

EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN INVOLVED IN THE
2000 HABITAT FOR HUMANITY WOMEN BUILD.

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore whether women involved in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build viewed the activity as leisure and whether through the process of the Build, they perceived themselves to be part of a community. Qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were used to gain an understanding of the experiences of eleven women from the Kitchener-Waterloo Region.

Collection of data occurred in three stages including a self administered questionnaire, participant observations with a photographic journal, and semi-structured interviews. Stages one and two took place July 2 - 14 during the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, and interviews were conducted following completion of the Build.

Data analysis resulted in emergence of themes related to the concepts of community, leisure, and aspects of the Build which were related to the women-only feature of the experience. More specifically, it was determined relationships with others and the formation of social networks were key components of both community and leisure to the women involved. It was also found that the all-women aspect of the Build, allowed participants to experience personal and collective empowerment. Based on the findings of this research, it was determined that experiences such as the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, can lead to the development of social capital within the participants and the social development of the collective.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my Grandpa Forbes. He was an inspiration of spirit and love in life and death. I thank him for all of the lessons that he taught me, the greatest of which is the value of random acts of kindness.

Peter Whyte Forbes 1929 – 2001

Forever in my heart

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Chapter I: Introduction

Historically, volunteering has been viewed more as work than leisure (Henderson, 1981), perhaps because of the perceived motivations of participants and because a vast amount of the volunteering activity was completed by women who did not typically work outside the home. However, the current trend is to view volunteerism as either a place to satisfy leisure-like needs (Henderson) or as a form of leisure activity which is more serious in nature than typical leisure pursuits (Stebbins, 1993). Stebbins describes the pursuit of this type of leisure-like activity as serious leisure and defines it as "...the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisitions and expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience" (p. 23). Arai (1997) has argued that by applying the before mentioned definition to the volunteer experience, there is a lessened tendency to devalue the experience when attempting to link it with the pursuit of leisure. The added value may be key for individuals who are seeking to gain a sense of achievement or who are resisting traditional views of women through their volunteer experiences.

Searle and Brayley (1993) reporting data from the 1987 Canadian National Survey on Volunteer Activity, indicated that volunteer participation rates of men and woman vary based on activity. This survey found that 16% more women than men prepared and served food, and that 13% more women than men made things in their volunteering. Conversely, men were 13% more likely to either coach or referee a sport or to be involved in activities such as repairing, maintaining or building facilities (Searle & Brayley). It was not unexpected that more men than women were involved

in volunteer activities that are associated with construction, as only 11% of Canada's construction workforce was women (Statistics Canada, 1998). However, as previously noted, women are using leisure (or volunteer) opportunities to experience activities that are generally not associated with traditional views of and roles of women. This argument is supported by the number of women who are involved in Builds for the international organization Habitat for Humanity.

Founded in 1976, Habitat for Humanity is a non-profit organization that raises money and builds homes for families who are otherwise unable to afford suitable housing. Rooted in the Christian faith, this international organization is responsible for the construction of over 120,000 homes in more than 79 countries world wide. Habitat for Humanity Canada was formed in 1985 and since that time has opened over 50 affiliate organizations in all ten Provinces and built more than 400 houses (Habitat for Humanity International, 2001). This program involves hundreds of volunteers who raise money, solicit donations, and actually build homes for families in need. Homeowners are required to give a number, usually 500 hours, of 'sweat equity' (unpaid labour) and are required to make payments on an interest free mortgage (Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, 1997) equal to the full market value of the house (Mark Havitz, Chair – Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region Board, 2000, Personal Communication).

During the summer of 2000, Habitat for Humanity Waterloo (Habitat) hosted a Women's Build, referred to henceforth as the "Build", which included 100 – 200

volunteers in the construction of a new home (R. Dawson, Project Manager Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, personal communication, Dec. 1, 1999). This build, Canada's first women's only project, consisted of two parts; a twelve day pre-build and an eleven day build, which ended with the completion of the home.

The concept "community" is central to the existence and success of Habitat for Humanity (Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, 1999). Indeed, the mission statement of the Waterloo Region affiliate of Habitat International (*see appendix A*) includes references to community as defined both by geography and by association (Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, 1999). Thus, the concept of community does not have a concrete definition but rather it is defined by context of its use. It has been suggested that generally there are three ways to view the concept of community; (1) community defined by spatial boundaries, (2) communities of interest, and (3) a network of communities of interest bound together by geographic or spatial boundaries (Christenson, Fendley & Robinson, 1989). For the purposes of this study community was understood and examined in two ways:

1. ***Communities of Interest***: A group of individuals who have organized themselves around a common interest or shared issue that may or may not be restricted by spatial boundaries (Pedlar, 1996; Blakely, 1989).
2. ***Community***: "people that live within a geographically bounded area who are involved in social interaction and have one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place in which they live" (Christenson et al., 1989, p. 9).

The rationale for distinguishing between these two ideas was that each of them was examined separately and jointly within the context of this study. Also related to the concept of community is that of community development.

Labonte (1998) argued that, like community, there is no single theory of community development but rather that community development is a range of practices which exist in a number of different contexts. The fact that there is no single theory has led to ambiguity in relation to the definition of community development. There are however, commonalities within the components of the numerous definitions offered. Central to any definition of community development is the notion that it involves the citizens of the community in a process of change where the citizens themselves work to improve their situation (Stormann, 1996; Christensen et al., 1989; Pedlar, 1996). Pedlar also suggested that the focus of community development is on the process as much as it is on the outcomes of the process. In this study, community development was viewed as a process which involved local citizens in a course of action, which led to their improved situation through education and group development, aimed at balancing inequities which are based in economic and political structures (Labonte, 1998). While this is not the clearest definition it does incorporate the most commonly included components of other definitions and is congruent with the purpose and mission of Habitat.

The participants in the 2000 Build had the opportunity to participate in a relatively unique experience – home construction. This activity and occupation has been historically

dominated by men to the point where it is generally thought of as “men’s work”.

However, for over two weeks women were provided the opportunity to challenge this gendered role and possibly others which they had been developing since childhood.

It has been suggested that by the time children reach kindergarten, they have not only learned to prefer activities which are culturally designated for their sex, but they have also learned to prefer same-sex friends. The formation of these preferences, known as sex-typing or gender schema development (Kessler, 1995; Bem, 1995), is the basis for the development of an individual’s beliefs concerning appropriate gender behaviours. Kessler argues that these behaviours or gender roles, are the culturally bound beliefs concerning the appropriateness of certain activities and behaviours for men and women.

Gender schema theory suggests that children learn to assess objects and activities with their own gender schema, and thus, are able to determine whether the object or activity is for males or females. Based on this determination, children select objects and activities that are appropriate for their gender (Bem, 1995; Cole & Cole, 1996). It has also been suggested that this schema becomes so developed that as adults, people are less likely to refer to male or females by adjectives that are generally associated with the opposite gender. Bem comments that adults generally do not remark on how *strong* a girl is or the *nurturing* behaviour of boys. Acknowledgement of this idea is key as it may help to explain why parents register their children for specific types of recreation and leisure programs.

Shaw (1994) argued that the, "...narrow range and stereotypical nature of the activities society traditionally deems to be appropriate for women and girls" (p.13), has led to constraining of their leisure opportunities. She further suggested that despite equal opportunity measures, such as Title IX in the United States, the types of opportunities offered support traditional views of gender behaviour. Shaw noted that another component of this issue was that parents were still inclined to register their children for activities which develop feminine characteristics in girls and masculine characteristics in boys. In recent years however, there has been an increase of recreation and sport opportunities which have begun to challenge the traditional gendered view of leisure participation. Creation of the Women's National Basketball Association and the resurgence of the acceptability and popularity of women's hockey (at all levels), are two examples of increased opportunities for women. In addition to the increase of less gendered opportunities for women, is the notion that women themselves are increasingly resisting traditional views of appropriate behaviours through the activities in which they are involved.

Green (1998) suggested that leisure is a particularly conducive environment for resistance as, "...resistance through leisure, [is] based upon a conceptualization of leisure as a site of personal choice, and self-determination, which can also provide opportunities for individuals to exercise personal power" (p. 172). In this context resistance was being viewed as a struggle against not only institutionalized power (Shaw, 1994) but also against the limited roles that women are socialized to fill (Freysinger & Flannery, 1992). While not all leisure involvement can be considered resistance, Freysinger and Flannery found that women do occasionally use leisure, not to resist their roles of mother, partner, or caregiver, but to resist being limited to those roles. An avenue which may be particularly appropriate for resistance is that of a volunteer experience which engages women in non-traditional activities, such as home construction with Habitat for Humanity.

1.2: Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to explore whether women involved in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build viewed the activity as leisure and whether through the process of the Build, they perceived themselves to be part of a community. The significance of this study lies in its potential to address women's experiences relative to leisure behaviour, community, and the resistance of more traditional, gendered views of women in society.

1.3: Research Questions

This study was guided by one grand tour research question and three associated sub-questions, all of which were directly related to the purpose of this research project. The grand tour question asked: What is the experience of women who volunteer for a Women's Build in their local community? The sub-questions were as listed below:

1. Did the women perceive that in the process of the Build there was the development of community among the women volunteers?
 - a. Did study participants perceive that they belonged to any specific communities of interest within the Build community?
2. Did the women view the Build as leisure?
 - a. In what ways did the Build offer them the experience of leisure?
3. Did the women involved in the Build see it as a means of resistance against societal gender roles?
 - a. In what ways did the Build provide women the experience of engaging in activities that run counter to roles typically considered appropriate for women?

Chapter II: Literature Review

2.1: Introduction

This study utilized qualitative research methods to examine the experiences of the women participating in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. As defined by these methods, I was the primary agent of data collection (Creswell, 1994), as well as the main tool of analysis. Taking this into consideration, it was necessary for me to identify the concepts which were closely associated with the study and thus had an impact on data collection and analysis (Patton, 1990). The following paragraphs examine concepts and theories which were directly related to the research questions guiding this study. The first section examines literature related to community, geographic community, sense of community, community behaviours, stages of community, and community development. In the second section leisure, gender schema theory, women's leisure, ethic of care, and leisure as resistance are discussed.

2.2: Community

Christenson et al. (1989) suggested that historically, communities have been defined by specific boundaries whether they be geographic or spatial. This is no longer always the case, as settlements have grown so much that development is continuous and separate communities have been replaced by vast tracts of development known as cities. Those communities that can still be considered rural, are generally linked by highways that make movement to and from reasonably straightforward. Despite the blurring of clear spatial boundaries there are those who believe that the existence of such borders or boundaries are necessary when defining community. Conversely, Florin and

Wandersman (1990) identified community as the place where citizens exist and Fussell (1996) argued that community is defined by households of individuals. Suggesting that not all definitions require links to geographic boundaries. Other researchers have supported this by arguing that community can be defined by associational networks of individuals which may or may not exist in the same geographic space (Blakely, 1989; Hutchinson & McGill, 1992; Walter, 1998). The existence of specific boundaries within definitions of community is quite common, whereas the delineation as well as the absence of these boundaries is a more contentious issue.

This study addressed community from two different view points; community as defined by geographic or spatial boundaries, and community as a sense of belonging felt by members. Each of these concepts was defined and examined separately before examining the concept of community development. It was considered important to be as explicit as possible in talking about these concepts realizing that the way in which an individual defined community can impact on how community development would be approached (Christenson et al., 1989).

2.2.2: Geographic Community

Although it is possible to formulate a definition of community that is solely dependant on either spatial boundaries or on shared interest, it is more common to have definitions that incorporate both concepts. This study examined geographic community using a combination of definitions of community. Common components of community which appeared in a number of definitions included shared interest, geographic boundaries,

social networks, shared history, and psychological sense of place (Friedmann in Stoick, 1996; Labonte, 1998; Pedlar, 1996). Others have defined community not by clear definition but rather by components or by the situation that is created when community occurs. In this sense, community is seen as the result of dynamic process.

Walter (1989) suggested that community is joined together by a social consciousness. This view placed citizen stakeholders along a continuum of involvement and participation in the process of community when they worked together on an issue of concern. The idea that community is something that is created by the interactions of those who exist within it was significant because it implied that citizens have the power to change their community. Stormann (1996), argued that the imperatives of genuine community were those of shared power and the existence of a structure that would allow for the sharing of community power. Wilkinson (1989) felt that residents have the power to act together on issues of concern, which further suggested that their community exists in a political climate that has power-sharing structures in place.

2.2.1: Sense of Community

The idea that communities are not bound by specific spatial or political borders is an idea that has been examined at great length. It is common to hear people discussing the women's community, communities of individuals with similar disabilities, and communities of people with similar interest. Pedlar (1996) suggested that community connotes a sense of sharing and cooperation, which shifts the meaning from place, to emotion and relationships. Others argued that the social relationships and networks to

which citizens belong are a means of defining community (Blakely, 1989, Hutchinson & McGill, 1992, Walter, 1998). Labonte (1998) stated that community can not occur without something being shared; this too suggests that community is something beyond a specific place.

Feminist research, examining the concept of community, has suggested that for women the meaning of community is not defined by territorial boundaries. The following excerpt illustrates how Dominelli (1995) perceived community in the lives of women.

For women, the notion of community is not bound by territorial terrain. It encompasses those social relationships and networks constructed around the needs of those under our care and involves mediating and negotiating with private individuals, state agencies and commercial enterprises to fulfill the obligations that nurturing others imposes on us. For women, organizing in the community often revolves around family life and entails: stretching scarce resources to their limits through self-help networks; providing day-care facilities; getting access to decent, affordable housing; preventing school closures; securing rights to minimum incomes; and a host of other issues linked to women's caring roles. (p. 143)

Florin and Wandersman (1990), and Hutchinson and McGill (1992), argued that those with access to transportation and communication were more likely to form communities

of interest. This was partly because those with access to transportation had a greater opportunity to form social networks outside of the geographic area where they resided. Similarly, those with the ability to communicate with others may have had extended communication networks and been able to access information and individuals which existed beyond their local area. Communities of interest consist of individuals who have organized themselves around a common interest or shared issue that may or may not be restricted by spatial boundaries (Blakely, 1989; Pedlar, 1996).

2.2.3: Community Behaviours

There was very little empirical information concerning the behavioural manifestation of community. That which was found linked psychological sense of community, described earlier as a sense of community, to the existence of social networks and feelings of belonging. Lewin (in Campfens, 1997) argued that groups form the life-space in which people live and operate, and thus, belonging to groups was essential to feeling a sense of community. McCool and Martin (1994) used the label *community attachment* to describe the relationship between social interaction and psychological sense of community. This concept was defined as, “the extent and pattern of social participation and integration into the community, and sentiment or affect toward the community” (p. 30). McCool and Martin further suggested that the longer a person lives in a community the more attachment she/he will feel towards that community. Chavez (1994) found that people new to a community, who contributed to community associations and social structures, felt that they earned the right to be part of that

community. These studies suggest that the key indicator of psychological sense of community was involvement within that community.

Focusing on the measurement of psychological sense of community, Glynn (1981) attempted to determine the behavioural components of this concept. Like the research discussed above, much of Glynn's work concentrated on the concept of community involvement. He reported that a decline in psychological sense of community often resulted in a withdrawal from community social associations such as family, religion/worship, and neighbourhood. Based on a literature review and a number of pre-test analyses, Glynn developed two questionnaires to measure the behavioural manifestations of psychological sense of community. Also measured by these scales was an overall rating of psychological sense of community. Analysis of these scales determined the following behaviours as indicators of a psychological sense of community:

- Involvement in community associations;
- Knowledge of community members;
- Existence of social networks; and
- Knowledge of community structures and systems.

(Glynn, 1981)

The most commonly discussed components of a psychological sense of community were social connectedness and involvement in associations. While these two components are not necessarily explicit behaviours, they may be manifest in the behaviours of individuals

through observable social behaviours (group dynamics) and through public acknowledgement of involvement in various associations.

2.2.4: Stages of Community

The importance of examining the theoretical stages of community growth or formation lies in its relationship with group dynamics and the ability of people to work together effectively. The first thing that needed to be acknowledged was that community building was not a linear process, and that like any individual, communities grow, develop, and change over time (Foundation for Community Encouragement in, Shaffer & Anundsen, 1993). Shaffer and Anundsen proposed a five stage process of community building which begins with individuals coming together and ends with the expanding, segmenting, or disbanding of the created community. In contrast Peck (1993) suggested a four stage process of building community, beginning with the existence of pseudocommunity and ending with the attainment of actual community. These two models of community building are discussed below.

The first stage of community building, as proposed by Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) is called *excitement*. This stage is characterized group members focused only on the positives and the seemingly endless possibilities. During this stage individuals often have an immediate sense of intimacy with others and believe that the others will fill the voids in their lives. What is not acknowledged during this stage of community building is the fact that everyone brings personal histories and expectations into the process. The major

developmental task during this stage is the formation of a shared mission or purpose for the community.

Shaffer and Anundsen's (1993) second stage, *autonomy*, consists of community members struggling for power and control. During this phase, individuals focus on differentiating their needs from those of the others and the group. The authors stated that in order to successfully manoeuvre through this stage and into the next, community members need to engage in open communication while paying attention to both individual and group needs. Upon the negotiation of the group's power relations the next stage of community is reached. It is during stage three, *stability*, that individuals begin to settle into the various roles that exist within a community. Shaffer and Anundsen argued that members of the community will naturally fill the roles which are familiar to them such as, supportive roles, leadership roles, critics, peace keepers, sceptics, and visionaries.

The fourth stage of community, as suggested by Shaffer and Anundsen (1993), is *synergy*. It is during this phase that true community is achieved and group members realize that what is good for the self, must also be good for the community. The authors argue that, "in synergy, you move beyond narrow self-interest and the security of roles to take responsibility for the needs of the group, not out of self-sacrifice but as a way of expanding yourself as you serve the whole" (p. 216). This stage is characterized by individuals being confident enough to move between the various roles which exist in the community, cognizant also of the emergence of new leadership. The fifth and final stage of community building consists of three possible avenues, expansion, segmentation, or

disbandment. During this stage it is important to remember that it is possible for communities to reach a natural ending point.

Peck's (1993) stages of community building share a number of similar characteristics with the process discussed above. *Pseudocommunity*, the first stage of this model, is characterized by group members being overly accommodating and the avoiding of disagreement. Peck suggested that this form of community does not allow for individuality, intimacy, or honesty, and that to progress beyond this stage generalizations and platitudes need to be challenged. *Chaos* is the next stage of community, as proposed by Peck. During this stage of the process, problems, issues, and individual differences are put forth and the group attempts to work through them. Often during this phase, dominant members will attempt to convert others and move forward with hope that their "norms" will be accepted as the group's normalcy.

The final two stages of Peck's (1993) model are *emptiness* and *community*, the first of which can be overcome through commitment to open, honest communication. It is suggested that expectations, prejudices, ideologies, theologies, the need to heal, convert or solve, and the need for control, can all prevent true communication. Thus, groups wishing to become true communities must overcome these barriers and allow for the flow of honest communication. When this is achieved groups have a better chance of reaching *community*, which develops when group members are able to discuss issues of concern in a caring and supportive environment. An understanding of the manner in which

community develops is important as it may allow those involved in a community development process to maximize their efforts in a more efficient manner.

2.2.5: Community development

As with community, there are a number of ways in which community development can be viewed; however, there is general consensus on the components or characteristics of the concept. Morgan (1993) argued that, “the beginning point for community development is person-to-person relationships” (p. 212). Others have suggested that central to any definition of community development is the notion that it involves the citizens of the community, in a process of change, where the citizens themselves work to improve their situation (Christensen et al., 1989; Pedlar, 1996; Stormann, 1996).

Pedlar (1996) further argued that the focus is on the process as much as it is on the outcomes of the process. Process is concerned with education, an outcome of which may lead to the development of community. The development of the community leads to local citizens gaining the skills necessary to identify their own issues and potential solutions, as well as the skills necessary for the achievement of their identified goals. Pedlar further argued that the process cannot be controlled by practitioners, rather that it is their role to assist the group through the process, until group members are able to initiate the process themselves. This is important to note, as a number of the desired outcomes of community development are associated with human and social development so that individual change may ultimately influence changes within the community. For example, it has been identified that education and group development are essential components of the

community development process, and that increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and a sense of empowerment are often the outcomes of involvement (Hutchinson & Nogradi, 1996; Pedlar). Having stated that community development is focused on the process, it should also be noted that it is still important that change occurs as a result of the process.

Labonte (1998) stated that the purpose of community development is to balance the inequities between citizens due to economic and political structures. Suggesting that existing social structures are unable to service the needs of all, in a fair and equitable manner. Christensen et al. (1989), stated that one of the main purposes of community development is to enable individuals to improve their social and economic circumstances. Reflective of the complexity of community and community development is the fact that there are a number of methods of community intervention which appear to be related to or synonymous with community development.

Rothman (1995) identified *locality development*, *social planning*, and *social action*, as three methods of community intervention, each of which is characterized by differing levels of participant involvement and power sharing. He suggested that *locality development* involved community change, "...through broad participation by a wide spectrum of people at the local community level in determining goals and taking civic action" (p. 28). While community involvement is a key component of *locality development*, Rothman argued that community participation is not at the core of *social planning*. In fact, the basis of *social planning* resides in the notion that an external expert is required to improve the social situation. This method relies heavily on needs

assessment, decision analysis, and various research methodologies, all of which require the technical skills of the external expert. *Social planning* can be contrasted with *social action*, which is characterized by the empowerment of the disadvantaged or oppressed, through a process of redistributing power and resources. This method of community intervention is generally thought of as “grass-roots”, and relies on what Rothman calls “people power”, due to the general lack of other resources within the populations who utilize this method.

Rothman (1995) suggested that *locality development* is the method most often referred to as community development in associated literature. As well, *social action*, can also be viewed as a process of community development, depending on how it is undertaken and progresses. While all three of these methods seek some form of community change it is essentially *locality development* and *social action* that include the components – process, voluntary participation, and change – considered the core of community development outlined below.

The relationship between community development and the field of recreation was the topic of recent research endeavours. It has been noted elsewhere that there is a general lack of empirical research concerning the relationship between recreation and leisure and community development (Pedlar, 1996). An attempt to address this was undertaken by the Ontario Research Council on Leisure, in 1996 with the dedication of two issues of its publication, the *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*, to the topic of community development. The articles from these issues were examined in an attempt to determine

what theory existed concerning community development in the field of recreation and leisure.

The examination of this literature supported the point made above, that is, that there is no single definition of community development. While the semantics of the definitions may differ, there are a number of key components identified in the various articles. These components, listed below, are consistent with those identified in the definitions of community development discussed previously. The reviewed theoretical literature on community development list the following as necessary components:

- The focus is on the process;
- It is grounded in community involvement in decision making;
- Change must occur; and
- Participation is voluntary.

(Hutchinson & Nogradi, 1996; Karlis, Auger, & Gravelle., 1996; Pedlar, 1996)

There is also agreement on the general outcomes of the process which include such things as personal empowerment, increases in participants' self-esteem, and an improvement in the lives of those involved (Hutchinson & Nogradi; Pedlar).

Hutchinson and Nogradi (1996) acknowledged that within community development, there are a number of ideals which must be followed. Firstly, they identify that recreation practitioners cannot have their own agenda when entering into the process as it is necessary for the group members to identify their own areas of concern. They also

stressed the importance of education, group development, and leadership coming from within the group, characteristics also espoused by Reid and van Dreunen (1996).

Reid and van Dreunen identified the following elements as those that they and other researchers agreed are an essential part of community development; there is a "...focus on change, indigenous problem identification, participation of all concerned community members in the activities and processes of the community, the notion of self-help, and community control of the process and outcome" (p. 49). These elements are consistent with those identified and discussed above, which suggests that while there is no concrete twelve step process of community development, there is a general progression that the process must follow.

2.2.6: Summary of Community Literature

Community holds a number of different meanings, depending in large part on context. It has been noted that networks of communities of interest can exist and that individuals may belong to a number of these communities. Other researchers suggested community must be designated by geographic or political boundaries. This study utilized a combined model, examining both the social networks which create communities of interest, as well as the larger community that is defined by both geographic and political boundaries.

Closely associated with community are the concepts of community development and community intervention. As noted, community development is a process orientated method of attaining community changes which requires the empowerment and involvement of local citizens. A significant amount, if not all, of the individuals who participate in community development initiatives do so on a voluntary basis. It has been previously noted that voluntary community involvement can often be viewed as a leisure experience (Henderson, 1981).

2.3: Leisure

"Over the past hundreds of years, leisure has been embraced as an ideal, discarded as hedonistic, accepted under limited terms, valued, and not valued" (Searle & Brayley,

1993, p. 1). Perhaps the only thing more difficult to determine than the state of leisure in society, is attempting to form a definitive definition of what leisure is. In their introduction to the topic of leisure, Kelly and Godbey (1992) detailed some of the historical and modern views of leisure. Specifically, they suggested that three common aspects or views of leisure are freedom, time away from work, and a state of mind. Interestingly, Kelly and Godbey also commented that leisure can be viewed as learned activities, based within a specific social context and that the activities are embedded in the beliefs and practices of a culture. This particular view is interesting as it suggests that leisure behaviour is probably influenced by societal views of appropriate gendered behaviour. The views of leisure discussed here illustrate the various components of common definitions; however, what is not captured is the empirical evidence that these definitions are influenced by the gendered power imbalance of society. The discussion below includes theories of gender role development as well as issues that directly pertain to leisure in women's lives.

