, this woman also identified the standards they have in common.

Concepts of Women's Natural Abilities

During the course of my study a larger proportion of women than men taught Red Cross programs, due to the fact that these courses are perceived to require few learned skills and only the natural attributes of women. The Red Cross program was judged by those interviewed as "easier to teach because it comes more naturally" [male, 17], and that its instructors "just have to be happy...that's their role...just be there...they have no real job" [female, 22]. These courses were considered by some staff members as being taught by rote, especially when compared to Royal Life. One man, 21, stated that he

[did not] do lesson plans for like, a yellow or an orange or something like that because I have been teaching Red Cross for so many years, but the main, more of the bigger things, uh, like first aid and CPR, should have core plans and stuff like that. The more, higher levels should definitely have plans.

Another man, 17, responded that "Royal Life instruction should be more serious than Red Cross. Red Cross is teaching kids to swim, which can be fun and stuff, but Royal Life you are teaching people to save someone's life." These comments imply that Red Cross programs are not as important as Royal Life and that teaching children to swim and possibly save their own lives is purely fun. While both the men and women interviewed expressed similar sentiments concerning their perceptions of the difference between Red

Cross and Royal Life course instruction, the males were more emphatic in their responses.

While the material and focus of each course is distinct, the structure of all aquatic lessons is essentially the same. The only differences between Royal Life and Red Cross instruction reside in the manner in which teachers must interact with their students. With adults and teenagers, the majority of whom are enrolled in the course by choice, instructors are able to communicate at relatively the same level as with their peers. In the case of children, instructors are required to adjust their level of speech and behaviour to explain technical points to people with very limited vocabularies, requiring teachers to be more creative with explanations and practice-time. Attempting to get a three-year-old to do a proper front float, with their legs and arms straight and their face in the water blowing bubbles is a very complex procedure. However, these technical skills are not recognized due to the fact that most staff members regard Red Cross instruction as fun and games with kids.

Although, like first aid and CPR, there is a distinct instructor qualification for the preschool program, the facility expects all staff members to teach its courses, contributing to employees perceiving that very little learned skill is required to instruct young children. Although most employees have an extensive understanding of

first aid procedures, only those certified are permitted to teach these courses as they, unlike preschool, are expected to require a learned skill to be well-taught.

The division between the two areas of instruction results in women being assigned courses based on stereotypical ideas of their natural ability and the appropriate sex of each program's instructor. One woman, 17, felt that "with all the males molesting and that, it seems, that's just my opinion, that females are more for instructing. There seems to be a lot more of males for the higher courses." At the facility, as reflected in the teaching assignments, it is generally assumed that female staff are inherently good with children, but do not possess the discipline or ability to comprehend the technical components of upper-level lifesaving courses. Although the instructional schedule is created by a woman, she is influenced by commonly-held ideas of which courses are appropriate for women to instruct.

The only area of specialized instructing dominated by women is Aquafitness, aerobics in the water, and the majority of its participants are women. During my field research there were eight females and two males who taught these courses on a regular basis². Of these, only four

²Women represented 80% of the Aquafitness instructors, and 68% of the lifeguard/instructor staff. Therefore, the larger proportion of women teaching Aquafitness than men is not due simply to their dominance of the lifeguard/instructor staff.

people held any form of formal fitness instruction qualification. Two women and a man had completed an Aquafitness instruction course, while another woman was enrolled in a post-secondary physical education program. The other instructors had simply expressed an interest in conducting Aquafitness and were assigned classes.

Aquafitness is considered women's work as female staff members are thought to possess the innate ability to facilitate a class. The facility does not require instructors to be certified to instruct the program and it is the only specialized course that an instructor can teach without any formal training. While there are different agencies that prepare and qualify instructors, during my field research the management continually refused to assist instructors to become qualified, claiming that it would be too expensive. Therefore Aquafitness is perceived as less important and requiring fewer trained-skills to teach than other specialized programs.

This perception was illustrated when one of the Aquafitness instructors phoned the pool to inform the male head guard present that she would not be able to teach the Aquafitness course scheduled during his shift. He instructed the only woman on duty that she was to teach the class. When she stated that she knew nothing about Aquafitness instruction he asked her if she expected him to teach it. During the course of the interviews, only two

people mentioned Aquafitness classes, and it is significant that they were both women, 21 and 24. They regarded the programs as poorly run, stating that they were "very unprofessional" [female, 24], and that instructors required more training.

Staff and Public Expectations

Beyond management's course assignments, the expectations of both staff members and patrons affect the allocation of work at the facility. By female course preferences, or demanding that courses are taught by the stereotypically appropriate gender, aquatic workers and the public reinforce management decisions. The findings are similar to those of Livingstone and Luxton (1988) and Gray (1987), where the labourers themselves influenced the hiring and work practices of the jobs under study. Expectations held by the facility's patrons as to the genders appropriate to perform certain tasks reflect the use of boundaries and power in the social construction of work as discussed by Epstein (1992).

The female aquatic staff assist in their own segregation in two ways. Initially, the low level of support that they receive while working affects their confidence and ability to complete certain tasks. Combined with gender socialization, this lack of support often results in them choosing to teach courses that reflect commonly held concepts of femininity. One women, 32, concluded that "as far as instructing goes, I think it's a

bit from the instructors themselves and the people assigning the classes."

As discussed in chapter three, instructors do not receive the same amount of on-site work support as lifeguards. Therefore, teachers are effectively alone with their instructional responsibilities, detrimentally affecting their sense of competence. One woman, 32, discussed her frustration with teaching preschool courses:

Saturday morning, a preschool class with five kids in it, two kids are swimming across the pool, two are hanging onto the edge and one is crying and won't even get into the pool, and I'm there on my own,...and there is nothing I can do about it and it just makes me feel inept, incompetent.

These feelings of inadequacy often contribute to the lack of women pursuing upper level courses. Unlike the men, they do not perceive themselves as possessing the requisite skills. When questioned why women did not pursue upper-level courses, the two women who, as discussed in chapter three, did not initially mention Royal Life in their discussion of teaching, responded that they did not have the technical ability or knowledge base to conduct a Royal Life course. They said that "teaching lengths and all this is harder, for the higher levels you need more experience and all that, more than I [have]" [female, 24]. When I taught a Bronze Cross course with a young woman, she was very concerned that she would not be able to handle the work.

As illustrated in chapter three, numerous female staff members choose to teach Red Cross over Royal Life courses because the kids "are so cute" [female, 17]. Women enter the labour market already knowing which jobs are appropriate for their sex (Marini and Brinton, 1984). As Royal Life courses require the instructor to possess and exhibit male-typed attributes, many women opt to instruct the gender-appropriate Red Cross children's classes. The only two women who expressed enjoyment in teaching upper-level Royal Life courses worked full-time hours as were the majority of those who were dedicated to all levels of instruction, as discussed in chapter three.

Similar to female staff members, the public's instructional expectations support a gendered division of teaching assignments. Although most patrons do not overtly request women to instruct their young children, they often assume that the teacher will be female. During my research, I had another staff member teach my classes one evening. The person who replaced me was a large, hairy man. I was told later that two little girls took one look at him and either refused to go in the water or cried. One of the young men interviewed gave an account of his experiences teaching a young girl who, at the initial lesson, seemed very happy, but then refused to come back. He was told by her mum that "she didn't really like a guy instructor" [male, 17]. Another male interviewee, 23, stated that

patrons "always look for a female senior instructor...maybe they have some idea that a female would be better in a position than a male,...I don't know if it is the mother syndrome or anything like that" [male, 23]. Therefore, through their instructional expectations, the patrons of the facility do not demand equity and thereby support and propagate a gendered division of the teaching schedule.

Management, staff, and public assumptions about the abilities of each sex are congruent with common conceptions of women's natural talents and the gendered division of work in Thunder Bay. As biology predetermines the perception of appropriate tasks each gender should perform, as illustrated in chapter two, the majority of the women in the city and corporation perform jobs that reflect domestic responsibilities (Heald, 1991). This results in the facility's aquatic female staff members teaching children's programs, while the men instruct the courses that are perceived to require more strength and skill.

Congruent with the findings of Reskin and Padavic (1988), and Bielby and Baron (1986), the supervisors of the aquatics department at the Northern Fitness Facility assign jobs based on the social construction of work. These decisions emerge from the conservative culture of Thunder Bay which propagates women's domestic roles, and are reinforced by employee requests and public expectations. Skill is associated with masculinity, and courses that are

perceived to require it are taught by older, male staff members. Those programs that are considered to require little or no skill, and whose participants are primarily women and children, are taught by women. The consequences of these actions are that female employees are assigned jobs and tasks based on stereotypical ideas of their abilities and the social construction of skill.

JOB ADVANCEMENT

While the pool has a multi-level job hierarchy, the only avenue of job advancement from lifeguard/instructor is to head guard. While there is no formally set number of head guard positions, during the course of my research a total of ten were employed, two of whom were female. The flexibility in the number of head guards affected who was chosen for each position and the way in which staff flow in, out, and between jobs.

To Be a Head Guard

While there were numerous women formally qualified for the position of head guard during my research year, they were excluded from the position because they lacked the necessary informal qualifications, these being: guard team experience, personal networks, the location of original aquatics training, instructional skill, and by matching stereotypical conceptions of authority figures.

To be formally qualified for the position of head guard, the facility's policy and procedures manual states that the candidate must possess all of the certifications required to work as aquatics staff at the facility as well as have demonstrated leadership³. The requirements are vague, defined and interpreted by the supervisor of aquatics. Only two people, a man, 23, and woman, 21, felt that leadership abilities are a factor in job promotion and they were the two head guards interviewed. Therefore, the majority of the respondents, excluding those who had themselves been promoted, did not perceive leadership as a significant job advancement requirement.

Following these results, only four of the ten respondents felt that the pool job promotion process was based on formal qualifications such as skill. Two were younger staff, both 17, who did not have a substantial amount of aquatics experience, and the second pair were the two head guards. Conversely, two fellow interviewees overtly stated that they "really don't think it [the hiring process] is fair" [male, 20], and that:

The whole system, the way it's set up, I mean the way head guards become head guards, I don't think that's right...I don't think anything at the [facility] has to do with skill" [female, 22].

³These are listed on the Head Guard job description, appendix C.

Thus, beyond the stated formal qualifications, there are numerous informal requirements that are essential to being considered "qualified" for the job of head guard.

The first of these is to have participated on a guard team. Such teams are comprised of lifeguards who practise lifesaving techniques as a squad and compete with other teams in formal events. These groups operate using the course material and attitudes of the masculine-oriented Royal Life programs. Of those interviewed, two men, 23 and 44, and three women, 17, 21 and 24, felt that guard team participation was positively associated with job advancement. However, during the course of my research there were two women employees who had participated extensively on numerous guard teams, winning provincial competitions. Both were very competent instructors, had been on staff for several years, and possessed many advanced instructor certificates, but neither were head guards. These women therefore excelled in an area that has masculine attributes, but their perceived success is reduced. This illustrates, as outlined by the next informal qualification, that being competent in the gender-appropriate work area is essential for promotion.

If an employee is a competent Red Cross instructor and demonstrates a keen interest in teaching, their chances of becoming a head guard are severely diminished. As it is difficult for the management to retain quality instructors,

they tend not to promote good teachers away from instruction. One person stated that "if you don't instruct...then you become a head guard" [male, 21].

