1

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R S C 1970, c. C-30.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

Canada

LIVING-IN GILLAM AND LOOKING-TO STATE CONTRADICTIONS:
STRUCTURATION IN A SINGLE-INDUSTRY TOWN

by

J. ANN HEWITT, M.Sc.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

1986

© copyright

1986, J. Ann Hewitt

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-33372-3

The undersigned hereby recommend to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis,

LIVING-IN GILLAM AND LOOKING-TO STATE CONTRADICTIONS:

STRUCTURATION IN A SINGLE-INDUSTRY TOWN

by

J. Ann Hewitt, M.Sc.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

.....
Chairman, Department of Sociology
and Anthropology

.....
Thesis Supervisor

.....
External Examiner

Carleton University

May, 1986

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses sociological explanation at both structural and agentive levels, using concepts of structuration and Schutzian phenomenology. Part I presents the product of thirteen months of participant observation, including intensive interviews, in Gillam (population c. 1500), located in north-eastern Manitoba. The community services major provincially owned and operated hydro-electric installations. The dissertation focuses on Gillam's non-Native population, including crown corporation Manitoba Hydro and other State employees and their families and long-term residents (the Settled). The two groups experience Gillam in different ways: Hydro residents are relatively transient, while the Settled view Gillam as home. A description of the life-worlds of the two groups demonstrates what it is about Gillam and living in Gillam that is taken for granted. Life-worlds provide matrices out of which enigmatic situations (or routine disruptions) emerge. Six recurring enigmatic situations and their resolutions are discussed. The enigmatic situations are discussed in terms of the lived-in and looked-to relevances of Gillamites, that is, Escape and Control

The activities of the State in Gillam provide an objective meaning context for both Escape and Control. As owner of Manitoba Hydro, the State is engaged in both accumulation and legitimation; resulting contradictory State practices are experienced as enigmatic situations. The emergence and resolution of enigmatic situations produce and reproduce these contradictions because enigmatic situations and State contradictions are mutually dependent.

Part II of the dissertation provides the reader with a method for deriving non-positivist explanations of structuration. The method is that of constant and reflexive negotiation between theory and ground. As new elements are brought to bear upon an evolving explanation, they must be negotiated. Part II provides a history of this process, the product of which is presented as Part I. By accounting for theoretical and grounded elements, and the negotiations between the two levels, it is demonstrated that phenomenology can be used as a methodological guide, that the result need not be astructural and that the utilization of several theoretical perspectives need not be indiscriminate if conducted within a grounded context. Part II acts as a model for future research by demonstrating how the sociologist as agent can produce grounded theory through reflexive negotiation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The construction of this dissertation and expansion of my life-world have emerged from the contributions of numerous people. The questions I have raised in my work have not always been easy ones for me to face, and I am grateful to the many friends and colleagues who supported me throughout my efforts. As I re-read the following pages, their gentle yet persistent support will always be evident to me, and I extend my thanks.

In conducting my research, I was supported financially by a Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation Scholarship and a small Northern travel grant administered by Carleton University. I am also grateful to Manitoba's Inter-Universities North program for the opportunity to begin my fieldwork in comfort. I also acknowledge Carleton University's Social Sciences Graduate Bursary for assistance in reproducing this dissertation.

As I write these acknowledgements, my friend and business partner, Nicole Dillman, once again is taking on more than her share of our business responsibilities, and deferring to my academic ones. Her patience and tolerance of my frequent states of ambiguity are more than appreciated. Sandra Harder, a fellow Ph.D. student, has also

provided me with determination to finish, through her active encouragement and by virtue of her sheer enthusiasm for the fieldwork venture. My friend and colleague Brian Jones has also spurred me on, by never questioning the fact that indeed I would finish this project.

I would also like to thank my committee members: Stephen Richer, Ken Hatt, Frank Vallee and John Harp. Stephen Richer has always allowed me the opportunity to conduct my "negotiations" in an atmosphere of freedom. I have grown as a result of his commitment to my work, and will always be grateful for his friendship and confidence while I asked the questions that must be asked. Ken Hatt has never failed me in his support for non-positivistic fieldwork. When I first left Carleton to enter the field, I was perplexed by his ardor, which seemed more abundant than mine: now I understand. I thank Frank Vallee for remaining on my committee long after his "retirement"; his ongoing involvement provided me with a sense of encouragement and continuity. John Harp has offered me insightful comments in my attempts to take on the formidable task of negotiating between structure and agency, and his suggestions on how to communicate a reflexive account of research were greatly appreciated.

My life-world is the product of my personal biography, and particularly of my family's role in that biography. My parents have never doubted that if I asked questions they would be the right ones. They have tolerated my outbursts, quietly helped in my frustrations, accepted my moments of elation and totally trusted my ability to respond to the questions I faced. They understand that my dissertation is theirs also. My sisters have supported me as well, by reminding me (in my moments of compulsiveness) that my life-world included many more relevances than those of Gillam and the university. I am grateful for their (my) sense of perspective.

I also thank the many Gillamites who speak from these pages. I was very fortunate to find their community doors wide open, and to find their hearts and minds open as well. I have tried to remain loyal to that openness and sincerely hope that they recognize themselves, their life-worlds and their enigmatic situations in these pages.

Finally, I would like to thank my two "adoptive" families in Gillam. Because I have guaranteed anonymity, I cannot use their names. Both accepted me as a temporary family member, and they are an important part of my personal history. I rarely complete a day without thinking of them, and I offer the following pages as small thanks for their willingness to foster me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
PROLEGOMENON	1
Organization and Rationale	1
Contributions	7
i. Theoretical Contributions	7
ii. Methodological Contributions	9
iii. Substantive Contributions	10
Notes	13
<u>PART I</u>	
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	14
Notes	19
CHAPTER II. GILLAM, MANITOBA: ITS SETTING AND PEOPLE	21
Gillam: Its Setting	21
The Townsite	25
Gillam's Decision-Making Bodies	30
Gillam: Its People	32
CHAPTER III. THE LIFE-WORLDS OF GILLAMITES	35
Uncovering the Life-World	36
The Life-World of Hydro Gillamites	38
The Life-World of "Settled" Gillamites	53
Routine Knowledge and Recipe Actions	62
Notes	66
CHAPTER IV. ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS	67
The Matrix of Uncertainty	67
A Definition of Enigmatic Situations	68
Uncovering Enigmatic Situations	70
Hydro-Affiliated Gillamites: Their Enigmas and Resolutions	72
Settled Gillamites: Their Enigmas and Resolutions	101

CHAPTER V. THE RELEVANCE AND CONTEXTS OF ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS	111
Relevance Attitudes	112
Subjective Meaning-Contexts	113
The Interrelationship Between Relevance Attitudes and Subjective Meaning-Contexts	114
Enigmatic Situations and Because-Contexts	115
The Escape Context	116
The Control Context	122
Subjective Meaning Contexts: Escape and Control	125
Notes	126
CHAPTER VI. THE OBJECTIVE BECAUSE-CONTEXTS OF ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS: THE STATE IN GILLAM	127
The Objective Meaning Context	129
State Contradictions	131
State Contradictions and the Relevance of State Activities	143
Notes	145
CHAPTER VII. STRUCTURATION IN GILLAM	146
Notes	160a
 <u>PART II</u>	
CHAPTER VIII. INTRODUCTION	161
CHAPTER IX. CABIN FEVER AND RELATIVE DEPRIVATION	171
Cabin Fever	172
Interest	173
Meaning, Reference Groups and Underdevelopment	177
Plan	181
Thompson	184
Break-Through (Rejection)	185
Retrospective	188
Notes	191
CHAPTER X. CONCEPTUALIZING ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS	192
Interpretation	193
Resistance	194
Negotiation	195
Break-Through and Field Notes	198
Enigmatic Situations	199
Retrospective	200

CHAPTER XI. FIELDWORK TO STRUCTURE AND ACTION	203
Plan	204
Gillam: Ground and Field Work	205
Theory: Uncovering the Life-Worlds	207
Ground	208
Renegotiation of Phenomenology and Enigmatic Situations	209
Theory	211
The Formation of Humans: Conceptualising Action	213
Phenomenology and Its Concepts	216
Recovering Control Through Uncertainty	218
A Phenomenology of Uncertainty: Enigmas and their Resolutions	221
Retrospective	224
Notes	226
CHAPTER XII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRUCTURAL CONCEPTS	227
Break-Through: Negotiation Between Ground and Theory	228
Gillam as Northern Ghetto	228
Planning Literature	229
Ground	233
Negotiation: More Conceptualization Needed	234
Role of the State	235
Negotiation: Theory to Ground	237
Recognition of Structuration	239
Retrospective	240
CHAPTER XIII. CONCLUSION (PART II)	243
A Phenomenological Conclusion	244
CHAPTER XIV. CONCLUSION (POSTLUDE)	247
Theoretical Contributions	248
Methodological Conclusions	252
Substantive Conclusions	254
BIBLIOGRAPHY	258
APPENDIX "A" IDENTIFICATION OF INTERVIEWEES	265
APPENDIX "B" INTERVIEW GUIDE	266
APPENDIX "C" THE CONCEPTS OF ALFRED SCHUTZ	269
APPENDIX "D" THE LIFE-WORLDS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN GILLAM	280

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Page</u>
I	Population of Gillam: 1951 to 1980	24

x.

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Page</u>
I	Map of Manitoba	22
II	Townsite of Gillam	26
III	Linkages Among Objective Because-Contexts Subjective Because-Contexts, Action and Situations	149
IV	The Negotiative Process	164
V	Negotiation: From Cabin Fever to Structuration	168
VI	From Cabin Fever to Break-Through	171
VII	From Phenomenology to Enigmatic Situations	192
VIII	Planning Fieldwork to Structure and Action	203
IX	From Break-Through to Structuration	227

PROLEGOMENON

Customarily, a doctoral dissertation begins with a statement of the theoretical or substantive issues to be addressed and a review of the literature which informs those issues. This introduction is followed by an elaboration of the theoretical model to be used; a discussion of research methods used to collect information; a chapter or chapters on research findings; and a conclusion which expands on the theoretical model and the dissertation's introduction.

Organization and Rationale

This dissertation does not follow the customary model of presentation, although initial drafts of the material to follow did. My reasons for rejecting that style for presenting my research findings relate to the way in which I conducted my research and to how I developed an explanatory model.

Before elaborating on why the style of presentation I have chosen is the most appropriate, I will present a brief outline of the pages to follow. This dissertation is presented in two parts. The first part will be most familiar to the academic reader for, in many ways, it most closely resembles the customary format. In the Introduction to Part I, the reader is introduced to the theoretical direction surrounding the research presented, that is, the desire to

explain phenomena at both structural and agentive levels through concepts of structuration and mutual dependency. The reader is presented with a series of questions derived from the over-arching direction, and is given the context within which those questions will be addressed.

In the following chapters, I: describe the research context (Gillam, a community in northern Manitoba) and the people within that community, as well as the industry upon which that community is based (Manitoba Hydro, a Crown Corporation); describe various situations in which people engage in interpretation and action; examine the structural contradictions experienced by those residents; explain how those situations involving interpretation and structural contradictions are mutually dependent; discuss why the two levels are mutually dependent; and suggest the usefulness of such an approach for sociology.

Part I has been labelled "The Product", because it came about as the result of a detailed research process. The research process itself is presented in Part II, "The Negotiative Process". After reading the result of research endeavours, the reader is asked to reconstruct the development of that explanation, by following the research through from my initial interest to my construction of Part I. The model of research used was a grounded one, and one which negotiated between theoretical and empirical levels of

conceptualization. To demonstrate this model as it was practiced, I outline my theoretical investigations, my grounded investigations and my "negotiations" between the two.

I believe that by organizing the dissertation in this way, the process and method of my research will be understood as crucial to the formation and texture of my explanation.

For those sociologists who follow a tradition of field work, there is little material on how daily research is conducted. The argument is often made that each field experience is unique, and that research is so situation-specific that little can be done in the way of preparation. Karp and Kendall (1982:253) criticise the field of anthropology for its failure to prepare students entering the field. They state:

Some very eminent members of the profession seem to have taken the position that if we cannot tell our students what to expect in the field, we should confine our advice to them to matters of hygiene and personal comportment...

Sociology, like all modern disciplines, has broken down into a series of specialties. This dissertation does not suggest that substantive specialization is regrettable. The range of social phenomena to be examined dictates some specialization in order to avoid a "Jack of All Trades" outcome. That substantive specialization is often coupled with specialization in either theory or method is regrettable, because this division fails to show the inseparability of our theoretical concepts and how they are studied.

A dissertation presented in the ideal-typical form would do nothing to change that situation. It is my intention to demonstrate that theory which is produced in a grounded fashion need not be received in the abstract.

Presenting the research process as orderly, coherent and logically organized has consequences. One of these is that most social science researchers start off by believing that what is presented in these descriptions is a reasonable representation of the reality of research. Most of us get a nasty shock when we come to do research ourselves. However, the point at which we begin to realize that this 'hygienic research' in which no problems occur, no emotions are involved, is 'research as it is described' and not 'research as it is experienced' is a crucial one.

(Stanley and Wise, 1983:153)

Stanley and Wise go on to suggest that the most long-lasting result of the presentation of information in this fashion is that other researchers follow the same model of reporting on methods. This presents problems of loyalty to the researcher who has theoretically and methodologically grounded a study. Glaser and Strauss (1967:5) state that "...the adequacy of a theory for sociology today cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated". Using the ideal-typical model, the process of data collection is often banished to an appendix, while the process of theory construction is eliminated altogether from the reporting. The result is a study which explains a particular phenomenon, but does not elaborate on how that explanation came to be, or how another researcher might make use of a similar process. Cumulative qualitative research is truncated

continuously by a failure to report on those concepts and potential explanations which failed to clarify the situation.

...mechanistic descriptions [of the research process] can certainly be found, but we believe that these are misleading and simplistic. 'What happens' is idiosyncratic and redolent with 'mistakes' and 'confusions' and almost invariably differs from such descriptions. And we believe that these personal idiosyncracies, 'confusions' and 'mistakes' are...at the heart of the research process. In effect, these aren't confusions or mistakes, but an inevitable aspect of research.

(Stanley and Wise, 1983:150)

In short, we can either present our research as if we had canoed from Point A to Point B along a long, straight canal, or as if we had taken a flat boat on a river with currents and eddies, many of which proved useful, many of which in the end proved only to be diversions.

Loyalties thus become divided between presenting the argument or explanation as it has come to stand (i.e., as the product), or presenting the explanation as it emerged over time (i.e., as the process).

Alexander (1982:33) suggests that:

If the nature of social science is to be properly understood, and its true potential fully achieved, the careful attention to methodological rules for induction from empirical observation must be matched by an effort to create a 'theoretical methodology' that can explain the opposing movement from more general principles.

It is my suggestion that qualitative researchers have relegated for too long their discussions of process to books and articles on method, thus disjointing what has been the unique contribution of

their sub-field. "Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research." (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:6) Glaser and Strauss refer to this form of theory development as the constant comparative method - this comparison involves negotiation on the part of the researcher. Grounded theory construction also bears similarity to the techniques advocated by sociological phenomenologists:

A basic premise of phenomenological sociology is that the inseparability of theory and research is ensured by treating methodology, not as the manipulation of a set of given research techniques, as is the case in conventional sociology, but as the processes by which a sociologist generates an abstract view of a situation. The processes of observation, selection, interpretation and abstraction constitute the sociologist's method of constructing his [sic] "theory".

(Phillipson, 1972:79)

The grounded theory approach seems particularly relevant to a dissertation which attempts to link individual and small group experiences with the larger social structure and processes which allow for these experiences. The methodological approach taken here also corresponds to Giddens' theory of structuration. "To enquire into the structuration of social practices is to seek to explain how it comes about that structures are constituted through action, and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally." (Giddens, 1976:161). Through the course of my research experience, I subjected various concepts to a process of negotiation. This negotiation

occurred on many levels - between and among concepts of individual experience, social structure and my own experiences as both participant and observer. The purpose of such negotiation is to produce a model which bears both internal and external consistency, and which does not predetermine which elements of lived reality will be considered. Methodological negotiation allows for an explanation of social action which minimises the distortion between the phenomenon to be explained and its ultimate explanation.

Contributions

This dissertation makes its contribution to sociological debate at three levels: theoretical, methodological and substantive.

(i) Theoretical Contributions:

Theoretically, this dissertation has placed questions of consciousness and agency and questions of structure and structural contradictions on the same focal plane. (1) To do so has not always been easy: as a Western academic in the late twentieth century, I have grown up in an everyday and scholarly world in which the social stock of knowledge defines agency and structure as separate realities. My own reasons for deciding upon this particular dual focus are complex, but I believe it is possible to convey why I persisted in doing so. Quite simply, when I imagined what an

ultimate explanation might look like using only one focus or the other, the product I imagined consistently emerged as deficient.