2.3.1: Gender Role Development & Maintenance

There are many theories concerning the ways in which people acquire their understanding of sex roles and societal gender roles. The cognitive-development approach to sex role formation argues that there are three stages of development; (1) basic sex-role identity, (2) sex-role stability, and (3) sex-role constancy. These stages progress from being able to label one's self either boy or girl to being aware that a girl becomes a woman and a boy becomes a man, and finally to the understanding that no matter what the situation, a female is always female and a male is always male (Cole & Cole, 1996). By contrast, the social-learning theories propose that children learn their roles through observation of adults and the identification of differences between the behaviours of men and women. Cole & Cole suggested that children comprehend the idea that boys are rewarded for different behaviours than girls and thus, reproduction of societal gender roles is achieved. A new model of sex-role development, based on elements of cognitive-development theory and social-learning theories suggests that individuals develop a *gender schema*, which affects the way they view items and activities as either appropriate or not.

Proponents of the gender schema theory argue that, at early stages, children develop a schema which motivates and guides their decisions in relation to gender behaviours. They also argue that individuals use this schema for processing information which involves both cognitive and learning elements (Cole & Cole, 1996). This model of development suggests that children examine an object (or activity) and determine whether it is for them or not by determining whether it is for males or females. At this point they either reject it or accept it based on the appropriateness in relation to their gender. The determination of

the appropriateness of the object or activity is based on their understanding of gender, which is influenced through the behaviours they observe in others (adults) (Cole & Cole).

The theories discussed above propose different ways in which individuals learn about sex-roles and thus, try to explain why at a young age, boys learn that they are to play with trucks, while girls learn that they should be playing with dolls. Current research examining the formation and reproduction of gender roles expands on previous theories of sex-role development.

Wilkinson, Williamson and Rozdilsky (1996) suggested that, "...the term gender depicts the social, cultural and psychological process through which femininity and masculinity are reproduced in society" (p. 2). This definition is furthered by Peirce (1997), who suggested that, "gender-role expectations are the behaviours, attitudes, emotions and personality traits deemed appropriate for each sex (Boudreau et al. 1986, p.8) and depend on the socially constructed reality" (p. 581). This view of gender roles links well to the view of sex-role formation put forth by social learning and gender schema theorists, who, as discussed above, believe that children learn and display gendered behaviours through interpretation and mimicry. The reproduction and maintenance of traditional, gendered perceptions about the appropriateness of behaviours and activities, is accomplished through many different societal forces including economic and social structures.

Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, and Freysinger (1996) have suggested that the concept of gender is maintained both at the micro and macro level, within societal power relations at

the micro level and everyday experiences and activities at the macro level. As a result, traditional views continue to permeate through society influencing both men and women's views of how they should behave in all facets of life, including their leisure.

2.3.2: Women's Leisure

As noted, the socialization of women differs significantly from the socialization of men, in regard to their roles in society. Gilligan (1982) states that women socially develop in a manner which focuses on responsibility and commitment to others. She further argued that women define themselves by the human relationships they are involved in, while evaluating themselves by their ability to care for others. This social development impacts on all parts of a woman's life including her leisure as indicated by the findings of much leisure research. Over the past two decades inquiries into the leisure lifestyles of women have shown that women face more constraints to leisure participation than men, and that traditional definitions of leisure, such as free-time and activity, are not particularly relevant to women (Bolla, Dawson & Harrington, 1991; Henderson, 1990; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1989).

The research outlined above suggests that it is not particularly meaningful to define women's leisure within the context of free-time or time away from paid employment. Henderson (1990) stated that leisure as defined by time, is based on the dichotomous relationship between paid employment and free-time. The problematic nature of this relationship is the result of the fact that many women either spend the majority of their time working within the home or they are expected to work within the home after

spending the day within the marketplace (Henderson, 1990, Dattilo, Dattilo, Samdahl & Kleiber, 1994). It has been suggested that due to the nature of “women’s work”, free-time or time away from work is often fragmented, which also affects the way in which women regard and experience leisure (Bolla et al., 1991; Kay, 1996). Lenskyj (1988) illustrates the inappropriateness of free-time as a defining factor, and the potential fragmentation of women’s time, by using the example of a mother who is responsible for her children twenty-four hours a day and thus has limited “free-time”.

Attempting to define leisure by involvement in specific activities is another traditional view which is not meaningful when examining the leisure of women and perhaps even men. In the case of women, a large portion of their leisure occurs within the home, either in activity which is regarded as leisure-like, or engaged in activity that is regarded both as work and as leisure (Henderson et al., 1989). The problem of defining leisure by involvement in specific activities is that not everyone experiences leisure in the same way, participating in the same activities. Henderson (1990) argues that the determining factor of leisure is not the activity that one engages in but rather the experience one has while participating. Bolla et al. (1991) found that women viewed leisure not as an activity but rather as a means of experiencing self-gratification, relaxation, and personal freedom, further suggesting that defining leisure as *free-time* or *activity* is not applicable when referring to women. It has also been suggested that utilizing *activity* as a means of defining leisure is meaningless unless the socio-cultural context of the participant is also examined (Henderson).

As suggested above, perhaps the most significant means of understanding women's leisure is through their experiences. Defining leisure as *experience* allows women to determine what constitutes their leisure, as well as when and where it occurs (Henderson et al., 1989). This way of viewing leisure takes into consideration the existence of an activity and the use of free-time, without using them as defining factors (Henderson, 1990). Viewing leisure as an experience is also useful as it allows for the examination of a number of situations such as volunteerism and community development, which may have been ignored using traditional definitions. Another interesting aspect of women's leisure, as discussed in previous paragraphs, is the desired or intended outcomes that women wish to experience.

2.3.3: Ethic of Care

Gilligan (1982) has suggested that women define themselves in terms of their social relationships. More importantly women judge themselves by their ability to care while in these relationships, whether they be as mother, daughter, sister, partner, professional, or friend. As suggested by previous discussion, women have been socialized to fill the more domestic, caring roles in society. This focus on the caring side of relationships, is the key component of the concept of ethic of care, which basically suggests that a woman denies her personal needs in favour of satisfying the need and wants of others (Henderson & Allen, 1991).

Research focusing on the constraints to women's leisure has to a great extent, concentrated on the impact of a woman's ethic of care (Shaw, 1994). The significance of

this relationship has been linked to the gender roles that women fill within society, specifically the position of caregiver within the family (Henderson & Allen, 1991, Shaw 1994). Other research has shown that the influence of a woman's ethic of care can be two-fold, in that it can be viewed as a constraint to leisure or as something that empowers individuals to participate (Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Henderson et al., 1989).

Henderson and Allen (1991) stated that, "...ethic of care focuses on the web of connections that exists for people. Thus, this connection can provide a number of positive dimensions" (p. 105). These connections can provide the means of social interaction which can be an important aspect of meaningful leisure experiences for women. Henderson and Allen further suggested that women's ethic of care extends outside the family setting and into the community, resulting in their participation in a number of social movements. They also suggested that women's continued involvement in these activities can be attributed to the leisure experienced while participating. "The ethic of care helps to provide a basis for focusing on others through volunteerism and community service which can be important leisure experiences for many people" (Henderson & Allen, p. 106).

The idea that women can satisfy their ethic of caring for others through involvement in activities which constitute leisure is significant. The significance lies in the notion that instead of constraining them, their personal ethic of care may be motivating their involvement. Also significant is that a woman's ethic of care, may lead her to

participate in an activity that helps her resist traditional views of gender appropriate behaviours.

2.3.4: Leisure as Resistance

The 1990's have been witness to a fundamental shift in research on women's leisure. The shift in focus has moved away from examining the impacts of societal gender roles on leisure participation, to an investigation of the potential for women to resist traditional gender relations (Green, 1998). Leisure as resistance is based on the theoretical notions of agency and self-determined leisure involvement (Shaw, 1994). In this case, agency refers to the fact that people are social beings who interpret the social situations in which they exist and then act accordingly (Mead, 1934 in Shaw). In this context, resistance is being viewed as struggle against not only institutionalized power (Shaw) but also against the limited gender roles that women are socialized to fill (Freysinger & Flannery, 1992). Green (1998) argued that, "...resistance through leisure, [is] based upon a conceptualization of leisure as a site of personal choice, and self-determination, which can also provide opportunities for individuals to exercise personal power" (p. 172). It needs to be acknowledged that not all leisure experienced by women is a form of resistance, but rather that there exists an opportunity for resistance through leisure involvement (Shaw, 1994). In addition, Freysinger and Flannery found that their participants were not resisting against their roles of caring and nurturing individuals. Rather they were opposed to being limited to and devalued for their care giving roles.

The relationship between a women's ethic of care (care giving roles) and the desire for social interaction is a key component to leisure as resistance. The importance of a woman's ethic of care results from the fact that a number of the social networks formed come as the result of women filling care-giving roles in the community. These relationships and leisure involvement help women to develop a less gendered sense of self (Green, 1998), which may be necessary for them to resist traditional views of femininity. Green argues that it is through the development of women-only networks that the opportunity for resistance against gender roles exists. She further suggested that, "women-only events which facilitate autonomy and freedom from caring responsibilities provide a crucial forum for self empowerment and autonomy" (p. 177). These findings were in contrast to those of Freysinger and Flannery (1992) who determined that while social networks were vital to women's experiences of leisure, it was the fact that leisure was self-determined which led to resistance. They found that, "...self-determined leisure allowed the women to become aware of and express themselves...[and]...such awareness and expression enabled these women to feel better about themselves and to challenge and expand their gendered sense of selves (p. 314). The significance of leisure is further supported by Wearing (1992) who proposed that leisure for women provides a space that can be utilized to, "...challenge the traditional stereotypes of passive, dependant personalities who serve the needs of others" (p. 327). It appears that not only may women's ethic of care motivate or justify their involvement in leisure but that their involvement can lead to empowerment and the resistance of traditional views of women as caregivers.

2.3.5: Summary of Leisure Literature

As with the majority of concepts discussed within this review of literature, leisure has multiple definitions, many of which are grounded in the various contexts in which it exists. It has been argued above that the more traditional ways of defining leisure, as free-time or activity, are not necessarily meaningful when applied to the leisure lifestyles of women. It has also been shown that leisure can be the site for the maintenance of societal gender roles which children are socialized to fill.

Associated to the formation of these gender roles is the multiple meanings and contexts of leisure in the lives of women. Empirical evidence has shown that certain groups of women seek achievement and social affiliation through leisure in an attempt to account for the lack of these occurrence in other areas of their lives. It has also been discussed that women's ethic of caring for others, while often thought of as a constraint to leisure, may in fact lead to opportunities for them to resist traditional views of femininity. This resistance is accomplished through the formation of women-only social networks which decrease gendered views of self and possibly through involvement in activities which result in feelings of empowerment and increased self-esteem.

2.4: Gaps in the Literature

The gaps in the community and leisure literature become apparent when attempting to examine links between these two concepts. While there is a significant amount of literature related to the concept of community, and other literature concerned with the concept of leisure, there appears to be little research which examines the meanings of

community to women and how these meanings impact on the leisure of women. Also missing from the literature are examinations of specific leisure-like activities as sites of resistance. This study attempts to bridge some of these gaps by examining the meanings of community to the women involved in the Habitat Build. As well, the study allows for an investigation of this activity as a potential site for leisure and resistance of tradition gender roles.

Chapter III: Methodology

3.1: Introduction & Purpose

Utilizing qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, this study examined the role and meanings of leisure and community to the women involved in the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. The rationale for selecting this particular project was rooted in the fact that there had been no previous research addressing (1) the issue of women involved in Habitat projects, and (2) the meanings of leisure and community for women involved in women-only projects, such as the Habitat Build.

The purpose of this study was to explore whether women involved in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build viewed the activity as leisure and whether through the process of the Build, they perceived themselves to be part of a community. The importance of this study lies in the value of learning more about women's perceptions concerning leisure behaviour and community.

3.2: Rationale for Research Methodology

The theoretical perspective of this study is that of symbolic interactionism, which "...focuses on how we attach symbolic meanings to interpersonal relations" (Silverman, 1993, p. 1). Using this perspective for inquiry into the meanings and roles ascribed to community is appropriate as, "central to the interactionist approach is the notion that human life is community life" (Prus, 1996, p. 10). Prus further argues that human behaviour cannot be understood without an understanding of the community context in which it occurs. This study was conducted from this perspective as it attempted to

examine the perceptions and experiences of women within the community context of the Habitat Build.

Due to the naturalistic nature of this enquiry, qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were appropriate as they, "...enable the researcher to record and understand people in their own terms" (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 174). Further support for the use of qualitative strategies was provided by Miles and Huberman (1994), who suggested that this form of research is, "...fundamentally well suited for locating the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their 'perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions' (van Manen, 1977) and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them" (p. 10).

In order to collect suitable data for qualitative analysis, I utilized participant observation, in-depth interviews, and personal reflective journaling. Participant observation resulted in the creation of detailed field notes pertaining to the social interactions and community behaviours that participants exhibited during the build. The interviews resulted in the creation of verbatim transcribed accounts of participants' experiences and perceptions. The personal reflective journal allowed me to retain the social context of field notes for later analysis as well as illustrating the thoughts and feelings of the researcher which affected data collection. These methods of data collection provided an opportunity to share experiences with participants in the relevant social context while learning about experiences and associated meanings through the eyes and words of the participants.

Silverman (1993) argued that participant observation, is the process of "...sharing people's lives while attempting to learn their symbolic world" (p. 48) making it ideal for a symbolic interactionist study. Baumgartner and Strong (1998), suggested that researchers who immerse themselves in the social system of the participants, "...have the advantage of familiarity with the environment and developing participants' trust" (p. 181) both of which helped with the collection of rich data. The use of in-depth interviews, as well as participant observation, provided not only a means of triangulation (Patton, 1990), but also a means of data collection that is "...directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p. 77).

3.3: Participants

The women involved in the Habitat Build can be classified into various roles or categories of involvement. There were at least three groups of participants; including, those from the general public who lived locally and who were volunteering; others were employees of Home Depot working on the build; thirdly those women who work as professionals in the construction field and were recruited for the Build. This study focused on eleven female Habitat Build volunteers from the general public who lived in the Kitchener-Waterloo region. Two of the women had previous experience with Habitat Builds but the rest did not. It was anticipated that participants with a range of experiences would increase the richness of data collected.

Organizers anticipated from the outset that they would have sufficient interest from the general public. Therefore, in an effort to ensure continuity, Habitat required participants to volunteer for a minimum of four days. However, representatives from Habitat felt that it was possible to seek participants who would be involved in the Build for approximately one week (P. McLean, Executive Director Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, Personal Communication, January 26, 2000). For the purpose of this study eleven women from the Kitchener-Waterloo region, who were involved in the Build for a minimum of one week, were approached. Asking that participants be from the Kitchener-Waterloo Region was conceptually linked to the examination of psychological attachment to the community and its importance to the women involved. Further, this information is helpful to Habitat for Humanity since there is clearly value in knowing more about the experience of locally-based volunteers.

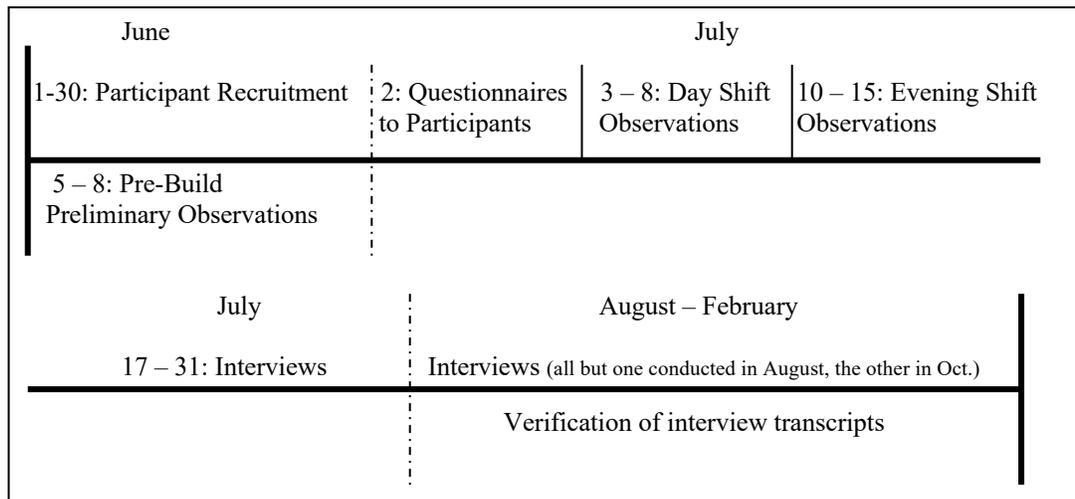
Two methods of sampling were used to identify study participants. Initially, purposive sampling was used and participants identified by Habitat as local citizens participating for at least one week were approached to be part of the study. As this method did not produce all the participants, snowball sampling was utilized, and participants identified women whom they felt would be willing to participate.

3.4: Design

Primary data collection occurred over a six-week period and consisted of three stages. The first stage of data collection involved the eleven research participants completing a questionnaire prior to the onsite involvement. The second stage, participant observation,

involved all individuals on the construction site at any given time. An effort was made to distinguish between the groups of individuals but was not entirely possible as the group consisted of many different individuals every day. However, the understanding of the dynamic between all participants in the Build provided useful contextual information for understanding the experiences of the eleven core study participants. All volunteers involved in the Build were informed of the study and advised of the fact that they would be observed. Finally, the eleven individual study participants were interviewed during the third stage of data collection. Figure 3.1 illustrates the sequential nature of data collection in this study.

Figure 3.1: Data Collection Timeline.



3.4.1: Preliminary Observations

To become familiar with the environment of a Habitat Build and to test observation techniques, the researcher participated in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Only Pre-Build in June 2000. The Pre-Build took place over a two week period during which the

researcher began to experience the dual roles of participant and observer. The researcher was unable to remain on site long enough to fully test the observation protocol due to a personal injury while involved with the Pre-Build

3.4.2: Questionnaire

Study participants were asked to reflect on their perceptions of the Habitat Build, community, and leisure prior to their involvement in the Build itself. A self-administered questionnaire was used to provide some understanding of this and was also used to collect demographic information. Included in the questionnaire were questions pertaining to (1) leisure motivation, (2) community, and (3) the gendered nature of leisure activities typically considered appropriate for women. The responses to these questions provided a starting point for discussion during the interview stage of data collection. The questionnaires were distributed to participants during the Habitat Build orientation which was held on July 2, 2000, and collected again at the start of the participants' first shift on the Build.

3.4.3: Observations

Participant observation was an appropriate method of data collection for this study as it provided information about the, "...activities of people, the physical characteristics of the social situations, and what it [felt] like to be part of the scene" (Spradley, 1980, p.33). Further, participant observation afforded the researcher not only the possibility of "...sharing people's lives while attempting to learn their symbolic world" (Silverman, 1993, p. 48), but it also provided an "...invaluable vantage point for appreciating certain

aspects of particular life-worlds” (Prus, 1996, p. 19). As noted above, participant observation is an essential element of data collection within a study from the symbolic interactionist perspective. The following is a description of the procedures undertaken during the participant observation stage of data collection done in this study.

The initial stage of primary data collection involved participant observation for the two week period of July in which the Habitat for Humanity home was built. During this time period there were two construction shifts per day; the first was from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm and the second from 4:30 pm to 9:00 pm. Despite the scheduled times, it was the experience of the researcher that the evening crew never quit work by nine. In fact, most nights there were still volunteers on site until closer to 11:00 pm. I conducted observations during the first shift for week one, and the second shift for week two. This was done in order to observe participants in both. Documentation of the observation stage of data collection took two forms.

Due to the nature of the activity being studied and my within the activity (full participant), the first form of documentation was a daily observational journal, created after each shift. To aid in the formation of an accurate journal, I created and utilized a photographic journal as a means of augmenting the observation journal. For the purposes of this study, the content of the photographs were utilized as a memory probe and as a visual depiction of community related behaviours. All participants in the Habitat Build were required by Habitat to sign photo-releases, and study participants were required to

sign additional consent forms allowing me to take and use photographs for academic and public display purposes.

The second form of documentation was a reflexive journal which was kept throughout the entire study process. This journal consisted of detailed descriptions of the feelings, perceptions, and experiences of the researcher during data collection and analysis. The aim of keeping a reflexive journal was to reduce and identify biases and to document anything that occurred within the researcher that influenced data collection and subsequent analysis (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998).

3.4.4: Interviews

The main purpose of an interview is to “...learn to see the world from the eyes of the person being interviewed” (Ely, 1991, p. 58), making it a suitable method of data collection for a qualitative study. Ely argued that the data collected from interviews aids the researcher in developing a clearer understanding of participants’ worlds. Considering the focus of interviews and the data which resulted from them, it was clear that this method of data collection was appropriate for this study which was concerned with exploring the lived experiences of participants.

The second stage of data collection, consisting of eleven semi-structured interviews, ten of which were conducted after completion of the Habitat Build. Due to the vacation schedule of one participant, this interview was conducted during the second week of the Build. Interviews were conducted after the Build was completed in order to allow the

researcher time to complete initial analysis of observation data. This was done in order for the interview process to both build on and clarify themes which emerged from the observation data. The second rationale for waiting to begin interviews until after the Build was to provide study participants the opportunity to reflect on their entire experience as a volunteer for the Habitat Build. The information gathered during this stage of data collection was combined with the data collected through observations. Data were then analysed together for emergent themes.

3.5: Data Analysis & Interpretation

Data collected through both observation and interviews was transcribed and then organized using QSR NUD*IST, a computer based qualitative data analysis program. This program allowed for data to be placed under an unlimited number of different codes in a tree-like structure (Silverman, 1993). This allowed for open, axial, and selective coding, each of which are steps in the analysis process suggested by Strauss (1987).

Open coding consisted of reading through the data and attempting to identify concepts which emerged from the data (Strauss, 1987). This stage of analysis fits well within the qualitative paradigm as “in qualitative fieldstudies, analysis is conceived as an emergent product of a process of gradual induction” (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p. 181). During this stage bits of data were organized in *free nodes*, which included descriptions of each general category. The next stage of data analysis was axial coding.

Axial Coding is the process of examining individual bits of data more intensely with focus around specific categories (Strauss, 1987). During this stage of analysis, key themes were defined and data were reorganized into *Index Tree Root nodes*, which included a much more defined description of the various themes. Once the data had been reorganized into these themes, selective coding began.

Selective coding involved examining the data within each theme to determine what links existed between categories, sub-categories, and the main themes (Strauss, 1987). This process involved the development of *parent* and *children nodes*, which branch off their main *root node*. The result of this stage of analysis was the creation of an *Index Tree* which provided a visual representation of the links between core themes, their categories, and existing sub-categories.

3.6: Verification Steps

There are a number of different methods of ensuring reliability and credibility of research which utilizes qualitative methodologies. The steps employed in this study included; (1) the examination of negative cases, (2) triangulation of sources, and (3) analytical triangulation (Patton, 1990).

The first method, examination of negative cases, involved looking at the bits of data which did not fit or match the others. This process requires researchers to ask themselves why the data do not fit and may result in the strengthening, weakening, or discarding of proposed theories or relationships (Patton, 1990). This method of verification was

undertaken during the axial and selective coding stages of analysis and again when analysis had resulted in category and theme saturation(Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

Triangulation of sources was achieved by using two or more methods of data collection and the comparing of the findings found in each of these methods (Patton, 1990). This study utilized participant observation and interviews which will allowed me to cross-check data and determine whether results are similar or different. If findings are different it does not mean that either method of collection is invalid; however, it does alert the researcher so that she may determine why the difference exists (Patton).

The final form of verification used in this study was analytical triangulation (Patton, 1990). This was accomplished in two different stages after the interview process. In the first stage, participants were provided a transcript of their interviews and were asked to ensure the accuracy of what was written as well as the context of their meanings. During this stage one participant used the opportunity to correct grammatical errors and other verbal ticks. Another participant did not verify her transcript as she moved during the study and attempts to reach her failed. Despite this her transcript was still included in data analysis. The second phase of participant verification occurred during the analysis and presentation of data when an external person was provided the opportunity to examine the findings and interpretation presented in chapters four and five. These steps helped ensure the reduction of researcher bias in the interpretation of data collected.

3.7: Ethics

To ensure the ethical treatment of the participants in this study, the research proposal was reviewed by the University of Waterloo Ethics Committee. As well the Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region Board of Directors was provided a copy of the research proposal prior to the commencement of data collection. In addition, participants were informed that a researcher is on site doing participant observations, and those involved in one-on-one interviews were asked to sign an informed consent form which detailed the specifics of the study.

In regards to the implementation of this study, it was my responsibility to ensure that the processes of data collection did not infringe on the rights or experiences of those involved in the Habitat Build. To aid in this, individuals were informed that there was a researcher involved in the Build and I endeavoured to ensure that I "...remain[ed] fairly unobtrusive [and] nondisruptive in the setting" (Prus, 1996, p.20).