Another man developed this explanation further:

I went through this with [the supervisor]. If someone is working at instructing with mega hours, with no breaks,...after four or five years the guy who is teaching is quite spun around...he [the supervisor] looks around and sees [a male guard], relaxed and sitting there, five years experience, calm and cool,...I always say, can't swim, can't teach? You could be head guard. [male, 44]

I observed the pattern these men described while in the field. It is interesting that the only two interviewees who discussed this informal qualification were both men. Both possess numerous advanced aquatic certifications and had worked at the facility for many years. However, they were also both very good Red Cross instructors who performed a substantial amount of teaching.

As Red Cross instruction is classified as women's work, these men are perceived as being less stereotypically masculine, a trait that assists in job promotion. The perception that they are less masculine lowers their informal qualifications for job advancement. Being proficient in Red Cross instruction but forced to work harder to prove competence in Royal Life programs such as guard team, causes women to be blocked from job promotion at the facility.

The majority of the males interviewed and two of the females stated that to become a head guard an employee must be liked by the current group of head guards, as well as being friendly with the supervisor. This is due to the fact that management "listen[s] to the head guards and who they think should be head guards,...so that's the biggest factor to do with it" [male, 23], and "If you are liked, it is pretty much the only thing, if [the supervisor] likes you then you become a head guard" [male, 21]. Two women thought that "being a real ass-kisser helps...[the supervisor] doesn't want anyone in the job who is going to challenge him" [female, 32], and that "it is from the other head guards, previous head guards putting in a good word for them." [female, 22] that people are promoted. More men than women interviewed recognized the promotional benefits of being friendly with the supervisory staff, an important distinction in light of the fact that during the time of my study there were substantially more male head guards than female.

Three women, aged 22, 24 and 32, discussed the fourth informal head guard qualification: the location where the individual received their formal aquatic training. They felt that those trained in Thunder Bay were favoured, stating that "some of this has to do with whether you are from Thunder Bay or not..." [female, 24]. Another woman, 32, stated that she thinks that "being from Thunder Bay

helps, again, if you are trained in Southern Ontario...you come up here to go to university and you're back down to the bottom of the ladder." None of these women had received their training in Thunder Bay; all had a variety of aquatic experiences and none were head guards. The 32-year-old woman explained this phenomenon as having "a lot to do with the pride in Thunder Bay's ability to train its own,...we must be better than them;" in other words, southern Ontario programs. This highlights a rivalry between Thunder Bay and other aquatic departments, similar to the politics of parochialism described by Weller (1993) that is practised in the city. However, the result of turning inward is that women are not advanced on the job.

Head guards are selected to fit a stereotypical model of authority. One woman interviewed, 32, stated that she "[s]ometimes think[s] it might be perceived authority, like they perceive in their head that [a woman], whether or not they put it on paper or words, that person looks like an authority figure to them, [names a woman] does not."

Another employee went on to explain this in depth:

People have the impression that the man is in charge, so like probably head guards are to be, like where it is a male. If they got a guy and a girl and they've been there the same time, and they say, well whose going to be head guard, well if we've got a screw up and someone falls down on the deck and breaks their neck or something...if there's a fireman here and they've got to talk to the guy in charge, who are they going to have talk to the fireman? So [the supervisor] might be intimidated to have the highest

qualifying male be moved up rather than the highest qualifying female, because he would rather have the male talk to the fireman...to the person in authority...if it goes to court, it would be like, who was in charge at the time? They can say HE was, versus SHE was [respondents emphasis]...the City of Thunder Bay feels that if something goes wrong, like a boiler blows up, you've got [names a male staff], they don't have Muriel [hypothetical name]. [male, 44]

While the other interviewees were not as overt in their statements about women, their relationship to authority and the conservative hiring-trends of the corporation and the City of Thunder Bay, their responses to numerous questions such as the gendered-division of instruction, do convey that females are not perceived as authoritative figures.

Management, therefore contributes to "prefer[ing] males in the head guard role" [male, 23].

However, it is not only the management that doubts females' authoritative capacity, but often the women themselves. One female interviewee, 17, stated that:

There don't seem to be many females saying I want to be head guard, I guess they might feel intimidated. If you look at [a male head guard] and all them they all seem so smart at everything, they know, they have everything down..It's also, being head guard, it's so much more responsibility that you have to know so much....

This statement illustrates the self-fulfilling prophecy in employment discussed by Marini and Brinton (1984), whereby women are excluded from leadership positions due to the fact that they can not see themselves occupying them. The female

head guard interviewed, 21, expressed doubt about occupying an authoritative position, commenting that "people don't seem to mind that I'm head guard,...I haven't heard any complaints." She continued by stating that the job had "forced [her] to relate to authority that I don't necessarily agree with, because they're the authority and they've made the decision," demonstrating a lack of confidence in her personal authority. Another woman, 24, was unsure of the head guard hiring process. Although she is a senior staff member with numerous aquatic experiences, she may not perceive herself as a head guard and therefore never inquired as to the process of job advancement.

When I discussed the issue of the lack of female head guards casually with some of the male head guards, the usual response was that none had applied for the job, bringing to light two interesting points. Firstly, is a confusion about the hiring process itself. While some people do hand in internal applications, when questioned, the supervisor of aquatics stated that there is no formal application process, and that he and the other head guards chose who to consider for the position.

Secondly, the question must be asked as to why no women applied, or are perceived not to have applied. As women are not thought of, and many do not view themselves, as authority figures, they are kept from the position due to a need for them to conform to traditional gender roles. Women

do not, or it is perceived that they do not, attempt to acquire the job of head guard as they are excluded by the current group of head guards and the stereotypical ideas of women subservient place.

While officially one job, during the time of my study the position of head guard was informally divided into two sections, head guard and acting head guard. Head guards receive regular shifts, while acting head guards work when head guards are unable to. Therefore, similar to instructional assignments and adhering to the findings of Reskin and Roos (1984), when the job of head guard is divided, women are assigned the lower-level tasks. This division results in women being only temporarily in charge, while men hold constant official authority.

This occurred during a summer staff training-session that I attended. All of the head guards were required to assist with training the new staff, so several female employees were instructed to act as head guards to ensure that all of the pool duties were completed. However, they were then demoted when the training was over and the men returned.

Women also remain acting head guards longer than men, and seem to stay in this limbo position for an inordinate amount of time. In August, when many of the head guards were leaving, a man was scheduled for a large number of acting head guard hours, while two of the women who had

performed as head guards during the summer did not receive any scheduled hours, even though they had very similar availability.

Female staff members at the pool maintain a position at the bottom of the job pyramid, in terms of access to and perceived authority, as well as the task assignments they receive when jobs are split. These factors combine to assist in preventing women aquatic staff from advancing on the job at the Northern Fitness Facility. Consistent with the findings of Bielby and Baron (1986), women rarely are promoted to positions of power over men and remain in jobs with fewer material rewards.

PAY STRUCTURE

While the facility's female aquatic staff work both outside of the home and in the same location as men, the fact that the job and task distribution is based on conservative concepts of their natural abilities results in women employees facing discriminatory work practices at the centre. Female workers experience the three forms of marginalization outlined by Reskin and Roos (1984): they are internally segregated into instructional roles, assigned the lowest level jobs when a division occurs in the work, and receive fewer financial rewards than men.

In this section I discuss the pay structure of the Northern Fitness Facility's aquatics department, as it

contributes to women's ghettoization into lower paying jobs. The centre pays different rates for guarding and instructing, and internally divides the pay schedule within these two areas. While the facility does not formally advocate paying women less, the tasks and jobs that women are assigned pay less money than the men's jobs.

Teaching

Instructors received a higher wage and enjoy a more stable schedule than guards so many staff members prefer to work a significant number of teaching hours. While individual schedules vary, employees instruct from one to four hours consecutively per lesson day. However, employees often experience burn-out and have to reduce the number of hours they work, which results in many women experiencing a drop in their income. As head guards are not expected to teach lower-level courses and have relatively stable hours, they do not have to perform a large amount of teaching to maintain a certain income. Therefore, they tend not to experience job burn-out and its resultant reduction in hours. As a result, not only do women earn less money, but their incomes are less consistent than those of male employees.

Red Cross colour and preschool program instruction pays \$9 per hour, regardless of the instructor's qualifications. However, upon completion of the basic Red Cross Swim Instructor course required for the job, candidates are

qualified to teach only the colour program. Preschool is a different instruction certification, like boat safety and first aid. However, such additional certifications are not factored into the pay schedule. This means that older, more experienced staff "could go and teach a water babies class tomorrow and get paid the same as...some one who has never taught before and is just stuck, with no preschool training at all" [female, 32]. Upper level Royal Life programs⁴, Aquafitness and other courses such as kayacking start at \$9 per hour and every two sessions the instructor teaches, they received a \$0.50 pay raise up to \$11 per hour. First aid and CPR courses pay a flat rate of \$12 per hour, but these courses run infrequently. This pay structure results in an inequality between the amount that women and men make. Due to the gendered division of instruction, combined with the fact that there are more female teachers, women perform the majority of the lower paid Red Cross instruction.

Lifeguarding

As with teaching, women also earn less money than men when lifeguarding. Head guards receive \$2.15 an hour more than guards, and attend more paid staff meetings, work longer hours, and are scheduled more frequently and regularly than most lifeguards. As the majority of the lifeguards are female and the head guards male, during a regular guarding

⁴Upper level RLSSC courses are all of the programs beyond lifesaving III.

shift most of the men working earn more than the women. This is similar to the income trends in Thunder Bay⁵ discussed in chapter two.

Value

As previously discussed, Reskin and Roos (1984) found that when jobs are divided, women are relegated to the lower levels of employment. At the Northern Fitness Facility women dominate lower swimming levels and work as acting head guards. When discussing this problem, one woman, 32, interviewed stated:

I think instructors are undertrained and how the pay structure is contrary to, counter productive to instructors...doing the job well and continuing to get trained. I have always felt that the facility doesn't really care about instructing as long as they don't get complaints...the aquatics code of conduct does not even mention instructing⁶.

These courses represent the bulk of the total courses offered and their instructors receive the lowest amount of money to teach them, and therefore, female instructors dominate the lowest level of the instructional pay scale.

During the time of my research, there were only three upper-level Royal Life courses taught by women, and therefore the majority of the higher paying programs were taught by men. This ghettoization into lower paid instruction was not due to women being under-qualified. To

⁵See Table 2 in chapter three.

⁶See appendix H for the Aquatics Code of Conduct.

work as an instructor/guard at the facility, all staff beyond pool control have to be qualified to teach the Red Cross colour program as well as most of the Royal Life courses. There was one woman on staff who was qualified to teach NLS, and three qualified to instruct other specialized Royal Life and Red Cross programs. However, these women were assigned lower paying instructional courses more frequently than their male equivalents.