This dissertation makes a theoretical contribution because it demonstrates that structure and agency indeed can be explanatory partners. By providing a grounded account of the mutual dependency of structure and agency, the dissertation supports Giddens' more abstract arguments that sociological explanations can and should take into account principles of structuration.

This dissertation also has inserted a new term into the lexicon of interpretative sociology, that is "enigma" (and "enigmatic situations"). I am not the first interpretive sociologist to recognize that not all of life is certain and subject to "recipe" knowledge. In many ways, the term "enigma" reflects an ongoing recognition that human beings can be, and regularly are uncertain, puzzled and disrupted. Enigmatic situations are a taken for granted part of daily life. By bringing the theoretical history of this stream of thought to bear on a single term, this dissertation allows the attention of the reader and researcher to be directed at active interpretation, that is, interpretation which requires agency. The choice of "enigma" as a central concept helped me to recognize systematically a perennial problem for sociology: "...the *idée fixe* of social action has always and everywhere generated its own negation

by culminating in the concept of a dominating and constraining social system" (Dawe, 1978:362).

By using the term enigma and its reference to agentive interpretation, it is possible to discuss how the interpretation of enigmatic situations and structural contradictions are mutually dependent, and how each produces and re-produces the other.

I do not claim to have found the answer to the problem of the relationship between human structure and human agency, but I believe that by grounding questions arising from that problem, I have found an answer. In their introduction to The Homeless Mind, Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973:viii) convey the posture with which I present my answer:

The finished book fills us with some trepidation. We are far from certain about many of the propositions, and we are anxious that our argument be understood as tentative, hypothetical, exploratory (the reader is welcome to add any other of the adjectives with which scholars habitually assuage their nervousness about what they have written). All the same, we are arrogantly self-confident about one thing: **these are the questions that must be asked.**

(ii) Methodological Contributions:

As will be demonstrated in Part II of this dissertation, the method which guided this research was that of systematic negotiation between theory and ground. In the preceding section on Organization and Rationale, I have discussed why I chose to present the process by which I came to define and explain the enigmatic situations of Gillamites. By making such a choice, I have allowed my method to be

unveiled, that is, I have documented the step-by-step process of developing a non-positivistic piece of research. This process can be described as one emerging from a methodological stance of "cognitive nervousness" (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973:5). This dissertation makes a contribution to sociological discourse because it not only states that its assumptions and ensuing research were non-positivistic, but also how. The dissertation also makes its contribution by demonstrating how we can account for and communicate reflexivity in social research: reflexivity at a scholarly level, at an interactional level and at a level of research process.

(iii) Substantive Contributions:

In every period of Canadian history there have been large industries in the sense of large economic organizations controlling substantial amounts of capital and exercising dominance within economic processes. In each period there has been a demand for labour at various dispersed locations. Little communities have come into being to supply this labour. The core consequence is this: **in every period of Canadian history there have been small settlements in which the circumstances of daily life have been clearly dependent on the economic patterns within and the decisions made by directors of big industries.**

(Bowles, 1982:5; emphasis added)

This dissertation makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on single industry, resource-based communities because it questions and examines the very assumptions upon which much of that body of knowledge is based: the structural "dependency" of the "circumstances of daily life".

This dissertation also makes a contribution to the body of knowledge on northern Manitoba, and, to a lesser degree, Canada's mid-North. In many ways, this dissertation documents Gillam's past because, since completion of my field research, Gillam has been transformed from a "bust" community to a "boom" one as a result of new hydro construction in the area. If we regard the information in this dissertation as historical, its contribution is unique. The Gillam of today is not the Gillam within which I conducted my research. Population levels have increased once again, and many of the situations described in this dissertation have altered accordingly.

Finally, this dissertation offers a view of non-Native Northerners as something other than disembodied symbols of European domination of Native peoples (that is, people who are not of North American "Indian" descent) and lands. I have not hidden the fact that many of the non-Native people of Gillam consider Native people to be "troublesome" at best. While this dissertation recognizes the tendency among non-Native Gillamites to assume cultural superiority, it makes its contribution by also recognizing that the failure to examine systematically non-Native northern life-worlds will not make those worlds disappear. Just as there are theoretical questions that must be asked, so too are there substantive ones. The following pages ask and answer important questions about the daily lives of

residents who, for whatever reason, share the mid-North with its
aboriginal peoples.

NOTES TO PROLEGEMONON

1. I am indebted to Frank Vallee for suggesting the analogy of "focal plane" to describe the levels of analysis used in this dissertation.

PART I. THE PRODUCT

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

As stated in its foreward, the purpose of this dissertation is to address questions of theory and ground on the same focal plane. The formulation and emergence of those questions were guided by the desire to arrive at answers based on both daily practices and what sociologists have termed "structure", because, as Giddens (1979:53) suggests, "the notions of action and structure **presuppose one another.**" This desire to explain structure in terms of ground and vice-versa is not unique to my work. Indeed the "micro-macro" discourse can be seen as the heart of the sociological venture.

Giddens, in his writings, addresses the micro-macro problematic when he suggests that sociological explanations must take into account the concept of "structuration". (1) Giddens (1979:69) states that this concept "...involves that of the **duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency.**" An argument based on the concept of structuration recognizes that the explanations of daily experiences and those of structural principles are isomorphic reflections of each other, and that an explanation of structural reproduction is necessarily one of

its production, in other words, that humans do not either produce or reproduce structure. In suggesting that structure and agency are mutually dependent, any dichotomy between production and reproduction is recognized as analytic only, and not empirical. If we choose to examine the human experience only at the level of structure, we cannot do so without choosing (even implicitly) an explanation of human agency. The reverse is similarly the case. The difficulty encountered by sociologists is in maintaining the explicit assumptions of structural and agentive foci within a single explanation. How does one develop an explanation which is enhanced rather than confused by the recognition of the "duality of structure"?

This dissertation is based on the assumption that certain situations will more clearly display duality of structure than others. If we are proposing to explain agency and structure in terms of each other, situations in which agentive elements are salient provide us with a starting point. An enigmatic situation is one type of human experience where agency is salient. Enigmatic situations are defined as the routine disruptions arising in everyday life which require typification if pragmatic interests are to be followed. In enigmatic situations, humans must exercise agency to typify and interpret their life-worlds. Enigmatic situations are "routine" in that we take for granted that not all elements within our life-worlds will be certain, and we take for granted that we must "work through" various situations.

The "biography" of this dissertation's explanation is presented in Part II: The Negotiative Process. One part of that negotiation involved the selection of phenomenology as a theoretical approach which would not negate the structuring properties inherent in human action. While relying heavily on Giddens' view of "structure", this dissertation draws on Marxist notions of State contradictions within capitalism.

The result of this negotiation among ground, phenomenological theory and structural theory is a series of questions. They are as follows:

- (1) How do people come to interpret the situations which they encounter in their daily lives?
- (2) Why are some situations "easily" interpreted and acted upon with routine or "recipe" knowledge?
- (3) Why are others less easily interpreted and acted upon, that is, are enigmatic and involve action based on non-routine knowledge?
- (4) In enigmatic situations, what is the character of the knowledge upon which people act, and how are enigmas resolved?
- (5) What elements of structure are involved in both the emergence and resolution of enigmatic situations?
- (6) If enigmatic situations result from the very structure within which daily activities are carried out, is there any evidence to suggest active acceptance of or resistance to that structure?
- (7) If there is resistance, what form does that resistance take, and how does it relate to the duality of structure?

These questions have been examined in the context of a single industry, resource-based community, and have focused on the experiences of non-Native residents living within it. The data presented in this dissertation are based on thirteen months of participant observation and thirty-five interviews conducted in Gillam, Manitoba. (For a more extensive discussion of the methods used, see Part II, p. 203 ff.)

Part I of this dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter II provides the setting or context within which the explanation was developed. It describes the community of Gillam: its setting, the townsite, its decision-making bodies and its people.

Chapter III provides the reader with an understanding of the everyday life-world of Gillamites, their shared interpretations and their routine situations. In doing so, it addresses the first two questions cited above.

Chapter IV describes the enigmatic situations (both their emergence and resolution) of the residents of Gillam. This chapter responds to Questions 3 and 4.

Chapter V addresses the structural contradictions pertaining to resource based communities in general, and Gillam in particular. As such, it addresses Question 5.

Chapter VI examines the duality of structure by focussing on Questions 6 and 7.

Chapter VII further develops the concept of structuration vis-a-vis Gillam and discusses how structure and agency enter into the interpretations and plans of Gillamites.

Part II documents how this dissertation developed from original questions to the explanation provided in Part I.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. This thesis draws heavily on Giddens' concept of "structure". Giddens distinguishes three important concepts: structure, system and structuration, but places primary emphasis on the last of the three: "in my opinion it is not 'structure' as such, but the idea of the duality of structure which has priority in examining both the nature of subjectivity and the constitution of action" (1982: 26).

Keeping the primacy of structuration in mind, the following presents "structure" as it is used in this dissertation. This definition appears in Giddens' work as distinguished from a definition of system:

A distinction is made between **structure** and **system**. Social systems are composed of patterns of relationships between actors or collectivities reproduced across time and space. Social systems are hence constituted of **situated practices**. Structures exist in time-space only as moments recursively involved in the production and reproduction of social systems. Structures have only a 'virtual' existence.

(Giddens, 1981:26)

If structures are of a "virtual order" only, then it is structural or "structuring properties" which

... "provide the 'binding' of time and space in social systems. I argue that these properties can be understood as rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems.

(Giddens, 1979:64)

To anticipate the suggestion that, if structure is simply rules and resources, then these are the appropriate subjects of sociological analysis, Giddens (1979:65) states:

Rules can only be grasped in the context of the historical development of social totalities, as recursively implicated in practices [because]... rules and practices only exist in conjunction with one another.

Therefore, an explanation of structuration can and must begin with an examination of practices. This dissertation produces such an explanation by starting with an examination of the routine and non-routine practices of Gillamites.

CHAPTER II.

GILLAM, MANITOBA: ITS SETTING AND PEOPLE

Gillam: Its Setting

Gillam, Manitoba is located midway between Thompson and Churchill, on the Nelson River. (See Figure 1.) The original village was established in 1912-13, at the time of the building of the Hudson Bay Railway Line. The name "Gillam" was selected to honour Zachary and Benjamin Gillam, captains of the first ships to trade in Hudson's Bay. The townsite lies four miles south of the railway bridge over the Nelson River. This bridge crosses the river at Kettle Rapids, and was completed in 1919. Until the 1960s, Gillam remained a small village, based on the railway line and small-scale trading.

In the mid-1950s, the International Nickel Company of Canada (INCO) indicated an active interest in a possible source of power for their proposed mining development in the Mystery Lake-Moak Lake area (the current site of INCO's Thompson operations). The 1961 result of the ensuing negotiations was the Kelsey Generating Station, four miles upstream from Split Lake, approximately halfway between Thompson and Gillam. Since that time, Manitoba governments have been actively involved in the development of hydro-electricity in northern Manitoba. Much of this development centers on the Nelson River, which drains a watershed area of 1,070,000 square kilometers. The

FIGURE 1. MANITOBA

Source: Pleva, 1963:25

1 INCH = 80 MILES

river is 660 km. long, extending from its source at the north end of Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay, and descending 217 meters over that course. Nelson River development is thus technologically ideal, although it has been the subject of political battles and strong opposition.

Following construction of the Kelsey Station, the Manitoba government, through its crown corporation, Manitoba Hydro, began work on the Kettle Generating Station, about 8 km. from Gillam. The Station, completed in 1974, is Manitoba's largest electric power plant. Also located near Gillam are the Radisson Converter Station (completed 1976), Long Spruce (1978) and Limestone. Construction on Limestone has been sporadic, with halts in development emerging from Manitoba's failure to reach power sales agreements with other political jurisdictions. At the time of research for this dissertation, Limestone was not under construction, and its servicing village, Sundance, was closed.

Population levels in Gillam have fluctuated, increasing with development and stabilizing when construction is not underway. In 1951, the town's population totalled 80, with the decade between 1966 and 1976 showing the highest levels. The fluctuations can be seen in the following:

TABLE I.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1951	80	1971	1,975
1956	182	1972	2,200
1961	332	1973	2,300
1966	356	1975	2,900
1968	1,600	1978	2,187
1969	1,800	1980	c.1,500
1970	2,600		

Source: Manitoba, 1978; Manitoba Hydro, 1980; Pell, 1973.

Since 1966, close to 80% of the total population has been under the age of 35. The town's population is slightly higher in males than females (approximately 60% to 40%) but Gillam is not a "workcamp" and Manitoba Hydro employees have been and are actively encouraged to relocate their spouses and families to Gillam. Of the town's 1500 people, slightly more than half are members of the Fox Lake Band, an Indian band living in the town. This thesis does not address itself to the Native population. With few exceptions, Natives and non-Natives inhabit separate worlds. Of the approximately 750 non-Native residents, nearly 80% are employed by the Manitoba government (Hydro, school, local government district). The remaining 20% of the population includes CNR employees, small business owners and their families (Manitoba Hydro, 1980).

Gillam, at the time of research, was serviced by air and rail; there was no permanent road into the community. Air service was provided by two airlines, allowing Gillamites to travel to and from Thompson, Churchill and Winnipeg. The Churchill-Gillam-Winnipeg route was serviced by DC-737 jets; the Thompson-Gillam route by twin

propeller Twin Otters. The airlines provided both passenger and freight service to the town. Passengers could travel to and from Thompson or Winnipeg 3-4 times a week, depending upon the season and adjustments to airline schedules.

The Hudson Bay Railway line extends from Winnipeg to Churchill, passing through Gillam. Travel time from Winnipeg to Churchill is three days. The line also provides passenger and freight service; the most frequent passenger use by non-Native Gillamites is for travel to and from Thompson.

The Townsite

The town of Gillam is located on the banks of the Nelson River. (See Figure II for a map of the townsite.) Gillam's main street is named Railway Avenue. The second major street is Gillam Drive. On Railway Avenue are located the Fox Lake Indian Band Office, the Royal Canadian Legion, the shopping center, a municipal building, a fast-food stand (open in summer only), three or four stores (including the town's liquor outlet), and the Gillam Hotel. The shopping center contains a Simpsons-Sears catalogue store, a small outlet for The Bay, the Gillam Co-Op grocery store, the bank (this branch of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce closed during my fieldwork), an insurance office, the Post Office, a small stereo/video store, and Manitoba Hydro's administrative offices. All

FIGURE II. TOWNSITE OF GILLAM

Sources: Province of Manitoba, 1978 [adapted from].

of these outlets are small, and the reader should note that the shopping center covers only a quarter of what would be considered a very small city block. The Gillam Hotel is also located on Railway Avenue. The two storey prefabricated structure contains approximately 40 rooms, a coffee shop, the town's only dining room and a Pub. The municipal building houses the Gillam Local Government District Office and other government branches, such as the employment office and public health offices. Towards the end of my fieldwork, the Legion was closed and a new building was under construction. The original building was of wood construction and was considered to be a fire hazard. On the south side of Railway Avenue are the CNR railway tracks, a small CNR bunkhouse and the railway station.

The hospital, on Gillam Drive, was built at the time of Hydro development. It is a single storey building, containing 15 beds, an operating room, a surgery, an X-ray room and laboratory, and facilities for out-patient consultation. There are normally two doctors in residence, and a full time/part time nursing staff of eight to ten nurses and nursing assistants. The school is also located on Gillam Drive. Classes are given from pre-school levels to Grade XII, the last year of secondary education in Manitoba. The Hydro staff house is also located on Gillam Drive, at the edge of town. It is a modern, attractive three storey building and can house approximately 80 residents.

Finally, behind the hotel is the town's recreation center. The center contains the town's library, a snack-bar, a gymnasium (which doubles as an assembly hall), facilities for bowling, hockey, broomball, several meeting rooms (also used for social events) and, at the time of my research, a small video game arcade.

Housing in Gillam can be divided into five distinct areas: The Annex, Snob Hill, The Swamp, Local Housing and Native Housing (see Figure II). They are referred to here by their popular names. The western section of housing is known as The Annex. Most of the housing in this area consists of Hydro-owned single wide trailers. There are also some CNR trailers, privately owned ones and a few owned by Native residents. This section of town contains some of the oldest trailers, left over from construction during the mid-60s. One of the women interviewed described them as "early Canadian poverty". Roads in this area are unpaved and lots are relatively small.

The central area is known as Snob Hill. This part of town consists of bungalows, two storey homes and double-wide, modern trailers on basements. These trailers are very much like "pre-fab" housing. This area most clearly resembles southern suburban design, with winding, paved streets, no sidewalks, paved driveways, and relatively large front and back yard. The houses are owned and

maintained by Manitoba Hydro, the School District and other provincial government agencies.

The newest area in town is known as The Swamp, an area unsuited to basement construction. The houses are double-wide trailers, identical to those in Snob Hill, but placed on piles. Roads are paved and lot sizes are large.