For the purpose of ensuring confidentiality participants are only be referred to by pseudonyms. Further, once interviews were transcribed and verified, audio tapes were erased and transcripts were stored with the observational field notes in a secure location.

Finally, in the attempt to ensure the ethical representation of participants, each woman was provided the opportunity to verify the information collected during her interview, which also allowed them to further clarify and add context to their responses. Once again all but one of the women completed this process.

Findings & Analysis

4.1: Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore whether women involved in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build viewed the activity as leisure and whether during the process of the Build, they perceived themselves to be part of a community. This chapter will display the findings and analysis of data related to the three areas of inquiry involved in this study – Community, leisure, and the uniqueness of this Build being for women only.

This chapter illustrates the lived experiences of the women involved in this study and highlights the significance of community and leisure to their lives and to their experiences on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. In addition, the impact of the activity being for women only is addressed. To support the findings, quotations from the participants' interview transcripts and excerpts from my observation and photographic journals are provided. When the data from individual interviews is used the participant's pseudonym will follow the quotation. In instances where journal data is utilized, the journal title and date of the entry are provided. As it is important to understand the lens through which the participants were looking, a brief profile of each participant is provided prior to examining her actual views of community and leisure.

4.2: Participant Profile

The participant profiles detailed below are intended to provide a brief general background and introduction to the women who were involved in this study so that the reader may gain an understanding of the concepts of community and leisure as described by these

women. The information gathered was collected through a questionnaire completed prior to the Build experience and through interviews. Additional information from one participant was collected after the interview process in order to provide a more detailed profile.

Participant One: (Evelyn)

Evelyn moved to Waterloo approximately three months prior to the Build. During the second week of the Build she worked on the both the day shift and the Elf Crew (evening shift) for a total of four days. Professionally she worked as a landscaper and is the mother to grown children. At the age of forty-six Evelyn realized that she was gay and has since come-out to her family and friends.

Participant Two: (Mickey)

Mickey has lived in Waterloo for ten years. She was scheduled to work Monday through Wednesday on the day shift of week one but also returned to work on both the day and Elf Crew during week two. Professionally she is an instructor at a local university and is the mother of grown children. As a lesbian she was conflicted over some of the beliefs of her Church which effect both her leisure and community pursuits.

Participant Three: (Bailey)

This participant has lived in Waterloo for eight years. During week one she worked Monday through Friday on the day shift and returned to work on the Elf Crew during week two. Professionally she works as an engineering and design technician and is the mother of a teenaged son.

Participant Four: (Jane)

Jane has lived in Waterloo for twenty years. She worked on the Elf Crew, Monday through Friday of week two. Professionally she works as a house keeper and is the mother to grown children.

Participant Five: (Cornelius)

Although Cornelius has only lived in Waterloo for two years, she did spend thirty years living in a neighbouring township. She worked on the Elf Crew during the second week from Tuesday through Friday. Professionally she is the owner and president of a manufacturing company making products for the automotive industry.

Participant Six: (Casey)

Born and raised in Waterloo, Casey has lived there for forty-eight years. She worked on the day shift during week one from Monday through Friday. Professionally she works as a Banker and is the mother of teenaged children.

Participant Seven: (Mary)

Mary identified herself as living in the Kitchener-Waterloo Region for thirty-seven years. Actual municipal boundaries would put her living in Kitchener. She worked on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build Monday through Friday of week one on the day shift. She has been involved with three other co-ed Habitat for Humanity Builds as well as with various Habitat committees. Professionally she works as a nurse.

Participant Eight: (Janelle)

Janelle had lived in Kitchener for ten months at the time of the Build. She worked on the Elf Crew from Monday through Thursday. Moving to Kitchener is the first time she has left her home community other than to attend university. Professionally she works as a Mental Health professional.

Participant Nine: (Jessie)

Jessie had only lived in Waterloo for a year prior to the Build, but had previously lived in Kitchener and a neighbouring township. She worked during the day shift of week one but was on the paint crew (located off site) Monday through Wednesday. She joined the building crew on Thursday afternoon and Friday. Professionally trained as a technical writer, Jessie is currently a stay-at-home mother of two pre-school children.

Participant Ten: (Ellen)

This participant has lived in Kitchener for thirty years. This was her first building experience with Habitat for Humanity, but she has worked with them as a volunteer and committee member for a number of years. In the past her husband has worked on the Builds and she has filled supportive roles such as providing lunch to builders. Ellen worked on the day crew during week one from Monday through Friday. Professionally she is a public school teacher and the mother of two teenaged sons.

Participant Eleven: (Elizabeth)

Elizabeth has lived in the Kitchener-Waterloo region for thirty-four years. She has lived in both Kitchener and Waterloo, but is currently living in Waterloo. She worked Monday through Thursday of week two on the Elf Crew. Professionally she was an oncology nurse and is now a health services consultant, an adjunct professor, and a researcher as well as the mother of grown children. It should be noted that this participant edited

some of the phrasings contained in her transcript; however, these changes did not impact on the meaning or context of her responses.

4.3: Community

The literature reviewed in chapter two illustrates that community has multiple definitions, dimensions, and interpretations. The findings of this study support this notion, in that participants used a variety of defining characteristics to describe the communities to which they belonged or in which they resided. For instance, some of the women utilized spatial boundaries of the region (Kitchener-Waterloo), others the political boundaries separating Kitchener and Waterloo, and others the associations or social networks to which they belonged. The following data illustrate these divergent views

When Bailey was asked about her perceptions of the Build in relation to community, she identified that it was nice to work with individuals who were from her own local community. When naming the community to which she was referring she used the spatially defined boundaries of the region.

Most of the people that were there were part of the Waterloo-Kitchener area...Which was great. You get all these people that go around from Build to Build to Build, and that's fine. It's a pat on your shoulder but it's nice to be able to do it in your own group. In your own local community.
(Bailey)

The next example illustrates how some of the women viewed community as something definable along the political boundaries which separate Kitchener and Waterloo. In this instance Mickey indicated that she perceived herself to be a citizen of one city and not of a regional area.

...I think I'm a citizen of Waterloo and that's where I tell people that I live and often times they don't know because Kitchener-Waterloo is what everyone says, "I live in Kitchener-Waterloo". I don't live in Kitchener-Waterloo. I live in Waterloo and I think Waterloo is a far better community than Kitchener...(Mickey)

For other women the use of spatial or geographic boundaries was less meaningful when defining community. During the interview process Jesse revealed that as a result of living and working in a number of different geographic locations, for her community and her sense of belonging were not necessarily defined by the place where she lived.

I lived in Hamilton, I worked in Toronto, I've lived in Ayr and Kitchener and Waterloo. I think that in a way I sort of feel that life is the same all over where ever you go. And so community, in some ways that sense of belonging isn't so much defined as the place that you live. (Jessie)

When reflecting on the Build experience, Mary illustrated how community can be something that forms around a common philosophy or goal and can be a unifying force that crosses spatial and political boundaries.

...I think that anybody who participated on that build had a certain philosophy of life. Whether they were paid or not they had to agree to be there. They had to think that that was a worthwhile pursuit. So that defined a community just based on philosophy. It was a broader sense because people were coming from Nation wide. But it sort of shrunk the country because people of common thought lived everywhere...So yeah it was sort of a unifying force and that is how I define community as well. (Mary)

Overall, for the women involved in this study, community was an important and meaningful aspect of their lives, regardless of whether defined by spatial or political boundaries, and/or by associational networks.

The remainder of section 4.3, will further examine the concept of community and the various dimensions that it encompasses. The data displayed will focus on the

participants' sense of community, the existence of communities of interest, the formation of a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community, and the importance of community involvement to the participants of this study.

4.3.1: Sense of Community

In this section, findings concerning participants' sense of community will be presented. First their perceptions of Kitchener and Waterloo will be examined. These findings suggest that the majority of the participants tended to refer to the geographic or regional community as Kitchener-Waterloo when discussing the Build. Interestingly, when specifically asked if they perceived Kitchener and Waterloo as separate cities or as a single entity, many participants tended to view them as separate. Following the discussion concerning the spatial and political views of community will be a review of findings which deal with the notion that for some of the study participants, their sense of community is satisfied through the associations and social networks and not through their attachment to spatial or politically defined communities.

4.3.1.1: Spatial & Political Community

In the following cases the participants have indicated that, at least to some degree, they think of their community as a regional entity which is usually label Kitchener-Waterloo. These women also indicated that there are distinct differences between the two parts of the region. In the first example Janelle stated that while she refers to the area as a region she felt that the two cities were different.

I say Kitchener-Waterloo a lot but I think when I think about them they seem very different to me. This is going to sound really horrible but

Kitchener seems just more small town and Waterloo a little more up-scale. Maybe because the universities are there and all those kinds of things. Yeah so I guess that would be the only way that I would differentiate. (Janelle)

The next participant indicated that she tended to view the area regionally when she was utilizing services located in Kitchener or when referring to that fact that she knew people in the region.

I consider Kitchener-Waterloo when I have to go to Fairview or somewhere to shop or that I have friends in Kitchener-Waterloo. But I think of the culture as different. Kitchener is about people who are in business for themselves, their family business. Many of them are of German background, very hard working, independent, kinds of people. Waterloo is different and frankly I'm happier in Waterloo myself because its got the universities... We're not a cosmopolitan city, Kitchener-Waterloo is not, but if we were in any part of it, we are more so in Waterloo than in Kitchener. (Elizabeth)

Unlike the two previous examples, the following quotations illustrate the almost fierce attachment that some of the participants felt concerning their home community. These women may refer to the area as Kitchener-Waterloo, but when asked whether Kitchener and Waterloo were one region or two distinct cities, they most definitely felt that the cities were separate. The first quotation illustrates how the participant's view of the differences between the cities was based on the existence of what she perceived to be spin-off benefits of the existence of the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University, and the historical economic bases of the two communities.

Waterloo would be much more of a University town with all of those things that it brings. So um, I think Waterloo is more artsy, in some ways. Um, I think that Waterloo would tend to, and this is really generalizing, I mean people in Kitchener would be offended if I said this because there are tons, but I think you have more access to intellectual endeavours in Waterloo than you might in Kitchener and that's really, really black and white. And I don't mean in a black and white way but university is the big draw. All the things that come with it, the sports fields, the activities that happen because of the university. The high tech companies that come in

because of it. It just adds a different flavour than being in a manufacturing town, which is what historically Kitchener has been. I'm not sure it will always be that way but... (Casey)

The next example once again shows how the existence of the universities impacted on the perceptions of the participants concerning the overall feel of a community. Also illustrated by this example is this participant's attitude concerning the tendency to view the area as a region rather than two distinct cities.

I see Waterloo as a lot more liberal, because of the university. Kitchener...I guess it's called working class...I like the feel of Waterloo, I don't want to be grouped in with the other guys. (Cornelius)

In the following instance, Mickey acknowledged that her perceptions were not necessarily based on the reality of the two cities, but rather on what she perceived to be different. This is supported further by the fact that she admitted not being able to determine where the line between the cities was.

...I think Waterloo is a far better community than Kitchener, that's what I think. I think it is um, uh, is prettier, it's more pastoral and Kitchener is dirty. And I bike through both and I couldn't tell you where the town line is so I think it's all between my ears it is. I don't think it's cosmetic at all I think it's all between my ears...I bike through these communities in the early morning and I can tell you that I have seen blood on the streets in Kitchener, you know downtown Kitchener and I've never seen blood on the streets here. You know and to me that was a bar room brawl out on the side walk. (Mickey)

The examples above help to illustrate that while the participants may use regional geography as a means of labelling community, it may not be a significant way for them to define community. Most of the participants in this study articulated distinct differences between Kitchener and Waterloo. These differences however, were most often based on the perception that Kitchener is a blue collar town, while Waterloo tended to be viewed as more white collar. Participants indicated that the existence of the universities in

Waterloo impacted on their perceptions due, in part, to the availability of services and amenities which exist because of the universities.

Another aspect of the participants' ability to differentiate between the two cities was the tendency to view the community in which they resided in better terms. This was illustrated by the responses of Elizabeth, Casey, and Mickey who live in Waterloo and perceived Waterloo as a better place. The only example provided by a Kitchener resident came from Janelle who likened it to a small town, something that may have been desirable for her as she had only recently moved to Kitchener from the small community where she was raised. The next section will examine the findings which relate to the study participants' sense of community that resulted from associations or social networks which are generally known as communities of interest.

4.3.1.2: Communities of Interest

The women involved in this study indicated that they belonged to a number of communities of interest. These communities often provide a sense of belonging that people may not feel through being part of a large spatial or politically defined community. The findings presented below not only illustrate the multitude of situations that can provide sources of community, but also illustrate the potential to provide opportunities to belong to communities which are meaningful and applicable to individuals.

In the first example Ellen reflected on the feelings of community created by working on the Build with a large group of women. She indicated that working within the group enhanced her perception of being part of the a community of women.

...I think in some ways the biggest feeling of community that was enhanced for me was the feeling of oneness. If you want to put it that way, with the rest of the women...(Ellen)

Other women indicated that their sense of belonging to the women's community was created through another associations such as Zonta, YWCA, Habitat for Humanity, and their Church. In the example below Casey stated that she felt that not only was there a Build community, but that her association with Zonta and the YWCA also constituted memberships in those communities.

...Sure in a micro sense it was a community [the Build]. Any time you get, I mean Zonta is a community of women and the board of the YWCA is a community. (Casey)

For other women, their sense of community was closely associated with the Church and their family. The following statement by Ellen shows how attempts to create a sense of community in her spatial community did not appeal to her because her sense of community came from her family and involvement with her religious faith.

So for me my sense of community is mostly connected with my church. And the reason for that...the reason that I find that it's a great community for myself and my family is because of the multi-aged grouping for one thing...There are people who try to draw others in the neighbourhood together and get a sense of community from their neighbourhood. That doesn't happen to be what works specifically for us as much as our own immediate family's proved a strong sense of community and then our church after that I would say. (Ellen)

Mickey also identified her church as a source of community; however, she also discussed the conflict which arose with her also belonging to the Gay community. The quotation below shows how an individual can get their sense of community from a number sources and how those sources can be spatial or associational.

My church community and that level has changed because I came out to them in January. And so before I felt like an impostor, because I thought the moment they find out I'm gay then I'm out on my ear. And now that they know I'm gay I'm comfortable there but I'm also waiting for the shoe to fall...I'm part of my neighbourhood as the...lady with the truck. That community and this community here (the university). Also I'm part of different gay communities and we're just the same as the straight community [in the existence of different groups]...Then there's sort of my volunteer community. (Mickey)

The following example illustrates how the women would often used spatial or politically defined labels to indicated which communities they belonged. Evelyn's response also shows that while she uses the before mentioned labels, her personal view of community was more defined by people and relationships which existed within those spatial and political boundaries.

My community revolves around my friends and um, yeah I feel part of this community [Waterloo] because my friends are here. Um, I still feel a part of Milton too, because my family is there and my kids are there and um...you know I have a lot of friends there too...I think that to me, community means more people, than area...you asked about sense of community. My community is the Gay community. I'm not really part of this community of Waterloo, but I am part of the Gay community...(Evelyn)

4.3.1.3: Summation of a Sense of Community

Sense of community is something that may be satisfied by or felt in a number of differing ways. The findings of this study suggest that while citizens of a politically defined community may use a regional defined label for their community, they often have very

definite perceptions concerning why their home community is better than other sections of the region. The findings have also shown the participants gained a sense of community through belonging to a number of associations or social **networks**.

Based on the findings presented in this section, I would argue that a more meaningful sense of community is gained from involvement in the associations and networks which combine to create a larger community, which in turn is defined by its political or spatial boundaries. This argument is supported by the fact that when participants discussed their sense of community, it was in relation to the many organizations and associations to which they belonged. In addition, it can be argued that the key element of feeling a sense of community, lies in the ability one has to form relationships and bonds with other members of that community. Once again, this is supported by the women identifying sources of community which, as a result of their structure and smaller population base, allow for the formation of more meaningful relationships. The next section further examines the formation of a community of interest and the importance of being able to get to know other members of the community.

4.3.2: Creating Communities Without Borders

The communities of Kitchener and Waterloo were not the only communities to which participants belonged. In this section the perceptions of the participants concerning the existence of a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community will be presented. Other topics to be examined in this section include, findings concerning the development of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community and behavioural manifestations of community including the existence of sub-communities or social networks within the Build community. The final aspect of the formation of a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community to be examined is whether or not participants perceived the continued existence of the community after the Build was completed.

4.3.2.1: Habitat for Humanity Women's Build Community

The findings illustrate that most participants perceived themselves to be part of a community which stemmed from their involvement in the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. For some, the feeling of connectedness or belonging to the community was the result of sharing a common goal with the other participants and through the accomplishment of tasks associated with the completion of the Build. Other participants indicated that the ability to get to know other women involved in the Build was a key element for the existence of the Build community. The first examples illustrate the perceived importance of a shared goal and the accomplishment of tasks to the emergence of a Build community.

Jesse's comment demonstrates the impact of knowing that others were there to work towards attaining the same goal as she was. In this instance, she was reflecting on her experience of arriving at the Build site the first day. At this point she was unsure of what she would be doing and knew no one else participating in the project.

...it was a little bit instantaneous [her sense of belong to the group of women involved in the Build] in that the first morning when I was going I knew that I wouldn't know anybody there and I parked in that Food Basics. And I started to walk across and I saw another women get out of her car with a hard hat and so I knew that she was going to the Build too and as we walked towards the light we fell into step together and we started talking a little bit. And just the realization that we were both there for the first time and that we were both on the Build, I think gave us that sort of sense of having something in common. (Jessie)

In the next example, Elizabeth implied that the community formed not only around the goal of building the home but also around the idea that the group, as women, were out to prove that they could accomplish the goal of building a house.

I felt at one with a lot of people and a lot of the people I would never even have met, around trying to accomplish something... You know there was that sense of togetherness... I still felt that there was this community sense that even though there were these factions [sub-communities or groups within the larger whole] people felt if we couldn't get this done and couldn't get it done decently, we'd never be able to hold our heads up as women. (Elizabeth)

Jane indicated that due to the nature of the Build process, she did not feel a part of the community until the end when almost everyone gathered to celebrate the accomplishment of building the home.

I think I felt it [a sense of community] on, at the breakfast. Because everyday you met somebody different and who was there yesterday, wasn't there today and so it was always different. At breakfast we were all there...[and] we had done a lot. We achieved almost a miracle. (Jane)

For other women the sense of community created through the Build process hinged on the ability to get to know other women involved in the project. In fact, Casey commented that she felt a greater sense of community at the Build than other people experienced in the geographic region because she was able to get to know other participants.

...the freedom to say or do whatever and the camaraderie. I mean you always find like souls. I mean the first day or so you don't know but we all gravitated towards each other, the ones that were able to joust the way we did...Actually there was more sense of community there [the Build] than you would have in a community like Kitchener-Waterloo because we got to know each other. (Casey)

Similarly, Evelyn commented that she felt a group of strangers could not have a sense of community, but that as individuals began to know each other and learn each other's names, the community would start to grow. During her interview she also reflected on how significant it was for her that members of the Build returned to the site after their involvement was completed.

So if you get a group of strangers together you have no sense of community because no one know anybody's name and no one knows anything about one another. But as, as the Build progressed the community just grew bigger and bigger. I mean there were people that had worked...on the house, given the time they said they were, but then proceeded to come by in the evenings to say hello to everybody and just chat it up and maybe not work. They came straight from work dressed in their good clothes but they just stopped by to say hello to everybody...that's community! (Evelyn)

The above examples speak to the notion that a community, specific to the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, was formed through the process of the working towards a common goal and having the ability to get to know other members of the Build. The findings suggest that, for the women involved in this study, community is something that can be created and is something that does not need to be defined by boundaries or

borders. In fact, community, and the sense of belonging associated with community, is something that can be and was created through the process of meeting new people and working towards the accomplishment of a goal that everyone believed in.

The evidence indicates that indeed, most of the women involved in this study perceived that a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community existed, but the questions that need to be addressed now concern how it was formed, whether its existence was reflected in the behaviours of the members, and what happened to this community when the Build ended.

4.3.2.1.1: Development of the Build Community

Literature reviewed in chapter two suggested that there are various stages of development associated with the formation of a community. In case of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, participants may have been directly involved for as few as four days and as long as two weeks, and only two participants involved in the study had any prior volunteer experience with Habitat for Humanity. However, as illustrated above, the women involved in this study perceived themselves to belong to a community formed through the process of working on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. In this section findings related to the stages of development of that community will be presented. The following examples will show that for some, their perception of belonging to a community was almost instantaneous, while for others it developed throughout their involvement. Whether it was a result of getting to know other women on the Build, after they were actually involved with doing something, or as a result of their previous

involvement with Habitat, each of the women felt that community developed in some regard.

There were two individuals who felt an almost instantaneous connection or sense of community. Jesse (as quoted in the previous section) stated that her sense community was almost instantaneous based on her realization that the woman she saw walking towards the site was there for the same purpose. Cornelius also indicated that it was a common goal that made the Builders into a community. She further stated that for her, the existence of that community was felt almost immediately.

A common goal [was what made the Build a community and]...it was probably [felt] within five minutes of being on the site. (Cornelius)

As previously noted, the study participants felt that the ability to get to know other Build participants was a necessary component for the development of a Build community. The following examples illustrate that the process of meeting new people and developing a sense of community is something that occurs at different rates for different women. In the first example Bailey indicated that for her, the first couple of days of the Build were tough, but that by the end of the week she did feel as though she was part of a community.

Overall I think I did [feel part of a community]. Especially near the end of the week. Like the first couple of days were a little rough. There was some neat people and I knew people out on site...(Bailey)

For Janelle, a sense of community was something that she felt by the end of the first night. Janelle indicated that she did not initially feel part of the group, but as people

started to talk to her and she became involved, her sense of belonging to the community developed.

It didn't take very long but it wasn't something I automatically, I stepped on that ground and thought oh yeah, you know, this is it, "we're a group" and you know. Yeah I would say at the end of the first night I felt it though. You know you walk into a new group of people where you don't know anyone. You know, I went there and I didn't have a friend who joined with me. You know, I just went there on my own so that was like, I was really nervous about that and people just automatically like start talking to you and like, "come on over here" and "you can help me with this" and you know. So by the end of the first night it was like, yeah this is definitely a group, community. (Janelle)

For others the sense of belonging to the community was not felt until they became involved with tasks associated with the Build. This situation is best illustrated by Elizabeth, who stated that not only did her sense of community become stronger throughout her experience but she also indicated that it did not start until she was actually doing something.

Well I think it developed the more you worked...I didn't feel a sense of community until I was actually involved in something. (Elizabeth)

Two of the participants did not feel a true sense of community in relation to the Build. One of the women felt that the process of forming a community started but that it did not reach true community.

I think that there maybe the seeds of that [Habitat for Humanity Women's Build Community] planted. I wouldn't go as far as to say that it has been created yet. But I think the seeds of that have been planted. (Ellen)

Mary indicated that she did not feel a real sense of community with other builders, but rather she felt that community in relation to the Habitat for Humanity organizers with whom she had a pre-established relationship.

I never had a real solid sense of community, in the sense that I always felt that I was going and meeting a bunch of friends to do a common activity. I had a tough time reading some of the personalities and sometimes they were harsher than others, and it was difficult to read them because sometimes you would be slapped down and other times, it was “oh how you doing”, type thing...I wasn't there enough and interacting with the same individuals enough to make the connection. So I felt belonging in the sense that I knew the organizers...so I knew the people who were organizing but the players, the volunteers...when I did connect it was great. (Mary)

The perception of a sense of community was something that developed at differing rates for those individuals involved in this study. It was even suggested by one participant that only the beginning stage of community were really achieved, while for another participant community was something that existed as a result of her previous involvement with the organizers of the Build. Overall, the findings suggest that the majority of participants experienced the initial stages of development of community where for the most part relationships are supportive and there is little to no discord.

This idea is further supported by the overall lack of commentary concerning discord or negative experiences. In fact the only person who mentioned a negative experience was Mary, who also indicated that her sense of community came from her involvement with the organization, Habitat for Humanity, and not other Build participants. Other participants indicated that they were not aware of any negative comments or attitudes on the Build, something not supported by Mary's statement or the following journal entry which documented instances where negative or hurtful comments were made.

There was distinct sniping done on Friday (July 14). One woman referred to another woman as scrawny and demanded her attention, “Yo scrawny women with the rake”. Needless to say she was less than impressed and later on actually stated that the woman was “such a bitch”. Another

women was quite sarcastic...at times the comments went beyond the point of being funny to bordering on hurtful. (Observation Journal, July 14, 2000)

4.3.2.1.2: Community Behaviours

In chapter two the notion that a sense of community may have behavioural manifestations was addressed. The work of Glynn (1981) suggests that a number of key behaviours may be an indication of a sense of belonging within a community. These behaviours included: (1) Involvement in community associations; (2) knowledge of community members, (3) existence of social networks, and (4) knowledge of community structures and systems.

The work of Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) suggests that in the latter stages of community, participants will fill a variety of roles which allow them to take on different tasks with the group. Examples of these roles include caregivers, leaders, peace keepers, and critics. Analysis of the data indicated that one of the behavioural manifestations of these roles was the transference of knowledge, shown when one participant moved from the role of co-worker and that of leader. There were other instances of moving between roles, such as individuals who moved from the role of co-worker to that of care-giver.