By paying more for upper level Royal Life and other specialized course instruction, the facility managers conferred on these teachers a higher status than the Red Cross programs. Through the sliding pay scale based on experience and qualifications, the corporation and its managers assert that only Royal Life and specialized courses required experience to be well taught. Of those interviewed, only two women recognized the value judgments entrenched in the wage scale, stating that "[t]he structure of the job, there's no pay scale,...my experience for teaching means nothing,...it has no value...being a good instructor, hey, there's no reward" [female, 32]. This was echoed in the second woman's comments:

I was talking to some people and the instructors have more responsibility than the head guards and I don't think that is recognized. From a business point-of-view the instructors is where all our revenue is coming from and if they are doing an excellent job then you're gonna have more people wanting to come...where as head guards are not that valuable...[female, 21].

When questioned as to why the some course instruction paid more, one man, 46, responded:

I don't know, I guess its natural. Like grade 6 students learn grade 6 stuff, and theoretically a person who is taking grade 9, the person should have to know all the things from grade six stuff and the grade nine. So he requires more money because he know all this other stuff...

Due to the fact that instruction of Red Cross colour and preschool courses pays a flat rate, the facility is, in essence, stating that there is no direct, acquired experience required to teach these courses and that doing a good job should come naturally. This perception is reflected in another man's statements about teaching Red Cross, that instructors "need to keep in mind they are there for the people they are teaching, and not for the pay check" [21].

The structure of payment at the Northern Fitness Facility results in women earning less than men. While all staff are formally qualified to perform a basic group of tasks, women's work centres around the lowest paid jobs. An income pyramid is the result, with a small number of men earning the most at the top, while the base is essentially completely dominated by women.

WOMEN IN AUTHORITY

At the Northern Fitness Facility, women who occupy any authoritative positions are challenged. These women are

confronted by the attitude and behaviour of both the public and their fellow workers by being verbally abused, and having their judgments challenged or ignored.

While supervising the pool, it is very common for female employees to be yelled and sworn at, called bitches (among other choice descriptive words), or simply ignored by the patrons. While both adults and children treat female staff members in this manner, teenage boys are the most abusive. Twice while monitoring the pool a group of boys totally ignored me after I had kicked them out. During the summer months of my field research we experienced disciplinary problems with a particular set of teenaged boys behaving disrespectfully toward the female lifeguards. Eventually the head guard banned them from the pool, but they would not listen to her. They left only after one of the male lifeguards instructed them to go. This type of disrespect directed toward women employees affects the lifeguarding schedules which they prefer. As discussed in chapter three, the majority of the women elect to guard the quiet swims that have few young patrons.

Female lifeguards authority is also challenged by their associates. One of the women whom I interviewed divulged to me an incident she experienced with one of the maintenance staff. During the course of my study several of the male head guards were also employed by the facility's maintenance department. It was in this capacity that a particular head

guard was working when the woman responded to a first aid incident in the building. When he arrived at the accident scene, the man questioned her judgement and attempted to take over. As Carol was the first rescuer to the accident and Bill (not their real names) was a maintenance person, formally it was Carol who was both in charge and responsible for the situation. However, Bill challenged Carol's authority by disregarding her formal role.

One man, 44, stated that "[u]nless you are an exceptional female, you are not going to stand out no matter what you do...." However, this is not necessarily true, as female head guards are very visible and receive more criticism than their male counterparts. When asked to identify a head guard who had performed their job well, none of those interviewed named a woman. When asked to give an example of a head guard who had done a poor job, all those interviewed identified a female. One vocal and aggressive female head guard was referred to as a bitch by two women, 17 and 22, bossy by another, 32, while two men stated that she was overly emotional and that "lots of guards lose control, like [names the female head guard] they just like, freak out,...she's definitely an overreactor" [male, 20], and that "she's not always with it...you know there are some people who are on the ball and other who are like, whooa.." [male, 17].

The only other female head guard was very quiet, did not attend staff training, often deferred to men when making decisions, and generally did not make herself visible. Only one respondent voiced any negative sentiments about her job performance. Of this head guard the woman, 22, who had previously criticised the other female head guard for being pushy, stated that she "is not out spoken enough, you know, you've got to be a really strong character and she's not." This statement demonstrates the paradoxical relationship between women and head guard status. While all those interviewed stated that the male head guards performed their job well due to the fact that they were strong and knowledgeable, women in the same supervisory role were criticized both for acting as well as not conducting themselves in a stereotypically masculine manner. Therefore, women in an authority position, whether they enforce their position or not, are personally challenged. They are regarded as deviant, as is illustrated by the names the staff members called them. This is congruent with findings of Padavic's (1990) study where women who displayed sex-appropriate behaviour were accepted, while those who behaved in more aggressive, male patterns, like the female head guards, were not.

The female assistant supervisor is also accorded less deference than her male counterpart. Although she directly monitors the pool and has the ability to hire and fire

staff, most workers perceive her as less of a threat than the supervisor.

Women who occupy any type of authority position at the Northern Fitness Facility are challenged. Men use their power to pressure the female staff into behaving in stereotypical ways that deny them authority over men. Due to this, female staff experience difficulty enforcing rules and gaining respect from both the patrons and associates.

METHODS OF CONTROL

Three primary methods are used to control the behaviour and actions of the female aquatic staff members at the pool. Initially, prevailing conservative ideologies provide a code of appropriate female conduct that women employees are supposed to follow. Men enforce this code of proper behaviour and sanction those who violate it through the mechanisms of harassment and gossip⁷.

Traditional and Sport Ideologies

The Northern Fitness Facility's culture is embedded in and fosters traditional ideologies of men, women and their appropriate positions and behaviour patterns prevalent in the city as a whole. As a sports centre, the facility

⁷Harassment is defined by the City of Thunder Bay as any conduct that intimidates, is hurtful or malicious. The city policy states that all employees have the right to a harassment-free environment (for the official policy, see appendix G). The incidences of harassment experienced by those at the facility fall under the city's policy.

combines these conservative notions with the patriarchal and heterosexual concepts of order associated with sport culture, outlined in chapter one (Dunning, 1986; Lenskyj, 1990; Thompson, 1990). Male patrons are expected to be daring, strong and skilled, while female facility-users are considered the weaker sex, both mentally and physically, dependent and subservient to men. Due to these conservative ideologies, women are informally marginalized and their behaviour restricted.

As female workers at the facility are perceived as women first and workers second, they must conform to the gender ideologies that pervade the centre. Therefore, any discussion of female employees and their experiences of work should include an analysis of how women in general are perceived in the area under study.

The Northern Fitness Facility is a place where young boys and men may prove their masculinity, exemplified by the fact that when the lifeguards permit people to jump off the 7.5 and 10 metre towers, very rarely do women go off. Physical force and aggressive behaviour is glorified at the facility as it is a place where many men go to become physically large and intimidating. This fact was demonstrated by an incident I witnessed between a man and a child (not his own). During a public swim, the man physically disciplined the child for splashing. On another occasion two boys continually spat on a woman. Upon being

asked why, they responded that it was better than spitting on a man.

Ideologies surrounding perceptions of maleness and femaleness affect the ways in which patrons use the pool. More women than men escort their children to swimming lessons or in the water during public swims, and therefore they dominate the social area during lesson times and the swirl pool during public swims. Women, therefore, tend to use the more controlled spaces and areas around the pool, a pattern found by Pfister (1993) and Piche (1991) in their studies of the leisure activities of women and girls.

During the morning shifts I lifeguarded I observed that a group of older men would occupy the deep end for a certain period every time I was scheduled. They were all friends and this time appeared to be a social event for them. Conversely, there are no such "clubs" for women. The only aquatic fitness activity that women dominate is Aquafitness, and participation in this course results in them remaining in the shallow end. During the day several women would bring their babies to the pool and place them in carry seats by the guard chairs. However, the women's work-outs were constricted by physical design as they were only able to swim in the outside lanes, and by intensity as they had to stop their activities when the baby cried.

Some of the women escort children to instructional sessions and work-out while the lesson is in progress.

However, they are still responsible to stop their activities and collect their children early if required, and the time period and length of their work-out is dictated to them by their children's schedule. Due to these factors, while most of the men at the facility have time to enjoy and complete their physical activities, women have to work theirs in and around domestic responsibilities. This reality reflects the traditional role of women's primary commitment to the family outlined by Dempsey (1989) as they are "on call" to their children's needs and have to restrict their leisure time.

As they also work-out at the facility, many of the pool staff are also centre patrons. Of those interviewed, a woman and man stated that they felt uncomfortable in the weight and body-building area of the facility. The woman, 17, said that she did not enjoy this space because it was full of physically large men who intimidated her. This was echoed by a male, 17, who stated that he did not like the space because of "the tough guys...they do their work-out and then come up on the track to stand there, you know."

The Northern Fitness Facility is a place that glorifies heterosexuality, reflected in the activities that are performed in it. The centre's dominant exercises are those that test strength and endurance, such as weight-lifting and squash. As outlined by Lenskyj (1990), highlighting these sporting activities as opposed to those that emphasise flexibility and grace ensures male hegemony.

The activities that the majority of the female patrons do participate in are designed to achieve "feminine" stereotyped bodies. Therefore, women dominate aerobics classes, while men command the weight room. This is not to imply that women never use the weight facilities, however; their purpose is usually to tone body muscles as opposed to becoming very large. These activities serve to both create and reinforce a culture of male-dominated heterosexuality at the facility, which affects female staff members' work experiences.

Many patrons regard the centre as a meeting place, and twice during my study I was asked out by patrons. However, the facility is not a place open to all forms of sexual expression due to its strong undercurrent of heterosexuality. One of the men I interviewed was involved in a homosexual relationship and reported that often the facility made him very nervous. He stated that

if there was anyone who came out in the open with their sexuality, and talking with the ones who are (homosexual)...they would not be accepted, not at all...we've been brought up that its a man's world,...a white heterosexual mans's world. [male, 20]

While at work he had encountered homophobic remarks and printed material in one of the rooms used by the staff. Another interviewee stated that the facility is "a pretty conservative place,...any sign of homosexuality would not be tolerated..." [female, 32].

These findings are congruent with those of Klein's (1993) ethnographic study of a weight-lifting facility and Lenskyj's (1990) survey of heterosexuality in sport. As a place that houses sports equipment and teams, the facility is also endowed with the heterosexual agenda embedded in popular sport culture. This agenda is reinforced by way of body-language and terminologies used, such as describing someone negatively as a fag or dyke.

When asked if she felt that the facility housed conservative ideas of men and women, one female interviewee stated that "just about every facet is affected." The 20-year-old man agreed with her when he stated that the facility

carries the big macho male thing...guys have more say than girls because the people who matter are guys...not directly where people will come out and say this, it is more their actions and what they do...and that goes to show that it is still in people's heads.

These two remarks demonstrate the links between the facility's culture and the cultural fabric of the city. The conservative ideologies concerning men, women and their appropriate roles and actions prevalent in Thunder Bay are reinforced and perpetuated by the facility.

Based on heterosexual stereotypes, female pool employees are divided by the staff and patrons into the two dichotomous categories of "virgins" and "whores". One male employee who had lived in Thunder Bay for numerous years would provide personally-edited vignettes on the sexual

histories of many of the women who either ran on the track or came onto the deck. As well, twice during my research I witnessed male workers discussing the differences between "chicks" and "whores", and the female staff members who occupied each position. This division affects job and task allocation. Those women who were acting or head guards were all "safe" women, appropriately attached to men as either other head guards' girlfriends, sister, or wives. The division of female staff based on sexuality reinforces masculine and heterosexual dominance at the facility.