The final two areas are those which contain privately owned permanent dwellings and Native housing. The two areas overlap. Houses are constructed of wood. That housing owned by non-Natives is of far better quality than government-provided Native houses (more and larger windows, siding rather than plywood, larger lots). The major difference between Native housing and all other housing is density - Natives live in smaller houses with more people on smaller lots. Since I completed my research, the Fox Lake Indian Band has begun a partial relocation to Bird, their reserve land, which is near the site of construction on the Limestone dam.

Gillam is located close to the Nelson and Kettle Rivers. The community is just below the permafrost line and enjoys an average of six weeks of frost-free weather per year. Although some residents plant vegetable gardens, the yield is limited by the poor quality of the soil and the short growing season. Snowfall is heavy during the fall and early spring; winter months are dry and cold. January and February are considered to be the worst months. More often than not,

there is a month-long stretch of daytime temperatures remaining at the minus forty degree Celsius mark during January or February. The remaining winter months are less cold, with average daytime temperatures between minus fifteen and minus ten degrees Celsius.

Although there are some deciduous trees in the area, most of the land is covered by Jack Pines. Over the years, residents have built cabins up and downstream on the banks of the Nelson River. The cabins are built of scrap materials left over from construction. They are used primarily during the late fall, winter and early spring. Black flies and mosquitoes make summer outings less practical. Parts of the area accessible to Gillam are breath-taking in their beauty, with rolling hills, orange sand and hundreds of small streams. The village of Sundance, built for Limestone construction, is located on such a spot, nestled among trees and hills. Gillam is somewhat barren in comparison. It is flat, little of the indigenous vegetation remains, and there is little protection from the winds which sweep off the Nelson River.

Gillam's Decision-Making Bodies

The Local Government District (L.G.D.) of Gillam was created in 1966, at the same time as widespread Hydro construction began in the area. The L.G.D. comes under the jurisdiction of the Manitoba Minister of Urban Affairs, to whom the L.G.D. Administrator is

responsible. In a sense, L.G.D.s are "wards" of the State, and these areas do not enjoy responsible local government under the Manitoba Municipal Act. The L.G.D. Administrator is appointed by the Minister, and is assisted by a locally elected advisory council, headed by a mayor. This council is only advisory, as it does not hold cheque-signing authority. An agreement between the Minister of Urban Affairs and Manitoba Hydro provides for Hydro to pay all capital costs incurred by the L.G.D. as well as any operating deficits. Mill rates are based on a provincial average and, in general, Manitoba Hydro pays approximately 90% of the costs of running the L.G.D. Major costs include water, sewage, fire-fighting equipment, garbage disposal, and the maintenance and operation of the town's recreation center and government office building.

The Gillam School is part of the Frontier School Division, centered in Thompson. The School Division is responsible to the Manitoba Ministry of Education. An agreement also has been reached between the Ministry of Education and Manitoba Hydro respecting costs, and Hydro subsidizes school capital and operating costs. The school is staffed by a Principal, Vice-Principal and approximately 25 teachers. School population during my fieldwork was approximately 350, with the majority of students under high school age. Almost half of the school population consists of Native children living in

Gillam. The school is assisted by a locally elected, nine-member school board.

Manitoba Hydro maintains a townsite office, run by a Hydro-appointed Townsite Manager. The manager is responsible for the maintenance of Hydro-owned housing and facilities. Because so much of Gillam is Hydro owned or controlled, his position brings him in frequent contact with the L.G.D. administrator. The Townsite Manager is also responsible for the allocation of housing to Hydro-employed residents.

Gillam also sustains a small Chamber of Commerce, which is part of the larger Norman Regional Development Corporation, centered in Thompson. Both the Chamber of Commerce and the larger organisation focus their attention on development other than Hydro.

Gillam: Its People

As mentioned on page 24, Gillam's non-Native population can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of Hydro employees and their families (although strictly speaking this can be called Hydro and affiliated). It includes Hydro employees and their families as well as other government employees who come to Gillam for employment purposes and stay for relatively short periods of time. The group includes school teachers, hospital physicians, some of the local government district employees and a small number of provincial employees. I have included the affiliates in this group because

their experiences in living in Gillam are more like those of Hydro residents than they are like those of the second group, the Settled.

The Settled could also be called "old timers". There is a small group of families (10-15) who consider Gillam to be home. This includes families who lived in Gillam prior to Hydro development; some run small businesses, some were permanently stationed in the town by the CNR.

There are a number of reasons for distinguishing between the two groups:

(1) Their experience of the labour market is entirely different. Those in the Hydro affiliated group experience the world of work as a bureaucratic one, with all its inherent forms of work activity and decision making. In contrast the non-affiliated residents, even those who are employed by CNR, find themselves in relatively autonomous work situations. This autonomy itself is part of the "call of the North" for the old-timers. The implications for the life-world are that Gillam is alternatively seen as a place to climb in the bureaucratic seniority system, or to "be your own person". In addition, Settled women tend to be employed in small businesses or to be part of family-run businesses; Hydro women are far less likely to be employed outside the home.

(2) Quite simply, Hydro affiliated Gillamites are wealthy in comparison to their non-affiliated counterparts. They live in more

expensive houses, drive more expensive cars, wear more expensive clothing and consume more. Among the non-affiliated residents, the emphasis is on "getting by"; among Hydro residents it is on (not always selective) consumption.

(3) Hydro affiliated residents view the institutions within the community (i.e., school, hospital, shopping center, recreation center, local government district) as the responsibility of Hydro and/or the provincial government, non-affiliated residents do not. The implications of this difference will become clear in the description of life-worlds to follow.

(4) Finally, Gillam is home to the Settled. "Home" in this instance means that families have a history in the community. It is within this group that older Gillamites are found: people who are able to compare the Gillam of today with the community prior to Hydro development. The Settled Gillamites also identify the North as their home; they are familiar with other northern communities. In contrast, Hydro-affiliated Gillamites all come from areas outside Gillam. Most Hydro Gillamites never visit any of the communities along the Hudson Bay Railway Line. The following discussion of life-worlds in Gillam will elaborate on this basic difference between the two groups.

CHAPTER III.THE LIFE-WORLDS OF GILLAMITES

Gillamites live out their daily lives within the context described in the previous chapter. This context is part of the taken for granted. In other words, Gillamites experience this context as "not in need of further analysis" (Schutz, 1967b:74). The life-world is the locus of day to day existence, and encompasses all of the taken for granted. In carrying out the business of living in the life-world, the individual operates within a natural attitude. The natural attitude allows us to experience the life-world as an ordered and determinate system, and one that is shared with others. "The life-world is not my private world nor your private world, nor yours and mine added together, but rather the world of our common experience" (Schutz, 1973:68). The ordering of the life-world is possible because humans are capable of abstraction and typification. Schutz suggests that the world is made meaningful to humans by the ordering of phenomena on the basis of selection of particular aspects of those phenomena. Typifications are formed by selective attention to one (or more) common characteristics of a certain phenomenon. Much of what is typified occurs through language. As a result, typifications are both subjective and intersubjective, providing selective order to an inherently undifferentiated field of phenomena. In describing the life-world, we are describing the taken for granted

typifications of those living within that life-world. A description of all of an individual's typifications and the relationships among them would be a description of that individual's stock of knowledge at hand.

Uncovering the Life-World.

The purpose of describing the life-worlds of Hydro and Settled Gillamites is to indicate the differences between the two groups. Part of the life-world is structured by individual biographies. This thesis does not address those individual elements of the life-world. Therefore, the following description does not fully elaborate on the life-world of each and every Gillamite. There is far more taken for granted at an individual level than is described here. For example, a specific woman in Gillam would take for granted that she is female, tall, has three children, and so forth.

The following description outlines what it is about Gillam and living in Gillam that is shared with others. In order to develop this description, two sources of information have been used: interview transcripts and participant observation field notes. During interviews, individuals were asked to describe various aspects of Gillam as if they were doing so for someone who had never visited the community. (A more detailed description of field work is provided in Part II, Chapter XI, pages 203 ff. The interview guide

is appended in Appendix B.) Transcripts were then analyzed for areas of commonality. This list of common typifications was then checked against participant observation field notes to ensure that the two sources of information did not contradict each other. The fact that this did not occur should not be viewed as problematic: one characteristic of taken for granted typifications is that they are relatively stable, and do not undergo substantial shifts. Field notes have been used to supplement the interview transcripts. In general, these notes add depth to interview results, and demonstrate that the typifications indeed are shared.

Although it is my purpose to point out the different life-worlds of Hydro and Settled Gillamites, there is a natural sharing of typifications between the two groups. (The simple sharing of language predicates this.) One of these shared typifications is that transportation in and out of Gillam is relatively limited, and any plans to leave the community must take this into account. There is also agreement that consumer services are limited, and that many of the goods available down south are not easily obtained in Gillam. The school is also seen as limited by southern standards, and it was acknowledged by all that at least some of the educational facilities available in large centers were not included in the Gillam school. Recreational opportunities and housing stock were viewed in a similar way. Employment was seen as a distinguishing feature in the

community; there was no disagreement that the job market was almost entirely dominated by Hydro. There was acknowledgement that the community was provided with health services. The role of government in the lives of those in the community did not consistently appear in the typifications of Gillamites I encountered. Gillam was often referred to as having "its share" of psychological and family problems, but the specification of what a "share" was varied. Finally, there was a verbal agreement that Gillam was relatively isolated and endured a cold climate, although the attitude toward these features varied from group to group.

Before discussing enigmatic situations or routine disruptions within the life-worlds of Gillamites, the following pages will describe the taken-for-granted matrices within which enigmas emerge.

The Life-World of Hydro Gillamites

For Hydro employees and their families, transportation in and out of Gillam is an employee benefit - Manitoba Hydro provides each family with three paid trips to Winnipeg per year. Trips out of the community are thereby legitimized, and become part of the Hydro stock of knowledge, and their existence is taken into account in planning for the future. Because of these subsidized trips to Winnipeg, airplane service is seen as the way to travel to the south, although

alternatives occasionally must be considered (i.e., rail, winter road).

Gillam is serviced by Pacific Western Airlines (PWA), which provides between three and five flights to Winnipeg per week. Any rumours that the number of flight are to be reduced are greeted with a variety of negative responses.

If I can't live down there I at least want to be able to get there if I have to.

(Male, 20s, coffee shop)(1)

They think they can do anything because there's no other airline up here. But our money is just as good as anybody else's.

(Female, 30s, interview)

Flight reductions, which do occur periodically, are considered to be hardships. The "right" to get out of Gillam to spend time in the south is also recognised by Manitoba Hydro and other government employers in their provision of free travel and additional holiday time for northern employees.

Having access to Thompson through railway service is considered to be an advantage, although the level and type of service are more often than not considered to be inadequate.

You'd never have to catch a train at two o'clock in the morning if you lived in Winnipeg.

(Female, 40s, Legion)

During my participant observation in Gillam, a gravel road

between Gillam and Thompson was under construction. Many of the people I spoke with were unsure of its effect. It was said that the road would reduce the prices of consumer goods in the town, but many also feared that the subsidized trips to Winnipeg would be reduced or eliminated once the new road was in place. In general, most Hydro people I spoke with saw the road as a benefit if it did not interfere with their access to the south.

Cost of living (excluding housing) is seen as high by most Hydro families. This includes cost of food, clothing and gasoline. This is combined with the opinion that there is very little selection in terms of consumer goods. The community does not sustain many small businesses, and those which do exist are often described as inferior and "rip-off joints". Hydro families deal with this reality in two ways: by delaying any consumer purchases until they are in the south; and by bartering among themselves for services, e.g. helping with car repairs in return for assistance in launching a small boat.

It was not unusual to hear Hydro residents saying that the cost of living in Gillam was "just terrible". In my interviews, as well as in casual conversations, it was possible to break the cost of living into components, not all of which were considered to be onerous. The fact that what could have been a very high cost of living was offset by such things as northern salary allowances, housing subsidies and a variety of other benefits served to highlight those costs which were

not ameliorated by the employer: food, clothing, automobile and leisure goods such as snowmobiles. The price of these items was considered to be unreasonably high. For example, gasoline at that time was twice the price of gasoline purchased in Winnipeg; a bottle of shampoo which cost me \$3.50 in Ottawa was priced at \$7.00. This was particularly evident in discussions of food prices, and the semi-annual meetings of the Gillam Co-op involved a great deal of detailed questioning and complaints about prices.

Many of the people I spoke with in Gillam had experienced a large increase in income when coming to Gillam, and saw their increased ability to consume as one of the benefits of living in the community. Correspondingly, they expressed frustration over the fact that the consumer goods which they could now purchase were unavailable in Gillam.

Recreation in Gillam can be viewed as formally organised or informally convened. Hydro employees and their families tend to become involved in both forms of activity. Formally organised recreation centers around athletic activities: curling in winter, baseball/softball in summer. The Royal Canadian Legion also provides occasional formally organised leisure, such as bingo, dances and other events. This, as well as the periodic "socials" provides a link between informal and formal activities. Informally, parties and drinks at the Legion predominate as leisure activities. Occasionally,

ski-dooing or fishing outings are organised by Hydro and non-Hydro members together.

Their increased income and spending power also influenced the assessment of recreation by Hydro Gillamites. Although the town provided residents with a good recreation center, it did not provide them with a very wide range of activities in which they might participate. One woman, during an interview, told me that "really isn't much to do in Gillam". When I asked her exactly what she would like to do, she replied that she would like to have more access to "cultural things", such as ballet, concerts and "so forth". In general, the recreation available in Gillam was appreciated, but it was only part of what people considered to be a full range of recreational opportunities.

Many Hydro residents spent their leisure time in the company of friends and neighbours. The informal, spontaneous gatherings were considered to improve life in the town "as long as they don't get out of hand". Gillam was considered to be a good place for making friends because of its size, but many people expressed the fact that it was difficult to maintain privacy. "Everyone knows your business here."

By and large, Hydro families tend to view housing as something which goes with the job, and over which they have little to no control. Rents are subsidized and housing is allocated on a point system. As a result of the point system (much of which is made up of

seniority and position) housing is a status indicator. This status is highly elaborated and related to whether a person(s) lives in (a) the staff house, (b) a single-wide trailer on piles; (c) a double-wide trailer on piles; (d) a double-wide trailer on a basement; (e) a bungalow; or (f) a two-storey house. The six different types of housing are clustered in different parts of town, and those areas also have status implications, i.e., "The Swamp", "Snob Hill", "The Annex".

Over half of the Hydro people formally interviewed, when asked to describe housing in Gillam failed to mention the presence of private housing and housing provided by the federal government for the Natives in the community. The fact that Hydro Gillamites did not mention private/Native housing when asked to systematically describe housing in the community does not mean that this housing had no meaning for them. There was frequent referral to this housing in daily conversations. Generally, these discussions focussed on the poor state of repair of these homes, their poor maintenance, and the fact that they were "eyesores".

Of the twenty Hydro people interviewed, only one expressed no desire to own a home. This viewpoint was also evident in my participant observation. As mentioned earlier, one over-riding typification for Hydro Gillamites is that the south is to be valued. Accordingly, the value of home ownership did not apply to Gillam. Rarely do Hydro employees own property in the town. Housing

subsidies in the North (by increasing income) often allow residents to purchase homes in southern areas to which they plan to return.

Within the context of the town, the Hydro owned single family houses are considered to be the best form of tenancy. During my time in the community, a couple who were eligible for a permanent house turned it down, preferring to remain in their single-wide trailer. This caused a great deal of consternation on the part of other Hydro residents. "Why would they want to stay in that dump if they could have a house?" The value of a particular kind of house is clearly related to status: moving from a double-wide trailer on piles to one on a basement involves more than improvement in terms of housing, it also represents an improvement in status.

It seems a truism to point out that social mobility for self and children is considered to be desirable in Gillam; much of the discussion about the Gillam school by Hydro residents revolves around whether or not the school is facilitating this mobility. High school programs which provide the necessary requirements for university entrance are currently available in Gillam, and school board as well as public meetings demonstrate how strongly Hydro Gillamites feel about the situation: any suggestion that the university entrance program be phased out is met with total rejection on the part of Hydro residents.

The Manitoba and federal governments provide medicare services to all residents of Manitoba. When Hydro development began in the Gillam area an agreement was reached between Manitoba Hydro and the Manitoba Department of Health to provide hospital services to the community. The presence of universal health care and modern medical facilities is considered to be a necessary part of daily life in Gillam by Hydro residents. Whereas most are satisfied with the facilities themselves, many Hydro Gillamites I spoke with expressed concern and criticism over the high turnover rate of the physicians. In some cases, the Gillam hospital was seen as a testing ground for immigrant doctors who wished to settle in Canada. "I don't like being the guinea pig for some doctor from Pakistan or Africa." (Male, 30s, party).