This section will examine the behaviours and perceptions of the participants related to their roles within the community and the ability of participants to identify key members of the community and structures of the organization. The final indicator of community to be examined deals with the existence of sub-communities or social networks within the larger Build community.

The first behavioural aspect of community to be examined is that of transference of knowledge between community members. In the case of the Build, examination of the participants' experiences show that not only was it common for more experienced participants to share knowledge, but it was also done in a supportive and encouraging manner. In fact throughout the Build, some of the participants were able overcome personal barriers and use tools that they would not have used without the assistance of other Build participants. In this first example, Jessie discusses how the nature of the Build helped her to have the confidence to try something new.

...I think that I felt more able to relate to her [another participant who taught her to use the chop saw] in the sense that I felt that if she could do it I guess I can do it. And she was very supportive about you know, if you want to try it I'll show you what to do. I'm not saying that a man couldn't have taught me. But I think maybe the fact that she was a woman maybe made me think there's no special genetic trait that I need to do this!...I think that was a really good thing about it as a learning environment. Women were really comfortable saying, hey I want to try it and comfortable saying, no I don't think so. (Jessie)

The following examples illustrates how Bailey felt that overall there was an atmosphere which allowed for the exchange of knowledge and skill. Bailey indicated that she felt that the presumed experts working on the Build took the time to teach individuals how to use the various power tools properly.

The majority of the time they were willing to take the time and show you how to do something, properly. Teach you how to drill or whatever you were doing. How to use the saws. (Bailey)

Reflecting on my own experience of working on the Build with study participants, the following observation from my researcher's journal describes the experience of learning from one of the recruited Build experts.

Jenny is a good teacher and did a good job of letting us know that the mistakes that were being made were ones that she made also. (Observation Journal, July 11, 2000).

The next community behaviour to be examined is that of being able to identify key community members and structures. This particular behaviour was manifested by participants through the identification of those community members who were a key part of organizing the Build or leading the actual building of the home. Examination of the participants' responses suggested that individuals with prior experience or knowledge of Habitat for Humanity identified key members of the organization as well as the Build team. However, those individuals whose primary experience with Habitat for Humanity was the Women's Build, tended to identify the members of the Build team who either held a stated position of authority or whose skill level and previous construction experience lead them to a position of leadership. The following quotes illustrate who the participants perceived to be the key individuals in the organization and implementation of the Build process. The first example is from Ellen, who has been involved with Habitat for Humanity for a number of years. The people she identified were the individuals who were key members of the Waterloo affiliate of Habitat for Humanity involved with the Women's Build.

You know I've had lots of dealings with [the Habitat Executive Director] and [the Media Coordinator of Habitat] through our church relations group work and so on. And with [the Building Coordinator of Habitat] and [the Volunteer Coordinator] and so on. (Ellen)

Like the previous example, the next quotation illustrates how an individual with earlier experience with Habitat for Humanity identified Habitat employees and long-time volunteers as the key members of the community.

...I felt belonging in the sense that I knew the organizers. I knew [the volunteer coordinator for Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, a long time Habitat member, and the media co-ordinator for Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region] So I knew the people who were organizing...(Mary)

Other participants, without previous experience with Habitat for Humanity, tended to identify with individuals who were key members of the Build crew, rather than the Habitat organization. These women identified those individuals who held leadership or highly skilled roles within the Build community. In the first example Casey identified the women she perceived to be in key roles within the Build. She qualifies her response by stating that she felt that these were the women that knew what they were doing.

Like sort of the Michelle, Hillary, Hailey crowd, the ones that were doing the framing. I would say that there was a bit of a group there, the ones that knew what they were doing. (Casey)

The first person identified below by Cornelius was the woman who filled the position of Build manager and who was a representative of Habitat for Humanity. The other women identified also filled key roles as a result of their level of knowledge or position of authority on the Build.

Oh I'd say Andrea right away...So Andrea, Hillary, Hailey, uh I guess Sarah... (Cornelius)

Like other participants, Jane identified women who filled roles of leadership, authority, and those roles that required a higher level of skill. She justifies her identification of these women as key members by stating that it was assumed they were the ones who knew what they were doing.

...a tremendous amount of planning that went into that and Sarah, Hailey, Hillary, Andrea, I guess we automatically presumed that they knew what they were doing...(Jane)

Shaffer and Anundsen (1993) identified caregivers as one of the roles existent within a community. The following examples make reference to participants filling the role of caregiver and the importance of that role as perceived by the women. In the first quotation, the participant linked the dependence on others for personal safety as a catalyst for the formation of community. She makes reference to the holding of ladders, a safety precaution that required a member of the Build community to move from the role of builder to that of caregiver.

...like you're depending on someone to save your life. You know you're holding the ladder for me, we have an instant bond because you're making sure that I'm alive. Having dinner at a Zonta meeting you know isn't like that so there was a real sense of community because we absolutely relied on each other. And we relied on each other for our safety. (Casey)

Other examples of this dependence were found in both the observation and photographic journals. The following excerpt from the photographic journal illustrates how a participant may move in and out of the caregiver role.

Pictures 80 and 81 illustrate that an individual may take on a number of different roles within a given day. In this instance Ellen takes time to hold someone's ladder and at another point in the day she is involved with the siding crew. (Photographic Journal, July 6, 2000)

The next excerpt is from the observation journal and documents how, as a participant observer, my role often became that of ladder holder. At the time I attributed the holding of ladders as something which resulted from my sense of safety and responsibility, but in

retrospect it was more a case of moving in and out of the role of caregiver within the community.

I'm also finding that my sense of safety, risk management, and responsibility often results in me holding ladders instead of doing the actual work! (Observation Journal, July 5, 2000)

The final behavioural aspect of community examined in this section suggests that sub-communities or social networks existed within the larger community. These networks or sub-communities fit into two different categories, those that existed before the Build and those that formed during the Build process.

Following is support for the notion that a communities of interest can be segmented into sub-communities or groups, not unlike the way a geographic community can be segmented into neighbourhoods. This first section includes examples of the sub-communities identifiable by visual indicators and the second section will examine the identification of these sub-groups based on task completion and skill level.

When participants were asked if any sub-communities existed within the larger Build community, most tended to indicate that there were those that existed prior to the build, such as the Home Depot employees, Zonta members, members of the Lesbian community, and those who had had previous involvement with the Habitat for Humanity organization. These sub-communities were identifiable in part because of visual indicators present during the build. For example, as noted below, builders who worked for Home Depot had different t-shirts and bandannas to wear on the build, Zonta members had scarves with their logo on them, and Habitat for Humanity members who

had more knowledge about how the Build worked, also wore t-shirts and other items indicating involvement in previous builds.

As Bailey pointed out, the use of unique clothing by Home Depot employees and Zonta members help to create the perception of sub-communities within the larger Build community.

You know they (Home Depot Employees) had their own t-shirts, their own bandanna and stuff. They were definitely their own little group...I think there was still the little groups. You had your Home Depot group and you had your Zonta group and then you had the rest of us. (Bailey)

The following comment is from a Zonta member who acknowledged that the use of the scarves was to identify members of their organization in an attempt to increase awareness about the organization. Cornelius also suggested that their attempt was subtle implying that the use of a completely different t-shirt by Home Depot employees was less than subtle.

...they (Home Depot Employees) had their own t-shirts on. As Zontians we had the little scarves on. Which was subtle but it was still, we were trying to get a little promo for the club. To raise our profile and we were trying to do it in a way that didn't take away from the build. (Cornelius)

The final example illustrates the use of a less visible indicators in the identification of another pre-existing community. In this instance the presence of Gay pride emblems on vehicles was utilized in the identification of other members of the Lesbian community.

...I mean so we kind of watched cars pull in and those that had pride signs on them we watched to see who got out of them. But I mean that is just curiosity and wanting to know, for our community [lesbian community] who was there. (Evelyn)

For others the sub-groups or communities were identifiable through the tasks or jobs that seemingly drew specific types of people. Some of these participants indicated that they did not see the existence of a Home Depot group, but rather found divisions created by skill level. These observations suggest then segmentation by skill utilized on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build which also creates sub-communities resembling the segmentation of a geographic community into neighbourhoods.

Jessie reflected on the bond she established with the women who worked together on the “paint crew”. This particular group spent most of week one off-site and only joined the main group for morning devotions and lunch.

...as soon as I started working on the paint crew. You know within an hour or so of getting there, then yeah immediately I felt a part of. You know we had a common goal that we could accomplish... Yeah it was [a pretty cohesive group]. (Jessie)

This example below also illustrates how some participants did not notice the existence of pre-existing communities but rather identified the existence of sub-groups based on the various jobs groups of women worked on.

The electricians groups seemed to be, that sort of group seemed to be there. Then there were pods of women who always worked together. I'm just trying to think, there were three groups that I saw. The electricians, trades, and there was also a groupie group around Andrea and Sarah all the time...I did not notice a Home Depot group, I didn't seem to notice that. (Mickey)

The existence of a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community is something that the majority of the women involved in this study believed in. Their behaviour as described by the examples above would suggest, based on the proposed behavioural manifestations

of community (Glynn, 1981; Shaffer & Anundsen, 1993), that these women were in fact in a community of some form. The findings show that the participants were able to move between community roles, communicate in an open and supportive manner, and it was also shown that participants were aware of not only those individuals who were responsible for the organization or implementation of the Build, but also of those individuals who, by virtue of their skills, became important members of the Build team.

The existence of social networks adds additional support to the women's perception that a community, specific to the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, was formed. These networks, whether they existed prior to the Build or were formed during the Build, added to the complexity and diversity of the Build experience and the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community. The next question to be addressed deals with women's perception of what happened to their community when the Build was completed.

4.3.2.1.3: Continuation of the Build Community

For most individuals the dedication of the home on July 15, 2000 signalled the end of their involvement with the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. A number of the individuals involved in this study indicated that they intended to stay involved with Habitat for Humanity but also acknowledged that a large part of this experience was the women-only aspect (which will be discussed in Section 4.5). So the question put forth to the participants asked whether they felt the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community still existed or if it ended with the completion of the Build.

There were two thoughts concerning the continuation of the Build community; (1) that the community was dormant and waiting to be resurrected, and (2) the community ended with the experience. The initial examples below illustrate the perception that the community still existed but was dormant and waiting to be called upon. In the first example Casey suggested that it was a community waiting to re-assert itself but she also indicated that the community would not include some of its members as they lived out of town.

No I think it [the Build community] is waiting. I think if there was another All Women's Build called tomorrow you would get a ton of those same people. Maybe not as many of the out of towners but you would get a ton of the local people again. So I think that we are a community that's waiting to re-assert itself. (Casey)

Evelyn also felt that the community was laying dormant, waiting for someone or something to mobilize it. She suggested that the community needed someone who would maintain the connection but indicated that it could be around something other than another Build. She presents the idea that the community could gather for a reunion but also felt that the community would become strong again if called upon to participate in another All Women's Build.

I think it still exists but I think it needs someone to hold it together. I think somebody needs to say, two months from now we are going to have reunion...I think called upon it would rally again. I know that for a fact almost. That is if they suggested another All Women's Build, you're gonna see an awful lot of women from this Build flood in there and want to be part of it...I think the community is still there just scattered but called upon we would in fact become a very strong community again. (Evelyn)

There are others who view the Build community as something that ended with the completion of the home. In one of the examples below, the participant stated that she

expected to see a number of members from the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community become part of a Habitat for Humanity community. However, she further stated that the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community was not something that she perceived as an on-going community which existed outside of the actual Build as she did not have a lot in common with the majority of the participants.

What I do see happening from that is that there will be a Habitat community in that at the next women Build I would expect to see some of them...but as a community that I would continue, on a continuing basis I would say "no", because by and large we don't have the same interests.
(Mickey)

The final example illustrates Elizabeth's perceptions concerning a young woman who spent the majority of the dedication ceremony in tears. Elizabeth had commented that it was almost painful to watch the other woman as so much emotion seemed to be pouring out her. The quotation below is what she perceived to be the cause of the woman's emotional distress.

You know that young woman? She's a very small young woman who said, 'give us a W, give us and O'. There was such anxiety coming out of her. Such emotion coming out of that youngster that it was almost painful. It was almost painful and I kept thinking, oh honey what's up, you know... She was losing her community I think, because it was the end of the Build.
(Elizabeth)

The findings show that for some individuals the continuation of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community was something that they perceived to be a possibility. Others felt that the community could be represented at another Habitat for Humanity Build but that as community itself, it had really ended. The findings of this study, combined with the fact that the population of the community was somewhat transient or relied on other

formalized organizations for recruitment, suggest that in its original form, the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community no longer exists. However, as suggested by Casey and Evelyn, there could be a certain segment of the population which would re-assert itself in some form at other Habitat for Humanity Builds, particularly since a larger group of women have now been introduced to this activity. As well, as Mickey suggested it is possible that some of these individuals will identify with the Habitat for Humanity community, particularly having been part of this unique experience of the first Canadian Habitat for Humanity Women's Build.

4.3.2.1.4: Summation of Thoughts Concerning a Build Community

The findings indicated that community was created within the experience of the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. This community was formed by a heterogeneous population of women from the local geographic region, the Province of Ontario, and the rest of the Nation. The findings further suggest that this group of women were able to form community as a result of having a tangible common goal, working together towards that goal, and because there was an opportunity develop social networks and affiliation between members of the group.

It was also shown that the behaviours of the women supported their belief in the existence of a Build community. The display of open communication, movement between community roles, and knowledge of community structures and key members, supported the existence of a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community. A

community that for some is gone, and for others lays dormant, waiting to be called upon again.

The reality of this community is that it formed over a short period of time, during a highly emotional and exciting experience. The majority of the study participants perceived their experience to be nothing but positive and for some it turned out to be a pinnacle life experience. Based on the previously reviewed work of Peck (1993) and Shaffer and Anundsen (1993), it can be argued that this community was in the middle to latter phases of community formation. I would further argue that the community that was formed, during this period of high accomplishment and emotion, while being a true community to the women at the time, would have progressed to another stage of community had the project been conducted over a greater period of time. Additional time would have provided a greater opportunity for participants to develop deeper relationships, and stronger social networks that persisted beyond the scope of the Build experience.

Another aspect of the formation of community reviewed previously is the notion that a community either runs its course and disbands, or evolves into something new. Based on the findings of this study I would argue that a community formed around a specific activity with a finite start and end date, ceases to exist in the same form at the end of that activity. In the case of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community, it is possible if not probable that the same women could be gathered to participate on another Build. However, what is impossible to recreate are the levels of accomplishment and emotion

present as a result of the fact that this was the first ever All Women Build held by Habitat for Humanity in Canada. Having stated this however, I would argue that those sub-communities that existed within the Build – Home Depot, Zonta, Lesbian Community – those which formed based on something other than an activity within the Build – Habitat for Humanity – and the social networks which form around community involvement were actually strengthened as a result of the bonds formed by their members involved in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build.

4.3.3: Community Involvement

The involvement of participants in their various communities ranged from being members of service organizations, board and committee members for charitable and public service groups, organizing and planning special events within the community, to being front line volunteers in activities such as the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. This section will examine some of the benefits of community involvement identified by participants, some of their motivations for participating in these communities, and finally it will examine community involvement as a site for leisure.

4.3.3.1: Identified Benefits

Participants' perceived that there were both community and personal benefits associated with being involved in their communities. The following quotations illustrate their perceptions of personal benefits of being involved.

The first examples speak to the fact that the participants perceived that personal betterment resulted from their community involvement. In the quotation below, Casey reflected on what she felt were some of the benefits of being involved with the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build.

...it's good for me because I am learning something and I am bettering myself by doing that [working on the Build]. (Casey)

Like Casey, Mickey also identified personal growth as a benefit of involvement. In her case she expected to learn tangible skills from her Build experience and while she did acquire new skills related to home construction, it was the lessons related to spirituality and community that were more pronounced for her.

I thought that I was going to learn how to hang a door, lay carpet, how to do this, how to do that and how to do the other thing. But I think that I learned more spiritual stuff and more community stuff. (Mickey)

Another benefit of involvement as described by Ellen, is the ability to become part of experiences which add meaning to one's life. In this instance the chance to be involved in an organization that improves the lives of others provided Ellen with a meaningful and fulfilling experience.

...So it is very, very deeply satisfying to me to be part of something that um, provides kids with a stable home...Habitat fits really well with that whole philosophy of life. It gives great meaning to life. It depends, I guess a lot of it comes down to, for me when I really thought about this, as I get older umm, I find it becomes more and more important for my life to be meaningful. (Ellen)

The final example of personal benefits gained through involvement in community suggests that it is through community involvement that a sense of connection to political community is gained. In this case the participant had recently moved to the City of

Kitchener and as a result of her involvement in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, she felt a stronger connection to the City. She also identified personal growth, enjoyment, and the social nature of the experience as other benefits of involvement.

More connected. I feel like I know more of what's going on in the City. I don't know if all of that came from that one experience though but that was definitely a big part of it...I think I learned new skills, for sure. Which was great, that was what I wanted out of it too, like that was fun. Getting to meet people and you know from different walks of life and participating in a community with a community organization that was important. And just having a good time. Like having fun and relaxing. (Janelle)

Other benefits that participants identified related to those which would be felt by the communities in which they were involved. A number of the following examples illustrate what the participants perceived to be the benefits of Habitat for Humanity and the Women's Build to Kitchener and the Regional area. In this first example the participant indicated that it was through community involvement and by giving of one's self that people are able to affect the lives of others.

...I can do something about my own community, where I live here in Waterloo. So just by giving my two cents worth and everyone else gives their two cents worth, we can make a lot of things happen. We can make a lot of changes. We can affect somebody's life. (Jane)

Other participants suggested that through involvement in the community people are able to create a more cohesive community and increase people's sense of belonging, which in turn helps to create a more secure and safe community with citizens less likely to lash-out or commit criminal acts. The quotation below illustrates the perception that through community involvement there can also be a more equitable distribution of resources which in turn aids in creating a more cohesive community.

If all members of your community are safe, they're less likely to be scared, and prone to violence or anything of a lashing out nature. So um just the fact that you're building housing is promoting a more cohesive community because the discerning between the haves and have nots will lessen. And the goods will be divided a little more even. (Mary)

Similar to the example above, the next quotation suggests that a positive affect of community involvement in an increase in one's sense of belonging to a community.

Mickey extended this thought and stated that she felt a good sense of community would lower the crime rate.

The positive issues [of community involvement] are good sense of belonging, um makes you feel good, community...And I think a good sense of community also lowers the crime rate. (Mickey)

The participants of this study indicated that the benefits of community involvement are felt by the person involved, those receiving the assistance, and by the larger community as a whole. The existence of identifiable personal benefits is significant as it allows for the recruitment of volunteers based on their desire to achieve the perceived benefit. The next section will examine another aspect of community involvement which is significant to planners and organizers – the motivations of participants.

4.3.3.2: Motivations for Involvement

Just as participants felt that there were various benefits to being involved, there were numerous factors that prompted their involvement. There are a number of general categories in which these identified motives can be organized, including: (1) giving back to the community, (2) a sense of personal responsibility, (3) a desire to help others and the feelings that evoked, and lastly (4) wanting to belong either to the geographic

community or to a community of interest. The following paragraphs and supporting quotations will examine these categories of motivation.

The first motivation to be examined is the notion that participants were involved in their communities to give back to their community or to members of their community. Some of the individuals talk specifically about their involvement with the Habitat for Humanity Build, while others speak about their involvement in other community activities.

Cornelius indicated that her desire to give back to a specific community at least in part motivated her participation in a community service organization.

...[Being involved in Zonta fulfills] a need to help the sisterhood in the area. A need to, a way to help. Give back. (Cornelius)

Also reflecting on her involvement in the community service organization Zonta,

Elizabeth suggested that in part her desire to belong to the Kitchener-Waterloo affiliate of the organization resulted from her desire to serve her own community.

...I said, is there a Zonta group in Kitchener-Waterloo? Could I join there rather than Hamilton...Because it was my only chance to serve my own community...[Community involvement is] very, very important because I live here. Other people live here too but I live here and if I want it to be better, like building the house, if I want it to be better I'd rather, give somebody a chance to do better...I'd rather have a community where that sort of thing happens. (Elizabeth)

Two of the participants indicated that they felt a need to be involved in their community because their families had been the recipients of help from other community members and organizations. That Ellen's family needed assistance when she was a child had a profound effect on many aspects of her life, including her commitment to community

work. As a result of her childhood experience, she was committed to being involved in her community.

[Community involvement is]...very important for me for a couple of reasons. Umm one is that, one of the reasons that I find it very compelling is that, and I get so much satisfaction from it, is um, my own family background. I came from a family that needed a lot of help...so I know first hand what it's like to umm, need the support of the community.
(Ellen)

Jesse was at a stage of life that was not conducive to a lot of community involvement but the need for therapeutic services for one of her children had impacted on how she viewed community involvement and on the fact that she intended to become more involved when her daily life allowed it.

...maybe next time it won't be a house that I need built but it will be some other service from the community that will be there for me. Sort of like putting back in to the pot. If I were to use services for Christopher, meaning speech therapy and stuff, um I think that's when we first started thinking about community service...And then we realized the value of the service that we were getting for nothing because it was a community services. So I guess that's, maybe not really consciously in my mind but maybe in the back of my mind, doing the Habitat build was ok, I'm doing something of value. If they were paying somebody to do what I did, how much would that have cost? Well, that's what we gave back. (Jessie)

Closely related to the notion of giving back to the community is the idea that participants were motivated to become involved in their communities because they felt a sense of responsibility. Examination of the participants' responses suggested that this responsibility was often the result of the participants perceiving themselves to be blessed in their accomplishments and overall lives. As result they felt that it was their responsibility to give to those who had not been as blessed in life. Casey stated that she believed in sharing the blessing that she has received.

...I feel very strongly that we have been incredibly blessed. I'm incredibly blessed and I think that you share your blessings. I've been blessed with brains. I've been blessed with energy. I've been blessed with financial security... comparatively speaking. Why wouldn't I share of myself and of my resources? (Casey)

Similarly, Mary indicated that she perceived herself to have been blessed in the life that she had led. She also felt that she was moved to give back and attempt to make things better than before.

Probably because I have been extremely fortunate in life. Extremely fortunate. Um, I, my brain works, my body does what I tell it to, I've been given opportunities to make a good living. There's really not a lot that has gone tragically wrong in my life, my father's death notwithstanding, but aside from that um, I have got a disproportionate amount of the world's gifts and goods. And it behoves me in any way I can to leave things better. I mean if somebody like myself can't further the cause of humanity and make things right how can we expect people who are disadvantaged or have less, to do more. So I would think that it should be a given that I would take every opportunity to leave things happier than when I arrived. (Mary)

The desire to help others is the next motivator to be discussed. This particular category consists of two general themes of responses. The first is the desire to spend one's time in a meaningful way while helping others and the second involves the way helping others made the participants feel. This first example illustrates how Casey made the decision that her time would be better spent in an activity that provided help to those in need.

...in my early years I was into politics in a huge way and was a president of a political party, then I went to Heart and Stroke. Because I said if I'm going to donate this much time and energy to something, I'm going to do it to raise money for a good cause. (Casey)

Cornelius suggested that the opportunity to help others achieve their potential was meaningful and a way to repay those who had helped her.

...I look back to those who were mentors for me, so if I can act, if somehow I can act as a mentor, go for it! Because we all can learn from each other and nobody is better than anybody else. We all have strengths and we all have weaknesses and we all, most of us, lack confidence when it gets right down to it. So to be able to help somebody to accomplish their self-esteem and to help them to be the best that they can be, is what it is all about. (Cornelius)

Reflecting on what makes a person's life meaningful, Jesse also suggested that it is those times when one is able to help others. In this particular case she was contrasting her community involvement with the accomplishments of being a technical writer.

I think when you look at what's important in life, you know that adage you never look back and say oh gee I wish I'd spent more time at the office. I think the things that make you feel good about yourself and your life are when you see you've done something positive that has benefited other people. (Jessie)

Another motivation for the participants new to the region was the desire to become part of the community. In the first instance, Janelle discussed her desire to become part of the community and the need to make the effort to belong so that she did not simply return to her home community every chance she got.

I think it's because I want to make sure I get my roots here. Because it would be easy for me, like [home community] is only two hours away, I could still, like if I wanted, go home every weekend and still hang on to that but I really wanted to get involved in this community and make this my home. (Janelle)

Evelyn indicated that community cannot exist without people making the effort to become involved. She also stated that involvement was a very important aspect of her belonging to the Gay community.

I mean you don't get involved in the community, there is no community...I am part of the Gay community and that is really important in our community. If you don't get involved and stay involved, then the

community will disappear... You have to stay involved to make it work.
(Evelyn)

The findings in this section have illustrated that the women were motivated to become involved in the community for a number of different reasons. Many of these motives are seemingly linked to the caring nature of women and the caring roles that women tend to fill in society. It was also found that a desire to be part of the a community, whether it be spatial, political, or of emotional or psychological interest, also motivated some of the women to become involved in the community. The next section will examine another aspect of community involvement, specifically the link between involvement in the community and leisure.