All of those interviewed stated that to be employed at the facility you had to be a certain kind of person. Most said that you had to be active and "not have a million earrings...I don't think they would hire the typical smoker guy" [male, 21]. In addition, one should be physically attractive. Although a minority opinion, one man, 44, stated that the supervisor purposely hired numerous young attractive women so more men would come and use the facility. A woman, 22, also felt that being attractive was a job prerequisite.

When asked if the job-site affected their work, four women and two men stated that it did. The women said that it was "the whole fact that we are at a work-out facility and the whole fact that the track is above us and they are looking down on us what makes being fit so important, it's what the public's opinion of what's important" [female, 22],

and that "you have to be more fit or you're looked at" [female, 17]. The men thought that "the environment we work in does introduce a lot more because, ah, people walk around in their bathing suits; their bodies are viewed by hundreds of people everyday" [male, 23], and that there are "some expectations that we stay relatively healthy" [male, 21].

Female aquatic employees are expected to correspond to a certain physical image that glorifies male heterosexual images of attractiveness as opposed to personal health. The pool job descriptions state that employees have to remain in good physical shape and the majority of the activities held at the pre-summer training I attended were fitness based, such as volleyball and running with the supervisor. During staff training, as much time, if not more, was spent in the performance of some form of physical activity as opposed to practising safety procedures.

One woman, 32, stated that "when you're working you're on display. However you deal with it, that fact is there and it's there all the time." The outcome of this fact is that body shape and size are a fixation among workers. While in the field, several staff members commented to me directly on my and their weight, one woman informing me that I had really "gained." Numerous staff members combat this situation by having eating or exercise disorders. During the course of my research, two women were severely anorexic and many others exercised to the point of danger, but no

males on staff had obvious weight-related illnesses. This reflects the findings of Allard (1986) and Featherstone (1982); the social requirements for female workers is a certain body type, not their health.

Harassment

Harassment is used at the facility as a mechanism of control, a way of compelling women to behave in accordance with their subordinate position to men. It takes the form of touching, verbal comments, and staring. In an environment where there is a heightened sense of masculinity, a physically and verbally-active and strong woman is a challenge. By harassing female guards, men, both patrons and staff, attempt to restore their position of power.

During my study year, I was asked by a head guard to sleep with him, had my bottom grabbed, and experienced a host of other direct and indirect sexual remarks from staff and patrons. When I told a head guard that what he was doing was harassment, he replied that "it's only harassment if you tell me to stop." After I told him to stop, he accused me of not being able to take a joke. Another female employee had similar experiences with the same head guard. She was very upset, but afraid to report the incidents. We discussed the problem with the supervisor of aquatics and while he was shocked, he agreed to speak to the individual. I myself did not experience any further problems from that

particular employee, however, the other woman did, but told me that she was too intimidated to do anything more.

During the course of the interviews, two women discussed incidents of harassment that they had either experienced or witnessed. One young woman revealed two accounts of harassment from a co-worker:

He freaked me out...me and a couple of girls had that opinion...There were a couple of things,...[names a female instructor] was in the water and her chain was undone and something like he mentioned it...I forget how it went but it meant that he was looking down her chest. I was guarding and I was sitting with my legs apart and I observed that he was just staring and then he made some opinion of my bottom as I walked by.[female, 17]

Another spoke of a conversation between two male guards that she heard over the walkie-talkies:

[I heard]...chatter between some males over the walkie-talkies about...another guard, she was walking up the slide and you could see up...something like that...very sexual comments...she was in a work position, she was wearing her uniform, she had no control, she was doing her job...a few maintenance guys...there was one who would stand in front of you and tell you that he loved staring at beautiful women, and you're standing there in your uniform. [female, 22]

Only one male staff member interviewed had experienced harassment, based on his sexual preference as he encountered derogatory homosexual literature while at work. Another man, 21, and a woman, 22, acknowledged that harassment did take place, but had not themselves directly experienced an incident. It is significant that the only man interviewed

who discussed harassing experiences at work was involved in a homosexual relationship. Thus harassment is a mechanism used only to control those who deviate from the conservative ideologies that frame work at the facility, namely strong women and non-heterosexual men.

Although the city has a harassment policy, most employees either did not know of its existence or had never seen it. When I attempted to procure a copy, I could not find any in the pool office files and eventually had to request that the facility manager's secretary provide me with one. However, before she gave it to me she asked me why I wanted it. Although a staff training session on harassment was requested, during the course of my study we never had one. Many employees, as a result, do not know their rights or the avenues of recourse available to them concerning harassment at work.

Gossip

Discussions of other people's activities is a past-time among the staff at the facility. Many conversations in pool control or the staff room revolve around what people have done at various parties and events. Workers discussed how people looked, who had gained and lost weight, who had recently broken up, and who had sexual relations with whom. The public nature of individual lives serve to control many staff's actions. Women are compelled to act in the socially

approved manner, as good girls, or else be the topic of fellow employees discussions.

In this section I demonstrate the links between the physical environment and social experience discussed by Bondi (1993), Little et al. (1988) and Hanson (1990), as they are experienced at the Northern Fitness Facility. As the work-space is socially defined under a dominant heterosexual ideology. All females who use the space, as either patrons or workers, must conform to this definition. Therefore, the female staff members' experiences of work are a result of the dominant social definition of appropriate behaviour in the facility and we were expected not just to follow these norms, but to be examples of them. By compelling women to conform to conservative ideas of gender, sexuality, and behaviour, men reinforced their dominance at the facility, enforced upon women by way of harassment and gossip.

MALE HEGEMONY

Work at the Northern Fitness Facility is influenced by the building's physical design⁸. The social milieu of the centre affects the way in which physical space is used and the activities performed in it. Due to this link between physical and social space (Bondi, 1993), the material environment and the assumptions that underlie its use

⁸For a facility map, see appendix I.

influence the employment experiences of the lifeguard/instructors. Because the facility's social fabric is defined by sport culture as a male heterosexual environment, the social use of physical space by employees reflects this definition and assists in women's subordination.

The Northern Fitness Facility's physical design results in the aquatic workers being on display. As the running track, bleachers, stretching, and social areas, as well as the management and meeting rooms all face onto the deck, it is possible for the guards to have the entirety of their movements monitored by someone else. One woman, 22, described the outcome of this design as "just make[ing] us look like we are a show, you know what I mean, like we are a production." Many patrons come upstairs from other areas of the facility and stretch, using the railing to steady themselves and the lifeguards and pool activities to entertain them.

The level of this exhibit is elevated by the fact that most of the lifeguards and instructors on display are wearing less than those who watch them. When asked how she felt about working at a job where she has to wear a bathing suit, one employee answered that:

We stand out and most women don't wear shorts with their shirts and it (the uniform) looks like a dress...you are sitting there, and you can see everywhere and everyone can see you...I don't like it at all. That's why I always wear shorts with a t-shirt,...I feel

like if I were to be wearing a bathing suit people are staring at you and thinking, oh, she could lose this much weight... [female, 22].

As the staff primarily comprises women, they are the centre of the teaching and guarding performances on the deck.

As expressed by one female respondent, 32, it is hard "not to work down on deck and not to be constantly aware that your body is...you've had a few extra doughnuts." The constant exhibition of aquatic workers contributes to the eating disorders of many staff women, or their extreme self-consciousness about their bodies. As bathing suits are an essential component of the work uniform, employees are unable to control the amount that their body is exposed during instructional. While it is possible to wear a t-shirt and shorts while supervising the pool, at times it is too hot to even wear the regulation tank top, let alone any other articles of clothing. While only two women interviewed were exceptionally direct about their discomfort with the physical design of the facility, it is significant that no male interviewees indicated that they found the facility an uncomfortable place to work.

Beyond the deck, when performing their work, pool employees use four principle areas: the management and pool control offices, as well as the staff and change rooms. Each of these physical spaces is socially defined in a different way, resulting in employees utilizing each distinctly. As the physical environment of the centre is

socially created and controlled by and for men the rooms used by the staff members assist in female workers' marginalization at the facility. The result is that women staff members experience their work environment differently than men.

The two supervisors' offices overlook the deep end of the pool and the supervisor is connected to the rest of the pool by a walkie-talkie. The supervisor's office is very cramped as it houses two desks, a computer, various filing and shelving units, and numerous posters, pictures and certificates hang on the wall. Beyond his personal chair, there are only two other dilapidated seats to sit on in the office, situated directly across from the supervisor's desk. Due to the way his desk is positioned, he is always able to monitor the pool, even when speaking with someone.

With the exception of a man, 17, and woman, 24, all of those interviewed said that "the whole set up" [female, 22] of the supervisor's office is uncomfortable. Both a man, 21 and woman, 22, described the place as "scary" and that "...he likes to have this feeling of superiority over everybody; he always sits behind his desk and you are always divided" [male, 21]. These perceptions are caused by the furniture arrangement of the office due, in part, to the fact that when an employee sits and speaks with the supervisor they do so with a large desk in between them. As described by Bell et al. (1990), this type of furniture

arrangement reinforces the supervisor's dominant position over those who enter his office. For several months during my field research he also had a beer poster of women in bikinis hanging on the back of his door, also creating an unwelcome and unequal environment for the women who entered his office. The environment reinforced the subordinate role of women in sport (Thompson, 1990), relegating them the position of sex-toy rather than an equal participant or co-worker.

One woman interviewed discussed the difficulty faced by employees who must see the supervisor while at work, as it often means going into an environment that is physically cold, and being potentially disciplined by someone who is fully-dressed while the employee is not. One man, 20, described the process of going to see the supervisor as "the big hallway there, it looks like you are walking into hell...and then you get there and it is hell."

The office of the assistant supervisor is located directly beside the supervisor's. She shares this office with the senior instructor, and therefore has less physical space and privacy than the male supervisor. This mirrors Spain's (1992) findings that women at work are relegated less space than men. Her office walls are lined with posters of races she has run, places in Ontario and lots of family pictures. The assistant supervisor's desk faces directly out onto the deep end of the pool, with the door

behind her. The rest of the furniture is pushed against the walls to form a clear square in the centre of the room where a few chairs are always in variable positions. When you go to see her, she turns herself fully around from her desk, leaving her back to the pool.

All of those interviewed described the assistant supervisor's office as a friendly place, somewhere they go to chat before work or discuss a problem. They stated that this was a "much more friendly" [female, 22] environment and that they enjoyed being in it due to the fact that "the physical environment of the room, that when she turns, there is nothing between the two of us,...she's there and I'm there" [male, 21]. Due to the fact that her desk is pushed up against a wall, when you speak with her, there is nothing between the two of you. However, the fact that this office was perceived by all those interviewed as "more comfortable than [the supervisors's]" [female, 24], and workers were more at ease invading this female marked space when compared to the male supervisor's office result in this study's findings concurring with those of Shaffer and Sadowski (1975).

The pool control office is a giant fish-bowl; the wall that faces out onto the pool deck is surrounded by windows. While employees can see the deck, everyone on it can also see them. This space is supposed to be the nerve-centre for the daily functions of the pool and is linked to other staff

areas through the use of a walkie-talkie. It houses the guarding and teaching schedules, our instructional file-folders, the head guard and supervisor's mail-boxes, upcoming course information, staff social events and correspondences as well as the hour's sign-in book. The instructors informally assemble here before and after they teach.