The fact that a complete range of medical services was not available in Gillam was seen as having benefits and costs. The necessary medical trips out at times meant inconvenience for patients and their families; at other times, a medical visit to the south meant an extra chance to get out of Gillam.

In a community the size of Gillam, retaining anonymity in medical care is quite difficult. Many Hydro residents were reluctant to use the local health services, as details of treatment from time to time could become community knowledge.

Hydro Gillamites tended to view health services in the community as somewhat precarious. Although most Hydro employees do not remain

in Gillam for long periods of time, the geographical mobility of the hospital's doctors is even greater. Rarely do physicians remain longer than six months, and many patients prefer to consult doctors in Winnipeg or in their home towns when they are "out". The hospital facility was seen as little more than a glorified nursing station, as no major treatment or care was available there. Any severe cases, or cases requiring surgery were treated either in Thompson or Winnipeg. Finally, many of the nurses and other hospital staff were Hydro-affiliated, in that their spouses were employed by Hydro. The hospital was sometimes viewed as a nexus of gossip concerning the community, particularly with regard to those psychological problems which result in medical treatment.

Social/psychological and family problems are one aspect of the Hydro natural attitude where differences between males and females predominated. Hydro females were more likely than males to discuss these problems within the community. Men and women also varied in terms of what they viewed as the source of these disturbances. Very rarely would a woman suggest that these problems originated in the individual, rather, more likely she would search for a source in relationships and/or states of affairs exterior to the individual, such as the type of town Gillam was, the past experiences of the person, job stress, and so on. Because they viewed the causes as external, women were also more likely to stress the value of external

solutions, i.e., talking it out with friends, seeking professional help. Most males, when they did discuss these problems (which was not often) viewed any such difficulties as at least partially originating within the individual. Solutions tended to be related either to remaining silent and/or self-treatment.

He's been moping around for a month now,
and if he doesn't pick himself up soon,
he'll be out of a job.

(Male, 20s, shopping center)

What's the matter with her, anyway?
You'd think she'd know when to shut up.
The whole town knows about her marriage
problems. If she can't figure it out,
does she think we can?

(Male, 20s, recreation center)

While men and women saw the solutions to "personal" problems in different ways, when questioned Hydro residents in general saw any social problems which existed as in some way related to the nature of the community, the lack of stimulation and privacy, the absence of employment for females, job stress and shift work for males. In some cases, it was pointed out to me that perhaps Gillam did not suffer any higher levels of social problems than any other towns, but the size of the community and the fact that almost everyone worked for Hydro made these problems more visible.

Although there was some variation in terms of the way males and females typified the causes of social problems, there was a general agreement among the Hydro residents that the absence of

government-funded helping organisations (such as a social work office) did not ameliorate those problems which did emerge. For many, the fact that, beyond a community health nurse, there were no members of the helping professions in Gillam, represented a drawback to life in the community.

When asked to describe employment in Gillam, most Hydro interviewees suggested that the employer in Gillam was Hydro. Most employment with Hydro revolved around maintaining the dams in the area. In discussing employment during the interviews, all of those interviewed referred to CNR, the provincial/local government agencies, the Co-Op and the Bay. All agreed that there was little to no employment for women. In some cases, women had been trained in various job skills and deeply regretted their inability to use those skills. However, lack of employment for women did not represent a problem for all those interviewed. Many of the Hydro Gillamites are young couples, either beginning families or with young children. The fact that there is no employment for women in Gillam is not considered to be important by this group, as the women (and their husbands) claim that they would have chosen to stay home in any other community. (The reader is referred to Appendix D for more information on female and male attitudes towards employment.)

Many of the Hydro people I spoke with, both males and females, expressed the opinion that although particular jobs were not "all that

great" they provided "steady work". It is not common for the Hydro residents to separate their opinions of the Crown Corporation from those of the town in general. When job difficulties did arise, it was often suggested to be personality problems on the job and not the organisation itself which contributed to their emergence. There was a general reluctance to publicly criticise the corporation.

Why should I complain? I've got a nice house, lots of money, they take care of everything for me.

(Male, 30s, interview)

Keeping this in mind, it is difficult to draw out opinions on provincial government activities in the North. In a recent election, the community voted for the NDP candidate, but my discussions with Hydro residents indicated that many had voted for this party as a rejection of the Conservative party in power, rather than as an active acceptance of the NDP and its platform: at the time of the elections, the Progressive Conservatives had been recommending the slow-down of Hydro production and development. Hydro Gillamites suggested to me that they had been concerned about their futures, and that if Hydro was slowed down they possibly might lose their jobs. As slow-down was not part of the NDP platform, Gillam's votes went to that party.

In general, Gillam is not a town where people "talk politics". Most people I spoke with had never met or seen their local legislative representative. Occasionally, the reasons for this lack of interest would be spoken: "I'm not staying, so why should I get

into all that?" In most cases, politics did not enter the conversation.

The federal government is a distant body for most people I spoke with in the town. Generally, the impression is that it is a "raider", providing few benefits and eating away at hard-earned income. Its periodic suggestions for taxing employment benefits are met with outrage on the part of many Hydro residents, with fatalism on the part of others.

Sure they're going to end up taxing our benefits...and there's not a damn thing we can do about it.

(Female, 30s, interview)

In terms of their daily lives, most Hydro Gillamites treat the federal government with either disdain or lack of interest.

If the federal government is seen this way, the local government is often viewed with ridicule.

That's not really government...all they do is just clean the streets and stuff.

(Male, 40s, dining room)

Although the L.G.D.'s advisory council is dominated by Hydro-affiliated residents, the majority of Hydro Gillamites pay little ongoing attention to this level of government.

For Gillamites who are employed by the provincial Crown Corporation, the community is a government town, and there is often a lack of distinction between services granted the community by Hydro and those administered by other agencies of the provincial

government. As a result, many provincially controlled systems (such as education and health care) are assessed with respect to the company, and problems are raised within the Hydro bureaucracy and network. The prevalence of Hydro within local government affairs is exemplified in the Town Site Administrator, who is often approached on questions which pertain to the local government district, and not to Hydro's property within the town. Most Hydro Gillamites do not consider this separation of the two bodies to be important. As one Hydro resident (female) mentioned: "This wouldn't even be a town if it weren't for Hydro." This conflation of Hydro responsibilities with those of other organisations is not surprising: all of the community's "decision-making" bodies (i.e., school board, hospital board, town council) are composed of a majority of Hydro residents.

Finally, for Hydro-affiliated residents, Gillam is a place one "gets out of". Many employees and their families come to Gillam because it involves a promotion and/or a place to save money. Gillam is temporary, not only in terms of high levels of transience, but also in terms of the day-to-day projects of Hydro-affiliated Gillamites.

You can't really make friends here
because you know you're not going to be
staying long.

(Female, 20s, school)

In some cases, the conversation about Gillam takes on purgatorial tinges:

We put up with the boredom because we
know it's not going to last forever.
(Female, 30s, interview)

In place of permanently leaving the community, residents make use of their three trips out a year to savour what will be theirs in the future. Gillam exists as a stepping-stone between the past and the future.

In short, Gillam is a transplanted town, and is not "really a real town". It is a place to live, but for many, it is not home. It holds little in common with the past of most Hydro-affiliated Gillamites, and many hope that it will not be a large part of their futures.

If the South is seen as good, then Gillam should be considered bad. But typifications do not exist in such black and white terms. Gillam is not a southern town, but it does allow families to earn high incomes, to save, and to move up in the Hydro hierarchy. It allows these families to purchase consumer products which would be beyond their reach if they were living in the South on southern incomes. Gillam is isolated, but many people would point out the openness and friendliness of the people. In the end, people admit that all towns have problems, and Gillam is like any other town, except that "it's so far away".

With very few exceptions, the overarching typification of Hydro residents is that the South is good. South in this case does not

always mean "the big city", but may also include the small farming communities in which many Gillamites I spoke with were raised. In some cases, the obverse of this typification was that Gillam was bad, in other cases, Gillam was not as good as the South. This viewpoint towards both the South and the community can be seen in the assessments of a number of areas in Gillam. In my discussions and interviews with the Hydro residents there was a continual comparison of life in Gillam with life in southern areas, made either on the basis of past experience, information from friends and family in the South, and, far less often, media reports.

The Life-World of "Settled" Gillamites

In contrast to the Hydro families in Gillam, there is a small group of residents who are based in the town and who view it as their home. Most lived in the community prior to Hydro development in the mid-1960s, and for this reason they will be referred to as the Settled. This group consists of small business owners and some CNR employees and their families who lived in the community prior to Hydro development. For these people, Gillam is an entirely different entity than that described for Hydro-affiliated residents.

Transportation to and from Winnipeg by air is not provided free of charge for the Settled and they tend to use train service more frequently. Whereas for Hydro residents, connections with the outside

world are air-based, the Settled see their connection by rail. Not only do they use passenger rail service more regularly, but the small businesses rely on rail freight service to import supplies, others are CNR employees. For both groups, the Hudson Bay Railway Line is an integral part of life in Gillam, while airline service (passenger/freight) is used only at infrequent intervals. The Settled suggest that by placing so much emphasis on the Gillam-Winnipeg air transportation link, Hydro residents have ignored the important links with other northern communities. As a result, these services are decreasing. Settled residents stress the value of the Hudson Bay Railway Line in linking communities together, and suggest that Hydro development of the area placed priority on communications with Winnipeg. The failure of the corporation and its employees to make use of rail services has also led to increased costs for those who do not have any option.

If people here used the train the
service'd be a hell of a lot better.
(Male, 40s, interview)

Cost of living for the Settled is also seen as high, although those who run small businesses are able to analyse why this is the case by breaking costs into transportation, turnover and product components. Due to housing costs (which will be discussed later) the Settled feel themselves to be harder hit by the high cost of living than Hydro residents. The business people are greatly affected by

Hydro employees who delay purchases until they are in larger centers; they do not feel confident in stocking large quantities of goods. These people are also excluded from the bartering network developed by Hydro families, although they are aware of its existence. The Settled see both costs and benefits emerging from the influx of people into their community, in terms of costs of living. For the small business people, it has meant higher sales, but higher costs as well. The selection in terms of available consumer products, groceries, and so forth is wider than it was prior to Hydro development, but these goods are not always within the economic reach of these residents. Housing costs have remained high. Manitoba Hydro contributes a large grant to the town's government district, and this is criticised by many of the Settled.

We pay taxes too, but we don't get any
say in what happens...but we still have
to pay.

(Female, 30s, Government Building)

Although the Settled belong to a number of the formally organised recreational activities, they rarely join in the informal activities afterwards (i.e., drinks after curling, parties after baseball). They remain separate from Hydro families for informal recreational activities, meeting in their own small groups. By and large, their recreation is more environmentally oriented, involving such things as fishing, hunting, trapping, ski-dooing. The Settled resentment of

Hydro financial contributions to the community is witnessed in the following:

Sure we have this beautiful recreation center. But what does it do for us?
Hydro built it and Hydro owns it.

(Female, 40s, interview)

There is the suggestion among the Settled that Hydro has re-organised the entire life of the town, including its leisure time. This is symbolised by the recreation center. Although these residents make use of the facility, they are reluctant to be closely associated with it. In discussing recreation with me they would begin by discussing the potential of the natural environment. They also stressed informal gatherings, and family participation in terms of leisure time. They emphasised that the recreation center and organised clubs, including the Legion, did not constitute the major portion of their leisure time.

Housing is a major part of the lives (and incomes) of the Settled. Although some CNR employees are provided with trailers, subsidies are low in comparison to Hydro contributions. Very few families who have lived in the community for twenty years live in company housing; most own their own accommodation, be it trailer or self-contained house. Due to expensive (or unavailable) construction materials, many of these private homes are well below the level of quality of Hydro property, particularly with regard to insulation. Home heating oil is imported by rail and is extremely expensive.

Electrical heating is also an expensive option. In brief, cost of housing is a major part of daily life. Nevertheless, the Settled own their homes, and are proud of this fact.

It may not look as good as the Hydro houses, but at least we own it. And nobody can tell us where we can or can't live.

(Female, 30s, interview)

They consider this part of their existence in the town to be extremely valuable, because it is an area over which they have control.

The Settled residents interviewed appeared to have more detailed cognitive maps of housing in the town than did the Hydro residents, although they did not differentiate Hydro housing as intricately (the normal distinction was: single wides, double wides and houses). In particular, the Settled all referred to private and native housing. In describing the housing, many did so chronologically:

First they put in the trailers down past the hospital. Then they built the houses up on Gillam Drive. There used to be a lot of trailers out on the way to the airport, but when construction ended they took them all away. The last houses they put in were the new energy houses.

(Male, 50s, interview).

Those who are part of the Settled also acknowledge that Gillam has "its share" of social/psychological and family problems. With no exception, all Settled interviewees suggested that these problems resulted from the development initiated by Manitoba Hydro. I was

often told that "you have to learn how to live in the North, and these people don't want to". One male resident suggested that:

...the Hydro gang have too much money
and too much spare time. It's not a
wonder they drink.

(Male, 30s, Legion)

Like their counterparts, they expressed the opinion that the absence of professionals to deal with these problems was a significant factor in the severity of some of the problems, but they also pointed out that the absence of "town spirit" meant that residents were not helping each other.

The Settled view the hospital as the Hydro hospital. Despite this, they express more reliance on the facility than do Hydro residents.

The Hydro people can go down south to
their own doctors, but these are the
ones we have to deal with.

(Female, 40s, school)

As mentioned earlier, Hydro subsidizes the hospital, and the Settled are very aware of this. The hospital board is controlled by its majority of Hydro employees, and the Settled suggest that "we take what we can get". This view is strengthened by the fact that many hospital employees are Hydro-affiliated, and therefore the hospital becomes a distinguishable point of contact between Hydro residents and the Settled.

If the hospital is Hydro-dominated, there is even greater expression of this regarding Gillam's school. Once again, the Settled residents suggest that they take what they can get, and have no input regarding educational decisions. The town's school board is controlled by Hydro employees, whose idea of education and curriculum are very different from those of the Settled. The Settled do acknowledge that the situation in general has improved since Hydro developed the town; their children can remain in Gillam for all of their secondary education. At one time, children were sent away to regional boarding schools if they wished to complete high school. However, many Settled pointed out the importance of vocational training, which is not available in the school. The single high school stream for university entrance is preparing their children for a life outside Gillam, and the Settled do not see this as totally desirable. Education is valued if it allows their children to continue to live the lives their parents have made for them in Gillam, at home.

Employment and government for the Settled are separate issues, although they point out the connections between them. All members of the community are affected by government decisions regarding Hydro. During times of construction, services prosper and local employment is increased in their small businesses; similarly, when construction is completed or halted, employment possibilities drop. When the

community is undergoing a boom, the local selection of consumer goods is high; selection decreases in less vigorous periods. Hydro residents stressed the excellent benefits and security provided them by their jobs, and stated that employment in Gillam is generally good. In contrast, the Settled frequently mentioned the grim side of employment in Gillam: the lack of available jobs for local people.

Hydro didn't make things any better. They come in here, their wives work for a while, and then they leave. But my kid can't get a job because they're all taken up by Hydro people.

(Male, 50s, shopping center)

Small business owners stressed the value of owning a business, but often said they did not do as well as they might because of the barter system among Hydro employees.

We can't compete with them, they don't even pay taxes. They do whatever they want to do, and Hydro doesn't seem to care.

(Female, 40s, interview)

These Settled residents often talked about free and open competition as the desirable situation, but did not feel that such was the case in Gillam.

Settled residents are far more aware of the existence, responsibilities and effects of local government in the community. As property owners and/or business owners they are subject to direct municipal taxes, an expense which is absorbed by Hydro for the Crown Corporation's employees. Every Settled adult I spoke with had some

experience with local government, either as a council member or through submissions and presentations to that body. Very few Gillamites who were Hydro-affiliated expressed any knowledge of the profile or functions of the local government district, despite the fact that Hydro employees dominate this council.

The Settled also view the provincial government as a body entirely separate from Hydro, and will attempt to use the Hydro bureaucracy as well as legislative representatives to raise issues and problems concerning their community.

The Settled do not have the complex view of "government as employer" and "government as representative". They do point out that if Gillam has been developed by Hydro, this has been a result of government initiative. Few of these residents wish to "halt progress" in their area, for this is perceived as necessary in a modern world. They do suggest that the form of development which was undertaken by the government and Manitoba Hydro is not necessarily progress. Despite this wariness as a result of past actions, the Settled are familiar with their legislative representatives. Unlike their Hydro counterparts, their concerns with government do not relate to issues such as taxation of incentives and benefits, but to such things as northern development, road construction, railway service and other local and regional matters.