4.3.3.3: Community Involvement & Leisure

The participants in this study were all involved in a community event that for some was a leisure activity and for others was not. Some of these same women have been involved in other community projects and organizations, some of which were leisure, some were not, and some were a hybrid between a leisure activity and giving back to the community.

Further it was suggested by some participants that while the entire community involvement experience may not have been one of leisure, there were aspects of leisure within the experience. Comments below are from participants who felt that their community involvement contained aspects that were leisure-like, but that it was not a completely leisure-like experience.

For instance, Casey stated that certain aspects of the experience were more like work and were not congruent with her views of leisure; however, she also indicates that certain aspects of the experience were like leisure for her.

Would I choose to go out and be sweaty and dirty and filthy and have a sore back for three weeks? Probably not but I wouldn't give up a minute of it. So, and if I do it again, and I will do it again, um it is giving back to the community. It's a combination of leisure and community, because it is just so different from what I do on a daily basis. And while it's not solitude it's good for me because I am learning something and I am bettering myself by doing that. So it would be sort of a, a cross pollination.
(Casey)

Similarly, Elizabeth perceived that there were work-like aspects to her involvement with Zonta but also felt that her involvement was energizing and something she considered to be leisure.

Yes [I consider Zonta leisure] and yet we work with it. But I think leisure, more leisure than work. It's a change. It's an energizer. I think that's what it really is. (Elizabeth)

The following excerpts are examples from those individuals who felt that their community involvement was a leisure experience. Some of these examples are directly related to the Build experience which will be examined in more depth in section 4.4.3. The first example illustrates Cornelius's perspective on the experience of being part of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. For her it was something that was enjoyable and meaningful.

The whole [build] was a major play experience so, sure it was all leisure really. It's a labour of love. To help someone um, I choke up when I talk about it. If you are the lady we built the house for...Can you imagine what it's like to have fifty to sixty people show up to build something for you?
(Cornelius)

The example below illustrates the importance of the social aspect of community involvement. In this instance, Bailey identified another aspect of the experience (being good for business), but indicated that a key element of her experience was the ability to meet and socialize with other people.

So business wise [community involvement] helps. It's a lot of fun doing it. Again you get to meet all these other people that are out there doing this kind of thing. For me it's more of a social thing. (Bailey)

One participant did not perceive her community involvement as leisure in any way. Mary explained that she did not enjoy activities which occurred on a scheduled basis. Further she identified her religious beliefs and up-bringing as an influence on her perception that community involvement and leisure were completely separate entities. That relationship will be discussed later in this chapter. Below is her view on her involvement in the community.

Any of my organized activities is motivated by my trying to give back, nothing that is flat out enjoyable. I don't find anything, if it is a date and a time, and it could be golf, I will slightly resent the fact that I will have to be someplace a certain time. (Mary)

This section has examined the potential for community involvement to be the site of leisure or leisure-like experiences. The findings have shown that opportunities for community involvement may not be wholly leisure-like. However, as a result of the experiences had within the context of community involvement and the social nature of those experiences, there are some aspects of community involvement that are leisure-like. The data also show that there are some community involvement experiences which are perceived to be wholly leisure. In these cases the participants indicated that enjoyment and socialization were keys to their perception of leisure.

4.3.3.4: Summation of Community Involvement

The findings considered in this section have illustrated that community involvement is something that study participants viewed as an important aspect of life. They were able to identify both personal and societal benefits of their involvement, suggesting that their involvement had both personal and societal value. The perception that their involvement in the community has social and economic value may be another aspect of the experience which motivates the women to become involved.

The data related to motivations for community involvement suggest that the caring roles that women are socialized to fill, influence all aspects of their lives. In a number of cases the women indicated that they became involved to help others in the community and/or to share the blessing they have received in life. Other identified motivations, such as the desire for activities which are meaningful and to give back to the community, are also linked to the women's role as caregivers. The importance of these findings is related to the ability of community organizations and leisure program planners to provide meaningful opportunities for women to become involved in the community. Also important is the notion that women can be recruited to volunteer through promoting opportunities based on the care giving aspect of them.

The final aspect of community involvement examined in this section dealt with the notion that opportunities for involvement may also provide the potential site for leisure or leisure-like experiences. The data indicated that there were definitely aspects of the

community involvement experience that were leisure-like and that involvement in community organizations often resulted in the experience of leisure. Specifically, participants found that the social aspect of their involvement was leisure-like and that through their involvement they often participated in activities or events which they considered to be leisure. That women can experience leisure while serving their community is important as it fulfills the desire of many of the women to have leisure experiences which are more meaningful. In the case of community involvement, the women were able to experience something enjoyable and social, while also satisfying their desire to give back to the community, help others, and share the blessing they had received in life. The role of leisure and its many dimensions in the lives of women will be examined further in the next section.

4.4: Leisure

As the literature reviewed in chapter two illustrated, leisure is a concept that has historically been defined using a number of different factors. The participants in this study indicated that they each had a personal way of determining what was leisure and what was not. Some of their views followed along traditional definitions of time, activity, and the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure. Others had more personal definitions or were in agreement with thoughts that suggest leisure is more appropriately examined by the individual experience (Henderson, 1990).

After examining how the women viewed leisure, it became evident that there were wide and diverse influences affecting their leisure, ranging from life stage and the nature of

their work to personal history and beliefs. Those elements of life which affected the leisure choices of the participants will be examined later in this section. Finally the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build as a site of leisure will be examined. Perhaps predictably the Build was thought of as a leisure activity by some and not by others.

4.4.1: Defining Leisure

As noted above, the women involved in this study had differing ways of defining leisure. In fact, some women had multiple influences or aspects which determined for them what a leisure experience was. The predominant definitions that emerged included leisure as time, leisure as something that is not work, leisure as an experience or outcome, and leisure as a freely chosen activity. Examples of each of these definitions of leisure are provided below.

These first examples are from individuals who used time as a way of defining what constitutes leisure. In most cases these women also used other means of defining leisure but consistently referred to their 'leisure time'. This phrase is used in such a way as to suggest that the women are defining their leisure time as the free-time remaining after all of the obligatory duties are completed.

Well it [community involvement] takes up my leisure time. (Casey)

So this is something I do in my leisure time. (Ellen)

Yup [I consider working in the community on a volunteer basis leisure] because it is in your spare time...(Jane)

The next examples illustrate how some participants tended to view leisure in relation to work. In these cases it is suggested that if it is not work, then it is leisure.

No the definition of leisure, we're back to that in that it can be anything that can get you away from work. Right? (Cornelius)

Well of course it's [leisure], yeah, it's not work. (Jane)

It was just, it wasn't like work, it was just fun. (Janelle)

The notion that leisure is defined by the experience, or by the desired outcomes of the experience, was another way that women involved in this study defined leisure. The first example from Elizabeth, clearly illustrates of how the relationship between work and leisure can be problematic and how she, while using the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure as a defining factor, suggested that leisure is an experience.

You see I think work has leisure aspects. I don't see them as two sides of a coin. They are in fact on a continuum and the continuum may be even very short where I'm concerned because everything seems to flow. (Elizabeth)

Like the example above, the next quotation reveals that despite the fact that the activity Casey described occurred in her leisure time and the fact that it was not work, it still was not leisure.

No. Well it was leisure in that it wasn't work from home and it wasn't work from the office. So it was, in the end it wasn't leisure. I mean I was exhausted but it was in my leisure time. So it was in the time that I would have had to go camping or whatever um, it was in there. (Casey)

Some participants defined leisure as free choice and linked this idea to their involvement with the Build. For instance, Ellen stated that for her the Build was leisure at least in part because she was there by choice. Janelle also suggested that community involvement and

volunteering were leisure, not only because they occurred in her spare time but also that it was her choice to become involved.

...if we're defining leisure as, number one it was a choice, ok. Free choice, I did not have to go and work on the build. (Ellen)

Yes [I consider it leisure] because it is in your spare time and it's a choice, so yeah. (Janelle)

Some participants, even those who had previously used traditional definitions of leisure, had very defined ideas of what a leisure experience was for them. These examples support Henderson's (1990) contention that leisure is most appropriately defined by the individual's experience.

To me leisure, my initial feeling for leisure is sport. And so I want to have fun doing something...I define leisure as play. So I would go from a physical stand point. So I look for exercise and a little bit of mental challenge. (Cornelius)

Leisure is to me something where I sit down with my feet up and read a book or swim or do something that is easy for me. Something that is difficult for me I consider work. (Elizabeth)

I think that leisure is a very selfish, self indulgent thing to do...I do consider it a sort of thing to do and I guess that's how I do define leisure as taking the phone off the hook and reading something without being disturbed, eating something that is just wonderful and has absolutely no redeeming features at all. I consider those great leisure activities. (Mary)

The above examples illustrate how there are a multitude of ways in which the women involved in this study view leisure. As well, individual participants had many different ways of determining what defined their own leisure.

4.4.1.1: Defining Conclusions

The women in this study used traditional defining characteristics such as time and work as well non-traditional characteristics such as personal experience and desired outcomes, to describe the role of leisure in their lives. The data illustrated that the women used the concept of “free-time” as a means of indicating when they were able to participate in leisure activities. In other instances, the women used the concept of “work” to provide a contrasting activity against which leisure was defined. Previously reviewed literature has shown that the use of time and work as defining characteristics can be problematic (Henderson, 1990; Dattilo, Dattilo, Samdahl & Kleiber, 1994). The data of this study further support this notion in that all things that were not work were not necessarily regarded as leisure and that all things that occur in “leisure-time” are not in fact leisure. The women in this study had very personal, self-defined views of what constituted leisure. Based on these findings, it can be argued that the use of time and work as descriptive or defining terms for leisure are the result of socially constructed definitions, rather than meaningful defining characteristics of leisure.

The findings of this study also illustrated that for some participants, the notion of “free-choice” was something that was an important defining factor of leisure. Thus, the findings of this study suggest that leisure, for the study participants, is most meaningfully defined by their choice to participate in something that will provide the desired outcomes or experience. This distinction is significant in that women’s personal definitions of leisure are one of the many things which influence the leisure choices they make. Other influences on the leisure of the study participants are examined in the next section.

4.4.2: Influences on Leisure

There are many different things that influence the leisure choices that one makes and the amount and quality of leisure one is able to experience. In the following sections two different aspects of influence will be examined; the first will relate the various facets of the women's lives that impact on their leisure choices. For example, the effects of life stage and aging, family, personal identity and self-confidence, and economic status will be explored. The second aspect of influence relates to how the desire for specific outcomes impacted on their leisure choices; for instance, how some participants participated in activities which provided them an opportunity to stay physically fit, or compensate for other aspects of their lives.

The influences discussed below are ones that the participants identified as affecting their leisure choices and participation at differing stages of their lives. As such, it should be noted that the women may not be currently influenced by all of these identified situations.

4.4.2.1: External Influences

The first leisure influences to be examined in this section are those that constrained or limited participants' choices, the extent of their involvement, or impacted on the potential enjoyment of their leisure experiences. The women in this study identified the following as factors which functioned as constraints to their current and past leisure choices: (1) finances, (2) personal identity and self-confidence, and (3) their value based particularly as related to the incorporation of an ethic of care.

4.4.2.1.1: Finances

The first factor to be examined is the impact of finances on leisure choices. Two of the participants indicated that financial resources were a limiting factor in their pursuit of leisure. The first individual acknowledged that increased financial resources would not only allow her to travel more but would also allow her to pursue other activities in which she currently cannot participate at the level which she would like. The other participant mentioned finances as a constraint to her leisure when she had small children at home.

I'm going to say monetary because if I had unlimited funds I would do a lot more travelling than I do now. Travelling, I can't take travelling as leisure because I don't get to do as much of it as I would like to. I would probably golf more if I had unlimited resources as well. (Casey)

...I just didn't have the time to do these things or the money. I mean, you're raising four kids, you don't have the money. (Evelyn)

4.4.2.1.2: Personal Identity & Self-Confidence

The next constraining influence to be discussed is that of personal identity and self-confidence. The women who noted these constraints indicated that either something about their personal identity or the perceptions of others about their identity constrained their leisure participation. For others their confidence level negatively impacted on their participation.

Evelyn indicated that through the process of becoming a wife and mother others perceptions about her changed and that it was through the process of accepting her own sexuality that she was able to reassert her own personally defined identity.

...when I was at home there were certain standards and mom just didn't play hockey...When I came out and really started pursuing who I was, I really didn't care what the standards were because I knew what I wanted to do with my life. I mean I spent forty-six years of my life being someone that I wasn't and no one was holding me back any more...I always played hockey when I was a kid. Just shinny with my brothers. I played football with my brothers. I played baseball with my brothers and my male friends. When a dance came up I was the last one to get asked, and I was only because "Evelyn is my buddy, she's coming along". I was a buddy to the guys. And I lost all that when I got married. I became the wife of Jim, the mother of Darcy, Erin, Jamie, and Matt. I lost my identity. I lost who I was. So branching out was my coming out, not only my sexuality, but coming out to be who I am as a woman, as a person. (Evelyn)

Mickey also discussed how an aspect of her personal identity limited her, not because of her own perceptions, but due to the perceptions of those around her.

...I think I mentioned it, this is as close to missionary work as I would ever get with the Mennonite Church. They are certainly not going to send a lesbian to do volunteer service in an orphanage in case I'm there to recruit, recruit, recruit. (Mickey)

The lack of confidence in one's skills or personal ability was another constraint that emerged during this study. In these cases the participants' personal lack of confidence either stopped them from participating because they put someone with perceived greater skill ahead of themselves, or it simply prevented them from attempting some of the activities.

Then my husband started to work on the Builds. When our kids were old enough that it became possible for one of us to be away for a week or so to work on the Builds. He always went because he was more skilled than I. (Ellen)

I'm a grunt person. I'll be gofer, and dig stuff, and pile stuff and lay sod but I don't see me as swinging a hammer or saw or...I don't and that may be a mental block on my part. (Cornelius)

When asked if there was any aspect of the build that was not enjoyable, Cornelius went on to indicate that lack of confidence in her own skill level had impacted the experience.

I guess going into it because I didn't see myself as mechanically inclined. I did not have a lot of confidence in my ability to do stuff and so just doing clean up and you know stacking stuff and digging and whatever. I didn't see myself as having a lot of physical dexterity. So there were some jobs that intimidated me, like I would not have had the confidence to do what Elizabeth did. So I, not that I was a perimeter worker but in a way I was. So um that was, knowing where I could fit in where I would not embarrass myself and create problems kind of thing. (Cornelius)

4.4.2.1.3: Ethic of Care

Literature reviewed in chapter two showed that women are socialized to fill care-giving roles in society and that the role of caregiver can act as a constraint to their leisure choices and experiences. The examples below illustrate instances when the participants indicated that their role as caregiver impacted on their leisure. The influence of being the caregiver ranged from affecting vacation planning to consuming a woman's entire existence. Many of the women indicated that when their children were younger they had little to no leisure time and that their energies were focused on the care of their children. Others indicated that caring for others in their lives, for example husbands and aging parents, had also influenced their leisure choices.

The following examples illustrate how the role of caregiver within the family impacted on the availability of time for the participants to fulfill their own leisure needs. In these cases the women indicated that they had little to no time or leisure, of their own.

So I, I wouldn't have a lot of what I would call down time, just for myself. Umm, if I'm not teaching or not doing preparation or planning or reporting for school. Umm I'm usually involved with something with [my sons]. (Ellen)

So yeah, when I was raising my kids my activities were virtually non-existent...when you've got little kids, they're dependent on you. You're responsible for them...I think I was very much consumed with pleasing my husband and my kids so there was very little time for me. (Jane)

...like I said being home full time with the kids it is so twenty-four [hours a day], seven [days a week]. I mean you just go. You get up early, because if my husband goes to work late, well so do I! You know because by the end of the day we're too tired to have hobbies and stuff like that...You know I tried joining a health club and I just ended up not going . And I signed up for wood working once, a couple of years ago and that didn't work. You know I went to the first couple of classes then Christopher was sick and this happened and that happened and I didn't go. So um, I found that it's much easier to call somebody to go out for an evening when you have a chance rather than try to plan anything at this stage of my life. (Jessie)

Other participants acknowledged that as their children aged they were able to become involved in leisure pursuits to a greater extent.

My time was spent, leisure time, spent outside watching the kids play. Um I did things with the kids. Go to the park, we went camping as a family...Oh yeah [we did family stuff]. I never did anything on my own. Not until my kids were, well old enough to look after themselves and then I started. (Evelyn)

Oh no I have much more leisure now in that I can plan my own things. When you have children you have no leisure time. There is no leisure time except maybe, midnight...I don't think that your time is your own with children. (Elizabeth)

My children are grown and so that I don't have them to care for. I have this opportunity to do things that I've always dreamed of doing...(Mickey)

As previously suggested, leisure influences include all aspects of life, past and present, which in some way affect the leisure decisions of an individual. For the women in this study these influences ranged from family dynamics, childhood, and religious beliefs, to compensating for work, the need for solitude, and health concerns.

4.4.2.1.4: Family, Religion, & Up-Bringing

The examples below illustrate the impact of parents and up-bringing on the leisure choices of the participants.

Uh I don't know [why I never played team sports]. I think, small town, only kid, shy, uh we ran a family business. I mean, your family was in business so you have a sheltered existence in that Dad wasn't going away working for someone else. For himself, he travelled for business, so you're sort of a self contained unity. So I don't think, not that you don't blend as well but you blend in a different way. Because I think, I'm not saying business owners are better than anyone else, it's a different mind set. (Cornelius)

I can't watch competitive skating because I am just, I do not enjoy it because I just feel so bad for them when they fall... And as a matter fact it's one of the reasons that I wanted my kids in competitive sport because by being kept out of competitive sport, I mean not only was it not, I mean I'm forty-seven so there wasn't a lot for girls. At all. But I think even if there had been it would not have been something that my parents would have put me in because I think they were both highly sensitive people and I think that they didn't want us, as sisters, competing against each other. (Ellen)

The next examples illustrate the ways in which the religious beliefs and up-bringing influenced the women's perceptions of leisure. The first quotation illustrates how Ellen's religious beliefs and childhood impacted her current leisure.

...we're sort of Scottish Presbyterians from the Maritimes, where people worked in order just to survive. People had to work day and night just in order to survive. And so work was highly valued and anyone who sat around too much was considered a lazy but...so leisure time in my family was sort of centred around family, if you had any leisure time, or around church. So I think those things were really kind of central, you'd go to the church picnic. Things that obviously had an influence on me because I'm continuing them myself with the kids. (Ellen)

Mickey related how her choosing to participate in outdoor recreation pursuits was in part, due to her spirituality.

...when I'm camping and I open that tent, and that's another reason why I'm outdoors, that's where I feel closest to God. And I'm very spiritual. So I'm not there to fish, I'm there because I feel closer to God. (Mickey)

In this final example of religious influence, Mary explained why she did not view her involvement in the community as a leisure experience. She indicated that for her leisure was something that would result in feeling guilty due to the selfish nature of the leisure experience.

...what it does is that it builds me up on the spiritual side. Do I consider that leisure? No I don't. And for some reason I think of leisure as, well isn't that funny, because I think that leisure is a very selfish, self indulgent thing to do...If it feels good you know there is guilt just coming around the corner. So that is definitely part of my heritage, my Catholicism. (Mary)

4.4.2.1.5: Aging & Life Stage

Study findings also illustrated the affects of aging and life stage on the women's perceptions of leisure and leisure choices. The first example shows how one woman's age impacted on her view of leisure. The other example illustrates the urgency to participate that comes with reaching perceived milestone ages.

...I'm not sure that I'm less active, because I deliberately swim and walk now to make sure that I remain active because that's the stage of life that I'm at. I can't sit around and then suddenly try to go for a hike. That kind of thing, it doesn't work. (Elizabeth)

I do a lot of individual [activities] because I find at my age, 53, often times it's difficult to find women who will go with you...I'm over fifty now and there is a sense of urgency there that if I don't do this now I may no ever

do it. And so yes, I want to die with my boots on. And I, that's not um, I think there is a sense of urgency and there is sort of sense of panic, in that I didn't do the backpacking that now interests me, when I was younger when I might have had the energy, so I've got to do it now. I have to do the canoeing. I want to do the biking now. (Mickey)

Associated with the notion of aging is that of stages of life, which is considered here in relation to the impact that being in various life stages has on one's leisure choices. Some of the examples below make reference to community involvement; in those cases the women identified that community involvement is the site of leisure for them and thus influences their participation in the community were also influences on their leisure choices. The narratives of the women involved in this study demonstrate the shifts between being single, married without children, married with young children, having teenagers, and life after children leave the home.

Casey explained what her leisure was like prior to being married or having children.

...before I was married and had children, our leisure was party time. It was constant party time but I've since quit drinking. So that really limits, like I don't like the bar scene and I don't want to be hanging around with people that are getting plastered. (Casey)

The following quotation comes from the only member of the group who has never been married or had children. In this instance she commented that because she is single and without children, she must work harder to become involved in the community.

I think for me it's really important because I'm single and I think, there's nothing wrong with that but I have to make more of an effort to be involved. I think when you're married and you have kids, you automatically get involved in things, through your kids. Whether it's getting involved in activities or clubs and those sort of things in addition to whatever you're involved in. But for me, you know if I didn't make the effort to get involved with my community then you know, I would just be

sitting at home and wouldn't do anything, you know. So I need [to make] more of an effort and I think it is just really important because I want to get to know people and meet people and because I am new to this community I think I'm making even more of an effort to do that... (Janelle)

The next examples are related to the time when women were married and had younger children at home. In the first example below, Elizabeth reflected upon the tendency of mothers to focus on their children's needs. Ellen also spoke to the issue of having young children at home.

I played more golf when they were small. I used to play every Saturday. I used to play in tournaments a bit, too. But mostly when you have children you are involved in ferrying them here and there, to their sorts of things. (Elizabeth)

I think a lot of those changes (in leisure) happened when we had our kids...because their leisure activities become a focus of your life. Like getting them to their team sports, and playing with them, and taking them to the zoo. (Ellen)

Another stage of the women's lives was when their children were a little bit older and though they still lived at home, they did not need as much supervision and care.

[My leisure has] increased since Mathew's gotten older because I don't need to watch him as much. He's more independent. (Bailey)

...my hope for the future is that not that he will go or I will go but that we will go together (to Habitat Builds)... 'cause I've really enjoyed it. Um, a lot of that had to do with the age of our children and the fact that one of us had to stay at home. They're getting to the age now where, well it will be a few years yet. Maybe three or four years where we say that, yeah, we can both go for the whole week or something. (Ellen)

This section has examined the influence of many aspects of the women's lives on their perceptions of leisure, their ability to participate in leisure experiences, and their leisure choices in general. The findings showed that some of these influences impact on the

extent of a woman's participation, while others impact on the choices made. The next section will examine the influence of desired outcomes on leisure choices.

4.4.2.2: Desired Outcomes

The examples in this section illustrate that study participants often made leisure choices with a desired outcome in mind. They identified outcomes ranging from the need to be physical in order to compensate for work, to relieve stress or to remain healthy, the need for social interaction as well as for solitude, and for the need to gain skills and feel a sense of accomplishment, or simply for enjoyment.

Some participants used leisure as a way to counteract the effects of professional life. In some cases this involved seeking solitude, and in others it involved using physical activity as a means of getting rid of work related stress.

So I think it's the quality of my leisure time is greater now. When we would go to Florida for instance, I would read three or four book in a vacation. So you would do the sight seeing but you also took very clearly some down time. And I need that because my job is always interacting with people, always interacting. So when I have leisure time I like to get into my box and cocoon. (Casey)

If there has been some residual tensions from work, I just find the physically working as hard as you can I find, cathartic I guess. (Mary)

Like walking, that's a really good stress reliever for me. (Janelle)

The next examples relate to the women's desire to be physically fit and or to maintain their health.

I like keeping fit. I like walking...dancing comes into that too. (Jane)

...to me, I think that the better you feel physically towards fitness the better you feel mentally...so I want to have fun doing something and hopefully get physically fit doing it. (Cornelius)

I am also the thinnest female in my family and when I look at my mom and my youngest sister, my mom has health problems and her weight bothers her. But when I look at my family and my father and at their weight and I think, I don't ever want to be like that...I don't want to be obese like my mom and my sister and my dad. My sister can't even get a seatbelts done up in the car and they're sedentary. They um, my mom is on dialysis and in a wheelchair so there is some allowances there, but certainly my dad and my sister can get out and do something. (Mickey)

The next examples illustrate how the desire for social interaction and solitude influence the leisure decisions made by the participants. In the first example, Mary found a new leisure activity through the process of trying to become more socially active with her co-workers. She also identified the need for balance between social contact and solitude, a sentiment echoed by other participants. Additionally there were participants who discussed that they needed or enjoyed the social aspects of their leisure and community involvement.

...there's a team there, therapists and nurses and stuff, and they all decided that they were going to take golf lessons. So I thought, ok this is a way to get to know these folks. I think golf interested me not at all but I thought oh, what the hell, you know, let's go see what it is like. And then I just loved it. I enjoyed the experience of going out with folks, just laughing and goofin' around and you know it turned out I just loved it. (Mary)

I was going to say it's [her leisure] all solitude but it's not. I would say it's like fifty, fifty. Fifty percent hanging out with my buddies. Fifty percent being by myself...(Mary)

It's a lot of fun doing it (community involvement). Again you get to meet all these other people that are out there doing this kind of thing (community work). For me it's more of a social thing. (Bailey)

It is important in so much because I work alone and live alone, I need to get out and I need to meet up with other people. (Jane)

For some, desired outcomes related to the wish to learn new skills or accomplish something through leisure. As well, participants referred to their community involvement as a site for leisure and the outcomes they hoped to receive from this involvement.