The pool control office is an area used by many junior staff members. All but one person stated that they felt comfortable in the room, commenting that it is "where all the real interaction happens" [female, 21]. The one dissenting voice was the male previously discussed who encountered homophobic literature in there. Due to the fact that instructors store their teaching-material and hang out here before teaching, the woman on staff have some de facto ownership of it. However, women's inferior status in this room is maintained by having less formal space than men. While all staff have teaching files, head guards also each have a large mail-box, situated in a place of prominence.

While every now and then a patron will wander into the staff room, it is a room that is closed to the public. Similar to pool control, this area is kept in contact with the rest of the pool by use of a walkie-talkie and is furnished with big old chairs, a staff fridge and phone for personal calls, and a bulletin board advertising upcoming courses and other job information. On two occasions during

my field research pictures of women ripped out of magazines were pinned up on the bulletin board. When a new telephone with memory programmable numbers was installed during the summer, the male head guards filled it with their own phone numbers, another for an escort service, and the last entry for "babe-a-lon." There is a door that leads directly out onto a field on one side that was often left open in the summer to cool the area down. This made it an unsafe space, as there was no security around the door, and it was left unattended for extended periods of time.

The only people who hang out in the staff room are senior employees. One woman, 17, commented that she felt intimidated to spend her breaks in this room, while another woman, 22, stated that she felt excluded from it. Two other women, 21 and 24, commented that while they room did not intimidate them, they never used it, while all of the men said they were comfortable in the space, using it to get away from work. The fact that women do not use the room as much as men results in male domination and control of the space. Due to the nature of the furniture arrangement and the small area, there is only room for one conversation to be conducted at a time. As the senior male staff members have a pattern of control over the space, conversations conducted in it usually revolve around what they want to talk about, primarily social events that only they are involved in or gossip about staff.

This room was repainted by a male head guard during the summer months of my study, who signed his name and nickname on one of the walls. Consequently, another male head guard followed suit, resulting in the memorialization of two male employees. The male who had painted the room subsequently adopted it as his own, threatening the staff with its closure if they did not clean it to his standards.

The physical arrangement of the staff room, its decor, and the people who use it mark it as a male preserve. People are, therefore, slower to invade this male territory, accounting for the reluctance of many of the women on staff to hang out in the staff room while they do not hesitate to spend time in the pool control.

The final area used by the staff are the change rooms. Female staff have their lockers in the girls day-use change room. While my locker was in an area with several other workers, the other female workers are scattered through-out the change room. However, male aquatic employees' lockers are situated in a private room separate from the rest of the boys day-use change room. When discussing this area, one of the men interviewed stated that this permits the men to socialize before and after work. In an environment where who you know and who you are friends with has an impact on employment possibilities, the location of staff lockers has significant implications for job promotion and task assignment.

The People With Whom We Associate

The social environment of the rooms described are created by those who use them. Therefore, it is important to understand the role of social groups and networking in women's marginalization at the facility. The aquatic staff at the Northern Fitness Facility can be divided into social groups. The most basic social division at the pool is by age. The younger people are high school or very early university students and usually know each other from school. The second group comprises older university or college students, individuals who have finished school and are now working, as well as former staff who had returned to Thunder Bay.

During my study there was one distinct group of older staff members identified by all those interviewed as the "in-crowd," or the "them's." This group was composed mainly of the head guards, their girlfriends and a few other staff members. Most of the men in this crowd had publicly used nick-names, and these titles served as a form of group identification. These people were friendly with the management and were instrumental in job promotion. Therefore, membership in this group assisted employees in becoming a head guard. Those interviewed, both men and women, commented that the supervisor "loves that group" [male, 20], and that the "'them's' go higher, the 'uses' don't" [male, 21]. Only one man and woman, both 17, did not

think that membership in the "in-crowd" effected job assignments.

A majority of the group members had received their aquatic training in Thunder Bay. These factors of networking with the supervisors and location of training correspond to some of the informal qualifications required for job promotion.

When questioned on how to attain group membership, one man stated that they "are going to be looking for advantages to the group, like the female with the nice-...." [male, 46]. Although this is not a typical response, it does demonstrate that there were other than cognitive categories to group membership. Most of the female members of the "in-crowd" were male members' girlfriends.

This group prevents women from entering the upper levels of work at the facility as they hold a significant amount of social control. The majority of its members are male, so women are prevented from participating in one of the central mechanisms of promotion at the pool, networking. Therefore, as described by Hanson (1990) and reflected in this study, female staff members have fewer personal-network resources than men. This contributes to their marginalization at work.

Once head guards, these people influence the work performed at the facility. As discussed above, they control the day-to-day functioning of the pool, and assign tasks

unequally among the staff. Having friends in the "in-crowd" results in favouritism at work and being assigned fewer tasks and responsibilities. Therefore, as the majority of the "thems" and their friends are male, men guard less, have more advantageous guarding rotations, as well as increased flexibility in their work conduct. Due to the fact that they are not in formal decision making positions, many women do not have the same ability to negotiate the conditions and procedures of work as male employees. Women at the facility pool work longer hours and rotations, and to a higher standard than their male associates.

The physical and social environment at the facility have an impact upon those who work there. While formally a public centre open to all City of Thunder Bay residents with equal access, informally the Northern Fitness Facility is retained by men, supported by local conservative and sport ideologies that glorify heterosexual male hegemony. Women at the centre, therefore, work within a marginal status.

CONCLUSION

The Northern Fitness Facility informally marginalizes women that are employed by the Aquatics Department, resulting in a lack of equity for female employees relative to their male associates. This inequality is achieved primarily through the social construction of work. Women are perceived as having natural aptitudes that make them good children's

teachers and other social event facilitators, but not possessing required physical strength and "technical" skill. This perception affects their task assignments and job promotions. Women are not advanced on the job in the same way as men due to informal qualifications that bar them from jobs that entail authority over men.

The devaluation of women and their work is reflected in the pay scales. Women earn less than their male counterparts, as the courses that they, in the majority, teach, receive less financial rewards than other, male-typed, tasks. When women do occupy positions of authority over men that pay more than their typical job assignments, it is predominantly a temporary status, held only until the men return. Due to stereotypical and conservative ideas, neither management or the public perceive women as authority figures, especially in positions of authority over men. This perception results in a constant challenge to women in such positions.

Underlying these informal forms of marginalization is the prevailing ideology that women's appropriate position is subordinate to men. Gender construction is enforced by means of harassment and gossip and result in male de facto ownership of the facility, both physically and socially. Therefore, female employees are formally and informally marginalized into inferior and sex-typical jobs at the Northern Fitness Facility.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an investigation of women's formal and informal marginalization at work. It is an ethnographic study of a municipally owned and operated aquatics environment, employing 86% women and 12% men part-time. These people were employed in various job categories and tasks, organized within a well defined hierarchy of positions. The researcher employed two methods of qualitative analysis were employed: participant observation and semi-directed interviews. The researcher was employed at the work-site for eight months, performing the various tasks and responsibilities of a female instructor\guard. Following this ten key informants were interviewed, five of each sex from predetermined categories of employees. This data was triangulated with my own observations.

According to the literature, part-time work is the dominant form of employment in the service sector. Employees work irregular hours and receive fewer material and social rewards than full-time counter parts, often working full-time equivalent hours. As women dominate this form and sector of employment, as a group they earn less than men (Wilson, 1991). This was true at the Northern Fitness Facility. Women comprise the majority of the employees and earn less than men, as well as working irregular and non-standard hours. During my field research, there were several women working full-time hours to support

their families, even though the job is classified as part-time.

Women and their employment opportunities and experiences are affected by the social construction of work, based on stereotypical ideas of men and women. Female employees are ghettoized into roles that parallel the domestic divisions of labour such as teaching young children, because they are considered to be naturally competent in these areas. They are prevented from teaching other courses or attaining job positions which are perceived to require stereotypically male attributes, such as having technical skill and authority. The jobs typed female pay less and have little possibility of upward employment mobility. The rewards for these tasks are few due to the fact that they are perceived to be less important and required little or no training.

The social construction of work, the pay and job advancement structure, both formal and informal, create a gendered job pyramid at the facility that is consistent with the findings of other studies (Biebly and Baron, 1986; Reskin and Padavic, 1988; Reskin, 1993). A larger proportion of the men occupied junior management positions, while the wide base of the pyramid is full of women earning less and having less chance of advancement. When a division in work occurs, these women are assigned the lower level tasks.

Previous studies of work sites revealed that when women enter male work preserves, men either fight to keep them out (Gray, 1987; Livingstone and Luxton, 1988; Willis, 1980), or force them to conform to common conceptions of appropriate gender behaviour (Padavic, 1991). At the Northern Fitness Facility men utilize methods of control such as harassment, gossip, and the domination of physical space to ensure that women's behaviour conforms to conservative conceptions of it. In her study of another service-sector industry, Reiter (1991) found that although formally hired for the same job, informally women perform tasks that complement their femininity. At the Facility this results in women teaching certain swimming levels as opposed to others, as well as not being promoted on the job.

Centres such as the Northern Fitness Facility were built to satisfy a need created by present consumer culture. As bodies are increasingly expected to conform to an ideal, individuals require a place in which to make this attempt. Therefore, women's already restricted leisure time must be used to pursue the body ideal. Issues of personal safety prevent women from utilizing public spaces to the same extent as men, and such restrictive factors have resulted in the need to build artificial fitness environments.

These structures embody sport culture, and as the use of space is socially defined, the housing of this culture results in individual's actions and behaviours being

restricted to conform to conservative conceptions of gender appropriate behaviour. As a result, patriarchy and heterosexuality are hegemonic in social relations and conduct, and affect female employees' experiences of their work environment. They are expected to appear and conduct themselves as women first and workers second, resulting in eating and exercise disorders among the female staff members as they attempt to conform to heterosexual notions of attractiveness. Because males control space such as the staff room, track and deck area, women employees have no space where they are of equal status to men. Therefore, they have to conform to predetermined codes of behaviour while on the job.

While formally, through the hiring process and job descriptions, the facility does not discriminate against women, it does so informally through the workplace culture. Worker segregation is accomplished through informal qualifications and promotions, as well as patterns of job and task assignment. Women are socially marginalized by the reproduction of conservative gender ideologies, and control of space. Their subordinate positions are maintained by use of control mechanisms such as harassment and gossip.

APPENDIX A**Draft Interview Schedule**

1. Age
2. Marital/Partner status
3. Living arrangements
4. Children
5. Parents employment
6. Formal education
7. Job certifications (aquatic and other)
8. Current employment (facility and other)
9. Why do/did you lifeguard/instruct? Why do/did you work at the facility? How did you get the job that you hold/held?
10. Describe what you perceive as the responsibilities of each official job in the aquatics department of the Northern Fitness Facility (pool control, instructor/guard, head guard, head instructor, assistant supervisor, supervisor). Describe how you think the people who held these positions from September 1993 to August 1994 performed their jobs.
11. Describe the way in which jobs and assignments are distributed at the facility.
12. What do you like most/least about the job assignments? Which levels do you prefer to teach and why? Which swims do you prefer to guard and why?
13. What are your perceptions of the social environment at the facility? How do you feel the staff interact with each other?
14. Do you feel there are any particular social groups or formations at work? Please describe.
15. What role does/did work and the facility play in your life (home, school, friends)?
16. What impact, (if any), do you think working at the Facility has had on your life?
17. How long do you anticipate working at the Facility?