For this group of people, Gillam is "their" town: it is home. The community represents a history for the Settled, and much conversation centers around what life was like before Hydro came. It is not a place to get away from - it is the place around which life is centered. Gillam is merely geographically isolated from the South, it is not socially isolated because it is a place of origin. Not only do Settled Gillamites identify strongly with their community, they also identify with the northern region of Manitoba as a whole. Many remember what life was like prior to Hydro development. In discussing this period of time, they inevitably make reference to the hardships and inconveniences of living at a small station along the railway line. Despite this nostalgia for days gone by, very few, when asked seriously, will suggest that they would like to live in the town as it was then. At the same time, they do not categorically accept the current situation, and do not enjoy living under the eyes of Hydro.

I can't believe it, but sometimes I
don't even feel like it's home, and I've
lived here all my life.
(Female, 40s, small store)

Routine Knowledge and Recipe Actions

Within the life-worlds described above, certain typified situations are taken for granted, and can be acted upon with routine knowledge. Routine knowledge forms a large part of an individual's stock of knowledge at hand, and is used as a device for furthering

interests, allowing results to be obtained (Schutz, 1970:144).

In Gillam, a large part of daily life is part of the taken for granted. Hydro-affiliated residents assume that leaving the community requires planning, that alternative sources of employment within the community are not available, that the provision and subsidization of housing will be available for the duration of their residency, that weekly grocery shopping takes place on Thursday because goods arrive Wednesday night, that only minor medical problems are dealt with in the town, that there will be a relatively rapid turnover of people in the community, and so on. The Settled take it for granted that Hydro development has become a major factor in their lifestyles and lifechances, that Hydro-affiliated residents will control the community's decision-making bodies, that they will continue to own their own homes, that their own actions will not substantially alter the development pattern initiated by the Crown corporation, that the formerly quiet community has been pulled into the world outside of northern Manitoba.

These situations are on-going and are part of the matrix within which Gillamites conduct their lives. Not only are certain situations taken for granted; certain actions also enter the realm of the routine, and are assumed to lead to certain results. Schutz referred to actions based on routine knowledge as "recipes", which become part of the taken for granted. "...[A]s long as the recipes

permit us to obtain desired typical results, they are unquestioningly applied and complied with..." (Schutz, 1966:27). Hydro-affiliated Gillamites take it for granted that placing a reservation with an airline will ensure that they will "get out". Settled Gillamites take it for granted that they must aim their small business activity at Hydro people if they are to survive financially.

From an analytical and practical point of view, the life-world can be divided into two spheres: the routine and the non-routine. The dividing line between the two spheres is permeable at all times. Certain situations which are normally part of the routine world, acted upon with "recipe" knowledge, from time to time can become part of the non-routine. Situations are interpreted in relation to and with relevance to life-plans and daily plans. As mentioned above, Hydro-affiliated Gillamites take it for granted that getting out requires prior arrangements and reservations. If individuals plan to leave Gillam for holidays, they book seats on the appropriate planes (a recipe solution). However, if, as happened to one woman interviewed, a parent who lives in the South is suddenly stricken ill, the situation undergoes a transition. If, as happened in this case, the first available plane is fully booked, recipe action is no longer appropriate, and the need for placing prior reservations is no longer taken for granted. This woman had one daily plan: to get out of Gillam as soon as possible. The recipe for action no longer

applied, because the entire situation had shifted from the routine to the non-routine. She could no longer view the situation as routine, could not apply her recipe knowledge. Her solution was to convince another passenger to give up his seat to allow her to be with her mother.

This chapter has outlined what it is about Gillam and living in Gillam that is "taken for granted" by Hydro and Settled Gillamites. Of necessity, the picture presented is an abstraction of what it means to live in the community. Nevertheless, it has been important to detail the elements of the life-worlds of Gillamites which constitute "reality". This taken-for-granted world is the matrix out of which enigmatic situations emerge. These situations will be described in the following chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. Individuals quoted will be cited by sex and approximate age. When the quotation is taken from interview transcripts, this will be noted as "interview". When the quotation is taken from field notes, the location in which the statement was made will be given. It should not be assumed that because, for example, a person made a statement at the school that that person is an employee of the school. Careful efforts have been made to protect the anonymity of all people cited within this thesis.

CHAPTER IV.

ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS

Phenomenology has been criticised for remaining at a level of analysis focused on recipe situations and the human need for certainty (Gorman, 1977; Light, 1969). Although the criticisms seem justified with respect to some ways in which phenomenology has been applied, the exclusive emphasis on certainty is not inherent to phenomenology itself. As stated in the Introduction to Part I, this thesis assumes that certain situations will more clearly display the principle of structuration than will others. These situations are ones in which recipe action and routine knowledge are not applicable. Phenomenology can be used to develop an explanation of those situations.

The Matrix of Uncertainty

The life-world has been described in the previous chapter as encompassing the taken for granted typifications of those living within that life-world. We take for granted that this life-world is ordered and more or less predictable. This taking for granted does not mean that we assume that everything which occurs in that world will be determinate and free of uncertainty.

Problems and difficulties, perplexities and puzzles, manifest themselves within the horizon of an on-going, actual continuity we call experience. That there are selves, that there is a communication between persons,

that events occur, that there is a world are implicit assumptions of common-sense reality.

(Natanson, 1974:25)

Schutz and Luckmann (1973:61) stress that the taken for granted does not mean the unquestionable. The very nature of the typification process necessitates questioning. All typifications are bounded by the social, biographical and situational. With so many factors at play in the formation of a single typification, it is inevitable that recipes cannot always apply. This itself is part of our natural attitude: we do not doubt that certain situations in the everyday world will be uncertain and will require interpretation. By admitting uncertainty to phenomenological analysis, we retrieve the concept of reality construction from a field which too often has overemphasised reality reproduction or repetition.

A Definition of Enigmatic Situations

This chapter examines those instances of uncertainty which occur within the overall taken-for-granted matrix of Gillamites described above. Once again, the matrix itself is taken for granted. The following definition of those uncertainties is proposed: **Enigmatic situations are the routine disruptions arising in everyday life which require typification if pragmatic interests are to be followed.**

"Routine disruptions" relates to the matrix of uncertainty, to the fact that humans take it for granted that such disruptions will occur. The emergence of a disruption does not mean that the entire life-world is thrown into question, but only an element or elements within it.

"Require typification": The typification of a disruptive situation is, in fact, its resolution. Humans act on the basis of typifications, for it is that process which allows us to project ourselves into the future. By abstracting certain elements of the life-world, we can imagine our future actions as if they had already occurred. By imaginatively stepping outside of time, we not only can typify the external world, we can also typify our own (projected) actions.

"If pragmatic interests are to be followed": Schutz stressed that humans are pragmatic beings. The term "pragmatic" has often been misunderstood, and requires careful definition. By pragmatic, Schutz meant that humans are future-oriented.

We must find our way about in the life-world and while acting and being acted upon must come to terms with the data imposed on us by nature and society. Now, however, it is through my action...that I seek to modify what is imposed upon me...The life-world is above all the province of practice, of action.

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:18)

Pragmatic interests and action are realized by first forming plans of what our actions will be. These plans are typifications.

Uncovering Enigmatic Situations.

Our first research question with respect to enigmatic situations is: What are the routine disruptions? The following description presents five such situations for Hydro Gillamites and one for the Settled. Like the typifications of the life-world, the enigmatic situations were located by an analysis of interview transcripts and field notes. Obviously, "enigmatic situation" is a second-order construct which could not be incorporated into the interview guide. Because these situations arise and are resolved as part of daily life, participant observation proved to be a better starting point for locating their incidence.

To locate enigmatic situations, an ongoing analysis of field notes was used. The intention was to note instances of ambiguity over the interpretation of a situation and its resultant action while still in the field. Throughout my fieldwork, I daily noted expressions of ambivalence, uncertainty, puzzlement, confusion and doubt. I also recorded the ways in which Gillamites resolved these situations, in other words, how they "figured them out". With time, certain types of situations began to recur. These situations, derived from field notes, were checked against interview transcripts to ensure consistency. Similarly, certain types of resolutions began

to recur, in other words, certain answers to the implicit question: What is to be done?

The following list of enigmatic situations is not all-inclusive. As was the case with typifications within the life-world, this chapter does not address enigmatic situations specific to the individual. The situations described here relate to what it is about Gillam and living in Gillam that is shared with others. The fact that these situations emerged over and over again and that ~~they~~ generated significant discussion among Gillamites indicates their shared and intersubjective nature.

The description of enigmatic situations is organised as follows: First, the enigmatic situation is described at a general level. Second, for each situation, a background is provided. The background delineates those elements in the life-world and stock of knowledge at hand which inform the ways in which people interpret and resolve that particular situation. Finally, the resolutions are presented. Once again, resolutions are typifications pertaining to action or pragmatic interests.

The six enigmatic situations to be detailed are as follows:

- A. Hydro residents find it enigmatic that, while travel out is legitimized in a number of ways, service is poor and flights are infrequent.

- B. "At last" Hydro Gillamites have large amounts of disposable income, yet there is nowhere in Gillam to spend that income on a daily basis.
- C. Although Hydro family income is higher, many Hydro families do not find their savings to be proportionately higher.
- D. It is enigmatic to Hydro Gillamites, who are provincial government employees, that "government" would want to give with one hand (incentives) and take away with the other (taxation of benefits).
- E. Being in Gillam allows Hydro parents to save for their children's higher education, yet that education may be jeopardized by the perceived poor quality of the Gillam school.
- F. Settled Gillamites find themselves in the enigmatic situation of looking to government to protect and represent their interests, while at the same time realizing that it is that same government which is threatening their interests.

Hydro-Affiliated Gillamites: Their Enigmas and Resolutions

Enigmatic Situation

- A. Manitoba Hydro and other government employers subsidize trips south for their employees. The subsidies suggest to residents that travel out of Gillam is a legitimate part of everyday life, that

employers see travel out as more than a luxury. However, the legitimacy of travel out is often contrasted with the poor service and infrequent flights.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which people in Gillam interpret this enigmatic situation and resolve it.

- Manitoba Hydro employees believe it is their right, as northern employees, to be provided with trips out. In fact, conversations about these trips often include phrases such as "We have a right to..." or "I earned them..." or "I'm entitled to..."
- With few exceptions, Manitoba Hydro employees state that they would not have come to, or remained in Gillam if these trips were not provided.
- In my discussions with Hydro Gillamites about the validity of these trips out, I would inevitably be told that it was in the company's interest to maintain this benefit.

If we didn't get our trips out, we'd all be going crazy, and then Hydro would really have trouble.

(Male, 20s, party)

- People see trips out as necessary for pleasure and not just for emergencies. People use these opportunities to do things they can't do in Gillam: going shopping, going out to dinner in a "nice"-restaurant, going to movies, going to "nice" bars.

- People need to get away from the town.

You know what his problem is? He hasn't been out in six months. He just needs to get out and then he'll be fine.

(Male, 30s, Legion)

- Getting out without company subsidies is extremely expensive. Subsidized trips are planned very carefully; unsubsidized ones are planned even more carefully, or are used only for emergencies.
- When speaking about "getting out", Hydro Gillamites are referring to plane travel. Taking a train or using the winter road to Thompson is not considered to be "getting out". Train travel to Winnipeg is far too time-consuming (2-1/2 days) and uncomfortable. For long holidays, Gillamites will occasionally put their cars on a train, and drive from Thompson south. Except for these relatively infrequent arrangements, "getting out" is "getting out by plane".
- Part of a Gillamite's stock of knowledge at hand is that flights are unpredictable. The airline which services Gillam-Winnipeg is Pacific Western Airlines (PWA). Many people jokingly refer to it as "Please Wait Awhile". Flight schedules change frequently, and inclement weather can delay flights for hours, or even cancel them entirely. If one is heading for Winnipeg, there is no other option.
- If flights normally are unpredictable, they are even more so during the spring and fall. In some years, the gravel runway is

closed to jets during spring break up through to fall freeze up. Twin otters ferry passengers to Thompson for connecting flights. This means that there are fewer seats available, and the light-weight twin otters are grounded for far less severe weather conditions than are jets.

- Connections with planes at the Winnipeg airport are not always possible. If Gillamites are travelling on to other locations, they may have to stay in Winnipeg for several hours or even overnight to make their connections.
- Finally, Hydro Gillamites believe that the airlines which service Gillam are making profits. Despite the periodic arguments that PWA is losing money on its northern routes, most Gillamites believe that the airline is simply not making enough profit.

Look at those planes...they're full almost every time they leave the airport. And then they try to tell us they're not making money.... and they expect us to swallow it.

(Female, 20s, interview)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Hydro Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- In the past, when the frequency of flights has been threatened, Hydro Gillamites have organized petitions to be forwarded to the airline and the government. Most of ~~the~~ people who spoke about

this resolution highlighted its ineffectiveness. "...but they should know we're customers too". Gillamites were vague about the number of times this resolution had been used, but one reliable informant who had been living in the town for some time informed me that it had only happened twice.

Sure we circulated a petition. We didn't really believe it would do much good, but we still wanted to let them know what we thought about their crummy schedule.

(Female, 30s, Library)

- Keeping in mind that Hydro Gillamites believe it is in Hydro's best interest to maintain free trips out, another resolution is to rely on Manitoba Hydro to pressure the airlines.

Hydro keeps that airline going and they should have some say in it if they're going to cut out flights.

(Male, 40s, coffee shop)

Phone calls are made to the town site administrator, asking that he first find out what's happening with the flights, and second, contact the Winnipeg office about the situation. Although the Hydro Gillamites I spoke with did not believe Hydro could be highly influential in determining flight schedules, they honestly believed that without Hydro presence and influence on the airlines, there would be no Gillam-Winnipeg flight.

If Hydro weren't at them all the time, there'd be no flights out at all.

(Male, 20s, interview)

- Part of the stock of knowledge at hand is that individuals need to get out of Gillam, and that service is not always adequate. To resolve this situation, individuals and families plan and book their trips out long in advance of departure date, sometimes as far ahead as four months. Not only are plans made, but alternatives are developed as well. If individuals are going on from Winnipeg for southern holidays, they will often allow one day's stopover in Winnipeg, even when this isn't strictly "necessary", i.e., connections are possible.

It's worth it...otherwise, it could snow or fog in or something, and then you'd be stuck up here in Gillam while your plane for Hawaii took off without you.

(Female, 40s, coffee klatch)

- Elaborate rituals have developed around "getting out" among Hydro residents. These rituals relate to the unpredictability of service, but they also relate to the importance of "getting out". Some people believe it is "bad luck" to pack until the day of the flight; some begin to examine the sky days in advance, trying to predict weather patterns, others have become experts in barometer readings. The Gillam airport has two areas: one for passengers who have passed through a security check, one for "visitors". Travellers will often delay going through security until the last moment, until the plane has landed. Most travellers are driven to the airport by friends or family, as there is no taxi service in

town. Conversations while waiting for the plane to arrive center around (a) the possibilities of the plane not landing, (b) the possibilities of the plane not taking off, and (c) what will be done in either of these two events. Those who drive passengers to the airport wait until the plane has lifted off before leaving, as cancellations at the last moment can always be expected.

- The final resolution to the enigmatic situation surrounding travel out of Gillam is that of humour, joking. Discussions about travel in both my interviews and my participant observation often included anecdotes about the failure of planes to take off, the level of service once on the plane, and other examples. One of my interviewees stated the following:

Sometimes you just have to laugh...
there's nothing else you can do. You're
sitting on the plane, next to some guy
who's been drinking for four hours,
waiting for the flight to leave
Winnipeg. And you're tired and you just
want to get home. There's nothing you
can do about it...so you might as well
party with him because if you don't,
he's going to have a party right next to
you anyways. [Laughter throughout this
statement.]

(Male, 40s, airport)

Enigmatic Situation

- B. Hydro Gillamites earn a great deal more money than they could expect to earn if they held similar jobs down South. While their

disposable income is higher than it would be in southern Manitoba, there is an absence of places to spend money in Gillam. Even when the places are available, the Hydro Gillamites point out that the selection is so limited or poor that they are used in "emergencies" only, and many purchases are delayed until the next trip "out". The enigmatic situation here is that "at last" the Hydro Gillamites have large amounts of disposable income, yet they have nowhere to spend that income on a daily basis.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which people in Gillam interpret this enigmatic situation and resolve it.

- One very obvious element of the stock of knowledge for Hydro Gillamites is that the wages they are earning up North would not be possible if they were living in southern communities. Manitoba Hydro and other government employers provide their northern employees with an additional 10% in salary, as northern bonus. In addition, the subsidies for housing and vehicles adds to the increased income.

We figured it out, and if we wanted to rent a house this size in Winnipeg, it would cost us at least three times as much. Well that extra money goes right into our pockets now. We just wouldn't have as much money if we lived down South.

(Female, 20s, interview)

- Part of the reason for increased income, in addition to the 10% bonus and subsidies is that the men are allowed to work many more hours overtime than would be possible in the South. It is not unusual for operators to work double shifts, and many put in close to twice as many hours per shift rotation as their counterparts in the South do.