I think I learned new skills, for sure, which was great, that was what I wanted out of [the Build] too, like that was fun. (Janelle)

[The Build] provided me an area in which to learn a lot of new skills myself. It gave me a meaningful project to work on that I'll never forget. Like I see this as one of the peak experiences of my life. I really have enjoyed it that much. (Ellen)

Oh a sense of accomplishment's everything. I mean to finish at the end of the day and say, ok um I did that. I finished digging that hole, and I did that, you know. I mean I didn't do it on my own, I had lots of help. You know that. But I knew that that hole was dug by me. And that felt good. (Evelyn)

...for leisure I get a lot of satisfaction out of going to Freeport, to um feed at dinner time. (Mickey)

The final desired outcome identified by the participants was the desire to have fun or enjoy what they were doing.

I want to have fun, I love to laugh. (Cornelius)

It would have to be, I guess again it's like what am I going to get out of this. Is it something that I enjoy doing? (Janelle)

I get enjoyment out of it. (Mickey)

The findings presented in this section have shown that desired outcomes of leisure influence the choices that the women made in relation to leisure. It was also clear that the women may want different outcomes from different experience. Whether it was the need for solitude or social contact, the desire to be physically fit, or simply **to have some fun,**

the desired leisure outcome, in combination with the women's everyday life situation, influenced the leisure choices of the study participants.

4.4.2.3: Summation of Leisure Influences

The findings presented in this section have illustrated the existence of a multitude of factors which influenced the leisure decisions of study participants. It was shown that one's up-bringing can play an extensive role in influencing one's leisure. For example, Ellen was raised with Church and family being major sources of leisure, something she has continued with her own children. A number of other constraining factors were discussed with perhaps the most commonly identified one being the role of caregiver that women generally fill. The findings of this study showed that the effects of this role while present, are not constant across the lifespan. It was determined that for the women with children, the time when the constraint of care giving was most pronounced was when the children were younger and that the effects of this constraint diminished as their children aged. The findings also show that the role of caregiver is not only directed towards caring for children. Some of the women indicated that while married, part of their job was to care for their husbands. Another woman indicated that she was now in the position of providing care for a parent. Conversely, another participant stated that she found being single and without a children a slight constraint as she perceived that she needed to work harder to become involved. In this case the argument is that those members of the community with children can become involved through the activities and associations to which their children belong.

The findings also illustrated that one's personal identity was something which could constrain the participants' leisure. Participants' were constrained by their identities due to the perceptions of others and socially constructed beliefs concerning the roles of women. For one of the women, the perceptions of her Church concerning sexuality, an important aspect of her personal identity, proved to be a constraint; however, this same participant indicated that her spirituality was an influencing factor for her participation in outdoor recreation pursuits. In the cases where the women were constrained by a lack of personal confidence in their skills, it may have been the result of the non-traditional nature of the activities in question and their ability to gain experience in the activity in a non-threatening atmosphere.

Religion has been shown to be both a site or source for leisure as well as a limiting or constraining element. Based on these findings it can be argued that the perceptions concerning what constitutes leisure is still heavily influenced by the dogma of organized belief systems. Further it can be argued that while organized belief systems may provide leisure opportunities, the beliefs of the systems may in turn constrain or limit the leisure of some of its members.

The findings also show that the women in this study desired a variety of outcomes from their leisure experiences. A number of participants indicated that they used their leisure to compensate for various aspects of their professional life. While this lends support to the notion that leisure is in a dichotomous relationship with work, it is perhaps more indicative of the need the women had to release stress built up through their professional

lives. Another aspect of compensating for work, was the desire of some to experience solitude in their leisure, in that women who worked in jobs which required constant contact with other individuals, wanted solitude in at least some of their leisure. These women and those who worked in solitary situations also indicated that there were times when they desired to be in social situations. The importance of interacting with others in leisure experiences will be addressed further in the next section.

The findings of this study illustrate that women of varying ages, who for the most part lead fulfilling professional lives, also seek accomplishment and personal betterment through their leisure. Based on these findings it can be argued that these women are looking for opportunities to experience accomplishment in all aspects of their lives. The desire to learn new skills is also important as the attainment of skills can lead to self-confidence, which can diminish the effects of low self-confidence as a constraining influence on women's leisure choices.

The role of enjoyment cannot be overlooked as an influence on or desired outcome of the women's leisure. The findings show that enjoyment was an important consideration for many when choosing to become involved in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. Findings concerning the relationship between the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build and leisure will be examined in the next section.

4.4.3: Leisure and the Habitat for Humanity Experience

The question of whether the women involved in this study felt that the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build was a leisure experience is one that is central to this study. Participants were asked if they felt that the build was leisure, what was leisure-like about it, and if they did not feel that it had been a leisure experience, why not. Most of the women involved found that the Build could be considered a leisure experience. For those who did not feel it was leisure, most were nevertheless able to identify certain aspects of the process that were leisure-like.

The following examples present the responses of those women who felt that for them the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build was a site of leisure. Specifically the examples illustrate how the overall experience, the social nature of the Build, and how personal definitions of leisure all contributed to participants viewing the Build as a site of leisure. The first examples shows how participants' views of leisure impacted on their perception of the Build as a leisure experience.

Uh, the whole thing was a major play experience so, sure it was all leisure really. (Cornelius)

Definitely. I was um, well um, if we're defining leisure as...number one it was a choice, ok. Free Choice. I didn't not have to go and work on the build. Number two it was, I enjoy new things and experience new things and this was very new to me. So it fulfilled a lot of those things that I find very, very satisfying. But the big element for me was that it was a choice. (Ellen)

In the following examples, the participants indicated that the overall experience was enjoyable, but also commented that a key factor was the people with whom they were able to meet and interact.

It was fun. It was fun. I mean I spent, you know that...I spent the whole Monday and the whole day digging a hole. And people kept saying to me, 'for God's sake Evelyn, come out and have a break. Come on a break'. I was having a riot down there! I was having fun. I mean, I shovelled a ton of dirt and I had fun. Because...it was my job. If I had had to stand on a piece of scaffolding waiting to put my one nail in...I would have gone berserk. I like to be active. That gave me a chance to be active for the whole day. And it was leisure because I met such wonderful people. Where are you going to go on a day and meet such beautiful people? To the shopping mall? No. Ride a bus? No. Where are you going to go that will afford you the opportunity to meet that many nice people, in one day? So...how much more leisurely can you get? (Evelyn)

It was a lot of fun. Yeah it was a leisure experience. Without even thinking about it, would it be or wouldn't it be, it was...It was a very rewarding experience. It was the people that made it rewarding. (Jane)

It was so fun. It was the funnest thing I ever did, according to my daughter when she was younger. It was funner to do this, it was the funnest thing I ever did! It was because there were, I had no concerns there. I did what I was told. I mean there were, it was a different kind of thinking and what was empowering was that we built that house but it was the women that was the best part of it. Such incredible women you know I worked with women that, that were so positive. (Mickey)

While the majority of the women involved in the study did find the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build to be a leisure experience, there were some that did not find the overall experience to be leisure. In these cases it appears that the women's personal definitions of leisure describe something entirely different from the experience of the Build. In the case of one individual, her personal perceptions of leisure suggested that it was a selfish pursuit and as the Build did not fall under that category it was not a leisure experience. Four women did not find the overall experience to be leisure, but did experience leisure-like moments during some aspects of the Build. The following examples illustrate the perceptions of the women concerning the Build as a non-leisure experience.

No. Well it was leisure in that it wasn't work from home and it wasn't work from the office. So it was, in the end it wasn't leisure. I mean I was exhausted but it was in my leisure time. (Casey)

Yeah, I didn't consider it a leisure experience. I considered it work but work that I very much wanted to do... This was different work. But I never considered it, leisure. Leisure is to me something where I sit down with my feet up and read a book or swim or do something that is easy for me. (Elizabeth)

Getting up at five-thirty to get to the build site for seven and working all day and coming home and eating and going to bed, yeah that was hard work. (Jessie)

For these women the most prominent leisure-like element of the Build was the social interaction with other Build participants. The quotations below illustrate the existence of leisure aspects of the build experience.

Um, well that continuum again. Because I was working hard, thinking, "oh we'll never get this done, we'll never get this done" but I'm singing at the same time... So I guess it was a combination. I can't say it was totally leisure. It was fun... Oh yes definitely had leisure aspects. You see I think work has leisure aspects. I don't see them as two sides of a coin. They are in fact on a continuum and the continuum may be even very short where I'm concerned because everything seems to flow. While I'm working hard I'm very happy. (Elizabeth)

Well um, I think there's definitely the camaraderie of working as part of a team. It's not like going into a room where your working alone the whole day and just working on a task. I mean you saw when we were painting, singing to the oldies and stuff. That was, that made the time go by and made it fun. But it was still hard work. I don't think I ever thought that it would be... I don't think in my mind I ever classified it as a leisure activity. It was more the opportunity to get away from the house, get away from the kids. Doing something on my own, uninterrupted without having to feed somebody else my lunch. (Jessie)

4.4.3.1: Summation of the Build as a Site for Leisure

The findings illustrate that the majority of the participants found the experience of working on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build to be leisure. It was shown that for

these women personal definitions of leisure and the enjoyment of the activity were factors in determining that it was a leisure for them. The women who felt that it was not leisure, often commented that the nature of the experience and their personal perceptions of what leisure was, determined that the Build was not a leisure experience. However, each of these women also indicated that there were leisure-like elements to their experience.

All of the women, regardless of whether they felt the Build was leisure or not, indicated that the key aspect of their experience was the other people they met. Based on this finding it can be argued that events which provide the opportunity for social interaction with others, also provide potential sites for leisure or leisure-like experiences.

4.5: Women and the Redefining of “Men’s Work”

The remaining sections of this chapter will examine the issues surrounding the fact that the women involved in this study and the other Build participants undertook an activity that is generally thought of as “men’s work.” Findings related to the idea that some of the women were intentionally and unintentionally resisting the notion of “men’s work” will be explored. Also discussed are findings related to the impact of the Build on the women’s perceptions about their own abilities, the abilities of other Build participants, and on the views of the general public. Findings associated with the importance of accomplishment and personal empowerment will also be discussed in this chapter. Before examining the previously mentioned findings, a brief discussion concerning the influence of family on the roles of women will be presented.

4.5.1 Family Influence

Some participants identified the roles that their families played in their own beliefs about the role of women. This section will examine how the way in which the women were raised impacted their beliefs and behaviours concerning the role of women, wives, and mothers in their daily lives and in relation to the build. The first examples illustrate how the family atmosphere fostered for some women the sense that they were capable of doing anything to which they set their minds.

Mary indicated that she and her brothers were treated similarly while they were growing up. She further indicated that she was not defined by the those things that she could not do.

I was fortunate because I was brought up in a house full of brothers. I never really thought that I was distinguished from them, I could do whatever they could do. And my parents didn't define me by limitations.
(Mary)

Bailey but also stated that she was not raised with traditional views of women's roles. It was her hope that the all-women aspect of the Build would have a positive impact on young girls, showing them that anything was possible.

I was never raised that women couldn't do something so for me it was different. (Bailey)

For Mickey being the eldest in a family of daughters, meant that she often filled the traditional role of the son. She further felt that within her marriage any division of labour was not based on gender.

...because I'm the eldest girl of three girls and when you're the eldest of a family of girls you are often the eldest daughter and the eldest son. And so that we were encouraged, always encouraged to do what we wanted. And uh and then I uh married a man, with whom I worked to build a house. And uh and uh we did not have sexist division of work in the house, we had what we did best. (Mickey)

However, not infrequently there are conflicting messages about women's roles which are produced within the family context. In the following cases, the women have indicated that they had non-traditional influences or experiences, but as illustrated below they also had conflicting traditional messages. Evelyn, for instance, was able to experience roles not traditionally held by women but her behaviour was not completely supported by her mother.

I've always done a non-traditional job. I've always been a little different...which I got great pats on the back from my father and big shakes of the head by my mother. You know when my dad was fixing cars, he was a mechanic, I was in there getting greasy and oily and dirty, and more greasy, oily, dirty I got, the better I was, the happier I was. (Evelyn)

Evelyn also indicated that when she was married and had little children, she was repeating the role her mother had filled in the family when Evelyn was a child.

The husbands are out doing their thing with the boys and the woman never gets to do. I mean this is just typical, you know. So, I mean...going through that period of my life I didn't think there was anything wrong with it because I see my mother doing the same thing. (Evelyn)

Similarly, Jane indicated that at a young age she would spend time with her father learning about his tools but when asked if other females in her family participated in home renovation projects she indicated that it was not her mother's job.

At a very early age my father started to tell me names of his tools on his bench and I think that was my first introduction [to home renovation]...no

she didn't [do home renovation activities]. No she definitely didn't do those things. That's your father's job. (Jane)

4.5.1.1: Conclusions Concerning Family Influence

Most of the participants of this study were raised to believe that women are capable of accomplishing anything. Some women were raised with conflicting messages concerning the roles of women in the household and the activities that are suitable for women. Based on these findings, and the fact that these women all spent a number of days participating in a non-traditional activity, it can be argued that the women in this study were influenced by the messages which supported their ability to undertake non-traditional activities. I would argue further that the findings and the women's presence on the Build suggest that they perceived that the roles of women include activities which are considered non-traditional. These findings also suggest that non-traditional influences within the family may help to mitigate societal influences which support a more traditional view of women's roles.

4.5.2: Resistance

For the purposes of this thesis, resistance is thought of as the words and actions of the women involved in the study which suggested that they were resisting against traditional views of women and women's roles in society. More specifically, the women were asked how their participation in what is typically thought of as "a man's job" made them feel and if they felt that their participation challenged traditional views of femininity.

It was found that there were definite instances of resistance, some of which were done intentionally, while others appeared to be more unintentional. The terms intentional and unintentional are used here to suggest that there were times when the women involved in this study were openly and actively resisting the roles traditionally deemed appropriate for women in society, and there were other times when the action was more internal and less obvious, but nevertheless resulted in the women resisting those roles perceived to be more traditional.

Casey's comment illustrates how she may have been unintentionally resisting traditional gendered expectations. Her words suggest that the power she felt using construction tools gave her something that she perceived was generally felt by men.

So the drill or the saw, one, you get a sense of what a guy must feel like, a guy there I go, I'm thinking of the olden days when my friends drove motorcycles, but that sense of power and control. When you're sitting on that bike and you've got this machine and then you... I mean it's somewhat the same for a car but there's a lot more cushioning around you. It's the same thing with a power tool. You are in control of this potentially lethal weapon and if you do it right you can also potentially create something. So yeah, you know I enjoy that a lot. I enjoyed the learning of that and I enjoyed controlling that tool...we as women joined together in something that typically isn't ours. So think of the confidence that we did the experience, I mean I think we raised the bar. And when you raise the bar here the bar everywhere gets raised. (Casey)

In another instance Casey spoke of intentionally resisting the traditional. She indicated that an aspect of her experience was to showcase the ability of women to accomplish a non-traditional activity.

I love the novelty of it. I loved the dare of it. Uh, and I uh loved the notion of what I would know when I finished it. So it wasn't 'let's get guys' by any means. Like there was no, there was no competitive. None of that, 'we're going to do this better than you', none of that came into my mind.

But it was very clearly for me an opportunity to show that women can do this. (Casey)

In a similar vein, Cornelius felt that the Build allowed women to demonstrate their knowledge, ability, and power.

No, it's not [men's work]. We can do anything we want... while I was standing outside on the street a guy in Ball-Brothers pickup truck went by and he laughed. And I thought, "you son of a bitch." [laughter] but from where I come from in the automotive business I've been doing it for years. And so I spoke to a network breakfast group and I said, "I always assumed that men know more than me, and you wouldn't believe how many times they surprise me!" So I'm not as intimidated by male knowledge because a lot of people can fake it real well. (Cornelius)

Other examples also illustrate how some of the women resisted traditional views through focusing on their feelings of personal power and the affirmation of what women can do.

Anyone that I talked to on that build was just so pumped up with um...pride, you know, that this was all women, you know. The benefits to women were tenfold there because I think that even women who didn't work on it but read about it, thought, 'hey maybe I can do that'! And if it's just that little um...what's the word I want to say...just that little hint that hey maybe, maybe I can do that, may cause a woman to take that carpentry course or that electricians course or that plumbing course or whatever. And I think where we needed to really push this is the young girls, because I look at myself and if I had been growing up in this period of time I would be a plumber, electrician, carpenter, bricklayer. I would be those things because that's what I enjoy. When I grew up we had a choice of home-[economics] or Latin or some silly other art, as an option. The guys got industrial arts, girls weren't allowed in it. (Evelyn)

Evelyn went on to say how significant the Build was in terms of breaking down gendered roles expectations.

...it was an all women build and I think it was very important for women in this build to realize that all these things they are capable of doing. All these things are not a male thing and all you have to do is go out there and do it. No matter what you've been told in your life that you're supposed to

bake to cookies and your husband is supposed to swing the hammer. No he can swing the spatula and you can swing the hammer. And I think this build was very, very good for that...So if just one, everyone of those women just convinced just one other woman that they can do it, man the world's ours! And I really do believe that women will take over this world because men have made a mess of it so far. (Evelyn)

An excerpt from my observation journal captures something of the feeling of accomplishment and challenge to traditional role expectations that these women demonstrated. The journal entry happened when they watched a music video depicting images of the Build. The video was seen on July 15, 2000, after the builder's breakfast and before the public dedication ceremony.

The breakfast Waterloo a series of hugs and congratulations and tears. C to C productions managed to have a music video of the Build experience and it was great! They played it to "Women are doing it for themselves" (Anne Lenox & Aretha Franklin). It was commented more than once that the song was perfect for the Build. (Observation Journal, July 15, 2000)

The data presented above illustrates that not all cases of resistance are open, loud, or clearly stated. The women in this study have shown that resistance of traditional gendered views of women can be accomplished on different levels and in a multitude of ways. It was also shown that various elements on an experience may provide different individuals with opportunities to resist gendered views and expectations.

The findings also illustrate that certain aspects of the Build created feelings of power, control, and self-confidence. While these topics will be examine in more depth later in this chapter, it can be argued based on the findings presented above, that opportunities to participant in non-traditional activities like the Build, offer women an chance to

intentionally and unintentionally resist traditional roles on a number of different levels in a variety of ways.

4.5.2.1: Adjusting Personal Perceptions

The following section will examine the issue of resistance in relation to the participants' perceptions about their own abilities and beliefs, the abilities of other Build participants, and their perceptions about the impact of the Build on the public's view of women in general. The first examples relate to participants' perceptions about themselves and their own abilities.

Elizabeth indicated that the feelings she got from being part of the Build and accomplishing the goal of building a home was similar to the feelings she had when she completed her doctorate.

And I just didn't know whether it could be done and that was what was so exciting. That was the sense of accomplishment. Like the PhD, I didn't think I could do that either, you know. I got into the doctoral program because somebody told me I should apply so I did and it was the same sort of thing. The feeling of, "by God, we did it." So that's why. It really had very little to do with building is a man's job, I think. (Elizabeth)

Jessie indicated that the confidence she had gained in her own skill level and worth, would allow her to be more assertive if she was to work on a co-ed Habitat for Humanity Build.

...if I were to volunteer for another build and I think I would like to, if there were guys there I don't think I would be as hesitant to walk up and say hey I can do that. I don't have to just sweep and whatever. If you just show me where you want me to hammer I can hammer. I think I would be more assertive that way. I would be able to say, "hey I've been on a build before." "You know this is not my first time." They wouldn't have to

know that I spent most of the time painting. But I think in that way yeah, I would feel more assertive...I think there is definitely the opportunity to gain confidence not only in doing specifically wood working kind of things but the realization that you can do anything that you set your mind to. (Jessie)

This final example illustrates how a participant had to work through the impacts of having a more traditional family influences on her perceptions of women. It also shows how this participant's beliefs were heightened and altered through her involvement with the Build.

Oh I think absolutely because I know that I struggled with some of the things I saw there and of course grew up as the daughter of a 1950's mom, you know, who has a bath at four o'clock in the afternoon, gets a martini for her husband and she's dressed in a nice little house dress. You know. So to see women in there with muscles larger than men's. Um, I had to struggle with the conflicting judgements. The 90's part of me is going, "oh yeah go girl" and the 50's part of me is going, "oh my I wonder if she's gay." You know? You know you were raised that Bertha the Bulgarian weightlifter is probably gay, when in actual fact that is absolute bullshit. But I did have some moment when I had to say, "chill. Chill I mean it's like it's absolutely A-okay. I'm glad that she...and if she wants to come dressed in whatever she wants to come dressed in that's cool too and who the hell am I to judge?" So it was an experience for me and also to know that it was absolutely okay to dress in whatever I wanted to dress in. That, that was going to be okay. (Casey)

Bailey described her reaction to comments from other women who were not part of the Build and who felt this sort of endeavour was something they could not work on. She further commented on her perception of the ability of women who were fifty and over who were part of the Build.

There were a lot of women that I talked to after the fact that said, "oh I couldn't do that." And I said "why not?" Some of them said they were too old. Some had no skills. Not true. There were women out there that were fifty, sixty, who were doing a great job. (Bailey)

The impact of the realization of the capabilities of women was felt by many participants.

Elizabeth indicated how important it was to her that the Build was all women. She indicated that because there were only women involved in the Build, she was able to get a better understanding of the ability of women.

I just wanted to know if it could be done by women and maybe that's why the all women build was so appealing. Because if it had been part of a mixed a group, I would never have known whether women could do that.
(Elizabeth)

Ellen also commented on the women-only aspect of the Build. Through involvement with the Build, she too experienced an increase in her awareness of the capabilities of women.

... I think what it really did though was it raised my awareness and my confidence level in what women could do. Even for myself, I was totally astounded. I thought, "wow, this is incredible that we can actually do this". So for, I think in some ways the biggest feeling of community that was enhanced for me was the feeling of oneness, if you want to put it that way, with the rest of the women, almost in the world. That there's so many, so much there that perhaps society has, society's rules about what we should and shouldn't do have limited women. So much that, that for me that was probably the biggest and most profound realization, was that, was that um, this is an incredible untapped resource. (Ellen)

The final series of quotations in this section relate to the perceived impact of the Build on the perceptions of the general public regarding the abilities of women and their involvement in this Build. In the first example, Ellen suggested that the Build had raised the awareness of women's involvement as professionals in home construction as well as of what women can accomplish generally.

I think that it has been a very, very significant build for women. And their role in the community. Um, I think it's, it's made people, it's really raised people's awareness. I think it's probably achieved the goals that it set out to do, to raise the awareness of people about the ability of women to do those skilled trades jobs... But I think it's really got people thinking. And

on the one hand they're saying, "wow, women can really do that eh?" So I think that has had a significant role. (Ellen)

Similarly, the following examples illustrate the perceived impacts of the Build on members of the general public and women not involved with the Build.

In general, I think getting out there and saying, "we're women and we're entering these careers." I think that is huge for the women. It is you think of all those things that, like plumbing and construction and it's men. You think of men. So I think for women to go out there and say, we're out there doing that too and to get that acknowledgement, I think that's great. And I think that's great for other women to see and their kids to see because you know so their daughters know. Like people have to go into this, like you wanted to be a plumber? You can do it. Just because it usually men you know. I think that's just amazing. (Janelle)

There might be women out there who saw the build and thought, well you know I saw that and I wasn't sure about volunteering or I wish I'd seen that but since those women are doing, I know it's something maybe I could do if there was another build. So I think probably give other women something to relate to and picture themselves in construction that they might not otherwise of had. It's not just a, you know, a job for guys with the shirts off...Women in sports bras can do it too. (Jessie)

The findings show that the perceptions of study participants were changed by their involvement in the Build. It was shown that the awareness of their own capabilities and the capabilities of other women were increased. Based on these findings it can be argued that opportunities for groups of women, which result in the accomplishment of something tangible, provide the necessary atmosphere for increases in self-confidence and the capacity of women in general.

The findings also show that the women involved in the study felt they had raised awareness about the capabilities of women in the eyes of the general public and suggested that they hoped that the message would get to younger females. This suggests

that another element of the participants' resistance of traditional views of women was the ability to showcase their achievement and get the message out to the public and other women.

4.5.2.3: In the Company of Women

The fact that this was an all-women Build was clearly significant to study participants. For most, it added a sense of camaraderie and connectedness that they did not think would be present during a co-ed build. Some felt that they were in a more nurturing and accepting atmosphere which was more conducive to learning because there were only women present. In contrast, one participant, who had previous experience with Habitat for Humanity Builds, felt that this build was less gentle and relaxed than her other experiences.