18. Where do you see yourself in the future?

19. Do you have any further comments?

APPENDIX B

Staffing Complement

Head Guards

Males

Females

School Term	89	11
Summer Term	80	20

Table 1. Percentage of male and female head guards during the school term and summer term.

Lifeguards / Instructors

Males

Females

School Term	33	67
Summer Term	38	62

Table 2. Percentage of male and female lifeguards/instructors during the school and summer term.

APPENDIX C

Offical Aquatic Job Descriptions

The Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay
Human Resources Department POSITION DESCRIPTION

POSITION TITLE: SUPERVISOR (AQUATICS
DEPARTMENT: COMMUNITY SERVICES
DIVISION: AQUATICS & FITNESS
SECTION:
GENERAL SUPERVISOR: MANAGER AQUATICS & FITNESS

UNION: NON-UNION **GROUP:** E

POSITION SUMMARY: Under the general supervision and direction of the Manager Aquatics & Fitness, Participates in the development, implementation, co-ordination, supervision, and evaluation of Aquatic related programs and activities within the

MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Responsible for developing, implementing, and where necessary, conducting leadership programs in Aquatic related facilities.
2. Responsible for hiring, training, supervision and evaluation of Aquatic staff and recommends disciplinary action when necessary.
3. Participates in the planning and implementation of adult and youth learn-to-swim programs, lifesaving programs, recreational swim schedule, special aquatic programs, recreational aquatic programs and special school programs.
4. Participates in the preparation and administration of budgets.
5. Participates in the marketing, advertising promotion and scheduling of programs within the Complex.
6. Prepares staff time sheets.
7. Participates in the development and enforcement of policies, procedures and safety regulations for Aquatics staff and Complex users.
8. Participates in and makes recommendations for the buying, replacement and maintenance of aquatic recreational equipment and supplies.
9. Participates in pool operation and water quality control.
10. Participates in the development and administration of special events.
11. Maintains inventory and control of First Aid supplies for the entire facility.
12. Acts as a Departmental Aquatic resource to schools, agencies, institutions, government, public and private interests, and to other Municipal recreational committees in the region.
13. Encourages, promotes and supports the development of aquatic oriented clubs and associations related to the Canada Games Complex.
14. Prepares reports.

.... Cont'd

POSITION TITLE: SUPERVISOR - AQUATICS
MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES - Cont'd

15. Receives and handles public inquiries.
16. Studies trends and developments in recreation, fitness and aquatics and evaluates their suitability to the aquatics area.
17. Performs such other related duties as may be assigned.

QUALIFICATIONS: A Degree or Diploma in Physical Education or Recreation. Must possess National Lifeguard Instructor/Examiner Certification and Red Cross/Royal Life Saving Society Instructor Trainer Certification. Aquatic management, programming and instructional skills would be preferred. Knowledge of the principles and practices of adult education, learning methodology, instructional techniques and evaluation would be an asset.

Must be competent within the meaning of the Occupational Health and Safety Act (1978) and be capable of issuing clearly understandable written and oral instructions.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT: Must possess BCLS (CPR) and First Aid Certification, or be able to obtain same within 3 months of commencing employment. (Courses available through employer). Will be required to work irregular hours. Must undergo security clearance.

PREPARED BY:
EFFECTIVE DATE:

H. ROSENFELD
 JUNE 21, 1985

APPROVED BY: O. N. ANTTILA
SUPERSEDES DATE: OCTOBER 7, 1982
 (PROGRAM DEVELOPER-AQUATICS)
 (PROGRAM SUPERVISOR-AQUATICS)

The Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay
Human Resources Department POSITION DESCRIPTION

POSITION TITLE: ASSISTANT SUPERVISOR AQUATICS

DEPARTMENT: COMMUNITY SERVICES

DIVISION: AQUATICS & FITNESS

SECTION:

GENERAL SUPERVISOR: SUPERVISOR AQUATICS

UNION: NON-UNION

GROUP: G

POSITION SUMMARY: Under the general supervision and direction of the Supervisor Aquatics, participates in the implementation, co-ordination, supervision and evaluation of Aquatic-related activities within the x.

MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Recommends the scheduling of part-time staff (Headguards, Instructor/Lifeguards), ensuring that the Ontario Health Regulations are adhered to.
2. Supervises part-time staff to ensure policies, procedures and safety regulations are followed, and instructional programs meet program outline objectives.
3. Handles day-to-day problems of pool operations and deals with part-time staff relations and problems.
4. Provides input related to Aquatics program planning schedules and staffs unadvertised semi-private and private lessons.
5. Participates in the preparation and administration of budgets.
6. Assists the Supervisor of Programs - Aquatics with the hiring, orientation, training and evaluation of part-time staff, and maintains related files.
7. Compiles statistics and prepares reports.
8. Participates in the preparation of program outlines.
9. Receives and handles public inquiries related to aquatic programs.
10. Participates in planning, organizing and co-ordinating special events.
11. Makes recommendations for the buying, replacement and maintenance of aquatic recreational equipment and program supplies.
12. Performs the duties of the Supervisor of Programs-Aquatics during absences.

... Cont'd...

POSITION TITLE: ASSISTANT SUPERVISOR - AQUATICS
MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES - Cont'd

13. Performs such other related duties as may be assigned.

QUALIFICATIONS: A Degree or Diploma in Physical Education or Recreation, or an equivalent combination of education and experience. Must possess National Lifeguard Service Certification, Red Cross/Royal Life Saving Society of Canada Instructor's Certificate, CPR Basic Rescuer Certificate, AEC or Standard First Aid Certificate, and, within 8 months of employment, R.C./RLSSCC Instructor Trainer certification. Administrative experience, public relations skills, and NLS instructor status would be preferred.

Must be competent within the meaning of the Occupational Health and Safety Act (1978) and be capable of issuing clearly understandable written and oral instruction.

CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT: Will be required to work irregular hours. Must undergo security clearance.

PREPARED BY: R. WARREN
EFFECTIVE DATE: AUGUST 24, 1987

APPROVED BY: B. D. MASON
SUPERSEDES DATE: MARCH 11, 1986
 (SUPERVISOR OF PROGRAMS-FITNESS/AQUATICS)
 (PROGRAM ASSISTANT - AQUATICS)

The Corporation of the City of Thunder Bay
Human Resources Department

POSITION DESCRIPTION

POSITION TITLE: SENIOR INSTRUCTOR - AQUATICS

DEPARTMENT: COMMUNITY SERVICES

DIVISION: AQUATICS & FITNESS

SECTION:

GENERAL SUPERVISOR: SUPERVISOR OF PROGRAMS - AQUATICS

UNION: NON-AFFILIATION

GROUP:

POSITION SUMMARY: Under the general supervision of the Supervisor of Programs - Aquatics, participates in the implementation and evaluation of most programs in the Learn to Swim, Lifesaving and Aquatics areas. (24 hours/week (during scheduled program times - to include Saturday morning.)

MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Evaluates Instructors and Leaders to ensure they are fulfilling objectives, the standards of the R.C./R.L.S.S.C. programs, and meeting the standards as laid out in the Aquatic Staff Evaluation form.
2. Develop instructing skills, the knowledge base and train the instructional staff.
3. Receives and handles public inquiries relevant to the position.
4. Assigns classes, distributes and collects class attendance, evaluation and worksheets, and ensures progress report cards are distributed on time.
5. Co-ordinates the Instructors, and Leaders as required as well as the pool area.
6. Acts as a resource and public relations person during registration and scheduled lesson times.
7. Assists in the scheduling of unadvertised private and semi-private lessons.
8. Instructs in any of the Aquatic programs, as required.
9. Requests additional Learn to Swim program supplies' as required.
10. Participates in the organization of Inservice.
11. Supervises, develops and recruits Leaders to complement the Instructional Program.
12. Posts Instructor class assignment and deadlines.
13. Requests and organizes the distribution of handouts.

...Cont'd...

POSITION TITLE: SENIOR INSTRUCTOR - AQUATICS
MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES - Cont'd

14. Meets with Supervisor of Programs and Program Assistant.
15. Perform such other related job duties as assigned.

QUALIFICATIONS: High School graduate and preferably enrollment or completion of a Degree or Diploma in Physical Education or Recreation, together with two to three years of experience as an Aquatics Instructor. Lifeguarding experience and supervisory experience preferable. As outlined in the Ontario Health Regulations 381/84 and by the Canada Games Complex, current qualifications must include: Canadian Red Cross Society Instructors; Royal Life Saving Society Canada Instructors; and National Lifeguard Service.

Must acquire within three months of employment: CPR - Basic Rescuer; Standard First Aid; and attend Incredible Ontario Training program and WHMIS training program.

Must obtain within 8 months of employment: CRLS/RLSSC Instructor Trainer certification; the RLSSC Aquatic Emergency Care Award (or Instructors); NLS Instructor (or apprentice); RLSSC Examiner (or co-examiner); CPR Instructor; CRCS First Aid Instructor; CRCS Small Craft Instructor (or Instructor Trainee).

Knowledge of computers (eg. Lotus 123); the ability to communicate effectively with the public as well as staff; and demonstrated initiative and good organizational skills are desirable.

CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT: 24 hours/week (during scheduled program times - to include Saturday morning.) Must undergo security clearance. Must conform to Canada Games Complex expected standards.

PREPARED BY:	R. WARREN	APPROVED BY:	C. BATES
EFFECTIVE DATE:	APRIL 28, 1992	SUPERSEDES DATE:	NEW

2.3.2 Head Guard

Qualifications: A Head Guard must possess:

- a) a current Red Cross/Royal Life Instructor's Certificate
- b) a St. John's Ambulance or Red Cross Standard First Aid certificate
- c) an Aquatic Emergency Care Certificate
- d) a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate
- e) leadership qualities
- f) experience in instructing and lifeguarding
- g) a National Lifeguard Service certificate

A Head Guard reports to the Aquatics Program Developer & Senior Instructor

A Head Guard Must:

1. Be responsible for maintaining a good public image for the facility and for maintaining good public relations.
2. Be familiar with all aspects of the Aquatics Program.
3. Be familiar with the duties of the Pool Control Attendants, Safety Assistants/Leaders, Lifeguards and Instructors.
4. Plan and supervise the rotation schedule of lifeguards and instructors.
5. Assign tasks to lifeguards during their breaks and/or dismiss guards if necessary.
6. Ensure that the number of lifeguards on deck is, at all times, in accordance with the Ministry of Health regulations.
7. Be familiar with opening and closing procedures.
8. Inform Aquatics Program Developer about maintenance requirements and equipment repair requirements.
9. Prepare the necessary information for bi-weekly meetings with the Aquatics Program Developer.
10. Ensure that the accident report forms are completed correctly and that accidents requiring medical attention are reported to the appropriate full-time staff person.
11. Ensure that Theft, Damage, Unusual Event, Deviant Behaviour and Complaint Report Forms are completed correctly and the appropriate copies submitted to a full-time staff person.
12. Ensure that bather load and pool chemistry lists are completed correctly.