It's not just the bonus and stuff...I work a hell of a lot more hours here than I could anywhere else. I'd probably lose \$20,000 a year if I moved back down there. And you don't really mind here, 'cause there's nothing else to do anyway.

(Male, 40s, party)

- Many families I spoke with derive a great deal of pleasure out of calculating their incomes in Gillam, what their incomes would be if they lived in the South, and what the difference between the two is. The above quote illustrates this quite well. Although the difference for some is not as dramatic, all of the people I spoke with agreed that they were far better off financially than they would have been at any other Hydro installation.
- Hydro Gillamites also understand that their trips to the South will include major shopping trips.

I just stock up on everything I can lay my hands on. Clothes, shampoo, soap, even toilet paper...anything that won't go bad. You just feel like you have to do it, because everything up here is

either so expensive it makes you want to cry, or you can't even get it here.

(Female, 30s, interview)

Not only are major shopping trips included in trips to the South, so are recreational activities. Many of the people I spoke with would come back exhausted from a week out, after crowding as many activities as possible into a short period of time: movies, dinners out, visiting new bars, .

Everytime I come back from Winnipeg I ask myself why I go nuts when I'm down there...I guess you just want to do it all at once, 'cause you know it's going to be a long winter up here, and after a while you're going to be climbing the walls...But I sure do get tired; it usually takes me a month to recover.

(Female, 40s, coffee klatch)

- Another part of the stock of knowledge at hand for Hydro Gillamites is that there is always someone "going out" who can purchase necessary items. Not only do trips out consist of shopping for self and family, they often include picking up select items for friends and acquaintances in Gillam. This can range from birthday cards (the selection in Gillam is limited), to kitchen goods to McDonalds hamburgers to food. Friends in Gillam "place their orders" without question of the cost:

One of the women at the hospital had a special rice cooker, and I figured, well, you know how much rice we eat around here, that it would be a good idea to get one. So the next time she went out I asked her to pick me up one.

When she came back with it and it cost
\$60, I nearly died. \$60 just to cook
rice?

(Female, 30s, hospital)

- Finally, Gillamites, particularly women, associate the lack of selection in Gillam with impulse buying at local stores. It is not uncommon for people to buy clothes and "gadgets" which they never use. This often came up during coffee klatches, where women would try to find others who could use what they had bought.

Does anyone here need a couple of blouses? They were hanging up in the Bay and I was feeling kinda depressed that day so I just bought them. I don't know why...they don't even fit me.....[Later in the conversation:] Sometimes you feel like you just have to buy something. You've got all this money, there's nowhere to spend it, and it's burning a hole in your pocket.

(Female, 20s, coffee klatch)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Hydro Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- The major resolution for this enigmatic situation is to delay purchasing consumer goods. This has been discussed above, as it forms a major part of the knowledge brought to bear upon the situation. This resolution has consequences for the Settled Gillamites, who then find themselves unable to stock large quantities or selection of goods. The Settled are never certain

that goods will be purchased in their stores; Hydro Gillamites may simply delay the purchasing until the next trip "out".

- My own interpretation of this resolution is based on what was not used to resolve the situation. I often wondered why the Hydro Gillamites did not begin their own small businesses, to redress this problem. In one case, two Hydro women began a small clothing store; the enterprise failed. Many of the Hydro people^{Sp} I spoke with did not support the idea of Hydro people becoming involved in Gillam-based businesses. In general, Hydro people do not believe they will be in Gillam for long, and thus do not see opening businesses themselves as a resolution to the situation. Delaying the purchase of goods is consistent with an entire approach to life in Gillam, that it is really "time out".
- The final resolution to increased money and lack of consumer goods and service is humour. It is difficult to convey in text how this humour is carried out. It appears in shopping at the "shopping center", where women will go through the store, laughing at the often out-of-date products, and laughing at the suggestion that they should purchase these goods. Laughter and humour are resolutions to the situation because they typify it as something which can and should be laughed at, and not taken too "seriously".

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Enigmatic Situation

C. The third enigmatic situation discussed in this chapter relates to the one immediately above. Once again, Hydro Gillamites are placed in a situation where family income is much higher than it would be in the South. At the same time, many families find themselves with less savings than they had anticipated would be possible. If family income is higher, Hydro Gillamites believe that family savings should be proportionately higher. This is not always the case.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which people in Gillam interpret this enigmatic situation and resolve it.

- The background elements which relate to this enigmatic situation include some of those which refer to the enigmatic situation discussed immediately above (that there is nowhere in Gillam to spend increased income). Hydro Gillamites are aware that the wages which they earn in Gillam would not be possible down South, that part of the reason for these increased wages is the availability of overtime hours and pay. When calculations are done to determine the difference between Southern pay and Northern pay, they relate to the amount of money which it should be

possible to save, as well as to the amount it should be possible to spend.

- Another element of the stock of knowledge relevant to many Hydro Gillamites is that the reason for coming North was to save money. The reason for saving varies; some families would like to purchase homes; some would like to take long vacations; some would like to retire early; and some would like to be able to pay for their children's higher learning.

We wouldn't even be here if it weren't for the extra money. By the end of next year we'll have saved enough for a big down payment on a house, and as soon as we have that, [John] will apply for a transfer out of here...and next year isn't soon enough.

(Female, 30s, school)

- While many people stated that their reason for coming to Gillam was to save money, almost as many indicated that this was not as easy as they had anticipated it would be. The reality of the town for these families is that despite increased wages and subsidies, the cost of living eats into their incomes.

We thought we'd have enough money for the house in two years. But it's taking a lot longer than we expected. There was lots of things we didn't know before we got up here...like a bottle of shampoo costs \$7.00, and a head of cauliflower costs \$4.00. Even with the cheap rent, it's taking a lot longer.

(Female, 40s, interview)

- Finally, the calculation of income, comparable income in the South, the difference between the two, and how much should be saved is a part of the lives of many Hydro Gillamites. The question at the end of these accounting sessions is more often than not: Where does all the money go?

We figured that we're making \$10,000 more a year up here. That means that we should be saving that much, right? But we haven't stashed away nearly that much. And when we sit down to figure out how come, we just don't know. It's not like there's anywhere to spend it up here. But we still can't figure out where it goes.

(Male, 20s, coffee shop)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Hydro Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- The ultimate resolution to this enigma, and the most final, is to leave the community, return to the South. This resolution is clearly related to the relevance of the motivation for being in Gillam. If the only motivation has been to save money, and this proves impossible, Hydro Gillamites apply for transfers out.

We came up here so's we could save money for our kids to go to college. But we're saving less than we did when we were in Brandon. That's how come we're leaving. It ain't worth staying up here if we can't put a lot away. At least if we go back, our kids will get good high school.

(Male, 20s, school)

- A second resolution is to place the blame for the inability to save on the self. There is no other reason for smaller than anticipated savings than that the individual or family concerned is unable to manage money.

I guess we just don't know how to handle our money...it just burns a hole in our pocket. It doesn't seem like we have lots to show for it, but we don't have no money either. Maybe if I'd taken some business courses or something we'd be further ahead. We should be able to save lots of money, but we don't...I guess it's just our own damn fault for not knowing how.

(Male, 30s, interview)

- A third resolution to this situation involves sudden bursts of budgeting, and cutting back on items normally purchased for the household. Some families have been quite successful in maintaining a well-balanced budget; others go through periods of budgeting and periods of spending. For those families who are successful, careful control over spending represents a definitive resolution to the discrepancy between increased salaries and less than expected ability to save. For those who are unable to follow such a strict lifestyle, the enigma emerges time and time again, and resolutions shift from budgeting to self-blame to the following resolution.

We can usually watch our money for a few weeks, and then we blow it. We can't seem to keep it up for a long time ... you get tired of being up here and you just want to go out and you figure maybe if you spend a little money you might feel better ... Then we go back to trying to save money again.

(Female, 20s, shopping center)

- The final resolution is to blame local merchants and retail outlets for the inability to save. Although some of this blame focused on local store owners, it more frequently addressed itself to The Bay and the Co-op (Grocery Store).

How are you supposed to save any money up here if every time you walk into the Co-Op you have to pay twice as much as you'd pay in Winnipeg? I figured that what I get here for \$50 I could get for less than \$30 down home. And that's \$20 out of our savings.

(Female, 30s, dining room)

Enigmatic Situation

D. The fourth enigma to be discussed in this chapter also refers to the personal finances of Hydro Gillamites. As mentioned earlier, Hydro Gillamites are the recipients of a number of northern benefits and incentives. From time to time the federal government comes forward with plans to tax those incentives. It is enigmatic to Hydro Gillamites, who are provincial employees, that "government" would want to give with one hand and take away with the other.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which people in Gillam interpret this enigmatic situation and resolve it.

- Hydro people often are lured to Gillam with promises of the financial benefits of northern residence. Because Manitoba Hydro makes these promises, they are seen as government promises.
- The Hydro people I spoke with in Gillam generally believed that incentives are necessary to keep people in Gillam. The salience of subsidized trips "out" has been discussed in Section A above. Subsidised housing is also a benefit considered to be necessary to retain people.

I probably wouldn't have taken this promotion if we'd had to pay full price for the house. It wouldn't have been worth it. We came up here to save money to buy our own house, and we save at least \$200 a month on this one. We wouldn't have been able to afford this back home and still save money.

(Male, 30s, interview)

Not all Hydro employees are provided with company vehicles, but those who are consider them to be necessary.

I wouldn't bring my own car up here. I have to do too much driving back and forth to the job. If they want me, they can pay for a vehicle for me.

(Male, 20s, Legion)

- An important part of the stock of knowledge at hand among Hydro

Gillamites is the belief that the incentives provided by the company, including a 10% northern allowance, only off-set increases in the cost of living. The details of these calculations have been discussed above.

- The threat of taxation of benefits leads many Hydro people to say that any incentives provided by the company would disappear if such items as housing subsidies and vehicles were taxed.

They already tax all the overtime that [John] makes. If they turn around and tax the house and the car we'd probably be losing money if we stayed. There'd be no reason to stay here. We'd probably pack up and go home.

(Female, 30s, interview)

- This is one enigmatic situation where the stock of knowledge at hand has clearly emerged from some form of group consultation. In both my interviews and my participant observation, Hydro Gillamites not only indicated that they themselves would not remain in Gillam if benefits were taxed; they also indicated that their friends and neighbours would not.

If they tax our benefits, [John] and me wouldn't be the only ones to leave y'know. Anybody who's any good would apply for transfers right away ... sure there'd still be people up here but it'd just be the losers.

(Female, 30s, coffee klatch)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Hydro Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- The most prevalent resolution to this enigma is one of a feeling of resignation. Most Hydro Gillamites I spoke with expressed powerlessness with respect to federal government decisions. This resignation is coupled with a belief that such a move on the part of the federal government would not be opposed by anyone other than those living in the North.

The people down South, they don't care if our benefits get taxed. They don't have to live up here, and there's no way they'd fight for us up here. They're too busy taking care of themselves ... Let's face it. If they decide to tax us there's not a damn thing we can do about it.

(Male, 20s, recreation center)

The possibility of taxing benefits comes up fairly frequently in the conversations of Hydro Gillamites, even at times when there are no federal government announcements pertaining to such taxation. In general, these conversations elicit expressions of resignation.

- During my fieldwork in Gillam, a two year moratorium had been announced on any decision to tax northern benefits. When the announcement of taxation first came out, prior to the moratorium, some Hydro Gillamites developed a less resigned resolution. Four or five residents got together and circulated a petition. This

was sent to the federal Member of Parliament and the provincial Member of the Legislative Assembly.

- Another resolution to the enigmatic taxation of benefits is related to that of resignation, in that it is more passive than active. A number of the Hydro Gillamites I spoke with concerning this issue suggested that Manitoba Hydro would lobby the federal government on the planned tax. This is related to an element in the life world discussed above, that it is in Hydro's interest to provide its employees with benefits.

Hydro's going to do something about that. It doesn't make any sense for them neither. They don't want to give us extra money just so we can send it East. And if Hydro can't win, what's the use of us fighting, eh?

(Female, 30s, interview)

Enigmatic Situation

E. The final enigmatic situation to be discussed with respect to Hydro Gillamites pertains to education. As such, it relates specifically to those Hydro families with or planning children. These families are the rule rather than the exception. Although there were some exceptions, most of the families in this situation had come to Gillam at least partially to save money for their children's education. By doing so, they often expressed the concern that they could be jeopardizing the future of the children, because

the quality of elementary and high school education in the community was considered to be poor.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which people in Gillam interpret this enigmatic situation and resolve it.

- The Hydro parents with whom I spoke inevitably expressed the hope that their children would "do better" than they had. This did not always imply self-deprecation; many of these adults had themselves "done better" than their own parents.
- The single most accepted route for "doing better" was through increased education. Without education, Hydro people expressed the belief that their children could not improve upon the lifestyle of their parents.

Sure I want my kids to get good jobs and let's face it, today that means going to university or college. High school was good enough for me to get this job, but it wouldn't be now. Now you have to have a college degree to cut grass almost.

(Male, 30s, dining room)

- I was constantly amazed at the importance and relevance which parents placed on their children and their children's futures. Nothing mattered more than the children of the community. This was evident in all areas of life, but was most evident with respect to education.

- Hydro Gillamites who want their children to attend colleges or universities frequently bring up the high cost of these plans. The knowledge that they will have to save and sacrifice for this education is part of the stock of knowledge at hand.
- In my conversations with Hydro parents, they often pointed out the importance of a good primary education. They would suggest that the basis of learning was developed in the early years of school and, without a solid basis, university would be difficult if not impossible for their children. Although there were a number of sources for this belief, the most frequently mentioned was television.

Everytime you watch a program about schools on T.V. it says the same thing. If they go to a bad primary school, it's too late to fix it in high school. The first five years in school is when kids learn how to learn, and if they ~~don't~~ get it then they probably never will.

(Female, 20s, hospital)

- Many sources of information combine to convince Hydro Gillamites that southern schools operate under higher standards than does the school in Gillam. Television shows demonstrating experimental programs, information from friends with children in southern schools and general discussion in the community lead many parents to believe that southern schools are, by definition, better schools.

- The transience of teaching staff is also part of the stock of knowledge at hand for Hydro Gillamites. Families are aware that at the end of the school year at least half of the teachers will leave, to be replaced by new staff.

It makes me so mad I could spit. A couple of years ago, my oldest daughter had a really good teacher in Grade 5. The younger one was really looking forward to being in her class. She'd heard so many good things about the teacher. Well, the year before she went into that class, the teacher took a job in Alberta. My younger one was heart broken. What do you say to a nine year old? The good teachers just don't stay, and I can't blame them for wanting to get out of here. It won't do their career any good to stay up here forever.

(Female, 30s, interview)

- An important point in the above statement is that good teachers don't stay. The Hydro Gillamites often discuss whether the quality of teaching in Gillam is worse than it is in the South. Some express this by wondering whether northern schools, Gillam's included, only get the "dregs" of the available teaching pool. Others wonder how good teachers who have just graduated from universities can be.
- In the elementary grades, the student body at the Gillam school is approximately half Native. My discussions with Gillam school teachers often included reference to discipline problems associated with Native children. Most of the teachers I spoke

with acknowledged that these problems were due to cultural differences and to the less than ideal home lives of many of the Native children. This "discipline" problem has become part of the stock of knowledge for Hydro parents. Questions are raised as to whether the time which teachers spend on discipline takes away from the time which teachers can spend instructing non-Native children.

It seems to be o.k. until they reach about Grade 3. Then the whole thing really changes. The kids stop playing with the Native children, and they start coming home telling stories about all the trouble the Native kids get into. And I just have to ask myself: While the teacher's busy handling the Natives, what's my kid doing? He's probably not learning anything.

(Male, 30s, interview)

- In later grades, parents become concerned about the low number of students. During the winter in which I conducted my field work, there were seven students in the final year of high school. This alone would not be a matter of concern, except that the low number of students makes it difficult to offer all the courses required for a high school certificate.

After our oldest son took two years to get all his Grade 12 courses, we decided to send our daughter to Winnipeg for the last two years of high school. At the end of his first year in Grade 12, we thought [Gary] had all the courses he needed, and could graduate. It wasn't until he applied to go to Red River

[College] that we found out he was missing two credits. Then we started asking questions. The [School] Division finally told us that they just can't afford to offer all the Grade 12 credits every year.

(Male, 40s, school)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Hydro Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- One of the resolutions which has been used is to leave the community, or to plan to do so before children are affected by the education system.

Gillam is a great place to live if you have toddlers. We think it's wonderful for them. It's safe and you never have to worry about what some stranger might do to your child. But we'll apply for a transfer before the kids hit school age. We just don't think it's worth staying up here if the kids can't get a good education.

(Female, 20s, interview)

- A second resolution is to remain in the community, but to send children away to relatives or to boarding schools. A number of families have done so in the past, and few parents with whom I spoke had not considered the option.