As I've said this was my fourth build. I'm just going to say instinctually what struck me the most is um the degree of assertiveness. The swearing. Um, I've never seen so many smokers on a Habitat build in my whole life. Just kind of aggressive behaviour and I don't mean necessarily in a bad sense. Maybe I should explain what the other builds are like. The other co-ed builds. High degree, I believe, of Mennonite trades people. High degree of older men, who are taking the lead, not so much women but men. Very gentle, not a swear word, not a word of criticism to be heard anywhere. Very, very relaxed. (Mary)

In general though, most other participants felt very differently about the Build. Mickey expressed her thoughts about the intimacy of relationships formed in the short period time that she worked on the Build.

...it was the women that was the best part of it. Such incredible women you know I worked with women that, that were so positive. We shared things that I don't think, would have been shared under normal circumstances. Certainly if we had met at Tim Horton's and said hi how are you, nothing would have happened. But you know that five minute walk from the lunch tent back, you know I learned more um more private

things about women in that five minute walk than I have learned from others that I have known for a long time. (Mickey)

Other examples support the previous contention that a community of women was created in the context of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. The data illustrate the importance of the women-only aspect of the Build to the participants.

Well, it solidified the female community together. Because they all rallied around one another together and they put on a strong front. So I think for the community of Waterloo or the whole area in general as a community, um I think women pushed their, pushed themselves to the forefront by doing it. Because a lot of people were driving by and there's been a lot of media on it and a lot of people going, 'wow'! You know. 'All women?' (Evelyn)

No, the important part was that it was an all female build. For my first build, that it was an all female build. (Casey)

Many of the women perceived that because of the all-women aspect, they were able to learn new skills and experiences in a way that being with men would have inhibited. For instance, Jesse indicated that being taught new skills by another women relieved some of her pressures and altered her perceptions about the ability of women to do the task at hand.

You know so I think that being an all women's build that it gave some women the opportunity to stretch their wings or to confront reservations more than they might have otherwise. Like that day with the saw, you know when she first said to me, "do you want to cut" and I said, "oh no, I don't think so." She said, "oh come on, it's easy, you can't hurt yourself." And I thought ok, well maybe I will try it... Well I think, I think that I felt more able to relate to her in the sense that, I felt that if she could do it I guess I can do it. And she was very supportive about you know, if you want to try it I'll show you what to do. I'm not saying that a man couldn't have taught me. But I think maybe the fact that she was a women maybe made me think there's no special genetic trait that I need to do this! What the hell... Yeah, yeah I think it probably made me feel more on an equal footing with her even though she was obviously more experienced than me. (Jessie)

The findings indicated that for most of the study participants, a key element of their experience was the all-women aspect of the Build. It was shown that the presence of only women volunteers led to the development of intimate relationships, and the creation of circumstances which led to the mentorship and capacity building of participants. Based on these findings, it can be argued that the provision of opportunities for women to gather, learn, and work within all-female groups, can lead to the strengthening of the women as individuals and as members of the women's community. The findings also support the contention that the creation of all-women networks can result in increased capacity of women as well as resistance of traditional roles for women.

4.5.2.4: Accomplishment & Empowerment

The participants were clear that their sense of accomplishment and empowerment related to their Build experience. For example, a number of the women commented on the importance of being able to see a tangible, lasting result of their participation. One participant discussed how she had been able to gain a new level of confidence in a field outside the one in which she normally worked. Another indicated that her sense of empowerment would result in her finishing a home renovation project. These data are presented to illustrate the importance of a sense of accomplishment and empowerment to these women and how the Build provided them with that.

A tangible and visible product was often a necessary component of the feelings of empowerment and accomplishment felt by the participants. Bailey indicated that a wall of the home which she worked on was significant indicator of her accomplishment

The trench was good. I enjoyed it. It was very physical. There was a lot of joking, horsing around with the other women who were doing it. But it got filled in and covered and it's not there anymore...The pipes are there, but the wall is there and you can see the wall (Bailey)

Jesse had temporarily stopped working in her chosen profession in order to dedicate herself to her children while they were still pre-schoolers. She indicated that the Build afforded her an opportunity to experience something tangible and complete.

...the opportunity I think to actually finish a task. I mean there are so many things when you have kids that are, like I said if you try to sew, I've been trying to make them pyjamas for three weeks. You know, I still haven't put the elastic in the waist band, it takes so long. And with housework you do it every day and it still needs to be done again, so you never feel that sense of accomplishment that you do when you're working. When I was working full-time it was hard but I would come home at the end of the day and say, "oh wow, I finished that manual, that's good." Um I don't feel that way any more now that I'm home with them. It's just the same thing day after day. I think I wanted the sense of seeing something happen before my eyes. Which definitely happened with the house because you know in a week, well in five days even, we went from just the concrete to putting the roof on. So that was I think what I was looking for. That sense of you know, I finally did something. (Jessie)

Casey's comment illustrates that a sense of accomplishment is also important for those who have confidence and accomplishment in their professional lives.

I guess I went into it feeling relatively confident in myself, in terms of my own abilities, in my field. So reached a new level of confidence. All of a sudden this field where I would be inept, incredibly inept, unskilled and I'm still unskilled, I mean I wouldn't pretend for a minute that I can go out and build a house, but I have a concept of how it all falls together. So yeah I am more secure now in my knowledge of the world than I was perhaps prior to it. (Casey)

Not surprisingly perhaps, feelings of personal empowerment gained through involvement with the Build were expected to carry over into the lives of the participants.

You know I would suspect that there were some women there who have come away empowered. And I feel empowered as well. Well now I'm going to finish that bathroom in the basement! (Mickey)

It was apparent then that for a sense of accomplishment, having a tangible product resulting from involvement and the acquisition of new skills was important and empowering to these women. Based on these findings it appears that one way of aiding women in their pursuit of personal accomplishment and empowerment is through projects which facilitate the learning of new skills, mentorship amongst group members, and activities which result in the creation of a tangible and visible result.

4.5.2.5: Summation of Resistance

The Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, provided an opportunity for the study participants and other Builders to become involved in a community of other women, doing an activity that is usually dominated by males. Some study participants experienced an element of non-traditional influence from their families with respect to gender role activity. This influence took the form of learning skills or participating in activities which were usually dominated by men. For others it was simply being raised in an atmosphere where the beliefs in one's ability to be and do anything was fostered. The study findings illustrate that some of the participants needed to negotiate through both non-traditional and traditional influences. Based on these findings, it can be stated that the study participants were able to use the non-traditional influences of family and their up-bringing to counteract or mitigate the more traditional influences of society. Further it

can be argued that women who are influenced by both traditional and non-traditional views of women, may at different stages of life exhibit traditional or non-traditional behaviours. This argument is supported by the those participants who indicated that there were times in their lives when the more traditional perceptions of women's roles, which were portrayed by their mothers, influenced their behaviour or perception of other women.

The findings further illustrate that while working in a non-traditional activity, the participants, both intentionally and unintentionally, resisted more traditional views of women. Some would argue that their involvement in the Build can be viewed as resistance, but there were also other aspects of the activity itself which lead to a greater sense of resistance. For instance, learning to use power tools and the experience of creating something as tangible and visible as a home, offered the women feelings of accomplishment and empowerment, while also providing tasks which resisted more traditional views of "women's work". These findings suggest that one does not need to build an entire house to resist traditional views of women, but rather through learning some of the skills associated with non-traditional activities, women can exhibit resistance.

It has been shown that the all-women aspect of the Build experience lead to the alteration of participants' perceptions about themselves as well as their perceptions about other women involved in the Build. Associated with this is the fact that through their involvement the women gained a sense of accomplishment and empowerment, while also

increasing the capacity of the women's community in Kitchener-Waterloo. These findings show that through the provision of meaningful opportunities in an all-women environment, women were able to develop the skills, experience, and confidence necessary to resist traditional views of women, while also increasing their personal capacity to contribute to the various communities to which they belong.

Chapter V: Interpretation & Discussion

5.1: Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore whether women involved in a Habitat for Humanity Women's Build viewed the activity as leisure and whether through the process of the Build, they perceived themselves to be part of a community. The study was conducted during the summer of 2000 and involved eleven women who participated in the Women's Build. In the previous chapter, findings and general conclusions related to the women's experiences and perceptions were presented. This chapter will offer interpretation of those findings and discuss how each of the three conceptual areas relates to each other and to the development of political community.

5.2: The Construction of Community

This research sought to understand the concepts of community, leisure, and resistance, specifically the participants' perceptions concerning these concepts within the context of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build and their daily lives. The following paragraphs build on findings which illustrated the importance of social relationships to the women involved in this study with regards to their views of community, experiences of leisure, and for opportunities for personal and collective empowerment and resistance. Also discussed in this section are the roles of communities of interest, leisure, and empowerment and resistance in the social development of citizens of a political community. The product of these discussions is a graphic representation of social development, which this study contends is an essential element of the development of political community.

5.2.1: Social Relationships – The Foundation of Community

As the findings in the previous chapter illustrated, the participants indicated that the opportunity to meet new people and enjoy social interactions were key elements in determining whether an activity or experience was leisure. In fact, experiences which the participants did not consider to be wholly leisure often had leisure-like aspects depending on the existence of social activities. Similarly, relationships with others was a key defining element of community for the women involved in this study. The women consistently made reference to the existence of communities of interest, defined by their involvement with social networks which formed around common beliefs and characteristics.

In relation to the potential for personal and collective empowerment, and the resistance of traditional gendered views of women, the participants of this study stated clearly that being within the company of other women was a vital aspect of both. It was found that as a result of the environment created and the supportive nature of the other women, participants were able to experience both personal and collective empowerment. The all-women environment also created an atmosphere where intentional and unintentional resistance occurred. Another result of getting to know members of the Build were the feelings of belonging and community that were created.

5.2.2: Communities of Interest – Building Blocks of Community

As suggested above, the women involved in this study indicated that relationships with others were central to their sense of community. It was found that community

organizations, such as Habitat for Humanity, Zonta, and the YWCA, often represented community to the women as a result of the relational ties they felt with other members. Strong community ties were also felt within groups which formed around a common characteristic such as sexuality for the Gay community.

The findings of this study have shown that through the process of the Build, a community of interest based on the Build experience was formed. More specifically participants felt that their ability to get to know other builders and the existence of a common goal lead to the creation of the Build community. The authenticity of this community is supported by participants exhibiting behaviours associated with the existence of community such as, open communication, movement between community roles, and knowledge of key community members and systems (Glynn, 1981).

When compared to the models depicting stages of community put forth by Peck (1993) and Shaffer and Anundsen (1993), it became clear that elements of the middle to latter stages of community were recognizable including, open communication, movement between community roles, and the existence of a caring and supportive environment. However, it would appear that the women did not progress through the early stages of community described by Peck , including *chaos* and *emptiness*. Similarly, the first two stages of community proposed by Shaffer and Anundsen – *excitement* and *autonomy* – did not appear to occur. I would suggest that the models presented in chapter two propose stages of community building which may be present for those groups which organize around an on-going issue or will exist on a long-term basis, whereas the Build

community was created and disbanded over a short period of high accomplishment and excitement. This proposition is supported by Peck who stated, “communities that temporarily form in response to crisis, for instance, may skip over one or more stages for the time being” (p. 37). I would further argue that the beginning stages of the development of community, which often deal with developing power structures, clear missions, and defining a common goal (Shaffer & Anundsen) were unnecessary in this instance as, for the most part, those elements were in place before the women became involved with the Build. Perhaps more important than attempting to fit this community into the models depicting the long-term process of building community, is the fact that the women involved in this study perceived themselves to be part of a community and indicated feelings of belonging based on their participation in the Build.

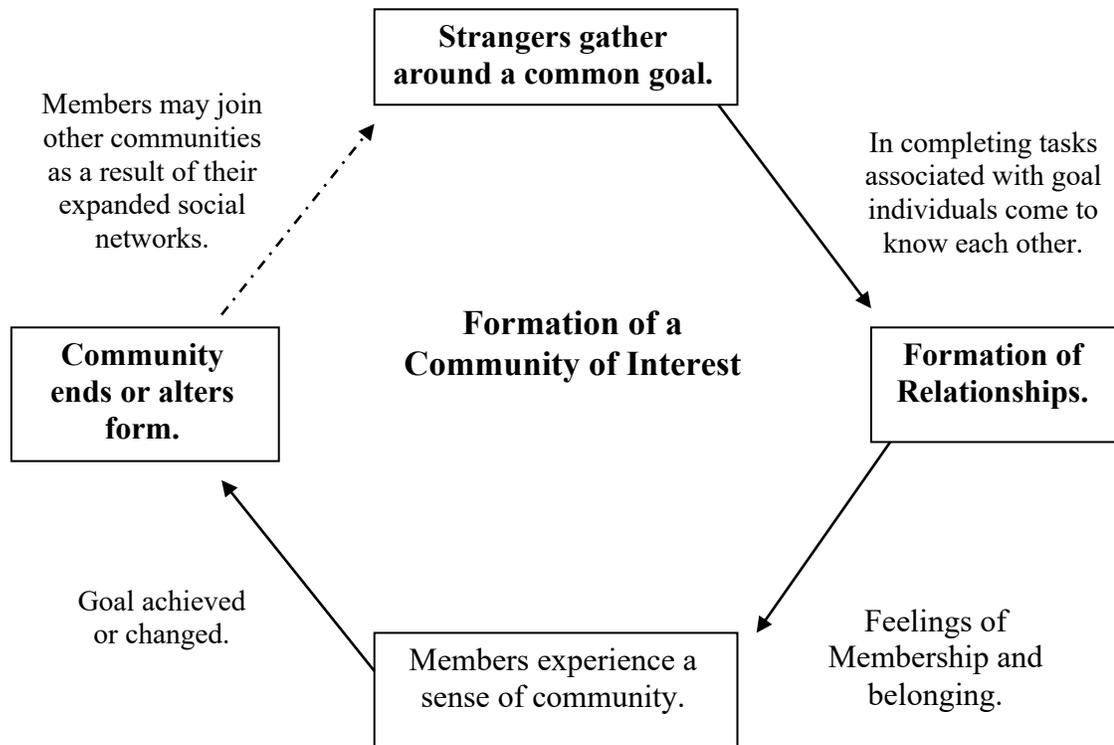
Participants also perceived the existence of sub-communities which formed around groups of women who worked together on a consistent basis to complete specific, identifiable tasks and the groupings of women who, by virtue of their skill level, formed sub-communities. In addition communities of interest which existed prior to the Build were also present and were identifiable sub-communities within the Build community.

The identifiable communities of interest which existed prior to the Build included employees of Home Depot, repeat volunteers of Habitat for Humanity, Zonta members, and members of the Lesbian community. It was found that members of these communities were identifiable through the use of visual indicators such as clothing and symbols which indicated belonging. The women who were members of these

communities indicated that the use of visual cues, such as Gay pride emblems, allowed for increased awareness of the groups and for other members to know which women were also members of these communities. Members of such communities suggested that they developed stronger connections with other members who also participated in the Build, which in turn strengthened the pre-existing communities.

The model presented in figure 5.1 depicts the cyclical formation of a community of interest which emerged around a specific short-term event or activity. The model is based on the findings that a community of interest, specific to the Build, formed because the women involved had the common goal which was to build a home for a single woman and her children. Through the process of reaching that goal they developed relationships with other builders. It was also found that as the women shared experiences, their sense of community intensified, and that once the collective's goal was attained, the community ceased to exist in its original form. This model proposes that once an existing community ends, members may form new communities or join existing ones as a result of their increased social network. It was also found that members of communities of interest are likely to belong to a variety of communities, which may affect the level of inclusion and sense of community among the members of a new group gathered around a common goal.

Figure 5.1: The Formation of an Event or Activity Based Community of Interest



5.2.3: Leisure – In the Community Context

This study sought to understand whether the women considered the Build to be a leisure experience. As the findings presented in the previous chapter illustrated, answers to this question were mixed. It was found that when viewed as an entire experience, the majority of the women perceived the Build to be leisure. There were however, some participants who likened the experience to work and found that the overall experience of the Build was not one of leisure. Interestingly, these same women indicated that there were some aspects of the experience which were leisure-like, most notably the social nature of the

experience. This is significant as it was also the key leisure aspects for those women who indicated that they felt the Build was leisure.

The value of determining that the Build was leisure to some and had leisure-like aspects for others lies in the fact that this activity falls under the heading of community involvement. More specifically, the findings of this study have shown that the leisure aspects of being involved with community organizations and in community events often motivated the participants to become involved and helped to keep them involved. In addition it is through the leisure aspect of the women's involvement that they have the opportunity to broaden their social networks while strengthening their existing ones. Another aspect of the relationship between leisure and belonging to communities of interest lies in the perceived benefits of their involvement. In fact it is through the opportunity to become involved with more meaningful leisure opportunities, such as voluntary community work, that these women were able to satisfy other leisure needs, such as self-betterment, skill development, and giving back to others. Involvement in these organizations also provided the site for the personal and collective empowerment and the potential for women to resist more traditional views of women.

5.2.4: Resistance and Empowerment – In the Community Context

This study also sought to understand the relationship between leisure experiences and activities, and the resistance of traditional views of women and their roles in society. The study determined that some of the women, through their participation in the Build, resisted traditional views of women and that this resistance was both intentional and

unintentional in nature. What this means is that there were times when the women were openly resisting traditional roles through their behaviours and through the verbal statements that they made, while at other times, the participants were less visible and less open in their resistance of the traditional. The following is an examination of those aspects of the Build that lead to the resistance of traditional gender roles by these women.

The very nature of the Build lent itself to the resistance of traditional roles, as home construction and involvement in most of what that entails is dominated by men. Through involvement in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, women were provided the opportunity to learn new skills and gain experience in the non-traditional activity of home construction. It was found that the safe and nurturing environment that participants experienced through the all-women aspect of the Build also aided their ability to resist traditional roles. This is because it allowed women to shed some of the gendered trappings of daily life, such as the ability to act, dress, and learn outside the typical gendered role expectations of our society.

During the Build the women experienced sanction to wear torn, dirty clothing and no make-up, to be hot, sweaty, and covered in dirt. They were able to take on a variety of roles including those of teacher, student, leader, and support person. Further it was found that the experience of being part of this community, and the ability to learn skills while accomplishing tangible results led to the increased capacity of both individuals and the group as a whole. Another important result of the all-women aspect of the Build was the positive change in the women's perceptions of self and other participants. Their

perception of their own capabilities and those of other women increased. The women also indicated that as a result of their participation they felt a greater sense of control, and an ability to undertake traditional “male” tasks. They felt that this would not have happened if they had been in a co-ed group where they would have been subservient to the men in the group. These findings support the idea that the Women’s Build was a site of both personal and collective resistance. Further, it was found that this increase in capacity was the result of gaining new skills, confidence, and empowerment in an activity of life traditionally dominated by men.

The empowerment resulting from the Build was characterised in two ways. First it was determined that the women themselves felt an increase in their personal capacity and confidence. Second, participants experienced the collective empowerment of the group as a whole. It was found that the accomplishment of the collective’s goal – to build a home – lead to an increase in the perception of the collective’s ability to accomplish almost anything they attempted. Figure 5.2 illustrates the synergistic relationships between personal and collective empowerment, a relationship supported in part by Pedlar, Haworth, Hutchinson, Taylor, and Dunn (1999) who argue that the empowerment of an individual need not result in the disempowerment on another, but rather that empowerment is a reciprocal and mutual process.

Figure 5.2: Personal and Collective Empowerment



The empowerment of the participants involved in the Build and their resistance of traditional roles and views of women suggest that events, such as the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, provide opportunities for the development of capacity in both the individual and the collective. The increase in capacity, also known as social capital, is important because the social development of citizens is an important aspect of community development (Hutchinson & Nogradi, 1996; Pedlar, 1996). The relationship between empowerment and resistance, and the development of community will be illustrated graphically in the next section.

5.2.5: Emergent Theory – The Social Development of Political Community

The study findings that have been discussed previously in this section are all elements in the process of developing political community. This development results from individuals who became involved in communities of interest as a result of their social networks and through the leisure needs satisfied through belonging to organizations such as Zonta, Habitat for Humanity, and the YWCA. Through their involvement in these organizations and others like them, the participants experienced personal and collective empowerment and were able to resist some of the traditional roles and views society holds towards women. In short, it is through involvement in communities of interest that citizens can develop the social component of political community.

It has been stated earlier that through the process of the Build a community of interest specific to the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build was created. This study also determined that community was developed in another way. Specifically, the political

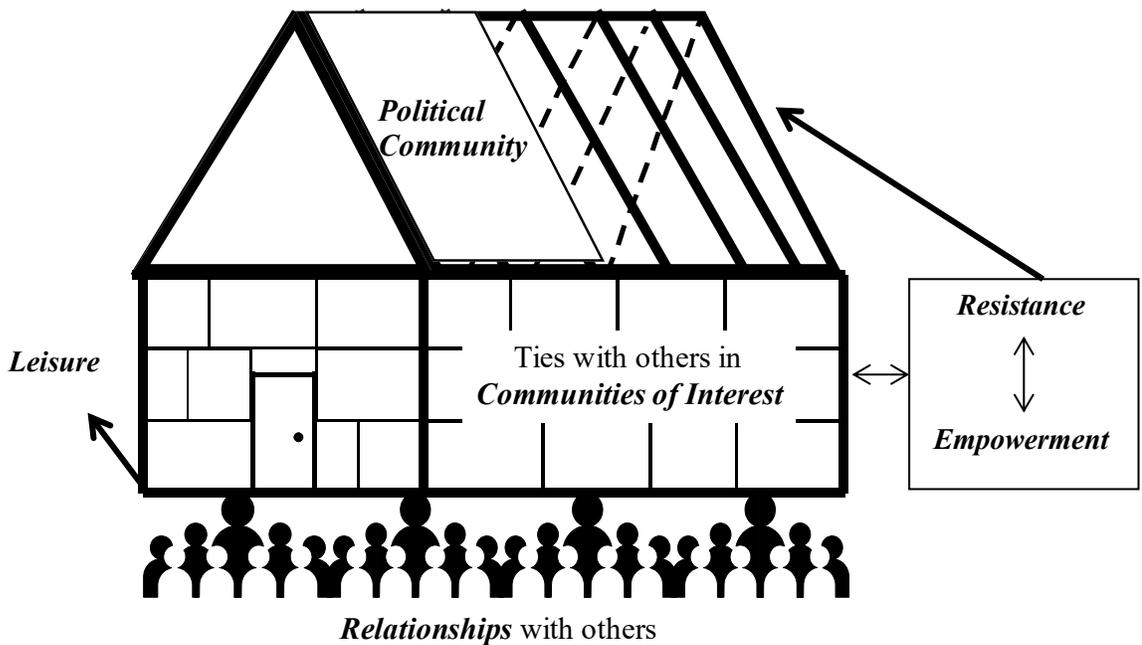
communities of Kitchener and Waterloo were developed through the increased capacity of their citizens who participated in the Build. Individual and collective capacity development meant that the Cities of Kitchener and Waterloo benefited through the increased social capital, through the development of new communities of interest, and through the strengthening of existing ones. The participants themselves indicated that the Kitchener-Waterloo region would not only benefit from an increased tax base, but would also benefit from the heightened awareness of the capabilities of its citizens and of the community on the whole.

Utilizing the analogue of a house, figure 5.3 illustrates how the leisure aspects of communities of interest aid in their construction and maintenance and how these communities are founded in the of social relationships of citizens. This graphic also illustrates the synergistic relationship between involvement in communities of interest, empowerment, and resistance, with empowerment and resistance leading to the social development of both the individual and the collective. This social development acts like a truss in the support of the overarching political community.

The graphic depicting the development of community in Figure 5.3, is based on the following five points: (1) women define their communities by the relationships they have with others; (2) women are often motivated to participate in community organizations because they are the site of more meaningful leisure or leisure-like experiences; (3) these community organizations are often the site for a sense of community for women, (4) relationships with others in communities of interest can lead to the empowerment of the

individual and the collective and they may also provided the opportunity for intentional and unintentional resistance; and (5) the development of politically defined community can result from the social development of citizens and their increased involvement in the political and social structures of their community.

Figure 5.3: The Social Development of Political Community



In summary, the findings of this study have illustrate the interconnected relationship between community, leisure, and empowerment and resistance. Based on these findings, it has been argued that community organizations and events offer women not only the opportunity to experience more meaningful leisure, but that it is through the aspects of the experience which are leisure-like that women are able to form the relationships which help to develop feelings of community.

The benefits of these opportunities extend beyond those gained by the individual as involvement with communities of interest can lead to the empowerment of both the individual and the collective, both of which are key elements of social development. Another aspect of empowerment and social development is the resistance of traditional, and often limiting, views of women. This study found that the opportunity to work with other women in a non-traditional activity led to an increased awareness of personal and collective ability. I would further argue that opportunities such as the Women's Build help to develop political community through the social development of both individuals and the group as a collective.

5.3: Synthesis – Leisure and Empowerment: The Social Development of Community

This findings of this study have shown that the conceptual areas under investigation – community, leisure, and resistance – have many interconnections and share a number of characteristics. This study also illustrated the central role of relationships and social networks to each of these conceptual areas. Further, it was determined that these concepts are elements of the social development of citizens.

It has been noted that community is not necessarily bound by place and that associations and social networks can be the basis for community (Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Walter, 1998). Consistent with Dominelli (1995), this supports the contention that community for women is most meaningfully defined through their involvement in social networks and communities of interest. Dominelli further argues that social action endeavours, such as working towards the creation of affordable housing, often provide

women with the impetus for developing a sense of community. That community can result from involvement in a meaningful endeavour was also supported by the work of Florin and Wandersman. Their work has suggested that social networks represent community through the creation of a sense of community within their members.