2.3.2 Head Guard cont'd

13. Provide guidance and supervision of the staff when necessary.
14. Maintain a safe area for patrons.
15. Fulfill guarding and instructing duties, and co-ordinate staff inservice meeting when necessary.
16. Complete the MSA payroll sheets when on duty Saturday and/or Sunday. Payroll sheets must be ready for submission to payroll department by Monday morning.
17. Be in proper uniform while on duty.
18. Arrive 15 minutes early for duty to prepare and set up area.
19. Remain in good physical condition and remain knowledgeable of up-to-date guarding techniques.
20. Attend all inservice training and general staff meetings.
21. Be accessible to pool area at all times during the assigned shift.
22. Be familiar with emergency procedures of the pool.
23. Collect all worksheets and attendance sheets from Instructors on the final day of lessons for each session. Submit the sheets to the Program Developer.
24. Ensure that progress reports and class evaluation sheets are handed out and collected at the midpoint of a session.
25. Perform other related duties as may be assigned.
26. Verify time sheets and complete time reports when scheduled on Saturday and Sunday.
27. Participate in the organizing of and running of staff pre-service and inservice.
28. Participates and makes recommendations to the Program Developer (Aquatics) for the buying, replacement, and maintenance of aquatic recreation equipment and supplies.

2.3.4 Instructor

Qualifications: An Instructor must possess:

- a) a current Red Cross/Royal Life Instructor certificate
- b) a St. John's Ambulance or Red Cross Standard First Aid certificate, or an Aquatic Emergency Care Certificate or equivalent.*
- c) a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate*

An Instructor reports to the Head Guard.

An Instructor Must:

1. Be responsible for maintaining a good public image for the facility and for maintaining good public relations.
2. Be in proper uniform while on duty.
3. Arrive 15 minutes early for duty to prepare and set up area.
- *4. Attain a First Aid standard award and a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate within 3 months after employment commences.
5. Remain in good physical condition and remain knowledgeable of up-to-date instructing techniques.
6. Attend all inservice training sessions and general staff meetings.
7. Contact Head Guard prior to classes in order to be informed about the guard rotation following classes.
8. Ensure that class has a designated meeting place for each lesson.
9. Ensure that any equipment used is returned to storage after each lesson.
10. Complete and distribute progress cards midway through session.
11. Submit to a designated person the completed attendance and progress sheets at the end of each session.*Head Guard
12. Phone a student who has missed two consecutive classes.
13. Pre-test students, prepare test sheets(2), prepare area for examiners and attend examinations for Royal Life Awards.
14. Be familiar with emergency procedures of the pool.
15. Enforce rules and regulations, i.e. safeguard patrons using the facility.
16. Operate all safety equipment.

2.3.4 Instructor cont'd

17. Assist with pool operation and/or maintenance if necessary.
18. Remain on duty, as assigned, until relieved.
19. Provide safe and enjoyable instruction.
20. Maintain some form of Lesson Plan for review by Head Guard and Program Developer.
21. Perform other related duties as may be assigned.

2.3.3 Lifeguard

Qualifications: A Lifeguard must possess:

- a) a current Bronze Medallion
- b) a current National Lifeguard Service certificate
- c) a St. John's Ambulance or Red Cross Standard First Aid certificate, an AEC certificate or equivalent*
- d) a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate*

A Lifeguard reports to the Head Guard.

A Lifeguard Must:

1. Be responsible for maintaining a good public image for the facility and for maintaining good public relations.
2. Be in proper uniform (including a whistle) while on duty.
3. Arrive 15 minutes early for duty to prepare and set up area.
- *4. Attain a First Aid standard award or equivalent and a C.P.R. Basic Rescuer certificate within 3 months after employment commences.
5. Remain in good physical condition and remain knowledgeable of up-to-date guarding techniques.
6. Attend all inservice meetings and general staff meetings.
7. Be accessible to pool area at all times during the assigned shift.
8. Assist in the usage of recreational equipment and in the operation of games when applicable.
9. Report any damaged equipment.
10. Be familiar with emergency procedures of the pool.
11. Enforce rules and regulations, i.e. safeguard patrons using the facility.
12. Operate all safety equipment.
13. Remain on duty as assigned until relieved.
14. Perform other related duties as may be assigned.

2.3.6 Pool Control Attendant

Qualifications: A Pool Control Attendant must possess:

- a) a current Bronze Medallion
- b) a St. John's Ambulance or Red Cross Standard First Aid certificate or equivalent*, or an Aquatic Emergency Care certificate.
- c) a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate*
- d) a Red Cross Leader certificate is recommended

A Pool Control Attendant reports to the Head Guard.

A Pool Control Attendant Must:

1. Be responsible for maintaining a good public image for the facility and for maintaining good public relations.
2. Be in proper uniform while on duty.
3. Arrive 15 minutes early for duty to prepare and set up area.
- *4. Attain a First Aid Standard award or equivalent and a CPR Basic Rescuer certificate within 3 months after employment commences.
5. Remain in good physical condition and remain knowledgeable about up-to-date guarding techniques.
6. Attend all inservice training sessions and general staff meetings.
7. Be familiar with emergency procedures of the pool.
8. Assist lifeguards with duties when necessary.
9. Be familiar with all safety equipment.
10. Assist in the repair of damaged equipment.
11. Enforce pool rules and regulations.
12. Collect tickets from patrons.
13. Ensure that bathers are showered and appropriately attired before entering pool area.
14. Refuse admittance to patrons under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol, or who have been suspended from use of the pool area.
15. Distribute and collect badminton and table tennis raquets and the pool cues and balls, and deal with the necessary deposits and refunds.

2.3.6 Pool Control Attendant cont'd

16. Answer telephone and be able to respond to, or refer inquiries such as pool bookings to the main office.
 - a. Refer all semi-privates to the Senior Instructor.
17. Ensure that the pool control office is never left unattended.
18. Maintain a tidy pool control office and vicinity.
19. Maintain order in the corridor between the change rooms and pool control office.
20. Administer chemical tests of the mainpool, swirlpool and whirlpools.
21. Operate sound system, code-a-phone and public announcement system.
22. Keep accurate record of bather loads and 'carry over'.
23. Perform other related duties as may be assigned.
24. Ensure that the chalkboard at the Pool entrance is kept up to date with the swim schedule and any pool area closures due to lessons or special events.
25. Help instructors tidy equipment at the end of their lessons.

APPENDIX D

1994 Facility Membership and Admission Rates

One Year Memberships

	General	Court	All-inclusive
Adult	\$341	\$398	\$498
Spouse	\$159	\$159	\$159
Child (3-18 yrs)	\$56	\$56	\$56
Student	\$193	\$227	\$260
Senior	\$148	\$165	\$189
Babysitting			
First Child	\$37	\$37	N/C
Second	\$27	\$27	N/C

General Admission

	Single Visit	Day-Time Rate*
Adult	\$5.42	\$4.02
Family (1 or 2 adults with 3 or 4 children)	\$12.50	
Child	\$2.48	
Student	\$3.74	
Senior	\$2.80	
Court Fee/Player	\$2.00	
Thunder Slide	\$1.75	

* Day-time rate is only applicable Monday-Friday 6:30-4 p.m.

APPENDIX E

Corporation Employment Termination Policy



The Corporation Of The City Of Thunder Bay

AH - 07 - 07

Personnel Policy and Procedures Manual

SECTION

TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

SUBJECT

NOTICE BY EMPLOYER

- PURPOSE:** To establish the length of notice to be given to an employee who is being terminated from the employ of the Corporation.
- POLICY STATEMENT:** An employee whose services are no longer required by the Corporation, shall be given notice as required by the appropriate collective agreement, or the Employment Standards Act where not established by a collective agreement.
- PROCEDURE:**
Collective Agreement or Act
- If the work of an employee is completed, or has become redundant, notice of termination (not layoff) must be given by the Supervisor in accordance with the appropriate collective agreement, and in any case, in accordance with the minimum standards of the Employment Standards Act which requires that:
- An employee who has worked three months or more must be given written notice of termination by the employer of at least:
- one week if employee worked less than two years;
 - two weeks if employee worked two years but less than five years;
 - four weeks if employee worked five years but less than ten years;
 - eight weeks if employee worked ten years or more.
- Notice of termination applies to full-time, temporary, part-time, and student employees.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1980

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		AH - 07 - 07
SECTION	SUBJECT	
TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT	NOTICE BY EMPLOYER	

Only after written notice has been given and the time of notice has expired can the employee be terminated.

If an employer wishes to terminate an employee without notice, the required written notice of termination must still be given and normal wages for a non-overtime week must be paid for the number of weeks the employee is entitled to notice. Full vacation pay entitlement must also be paid to the employee.

The employer is not required to give notice to an employee if:

- (a) the employee was hired for a specified term or task, that is, a pre-arranged period of time, or a specific unit of work that does not exceed 12 months;
- (b) an employee is only temporarily laid off not terminated (i.e., a period of 13 weeks or less). In the event the employee is not called back by the employer after 13 weeks, it must be treated as a termination;
- (c) an employee is guilty of wilful misconduct wilful disobedience or wilful neglect of duty that has not been condoned;
- (d) the work agreement is impossible of performance or frustrated by a fortuitous or unforeseeable event or circumstances; as in fire or flood, but not insolvency or bankruptcy;
- (e) an employee is engaged in construction work;

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SECTION	SUBJECT	
TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT	NOTICE BY EMPLOYER	

- (f) an employee is terminated at retirement age, as a result of an established company practice;
- (g) an employee has refused reasonable alternate work (with the same employer);
- (h) an employee has refused alternate work available through a "bumping" system.
- (i) an employee who does not return from layoff within a reasonable time when requested to do so by his employer;
- (j) an employee who may elect to work or not for a temporary period as an arranged condition of employment with the employer.

Source: Corporation Policy and Procedures Manual, City of Thunder Bay

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The Corporation Of The City Of Thunder Bay

AH - 07 - 03

Personnel Policy and Procedures Manual

SECTION

TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

SUBJECT

DISMISSAL

PURPOSE:	To establish a consistent method of handling the termination of an employee of the Corporation, who has been dismissed for cause.
POLICY STATEMENT:	The Corporation will immediately terminate, from the payroll, an employee who has been dismissed for cause, but will hold any vacation pay or sick leave severance pay if there is a grievance filed within the time limits specified by the appropriate collective agreement or appeal procedure.
PROCEDURE: TB483	The Department concerned will immediately on dismissal of an employee issue a TB483, giving copies to the employee, his shop steward and to the Personnel & Labour Relations Department for processing.
Termination	The Personnel & Labour Relations Department will process the termination in the normal manner, withholding only payment of vacation pay and sick leave severance until it is ascertained that a grievance is not being filed or if a grievance is filed, until it is resolved.
Terminating Forms	All normal terminating forms will be issued with the terminating pay, except an O.M.E.R.S. request for a refund which will be held as above.
Grievance Denied	If there is a grievance which is ultimately denied, the Corporation will then issue monies owing.
Grievance Upheld	If there is a grievance which is upheld, the employee shall be reinstated in accordance with the terms of the decision.