When [Karen] was in Grade 6 we started looking into boarding schools down south, and talking to people up here who had sent their kids away to school. We finally decided to ask my sister if she could stay there while she went to high school...we just didn't think [Karen]

would be happy in a school residence... sure it costs us extra money, but we figured, what was the good of leaving all that money in the bank for her to go to university if the school up here couldn't get her ready for it? We miss her a lot, but we still think it was the best thing we could do for her.

(Male, 40s, Legion)

- A less frequent resolution, but one adopted by several parents in the community was to become actively involved in the administration of the school, by standing for election onto the school board.

One day last spring we were all sitting around having coffee, talking about the school and wondering why we never seemed to know what was going on...Well, after we'd finished with our usual bitching, [Louise] said to me, "Why don't you run for the school board?" So I told her I would if she would. It sure wasn't hard to get on...they had trouble getting enough people nominated. I think I know more about the school now, but I'm not sure that makes me any happier...

(Female, 40s, coffee klatch)

- Another less formalized resolution is to attend school meetings. Once again, it is not a frequent resolution; many parents have never been to school meetings, resolving their enigmas in different ways. For those who do attend, resolutions may only be temporary.

Everytime I go to one of those meetings, I come home with my head spinning. I usually end up tossing and turning all night. They give you a big song and

dance about how well the school is doing, and you can even believe parts of it. But then, the next day you start thinking about things they never talked about and I could kick myself because I never asked the right questions.

(Female, 30s, school)

- Some parents (normally mothers) resolve their enigmas through maintaining close contact with their children's teachers. This can take either positive or negative forms. Many of the teachers I spoke with expressed the feeling that they lived in "a fish-bowl", and that all of their actions were subject to scrutiny by over-anxious parents. More positively, parents contact teachers in order to ensure that their children are doing well.

You can't tell from a report card if your child is doing well in school. If you don't have a problem child, you'd never hear anything if you didn't go in and talk to the teacher yourself. Maybe the teacher's no good, and as long as your child's quiet, her grades will be o.k....But I want to know more than that ...she can't be perfect, so where does she need to work harder. You don't find out unless you make sure and go in and ask.

(Female, 30s, coffee shop)

- Hydro Gillamites believe that one of the ways to resolve their enigmatic situation concerning their children's education is to become actively involved, particularly through helping their children with homework. Very few of the parents with whom I spoke did not provide some form of assistance. This resolution was

viewed as temporary by many of the parents, and did not totally resolve the enigma.

Sure I can help him with his homework now...it's just simple things like arithmetic and spelling. But once he starts getting into harder things like the new math and grammar and stuff, I'm not going to be any good to him. What do I know? I went to tiny little school in a farm town, and I sure don't think I got a good education there. Besides, they're learning stuff in grade school now that we never touched 'til high school.

(Male, 30s, interview)

- Finally, Hydro Gillamites resolve their enigma through ongoing discussion.

At first I thought it was just me worrying about the teacher. [Steve, my husband] told me I was crazy and that I was imagining things. Then one day I was talking to one of the women down the street and didn't she say the same thing. Her kids weren't bringing any work home either. So then we started talking to some of the other parents, and it was the same with all the kids. Then my husband didn't think I was so crazy. We all went and saw the principal and it seems to be cleared up. I just wonder what would have happened if we'd never talked about it.

(Female, 30s, party)

Discussions also center around broader issues of education, for example, whether or not computers should be provided to the school, whether or not courses in French should be available, what children currently learn at what levels versus what parents learned, what is

considered "normal" achievement for a child, how to deal with children who are bored with school, what kind of discipline is necessary in a school, how schools should be administered, and many other areas. In all of these discussions, the focal point always became whether or not the Gillam school matched its southern counterparts. In some areas, discussers would conclude that it did, in others that it did not. In all cases, parents seemed to be looking for some justification for potentially jeopardizing their children's futures by coming to Gillam.

Settled Gillamites: Their Enigmas and Resolutions

Enigmatic Situation

Settled Gillamites have experienced radical changes in their community over the last twenty years, precipitated by the Manitoba government's hydro development in the area. As a result, the Settled find themselves in the enigmatic situation of looking to government to protect and represent their interests, while at the same time realizing that it is that same government which is threatening their interests.

Background

There are a number of elements in the stock of knowledge at hand which inform the way in which the Settled interpret this situation and resolve it.

- First and foremost, the Settled have experiential access to the history of the community. All of the Settled over thirty years of age remember what the community was like prior to Hydro development.

It was just a tiny little village.
Everyone knew everyone else, and
everyone helped each other. You didn't
wait for somebody else to come along and
do things, you all chipped in and did
it. There was real town spirit then.
(Female, 40s, interview)

- Coupled with the knowledge of what Gillam was like prior to development, there is also direct knowledge of how that development was undertaken.

It didn't matter what we thought. They
just went ahead and did what they wanted
to do and to hell with Northerners and
to hell with Indians.
(Male, 40s, interview).

In a 1978 study, Knowles confirms this element of knowledge (1978: 2): "...there was a certain undercurrent of resentment to 'bigness' and what it had done or was presently failing to do in the area".

This resentment is reflected in the following quotes drawn from a 1979 Gillam Chamber of Commerce open letter pertaining to

the proposed closing of the Churchill Port. The Chamber of Commerce is one of the few bodies in Gillam dominated by the Settled.

Is this because Manitoba is only Manitoba up to the 53rd parallel and after that we are to be considered part of the frozen North and of no use or service to anyone?

We have heard about the "Boat People" and we sympathize, but we wonder if Manitoba is a good province for them to settle in since this province finds it so easy to cast out their own.

Gillam is not the only northern Manitoba community affected by Hydro development. Knowledge of how Gillam was treated is part of a larger understanding of how all of northern Manitoba was altered.

It's no different here than anywhere else. They came in here, built the school and the hospital and the rec center and almost everything else you see...and then they told us we should be grateful. Well, why should we? They never asked us if we wanted all those things. Besides, now we pay for them in our taxes...But Hydro acts as if it's the only one who pays.

(Female, 50s, library)

I guess we did better than other places ...at least they didn't flood the town and then ask us. But sometimes I wonder if we'd be any worse off if they had. It's not the same place anymore, even if it isn't covered with water. In a way, it might as well be.

(Male, 30s, airport)

- Resentment over how the town was developed is coupled with the perceived lack of public information on current Hydro and Manitoba government activities. At the time of my research, the Western Power Grid was under negotiation. The power grid, involving Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan was a \$3 billion project and would require massive construction on the Nelson River system. If the power grid went ahead, there would be major construction at the Limestone dam (about 15 miles from Gillam) and the re-opening of a small community (Sundance) to service the dam. Construction would have obvious impacts on the Settled, in terms of additional change as well as in terms of the demands on local small businesses. There was no reliable information in the community on the state of negotiations. Perhaps this was endemic to the faltering character of talks following the failure of the Alberta Tar Sands Agreement and subsequent drop in the Alberta economy; nevertheless, Settled Gillamites perceived this to be one more instance of lack of information.

I guess we're not going to know if there's going to be construction until they bring the equipment in. And it'll be the same as last time...we won't be ready.

(Male, 40s, Government Building)

A further quote from the Chamber of Commerce letter referred to

above indicates that Settled Gillamites often feel themselves to be "in the dark".

We have no road out of Gillam. We hear quoted every day on CBC that they are graveling the Gillam road. Where is this road? Certainly not into or out of Gillam.

- Part of the stock of knowledge at hand among Settled Gillamites is that they are outnumbered. The result is that community decision making bodies are dominated by Hydro-affiliated residents. Although Settled residents sit on the hospital, school and recreation center boards and on the Town Council, their numbers preclude any opportunity to definitively alter outcomes.

I've been on the school board quite a few times now. And it's a fight the whole time. The Hydro people have all the say. They come in here for a couple of years, and because they think they're something special they sit on these boards. Small fishes in a small pond. (Not all of them of course, some of them are really good, not snobbish at all.) Then they leave and our kids and the Native kids have to live with their decisions...And some of them are pretty stupid, let me tell you.

(Female, 40s, school)

- Most of the Settled Gillamites with whom I spoke did not feel they were adequately represented by government.

When the Conservatives were in we really didn't believe we were getting a fair shake. We never even saw our MLA. So at election time we were really impressed when the NDP guy came and

spent some time in Gillam...In the end it probably doesn't make much of a difference...we still don't have any say.

(Male, 30s, recreation center)

The lack of representativeness is particularly evident in discussions relating to the Local Government District (L.G.D.), which is basically an administrative body, responsible to the provincial Department of Urban Affairs, and not to its constituents, Gillamites. In 1980, a letter was forwarded to the Department of Urban Affairs by the L.G.D. Administrator. The Gillam Council had requested cheque-signing authority; their request had been denied. The following quote from the 1980 letter reflects the position of many of the Settled:

After receiving your decision of July 8 [1980], the members of Council expressed the opinion that they have no real say or authority whatsoever and wonder why they are functioning as a Council.

An earlier letter (1979) on the same issue, written by the Mayor of Gillam to the local M.L.A. expressed a similar dissatisfaction.

...there would appear to be an ever increasing invasion of the bureaucratic south into purely local issues in the north. We are concerned at the erosion of those few areas in which Council can exert a meaningful input...

The Council wishes to express its chagrin at this high handed and unconscionable direction from the big city.

- Finally, Settled Gillamites contain within their stock of knowledge at hand, the knowledge that government is designed to protect its constituents, to ensure that no group is treated unfairly.

This is a democratic country, right? We elect people, right? And they're supposed to watch out for us. That's what democracy's supposed to be... everyone has a fair chance to live the way they want to. This isn't Russia y'know. We all have rights, and that means us too, not just the Hydro people.
(Male, 40s, hospital)

Resolutions

On the basis of their knowledge, Settled Gillamites have developed a series of pragmatic resolutions to this enigmatic situation.

- The first resolution obviously was to take advantage of Hydro development, and to open and expand small businesses. In discussing this resolution, the Settled expressed the opinion that if development was inevitable, they might as well reap some of its benefits. A less frequently adopted resolution was to take jobs with the Crown Corporation itself.

When Hydro first came up I took a job working at one of the sites. I guess I stayed about six months, I can't remember exactly...I didn't like it much. There were so many rules, and I found myself getting dragged into all the in-fighting. So I quit. It wasn't worth the money.

(Male, 40s, interview)

- A second resolution is to withdraw from the Hydro-related social activities of the town. In most cases, withdrawal is only partial, as the Settled continue to interact with Hydro residents in their businesses, and in their day to day activities in the town.

Contact for recreational purposes is kept to a minimum.

We don't go out much. We'd rather spend our spare time with our families and a few friends. When we do go out to the Rec Center or the Legion, it just makes me sad...and mad. This isn't our town anymore, but at least if we keep to ourselves, we can ignore it.

(Female, 40s, interview)

- Settled residents regularly run for membership on town decision making bodies. In so doing, they attempt to make their views and needs known to the predominantly Hydro membership.
- Unlike their Hydro counterparts, Settled Gillamites do not rely on the Corporation to deal with the problems that arise in the town.

I guess they must get tired of us complaining, but I figure good...let them get tired of us. Then maybe they'll do something. If it would help to write Hydro and the government every day, I would. If we don't let them know that we're mad, and we don't like what they're doing, they're never going to know.

(Male, 50s, shopping center)

Settled Gillamites resolve this issue by becoming politically

involved, through lobbying, letter-writing, voting and any other activity which they believe might influence government and Hydro decision making.

- Another resolution for the Settled is to maintain membership on regional bodies, thus strengthening their ties with the rest of the North. In particular, Gillam is a member of the Norman Regional Development Corporation (Norman is a shortening of northern Manitoba). Each council or municipality in the North sends a representative to the Corporation; Native Tribal Councils, Métis and Unions are also represented on the Board of Directors. In a 1982 presentation to the Manitoba Minister of Industry and Commerce, the President of Norman, a resident of Gillam made the following comments:

Our corporation affects the quality of life in an area of some 140,000 square miles with a population of over 75,000 people...

...the Norman Regional Development Corporation [is] prepared to fulfill the mandate it was given as a catalyst organization to get people together to discuss and try to solve problems that hinder development or understanding between groups...

This is one example of how Settled Gillamites maintain contact with other northern communities. Most of the Settled in Gillam have been to many other northern towns (Flin Flon, The Pas,

Churchill, Ilford); this is not the case for the Hydro Gillamites. Maintaining relationships developed long before Hydro development began acts as a resolution to this enigmatic situation:

Before Hydro we used to know all the people in the towns down the line, cuzz we had to take the train if we wanted to go anywhere...We used to have to do our grocery shopping in Churchill, so every couple of weeks you'd hop on the train...We're not like the Hydro people, we know the North. And we all have to stick together up here if we want to protect ourselves.

(Female, 40s, hospital)

CHAPTER V.

THE RELEVANCE AND CONTEXTS OF ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS

In examining the typification process required to resolve enigmatic situations, the previous chapter pointed out that all typifications are bounded by social, biographical and situational conditions. Because so many factors are involved in the interpretation of a single situation, recipe action is not always possible, and individuals must draw on their stocks of knowledge at hand in order to interpret. Not all elements of the stock of knowledge at hand come into play in interpreting a non-routine situation, but only those which are relevant.

In general, we are not interested to the same extent in all provinces of the life-world and in all the objects and events taking place therein. Plan-determined and situationally related interest... organizes the world in strata of greater or lesser relevance.

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:139)

It is unfortunate that Schutz only began addressing the issue of relevance towards the end of his life. Without this concept, we cannot begin to unravel why certain interpretations, rather than others, emerge. Without relevance, all elements of the life-world would be presented as equally important and typification would be either impossible or random. Schutz recognized the salience of relevance for all elements of the life-world and its formation, and not simply for non-routine situations.

All experiences and acts are grounded on relevance structures. Every decision more or less explicitly introduces, besides the actor, a series of relevances. The relevance problem is perhaps the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem that the description of the life-world has to solve. What is the role played by relevance structures in the constitution of life-worldly situations? How do they determine the course of explications, and how do they establish a relation between the prevailing stock of knowledge and the actual experiences and acts?

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:183)

The relevance structure of the life-world is an important factor in both the emergence and the resolution of enigmas. Certain non-routine situations emerge as enigmatic because they are related to life-plans and daily plans, i.e., they are relevant for future action. Similarly, certain resolutions are reached through typifying relevant elements within the life-world.

Before examining the particular enigmatic situations described in the previous chapter, two additional concepts and their inter-relationship must be examined: relevance attitudes and meaning-contexts.

Relevance Attitudes

A distinction can be made in the life-world between what were characterized by Husserl in another connection as the attitudes of "living-in-the-relevances" (whereby the relevances themselves do not come into grasp of consciousness) and the reflecting (although not necessarily "theoretical") "looking-to-the-relevances."

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:182)

In our daily lives, we both "live-in" and "look-to" relevances. The interpretations that we develop include both attitudes. Giddens suggests that humans interpret in both practical and discursive fashions. Practically, we take certain relevances for granted, i.e., we "live-in" them; discursively, we question our relevances, i.e., we "look-to" them.

Subjective Meaning-Contexts

Through his analysis of the flow of time (or duration), Schutz distinguished two kinds of subjective contexts of meaning. The first is the "in-order-to" context. According to Schutz, humans are primarily pragmatic beings, in other words, they orient themselves in time. People conduct themselves on the basis of plans which they project into the future, and it is these plans, or projects, which confer meaning on individual actions. Any plan is viewed in the future perfect tense, and the planned action is typified as if it had already taken place.

Whoever seeks to order a concrete lived experience within the total context of his experience orients his procedure according to an in-order-to motive of interpretation.

(Schutz, 1967b:96)

For example, if asked why she does her grocery shopping on Thursdays, a female Gillamite would answer that she does so in

order to make sure that she can buy what she needs and wants. This is quite different from the because-context of meaning.

Schutz (1967b:91) suggests that the major difference between the two contexts is that "...the in-order-to motive explains the act in terms of the project, while the genuine because-motive explains the project in terms of the actor's past experience." Unlike the in-order-to context, the because-context can only be established after an action or interpretation. Natanson (1967:xxxix) has interpreted the because-context to include, among other things, the actor's environment. Using the previous example, we can state that the female Gillamite shops on Thursdays because produce is delivered to Gillam on Wednesday night.