Other support for the role of relationships in the formation and experiencing of community comes from Morgan (1993), who stated that, “the beginning point for community development is person-to-person relationships...[and]...almost every problem of the community, state, and nation is met with on a small scale in our relationships with people closest to us” (pp.212-213) . This quotation raises the issue of the development of community and the role of social networks in the development of community. The findings of this study suggested that community was developed through the creation and strengthening of communities of interest and as a result of the social development of citizens through empowerment and resistance.

Chavis and Wandersman (1990) support this contention with their argument that citizens’ participation in voluntary organizations is a central component for the development of community. Arai and Pedlar (1997), when examining citizen participation in the Healthy Communities Initiatives, determined that the development of community was facilitated through (1) the opportunity to share learning, (2) a sense of affiliation with others and the community, (3) the chance to contribute to the community, and (4) an increase in participants’ knowledge of the community. These characteristics are closely related to the aspects of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build which helped to create a sense of

community within the Build participants. The work of Arai and Pedlar discussed above also supports the contention that the larger spatial/political community can be developed through the women's involvement in activities like the Build.

The link between community and leisure lies within the creation of communities of interest and women's involvement in these communities. The findings of this study have illustrated the ways in which the women perceived their involvement in the Build to be leisure. It was further determined that a large portion of their involvement in other community based organizations provided them with a sense of community as well as a site for leisure or leisure-like experiences. More specifically it was found that the social aspect of their involvement in communities of interest was a determining factor for the experience of leisure. These findings support previous examinations of women's leisure. Henderson (1981) found that women volunteering in 4H were more likely than were males to be motivated through their desire for affiliation. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) found that social interaction was central to women's experiences of leisure. In addition, research which utilized a functional approach to examine volunteer motivations, identified the influence of social needs as a reasons for participating (Clary, Ridge, Stukas, Snyder, Copeland, Haugen, & Miene, 1998)

Clary et al. (1998) also indicated that the ability to learn new skills and the potential to, "...reduce guilt over being more fortunate than others" (p. 1518) were elements of other functions of life which motivated volunteerism, an activity often thought of as leisure. The findings of this study further determined that the women wanted leisure and

volunteer opportunities which promoted betterment of self through learning new skills, and that the women also felt a sense of “responsibility” to pass along the blessing they received to the less fortunate. In recent years the body of literature which links leisure and volunteer activity has grown. However, the link that has not been adequately made is the link between communities of interest (often created through volunteer opportunities) and leisure. This study has illustrated that the women involved not only viewed the Build as a site for the formation of community but also as the site for experience of leisure.

The significance of the formation of communities of interest through leisure activity lies in the relationships between community, social development and leisure. Pedlar (1996), argued that the focus of community development in recent times has been on economic measures and development. She further suggested that the increasing gap between the haves and the have-nots, “...makes it increasingly urgent to more fully understand the ways in which recreation and leisure can foster community development and the role of the citizen and practitioner in that process” (p. 7). In addition, other researchers examining the link between the field of leisure and community development determined that the process of development must result in the social development of citizens (Hutchinson & Nogradi, 1996). This suggests that the social as well as the economic aspects of community need to be address through the process of community development. This model of development fits best with Rothman’s (1995) view of *social action*, a method characterized by the empowerment of citizens. Further I would argue that the findings of this study illustrate clearly that true community development needs to

move beyond what Rothman calls *locality development*, towards a more holistic model which includes the social development of citizens as a priority.

The study has argued that the social development of citizens can occur through their involvement with communities of interest. This is an argument supported by Schmid (2000), who also suggested that social capital, the product of social development, can result from activities such as volunteer community service. He further argued that this social capital is created through the affinity that group members feel towards each other and to the community in which they operate. The work of both Pedlar and Schmid suggests that activities such as the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build can provide the necessary forum for citizens to become involved in the development of community through the creation of social capital which leads to the social development of the community. Further support for the significance of communities of interest in the development of community comes from Labonte (1996), whose model of community empowerment includes two elements which are similar to communities of interest.

Labonte (1996) proposed a five element model of community empowerment known as, “the Empowerment Holosphere” (p. 12). Two elements of this model, *small group development* and *community organization*, closely resemble the aspects and goals of communities of interest as identified in this study. Labonte argues that through the development of small groups there is a potential to create supportive groups which can lead to the, “...improve[ment of] the organizational capacity of participants”. (p. 13). The significance of leisure is also mentioned by Labonte who stated that, “more than many other human services, leisure activities bring together in groups a diverse range of persons, re-creating at a micro-level the experience of community...” (p. 13). This

description of the potential for small groups resembles the reality of the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. A diverse group of women gathered, and through the creation of a supportive atmosphere and the existence of a common goal, a community was created.

Labonte's (1996) empowerment model also highlights the significance of *community organization*. In this stage of community empowerment, citizens are organized "...around problems or issues that are larger than group members' own immediate concerns" (p. 14). It can be argued that the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build provided the site for the organizing of a number of communities of interest and local citizens, which in turn helped to increase the social capital of the group as a collective. Based on the work of Labonte (1996), Pedlar (1996), and Schmid (2000) discussed here, it can be argued that leisure opportunities that promote group development and increase the social capital are essential to the development of community. In fact, this study illustrates the necessity of social development in the development of political community.

As well, this study has shown that the importance of social networks to women cannot be underestimated. The relationships formed during the Build experience led the women to feelings of community and was a key element in the determination of the experience as leisure or leisure-like. This finding is supported by Green (1998) who suggests that, "the sense of community experienced by women in their leisure time is reinforced by the importance of neighbourhood networks and other localized support systems" (p. 177), which, as this study shows, are often the site of communities of interest. The social

network formed during the Build was also significant in that it helped to create an environment that enabled the resistance of traditional views and roles of women.

Previous research on resistance has found that women are not necessarily rejecting their traditional nurturing and care giving roles, but rather they are resisting being limited to those roles (Shaw, 1994; Wearing, 1995; Green, 1998). The findings of this study support Green's (1998) contention that women-only networks can provide the forum for resistance. In this study, the environment created by the presence of women-only allowed the women to overcome "...insecurities about physical appearance" (Shaw, 1994, p. 11), while also forming a network of support which allowed them to partake in activities and exhibit behaviours which were divergent from those traditionally filled by women. Interestingly, in addition to the centrality of relationships to women's experience of leisure, Freysinger and Flannery (1992) found that it was the aspect of self-determination in the women's leisure that led to the potential for resistance. For the women in the present study, the very act of participating in the Build enhanced their sense of competence, control and self-determination.

Examination of participation in the Build as an act of resistance raises the issues of intention as well as the potential for both personal and collective resistance. This study found that the women involved in the Build exhibited behaviours that constituted what appeared to be both intentional and unintentional acts of resistance. Shaw (2001) supports the existence of these two forms of resistance and has suggested that participation in a non-traditional activity can represent both intentional and unintentional resistance,

depending on the motivations of the participant. I would argue that for some of the women involved in this study the choice to be part of the Women's Build was an intentional act of resistance, whereas for others it was more of an opportunity to join other women in a worthwhile activity. I would also argue that for the latter group the resistance of traditional roles of women was an unintended result of their participation. The success of this resistance was helped in this instance by the vast amount of media, both local and national, that showcased the efforts and abilities of women in a non-traditional activity. This argument is also supported by Shaw who noted, "...situations may also be considered to be resistance if they...challenge dominant views and discourses around gender or other relations of power, even if unintended" (p. 197).

Another aspect of the act of resistance is the question of individual and collective acts of resistance. Shaw (2001) noted that, "...one person's resistance may well have implications and outcomes that affect others in similar circumstance, and collective acts of resistance affect individuals" (p. 198). The findings of this study support this notion in that participants of the Women's Build as individuals may or may not have been using their involvement to make a statement about the roles of women in society. However, when examined as a collective, it is clear that because the Build highlighted the abilities of women in a non-traditional activity, their participation was an act of collective resistance. Further, the findings of this study have shown that whether the act of resistance is intentional or unintentional, and whether it is personal or collective, the women involved in this study used their participation to resist traditional views of

women. Further I would argue that the women went through a process of empowerment, and that an outcome of their participation was personal and collective empowerment.

Central to empowerment theory are notions of self-determination, increased personal capacity, and the reduction of the powerlessness one has over one's own life (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Arai, 1996;1997). Arai (1997), suggested that the process of empowerment includes four stages and that a person becomes more empowered as he/she moves through the various stages. The four stages of empowerment as described by Arai are: (1) *awareness* of the desire for change; (2) *connecting* with others and *learning* skills and information; (3) *mobilization/action*, which occurs when the individual is able to utilize his or her new skills and connections to act on the area of desired change, and; (4) *contribution*, defined by the individuals' ability to integrate into their lives the lessons learned in the previous stages. The final stage of empowerment is also characterized by the participant having increased feelings of social connectedness and belonging, and as a result feeling better able to contribute to community. This model of empowerment links well to the previously discussed work of Labonte (1996), Pedlar (1996), and Schmid (2000), which established the significance of social development in the process of developing community. Arai cautioned that this process was not linear and empowerment in one area of life does not indicate empowerment in all aspects of one's life. Similarly, the findings of this study support a non-linear process of empowerment and further suggest personal empowerment and collective empowerment share a synergistic relationship.

In other research which examined empowerment in the lives of marginalized populations, Pedlar et al. (1999), proposed a “social ecological theory of empowerment” (p. 102) which argued that empowerment needs to be examined holistically and within the social context of individuals’ lives. Aspects of this empowerment theory suggest that empowerment of one is not a result of the disempowerment of others, but rather that empowerment within a group can lead to greater feelings of empowerment within the entire group. This model of empowerment is grounded in the existence of social networks and the role of “symbiotic” relationships which are based in mutual “respect and reciprocity”. Also related to this theory of empowerment is the notion of a “textured life”. Pedlar et al. state that texture occurs when an individual, “...finds a secure place and a rich life in the community and is fully accepted there...” (p. 103). It is further suggested that individuals with a textured life enjoy diversity in their activities, social interactions, and the choices available to them.

The two models of empowerment discussed above offer insight into how involvement in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build resulted in the empowerment of participants both personally and collectively. This study found that through the process of learning new skills, gaining new experiences, and accomplishing goals with tangible results, the women felt more self-aware and indicated that they were more likely to take on new roles and challenges in their lives outside the Build. Another key element of the empowerment process of the Build was the fact that the passing on of knowledge, and thus power, was done at the participant level. That is to say that the relationships formed allowed individuals to learn skills which already existed in other group members. It was also

found that the women became more aware of the capacity of the other women involved in the Build, and women as community, supporting Pedlar et al.'s (1999) contention that empowerment is a reciprocal and mutual process.

The findings of this study suggest that through the provision of opportunities for involvement such as the 2000 Habitat for Humanity Women's Build, women are able to experience personal and collective empowerment. Participants experienced increased capacity and confidence, supporting the work of Green (1998) who stated that, "...women-only events which facilitate autonomy and freedom from caring responsibilities provide a crucial forum for self empowerment and autonomy" (p. 177). Equally relevant, the experience of the women who participated in this study further illuminates the potential of leisure as a vehicle for self-empowerment and the resistance of traditional gender roles. However, the key finding of this study is the determination of the relationship between social relationships, leisure, communities of interest, and empowerment and resistance. The findings, related to this relationship, offer a better understanding of the process of social development and the role that leisure and community play in the provision of opportunities for social development. They also illuminate the need for further study into the processes of community development and the importance of the role of leisure in all aspects of development.

5.4: Implications for Practice and Future Research

This study has shown that social relationships are the building blocks of leisure experiences and community. It was determined that the women in this study wanted

leisure experiences which provided them with meaningful opportunities to participate in their community, and that provided them with opportunities for personal betterment and a sense of accomplishment. Based on these findings, it can be argued that recreation and leisure professionals, along with community organizations, are in a position to offer opportunities that can lead to social development. However, it is important to remember that these opportunities need to, (1) have a clear and common goal, (2) provide people with an opportunity to develop relationships with other members, (3) include something tangible which can actually be accomplished, and (4) provide opportunities to increase personal capacity. If leisure opportunities with these elements are provided, the potential for the development of community and social capital is strengthened through involvement in endeavours that are genuinely meaningful to participants.

The findings of this study also support Pedlar's (1996) contention that more focus needs to be paid to the links between recreation and leisure and the *process* of community development. I would further argue that this study illustrates the necessity of social development to the process of community development. This finding is important in that it suggests that the current focus on the economic element of community development is too narrow in focus and that a more holistic view of community development should include the social development of citizens. The link between leisure and social development warrants revisiting by leisure researchers and practitioners.

The study of the Build involved eleven women with diverse backgrounds, working in a unique environment. Future research should examine the experiences of women in other

situations and should examine the potential for gender differences in both segregated and integrated environments.

Another aspect of the women's experience that deserves further research is that of resistance to traditional views and roles of women through leisure activities. The findings have shown the contradictory nature of messages that women can receive from their families, and the potential effects of those messages. Some study participants were raised with the opportunity to participate in non-traditional activities that influenced their perception of their capabilities and their right to participate. However, further research needs to be conducted to more fully understand the influence of being raised with traditional, and non-traditional opportunities, and the influence of receiving mixed messages concerning the roles of women in society. Further research is also needed examine the empowerment process and its relationship to resistance to traditional gender roles.

5.5: Notes on Method

This study was conducted using qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Methods of data collection included the use of a questionnaire, participant observations with a photographic journal, and semi-structured interviews. The following paragraphs will highlight the issues and realities associated with the use of these methods within the context of studying the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build.

The first stage of data collection involved the participants completing a brief questionnaire (see appendix C) which asked them some basic background questions about themselves, and their perceptions of the Build, prior to the actual experience. The responses from the questionnaires were used for creating demographic descriptions of the participants and as background information for the interview stage of data collection. In hindsight, I could have broadened the scope of the questionnaire and included the responses with other data in the analysis stage of this study. This may have allowed for better triangulation and for the closer examination of some concepts, such as the pre-existence of intent with regards to resistance.

The second stage of data collection involved observing the study participants while working along side them on the Build. It was my intention that a detailed observation schedule would be used to aid in the collection of daily observations of the Build experience. This proved to be a limitation as many of the questions contained in the observation schedule were unanswerable due to the nature of the activity. Further it was determined that the use of the observation schedule would have created a repetitive and limited view of the experience. The nature of the Build and the extent of participation required limited my ability to be a full participant and an observer. Compounding this problem was the fact that I was unable to test out the observation schedule during the Pre-Build as originally intended. However, participation in the activity proved to be invaluable as it provided the necessary social connection with study participants. Further, being a Build participant provided me with the necessary knowledge and socialization to more fully understand the participants' experiences, and to gain the trust of the women

involved in this study. If I were to employ observation as a method of data collection in a similar situation in the future, I would limit the level of participation in the actual activity and be careful to balance socializing with the need to collect rich data.

The other aspect of this stage of data collection included the construction of a photographic journal depicting the experiences and behaviours of the study participants. It was intended that this data source would complement the observation journal and be used as a memory probe. In reality, it was found that the pictures become graphic examples of the behaviours that were already documented through observation. In the future I think this method of data collection could be of value, but the value may lie in examining the pictures taken by study participants, as it may allow for the better understanding of their experiences and those things which were of value to them. The challenge would be in understanding what the photographs represented without introducing personal bias.

The interview process did not represent a difficulty as far as data collection was concerned. However, the vast amounts of data created through this process did limit the use and display of other data sources within this text. As a researcher I found myself overwhelmed with information, and when it was necessary to support the results of my analysis, I almost always used the participants' own words. This is a limitation in that it appears to devalue the validity of other forms of data collection, but it can also be viewed as a strength in that the findings are supported by the words of the participants and not solely by my interpretation of their actions. I would argue that the value of multiple forms

of data collection relates to the opportunity it gives the researcher to pursue analysis with rigour while triangulating the findings. Further I would state that data presented in research and academic literature should be chosen on the basis of its ability to represent the thoughts of the participants and to support the findings, rather than as a means of validating collection methodologies.

Another limitation of this study, also related to method, results from not having participants check the trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the study findings. This study used multiple data sources, member checks of transcripts, and constant comparison of data within categories in an effort to ensure validity of the findings. However, due to time constraints study participants were not provided with a copy my interpretation of the findings prior to the completion of this thesis.

5.6: Final Thoughts

This investigation of the experiences of women involved in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build determined that, arguably, the most important aspect of the entire experience was the fact that the Build was for women-only. The all-women aspect of the Build led to the formation of social relationships that in turn were pivotal to the formation of a Build community. Perhaps the most enduring impact of the all-women aspect of the Build will be the fact that it provided participants an opportunity for personal empowerment. Many of the participants indicated that a tangible result of this experience was the existence of the house, which they had contributed to building. I would suggest that another significant result of this experience was the social development for this

community of women, including increases in personal confidence, the attainment of new capabilities and an increase in the capacity of participants, individually and collectively. These women have realized the power they contain within themselves and what they can accomplish as an organized community of women. As a result, their experience will benefit the Cities of Kitchener and Waterloo.

In closing I would like to comment on the somewhat unique challenge of filling the roles of participant and researcher throughout the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build experience. Having spent two weeks working on the Build, I developed friendships with these women which were based on shared experiences and accomplishments. I believe that this proximity to the women and the Build process facilitated and deepened my understanding of the nature of the all-women Build. I further believe that by immersing myself into the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build community, it was possible to gain a better understanding of the experiences and perceptions of the participants in relation to community, leisure, and resistance.

Appendix A:

Mission & Purpose of Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region Inc.

Mission: Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region Inc builds simple, decent, affordable houses and sells them with no interest mortgages to low income families who are committed to improving their lives. Habitat works through partnerships with these families and the community as an expression of God's love in action. As the local affiliate of a national and international charitable organization, we strive to build new hope and a renewed sense of community.

Habitat's Operating Principles:

1. All people have a right to decent housing
Habitat home owners are selected on the basis of need. There is no discrimination on the basis of race or religion.
2. People need co-workers, not caseworkers
Habitat home owners contribute "sweat equity" in place of a conventional down payment by volunteering in construction, office work and fundraising. By working together with Habitat volunteers, prospective home owners develop life and employment skills.
3. People living in inadequate housing need capital, not charity
Habitat provides this capital through no-interest mortgages. Wherever possible, homes are built with volunteer labour as well as materials which are either donated or purchased below retail cost.
4. Habitat homes are financed through a Revolving Fund
This fund is made up of donations and no-interest loans from individuals, civic groups, churches, corporations, businesses and private foundations. The Homeowner's monthly payments of mortgage principal are returned to the Revolving Fund in order to build more homes.
5. Habitat financing is fair and flexible
Mortgages are interest-free and payments are established annually at 25% of the homeowner's yearly income. Each mortgage is held by the local affiliate of Habitat for Humanity. Habitat retains the first option to buy back the house should the home owner decide to move

(Habitat for Humanity Waterloo Region, 1999)

6. Does the group celebrate success or milestones during the Build? (Which groups participate: whole or sub-groups?)

7. Are participants empathic or impatient with others who do something 'wrong' or when something does not work out?

8. Is the group empathic or impatient with individuals or sub-groups who do something 'wrong' or when something does not work out?

Is there evidence of:

1. Sub-groups forming within the larger group?

2. Efforts to develop as a single group (formal/planned/informal)?

3. Change within the whole group (dynamics or existence of sub-groups) over the week? (How does the introduction of new participants impact the group?)

Anything else that seems to be significant or related to the formation of community or leisure?

Appendix C:

Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. The questions contained in this survey are designed to collect background information that will be used during your interview.

Section I: Personal Information

1. ID CODE: 11

2. Community of Residence: _____

3. Number of Years in Community: _____

4. Please tell me why you are involved in this build:

5. Have you worked or volunteered in the construction/renovation field? If Yes: how/why?

6. Have you been involved with a Habitat for Humanity Build before? If Yes: How many and what jobs did you do?

Section II:

a) Do you feel that community involvement is important? Yes/No? Why?

b) Are you a member of any community organizations? Yes/ No? If yes, please list:

e) Do you feel that your participation in this Build is of value to others?

Yes/No? Why?

Section III:

1) What do you hope to get out of this experience?

2) Do you think that participation in the Women's Only Build will be a leisure experience? Why?

3) Is the fact that this activity is for women only important to you? Yes/No? Why?

For the next questions please circle the number that most applies to you. 1 = strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= not sure, 4= agree, and 5 = strongly agree.

I am participating in the Women's Only Build:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| a) To meet new people: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| b) To learn new skills: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| c) To give back to my community: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| d) To feel a part of the community: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| e) To feel a sense of accomplishment: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| f) To gain self confidence: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| g) To have fun: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| h) Because of civic duty: | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| i) For a break from routine: | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Other(s) please specify:

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| j) _____ | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| k) _____ | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Appendix D

Semi-structured Interview Guide

Preamble: Hello, as you know, my name is Aggie Weighill and I've been conducting a research project focused on the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build. I would like to thank you for taking the time to be part of my study and for agreeing to be interviewed today.

I would like to tape the interview, if that is alright with you, so that I may ensure the accuracy of my notes and to aid in the latter stages of analysis. Once the interview is completed and a transcript of the interview is made, you will have an opportunity to read it over to ensure the accuracy and context of any statements made. Is it okay if I turn the tape on now?

Section I: General

These questions are related to developing a better picture of the participants' life context:

- a) Tell me a little bit about yourself...
 - a. Where you grew-up.
 - b. Where you live now.
 - c. Your likes and dislikes.
- b) In the questionnaire you said that you _____ for a living; tell me about that...
- c) You have lived in _____ for X years. Is there anything about life here that you feel is related to your volunteering for the Build?
- d) Do you have any thoughts about the proposals to become a larger super-city?

Section II: Build Process

- e) How did you learn about or hear about the Build?
- f) Were the pre-build training sessions important to you?
- g) Did the fact that they were taught by women influence your experience?

Section III: Leisure

These questions are related to whether or not the women perceive the Habitat for Humanity Build to be a leisure experience.

- h) What types of things do you do for leisure?
- i) Can you tell me how these activities may have changed since you were a teenager, twenty-something?

- j) What/who, do you think, influenced your recreation and leisure choices when you were younger?
- k) And how about now?
- l) In the Pre-Build Questionnaire you said that you thought the Build would be:
- a. A leisure experience: Did this influence your decision to participate? How so?
 - b. Not a leisure experience: Did this influence your decision to participate? How so?
- m) Now that the Build is over, do you think that the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build was a leisure activity?
- a. Yes: Why do you feel this way?
 - b. What components, no matter how short or small, of the experience made it so?
 - c. *No: Move directly to next question.*
- n) What are some of the personal needs that you try to satisfy through your leisure?
- o) You identified _____ as needs satisfied through leisure (question n and questionnaire).
- a. Did the Habitat for Humanity Build not satisfy any of these needs?
 - b. Was there any component of the experience, no matter how short or small, that was leisure-like for you?
- (Question o.b, will be asked to those who answered "no" to question m)
- p) You spent _____ days participating in an activity that is more typically undertaken by men.
- a. Did the idea that this is 'man's work' come into your decision to participate at all, do you think?
 - b. Do you think that participation in the Build challenges traditional views of femininity at all? How so?
- q) You stated that one of the reasons your were participating was to have fun?
- a. Tell me how this experience was fun for you?
 - b. Was there anything done by others to ensure that it was fun?

Section IV: Community

These questions relate to participants sense of community, community involvement, and sense of communities of interests.

- r) In the Pre-Build Questionnaire you said that to you "community" means _____.
- a. Has this changed at all as a result of your participation in the Build? How so?

- s) You stated that you were involved with _____ community organizations.
 - a. Tell me a little bit about why you are involved...
 - b. How did your involvement in these organizations influence your decision to participate in the Habitat for Humanity Women's Build?

 - t) You indicated that community involvement is very important to you.
 - a. Why do you feel this way?
- (Questions s & t are answered only by those who indicated involvement and importance of involvement in the Pre-Build Questionnaire)
- u) How do you think of this activity in relation to community?

 - v) Did this activity represent community to you?
 - a. Tell me a little bit about that...
 - b. What made it a community?
 - c. Did you experience the development of community or was it an immediate feeling of belonging? Can you explain that?

 - w) You stated that you wanted to feel a part of the community?
 - a. Tell me a little bit about this desire...
 - b. Was there a particular community that you wanted to be part of?
 - c. Did your involvement in the Build provide you with a sense of belonging? How so? To what?
 - d. Is there something about the Kitchener/Waterloo area that made you feel inclined to be part of this group of women builders?

 - x) What do you think are the major benefits of this project?
 - a. To Kitchener/Waterloo...
 - b. To the builders...
 - c. For Habitat for Humanity...
 - d. To women...
 - e. To the people who will live in the house...

Before we finish, is there anything else that you would like to say about your expectations before participating, your experiences on the Build, or how you feel about it now? I would like to thank you for participating in this interview, you have provided a lot of great information! It will take me about one week to transcribe your interview, at which point I will send you a copy for you to review. After you have read the transcript, you may have some questions that I can clarify or there may be additional information you feel should be added.

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