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The Corporation Of The City Of Thunder Bay

AH - 07 - 05

Personnel Policy and Procedures Manual

SECTION

TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

SUBJECT

STUDENT EMPLOYEES

PURPOSE:	To establish and maintain a standard method of terminating student employees at the end of the summer work period.
POLICY STATEMENT:	Student employees employed for the summer months, must either resign to return to school or have their employment terminated at the end of the summer months or as required by applicable collective agreements.
PROCEDURE:	Student employees upon returning to school, must be reported by Departments on the Personnel Change Notification form (TB483) as having resigned (if they have done so) or as having their employment terminated.
No Layoff	Under no circumstances shall they be shown as "Laid Off". Students either resign to return to school or their employment is terminated at the end of the summer.
Eligible for Rehire	For student employees, the Personnel Change Notification form (TB483) must indicate whether or not the student is eligible for rehire the next summer (see AH-01-24).

Source: Corporation Policy and Procedures Manual, City of Thunder Bay

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SEPTEMBER 2, 1980

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APPENDIX F

Red Cross and Royal Life Course Outlines

Red Cross Program

Preschool

Waterbabies I & II

Kinderswim I & II

Starfish

Guppy

Tadpole

Duck

Seahorse

Dolphin

Colours

Yellow

Orange

Red

Maroon

Blue

Green

Grey

White

Boat
Safety

Adapted

Small
Craft
Safety

Leaders
15yrs

Instructors
16yrs

Royal Lifesaving Society Program

LS
I

LS
II

LS
III

LS
Fitness

Boat
Rescue

Bronze Medallion
14 yrs

Junior Resuscitation

Senior Resuscitation

Bronze Cross
14 yrs

Aquatic Emergency
Care

National
Lifeguard
16yrs

Distinction

Life Saving
Instructor
16yrs

Diploma

APPENDIX G
Corporation Harassment Policy



The Corporation Of The City Of Thunder Bay

AH - 06 - 04

Personnel Policy and Procedures Manual

SECTION

COMPLAINT & GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

SUBJECT

WORKPLACE HARASSMENT

PURPOSE:

To establish procedures to be followed by employees who consider themselves victims of workplace harassment, and by supervisors who receive complaints of harassment from employees.

POLICY STATEMENT:

The Corporation recognizes that harassment is detrimental to the work environment. Harassment, a form of discrimination, is prohibited by law. The Corporation will not tolerate workplace harassment; complaints of harassment will be thoroughly and expeditiously investigated. The complainant will be protected from retaliation (demotion, unwarranted transfer, diminished promotional opportunities and/or harassment from other co-workers) for having made a complaint in good faith. Likewise, the alleged harasser will be deemed innocent until adjudged otherwise.

Definitions:

Workplace harassment means being subjected to intimidating, hurtful or malicious comments or conduct by a co-worker or supervisor. Harassment is defined by the Ontario Human Rights Code as "a course of vexatious comment or conduct that is known or ought reasonably to be known to be unwelcome".

The two most common forms of harassment are racial or ethnic harassment and sexual harassment.

Racial or ethnic harassment includes insulting gestures, unwelcome remarks and jokes about a person's racial background, colour, place of birth or ancestry.

Sexual harassment includes unnecessary or unwanted physical contact, leering, display of offensive pictures, unwelcome remarks, jokes, demands for sexual favours and compromising invitations.

OCTOBER 1, 1991

SUPERSEDES SEPTEMBER 30, 1986

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		AH - 06 - 04
SECTION	SUBJECT	
COMPLAINT & GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE	WORKPLACE HARASSMENT	

PROCEDURE:

Employees who believe they have been harassed should:

- (a) Firmly request whoever is doing the harassing to stop because you feel offended, uncomfortable or intimidated, and
- (b) Prepare and maintain a written record of the details (time, place, date, witnesses, etc.) of the confrontation, and
- (c) If harassment continues, advise your Supervisor and/or the Employment Equity Officer immediately. (The Department Head or the General Manager - Human Resources may also be advised.) Specific details of the incident(s) must then be stated, either verbally or in writing.

Investigation
Procedures

The Supervisor and/or the Employment Equity Officer will:

1. Treat the complaint with the strictest confidence; information will not be placed in either the complainant's or the alleged offender's personal file, but retained in a locked confidential file, accessible only to those who need to know, and upon approval of the General Manager - Human Resources.
2. Investigate the complaint immediately; this will include interviews with the complainant and the alleged offender and a review of any pertinent documentation. The investigation may also include interviews with witnesses and employees, both past and present.
3. Prepare an investigation report within two (2) weeks of receiving the complaint.
4. Determine whether or not the complaint has been sufficiently substantiated to justify further action.

DATE
NOVEMBER 7, 1991

SUPERSEDES SEPTEMBER 30, 1986

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AH - 06 - 04

SECTION	SUBJECT
COMPLAINT & GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE	WORKPLACE HARASSMENT

Discipline	<p>Provided the complaint is substantiated, the investigator will:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Issue or recommend discipline in accordance with Personnel Policy AH-05-30. This policy makes provision for immediate dismissal for a serious infraction. 2. Ensure that the harasser apologizes to the complainant. 3. Offer counselling to both the harasser and the victim.
Action If Not Substantiated	If the allegations are not substantiated, no action will be taken.
Malicious Complaint	Malicious complaints will not be tolerated and complainants will be disciplined in accordance with Personnel Policy AH-05-03.
Supervisor Responsibility	As stated in the Ontario Human Rights Code 1981, Sections 38 (e) and 40 (4) a supervisor who knew, or should have known, about the harassment, and who took no action to stop the harassment is responsible for failing to exercise appropriate authority and therefore will be disciplined in accordance with Personnel Policy AH-05-30.
Timeliness	Complaints of harassment should be made within six months of the occurrence.

Source: Corporation Policy and Procedures Manual, City of Thunder Bay

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NOVEMBER 7, 1991

SUPERSEDES SEPTEMBER 30, 1986

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APPENDIX H
Aquatics Code of Conduct



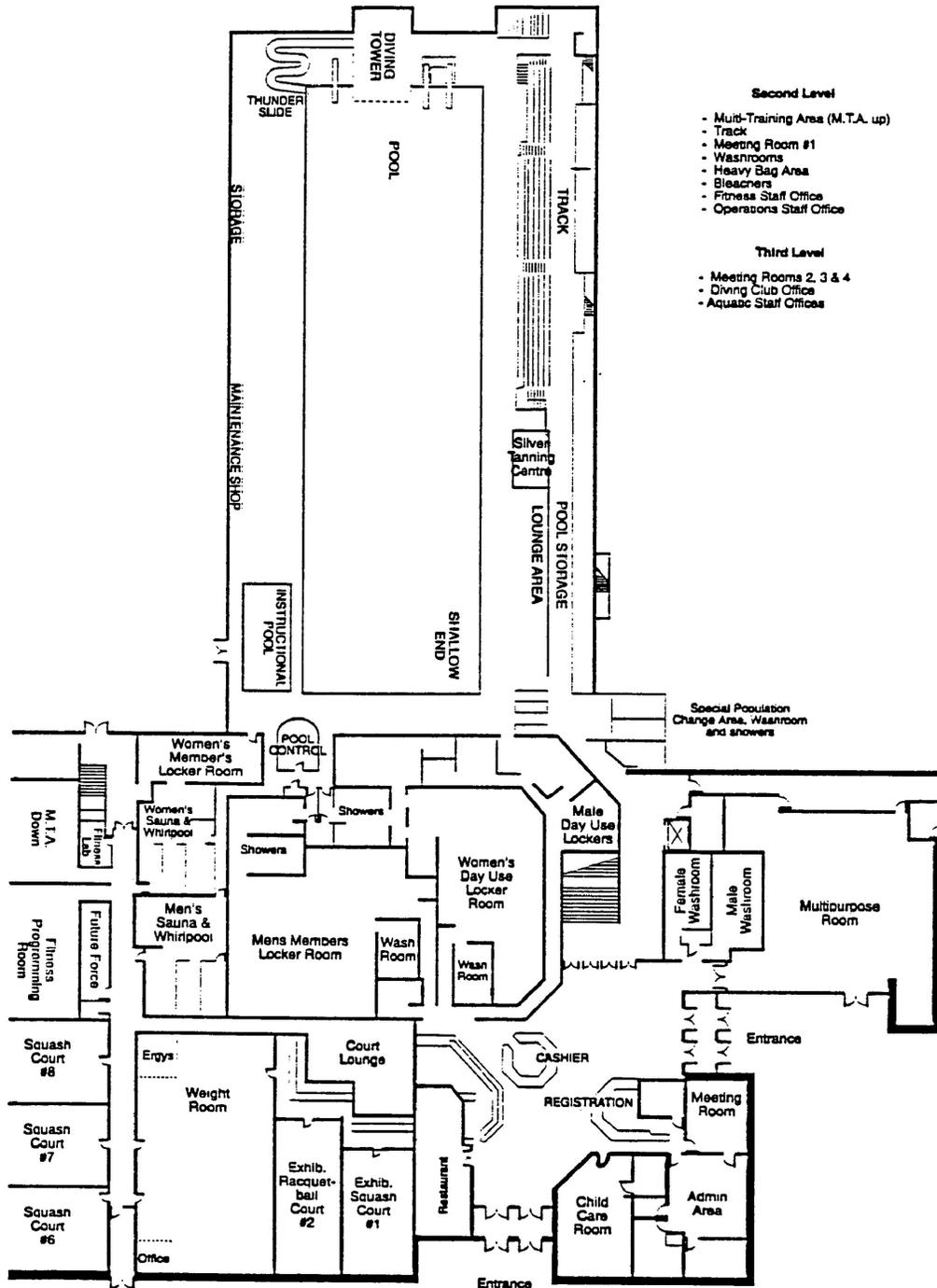
AQUATIC STAFF CODE OF CONDUCT

As the staff of the Canada Games Complex, we are committed to the following code of conduct:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <p>With regards to
We will:</p> | <p>LIFEGUARDING:</p> <p>Wear complete, clean, proper uniforms including nametags.
Be prompt for rotations.
Be 15 minutes early for our shift.
Be alert.
Keep our qualifications up to date.
Attend inservices.
Make an effort to do more walking patrols while on duty.</p> |
| <p>With regards to
We will:</p> | <p>PUBLIC RELATIONS:</p> <p>Greet people with a SMILE.
Be phone courteous.
Have a professional attitude.
Respect the patrons.
Treat everyone equally
Set a good example for the public while at work.
Obtain a complete knowledge of the facility.</p> |
| <p>With regards to
We will:</p> | <p>INTERSTAFF RELATIONS:</p> <p>Have less inter-staff gossip.
Make new staff feel welcome.
Respect co-workers.
Treat everyone equally.</p> |
| <p>With regards to
We will:</p> | <p>THE FACILITY:</p> <p>Clean up equipment.
Show respect for the facility and equipment.
Obtain a complete knowledge of the facility.</p> |

By committing ourselves to this 'Code of Conduct', we hope to ensure a safe, enjoyable environment for both the patrons and staff of the Canada Games Complex.

APPENDIX I
Facility Map



TB1279(2)

Source: Policy and Procedures Manual, City of Thunder Bay

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