The Interrelationship Between Relevance Attitudes and Subjective Meaning-Contexts

When we live-in our relevances, we use those relevances practically **in order to** establish meaning. When we look-to our relevances, we do so to determine why certain relevances are important, in other words, to determine the **because** context. In the reflexive glance, an individual can interpret both living-in and looking-to relevances as part of the because-context. When we reflect upon past actions, we can explain what we did in terms of what was relevant at the time of those actions, but we can also

explain the actions in terms of what has become relevant as a result of our biographies and social environment. In the forward looking glance, the individual "lives-in" a relevance structure. What is relevant is what is necessary **in order** for us to continue our actions and carry through our plans. That the relevances we look-to and those we live-in are related is part of what we accept as natural, as part of the life-world. So too is the fact that our in-order-to and because-meaning-contexts are related. In everyday life, those relationships are only determined in the backward looking glance. (1) The following section will examine living-in and looking-to relevances in the because-context. By determining the because-contexts, we are outlining the subjective meaning-contexts of enigmatic situations. Once we have determined the nature of the subjective contexts, we can then move on to the next chapter in which we will determine the objective meaning-context of Gillamites' enigmas.

Enigmatic Situations and Because-Contexts

Just as there are two distinct life-worlds among non-Native Gillamites, there are two subjective because-contexts for their enigmatic situations. Enigmatic situations emerge because Gillamites live-in their relevances. They are resolved by looking-to the

relevances. The nature of these two contexts and the relevances within them are discussed below.

The Escape Context

The escape context acts as relevant background to the interpretations and actions of Hydro Gillamites. The context is relevant to both routine and enigmatic situations; in the former, Hydro Gillamites live within the relevance of escape; in the latter, they look-to it. Looking to and living-in the relevance of escape is present in all of the Hydro residents' enigmatic situations discussed in this thesis.

A. Hydro residents find it enigmatic that, while travel out is legitimated in a number of ways, service is poor and flights are infrequent.

Hydro residents live-in the relevance of escape in a number of ways which become part of this enigmatic situation. Escape is lived-in and relevant in that: trips out are a temporary form of escape which Hydro Gillamites consider to be their right; without the promise of temporary escape, many Hydro families would not have come to Gillam or would not remain; escape is considered to be a need, necessary for both pleasure and emergencies; escape is considered to be in Manitoba Hydro's interest. When the relevance of the escape

context is threatened by poor service and infrequent flights, enigmatic situations result.

The resolution to the enigmatic situation involves looking-to the relevance of escape. Simply stated, the enigma is not resolved by deciding that travel out is unimportant and irrelevant. Resolutions are projected at improving service and increasing the number of flights. Each resolution confirms the centrality of temporary escape and strengthens the position of that relevance structure as one which will be lived-in in the future.

B. "At last" Hydro Gillamites have large amounts of disposable income, yet there is nowhere in Gillam to spend that income on a daily basis.

"Escape" requires a broader interpretation in this enigmatic situation than it did in the one discussed immediately above. People in Gillam, as a result of their employment with Manitoba Hydro and other government agencies, have "escaped" from a lifestyle which they would have led if they had remained in the South. Escape is lived-in and relevant in that: increased income and overtime hours, housing subsidies and vehicle subsidies can only be attained if families escape to the North; family budgeting includes determining increased income, in other words, how far people have escaped from southern incomes; trips South involve spending "sprees", which are both

escape from the poor product selection in the North, and escape from a lifestyle of careful spending which Hydro Gillamites would be required to live had they remained in the South.

The resolution to the enigmatic situation involves looking-to the relevance of escape. Simply stated, the enigma is not resolved by deciding that the increased income fails to compensate for poor selection of consumer goods in Gillam and lack of places to spend money. People look-to the relevance of the escape from a more thrift-conscious lifestyle, and resolve the enigmatic situation by delaying purchases and treating the situation with humour. Each resolution confirms the centrality of escape from tight budgets and strengthens the position of that relevance structure as one which will be lived-in in the future.

C. Although Hydro family income is higher, many Hydro families do not find their savings to be proportionately higher.

Saving money is relevant to Hydro Gillamites, because it represents the opportunity for future escape: escape from Gillam and escape from a future which they consider would have been inevitable had they not come to Gillam. Hydro Gillamites live-in this relevance by paying careful attention to their savings, and questioning why, in many cases, those savings are less than had been anticipated.

The resolution to the enigmatic situation involves looking-to the relevance of future escape. In some cases, future escape is considered to be less relevant than present escape, and people leave the community. In other cases, the relevance of escape is still considered to be salient, but individuals blame themselves for their inabilities to save money and realize that goal. Hydro Gillamites look-to this relevance by sudden bursts of budgeting, confirming its importance and by lashing out at local merchants whose high prices threaten the family savings. Each resolution confirms the centrality of future escape and strengthens the position of that relevance structure as one which will be lived-in in the future.

- D. It is enigmatic to Hydro Gillamites, who are provincial government employees, that "government" would want to give with one hand (incentives) and take away with the other (taxation of benefits).

The relevance of escape within which Hydro Gillamites live permeates their reactions to government threats of benefit taxation. Keeping in mind that future escape is relevant, and is made possible by ~~benefits~~ ~~afforded~~ to government employees, the potential taxation of those benefits threatens the relevance of escape by reducing the potential for future escape and escape from a lifestyle which would have been theirs had they remained in the South. Hydro Gillamites

live-in the relevance of escape made possible by government; benefits provided by Manitoba Hydro reaffirm the importance of the escape context.

The resolution to the enigmatic situation involves looking-to the relevance of escape via government benefits. Although discussions surrounding this enigmatic situation involved more expressions of powerlessness and resignation, this does not mean that Hydro Gillamites questioned the relevance of escape. This relevance remained highly important to the people with whom I spoke, despite the fact that they acknowledged that something (benefits) which was highly important to them could be "taken away" without opportunity for recourse. In projecting their actions should benefits be taxed, many Hydro Gillamites demonstrated the salience of this relevance by stating that they would leave the community if they could not save for future escape.

- E. Being in Gillam allows Hydro parents to save for their children's higher education, yet that education may be jeopardized by the perceived poor quality of the Gillam school.

While Hydro Gillamites wish to escape themselves, this wish is far more intense when they discuss their children's futures. Their children's escape is lived-in and relevant in that: Hydro parents repeatedly express the desire that their children "do better" than

they themselves have done, that they be able to escape without having to live and work in places like Gillam; discussions among Hydro parents often revolve around the importance of higher education for their children; much of family budgeting and savings is done in order to pay for children's university education; parents pay careful attention to the school system in Gillam and consider this schooling to be crucial to their children's success in post-secondary education; discussions arise over and over again about the quality and transience of teachers at the Gillam school; parents are concerned about Native children in the school whom they believe may be holding their own children back; the low number of students in high school is considered to be problematic in that not all courses are available in all years, and high school students may be ill-prepared for university or college entrance.

The resolution to the enigmatic situation involves looking to the relevance of escape. Simply stated, the enigma is not resolved by deciding that their children's future education is unimportant and irrelevant. If parents believe that the quality of education threatens their children's future escape, many forego their own escape context and leave the community. Similarly, parents will send their children away to boarding schools because they consider their children's future escape to be more important than their own sacrifices. By becoming involved in school administration, attending

school meetings and maintaining contact with teachers, parents reaffirm the importance of education through their desire to know as much as they possibly can about the school system. The relevance of education is also looked-to when parents assist their children with school work. Finally, the salience of their children's future escape is solidified by ongoing discussions about all aspects of education. Each resolution confirms the centrality of their children's future escape through education and strengthens the position of that relevance structure as one which will be lived-in in the future.

In summary, the Escape meaning context permeates the life-worlds of Hydro Gillamites. Escape is relevant insofar as it is both lived-in and looked-to. The meaning context of Settled Gillamites is not the same as that of Hydro residents; the latter live in and look to the relevance of control.

The Control Context

The control context acts as relevant background to the interpretations and actions of Settled Gillamites. The context is relevant to both routine and enigmatic situations; in the former, Settled Gillamites live within the relevance of control; in the latter, they look-to it. Looking to and living-in the relevance of control is present in all the Settled residents' actions with respect to their enigmatic situation.

Settled Gillamites find themselves in the enigmatic situation of looking to government to protect and represent their interests, while at the same time realizing that it is that same government which is threatening their interests.

Settled Gillamites live-in the relevance of control; control over self, family, business, and community is the interest they pursue. The relevance of control (both its presence and absence) is evident in all of their actions within the community, but it is particularly so in their dealings with government. Many Settled Gillamites grew up in the community prior to Hydro development and control was part of daily experience. The history of the town is one which is a large part of their life-world, a history which does not guide Hydro Gillamites. The North has a history of attracting people who wished to control their own lives - this control is in many ways synonymous with the history of the mid-North as a frontier. Settled Gillamites also live-in the relevance of control as it was diminished by government action and Hydro development in the area. The reduction of control and its continued importance is shared with neighbouring communities. Part of control is knowledge, and Settled Gillamites live-in its relevance through their inability to receive public information on Hydro and government plans for the community. Local control is a lived-in relevance when Settled Gillamites sit on decision making bodies in which they are far-outnumbered by Hydro

residents. Lack of local representative government is lack of local control; Settled Gillamites live-in this relevance as citizens, town council members and business owners. Finally, Settled Gillamites live-in the relevance of a democratic form of government, one which they believe has a duty to protect its citizens (themselves) and reflect their relevances.

The resolution involves looking-to the relevance of control. Settled Gillamites have not become totally absorbed into the Manitoba Hydro system and network. They remain outside, because they believe that control over themselves and their community can be sustained that way. By opening small businesses to service Hydro residents, Settled Gillamites reap some of the benefits of development but still look-to control as the deciding element. Withdrawal from Hydro-related social activities narrows the range of possibilities for the Settled, but, within that narrower range, control is maintained. By participating in town decision-making bodies and regional bodies, and by becoming politically involved, Settled Gillamites assert the relevance of looking-to control, for their own community and for the North of Manitoba as a whole. Each resolution confirms the centrality of the control context and strengthens the position of that relevance structure as one which will be lived-in in the future.

Subjective Meaning Contexts: Escape and Control

By locating the relevance of escape and control in the lives of Gillamites, an important step has been taken in determining how the principle of structuration operates within Gillam. However, these because-contexts are still concepts directly addressing agency only, i.e., they are subjective because-contexts and structure is implicit rather than explicit. At that level, because-contexts point out why certain typifications (resolutions) emerge rather than others, and why there is an inherent organization to the process of typifying and resolving. The relevances that people live-in are related to those they look-to, but they are experienced in different ways in the "in-order-to" context and the "because" context. This chapter has focussed on the subjective because contexts of enigmatic situations. The next chapter will make use of these subjective because-contexts to develop an objective (2) because-meaning-context. It is the objective meaning context which completes the link between structure and agency.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

- (1) The fact that relevance structures are addressed within this dissertation as they apply to the because-context of meaning does not imply that they are unimportant in the ordering of our in-order-to contexts. The typification of elements within our life-worlds in large part consists of the identification of relevance. Within the in-order-to motive, we both live-in some relevances and look-to others. Those relevances we live-in are similar to what Giddens has termed "practical consciousness", although the Schutzian concepts are more psychologically elaborate. Similarly, looked-to relevances correspond to "discursive consciousness".

While we live our lives in the routine, and use recipe knowledge to act, relevances are taken for granted, lived-in. Enigmatic situations disrupt recipe knowledge, and we must look-to all of our stock of knowledge at hand, which is ordered in structures of relevance. The relevances we look-to are those we live-in, but the reflexive glance is one which looks back in order to project future action. This backward glance means that the configuration of relevances within the because context is different from that within the in-order-to context. The configuration varies, not the relevances themselves.

- (2) Note that the term "objective" has a specific meaning within phenomenology. This meaning is defined in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OBJECTIVE BECAUSE-CONTEXTS OF ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS:

THE STATE IN GILLAM

Escape and Control have been identified as subjective because-contexts within which enigmatic situations arise and are resolved. As stated at the end of Chapter V, these subjective contexts must be transformed into an objective context if the duality of structure and agency in Gillam is to be uncovered. Before this transformation, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between subjective and objective meaning contexts.

We speak, then, of the subjective meaning of the product if we have in view the meaning-context within which the product stands or stood in the mind of the producer. To know the subjective meaning of the product means that we are able to run over in our minds in simultaneity or quasi-simultaneity the polythetic Acts which constituted the experience of the producer.

(Schutz, 1967:133)

In determining the subjective meaning-contexts of enigmatic situations, this thesis has informed the reader of what is practically and discursively relevant to Gillamites. The reader can then imagine what it is like to be a resident of Gillam, to encounter enigmatic situations and to resolve them. The intention is to allow the reader to walk in the shoes of both Hydro and Settled Gillamites, i.e., to understand their subjective contexts of Control and Escape.

If we are to analyse sociologically these enigmatic situations,

we must use the subjective contexts to develop an objective meaning context.

Objective meaning...we can predicate only of the product as such, that is, of the already constituted meaning-context of the thing produced, whose actual production we meanwhile disregard.

(Schutz, 1967:133-34)

We now assume objectivity with respect to Control and Escape. We are no longer concerned with how enigmas emerged, how they were resolved, and the process of interpretation involved. Instead, we take for granted that enigmatic situations exist, and that they exist within the contexts of Escape and Control. In so doing, we move away from subjective meaning-contexts to objective ones.

...subjective meaning-contexts that can be directly experienced are successively replaced by a series of objective meaning-contexts. These are constructed gradually, each one upon its predecessor, and they interpenetrate one another in Chinese-box fashion, so that it is difficult to say where one leaves off and the other begins. However, it is precisely this process of construction which makes it possible for the social scientist, or indeed any observer, to understand what the actor means; for it is this process alone which gives a dimension of objectivity to this meaning.

(Schutz, 1967:241-42)

Chapter IV presented the subjective meaning-contexts which Gillamites turn to "in-order-to" act. Chapter V added a dimension of objectivity by presenting the relevance of the subjective "because" meaning-contexts with respect to enigmatic situations. It now remains to replace the subjective contexts of Escape and Control with one which is yet again more removed and "objective".

Our initial examination of the life-worlds of Hydro and Settled Gillamites stressed the differences between the two groups and their experiences in and of Gillam. The enigmatic situations experienced by one group are not the same as those experienced by the other. The description of enigmatic situations and resolutions clearly indicated that the "in-order-to" meaning-contexts of the two groups are quite different. Finally, the examination of lived-in and looked-to relevances demonstrated the variance in the subjective because-contexts of Hydro and Settled Gillamites' enigmas. However, the following construction of an objective "because" meaning-context indicates that there is a strong connection between the two sets of enigmas, of subjective because-contexts and of relevances.

The Objective Meaning-Context

One theme of relevance to all of the enigmatic situations discussed here is the role of the State. The activities of the State provide an objective meaning-context for both Escape and Control. When Hydro Gillamites live-in and look-to the relevance of Escape, they do so in a broader context of the State's activities in Gillam. It is the State which legitimates travel out and provides higher wages and incentives, allowing for increased disposable income, increased family and personal savings, and saving for children's higher education. It is also the State which:

- does not ensure dependable travel service;
- does not provide extensive local shopping facilities;
- does not offset the less than anticipated savings;
- threatens to tax the benefits which it provides; and
- operates an educational system in Gillam which is considered to be inferior.

For the Settled, there would be no development in Gillam without the activities of the State. The relevance of the State, including Manitoba Hydro, is evident in Chapter IV's description of the Settled's enigmatic situations.

The objective meaning-context of the State, and its lived-in and looked-to relevance is not surprising, given that Gillam is not strictly a company town (as many resource communities are), but a government one.

In order to complete the analysis of structuration in Gillam, we must now construct yet another objective context (that of State contradiction), one that appears to be far removed from life-worlds and daily activities. The final pages of this chapter will demonstrate why the two objective contexts (State contradiction and State as lived-in and looked-to relevance) are not so far removed as might be imagined at first glance. The final and concluding chapter of Part I of this thesis will demonstrate that the objective context

of State contradictions and the enigmas experienced and resolved in Gillam are mutually dependent aspects of structure and agency.

State Contradictions

This section will examine explanations for why the mid-North in general, and Gillam in particular, have been underdeveloped. This underdevelopment has been based on the prevalence of primary industry in the North, that industry being resource extraction. Resource communities such as Gillam exist only as intermediaries, to service industry and to channel industry's products to metropolitan centers outside the region and, indeed, the country. These communities are necessary for resource extraction, yet they bring with them a series of structural contradictions. These contradictions are clearly part of the objective and subjective meaning-contexts of Gillamites.

Bradbury (1979:151) suggests that the State has been supportive of resource extraction industries in the North by (1) "encouraging the flow of capital and migrants into specific areas"; (2) by providing "an industrial infrastructure, such as roads, bridges and electrical reticulation"; (3) by acting as a financial intermediary, and (4) by providing "direct aid through grants or tax relief".

These activities on their own do not necessarily mean that a region will become underdeveloped or dependent. Bradbury makes use of his data on northern British Columbia and Quebec to show that under (or uneven) development has also occurred because of the

increasing internationalisation of capital. Capital accumulated in a particular region is not constrained to remain within that region, but is free to cross national and international boundaries. "To the extent that the metropolitan regions extract surplus product from the hinterland regions, they undermine local economies and sustain or create industrial underdevelopment" (Marchak, 1975:40). In its assistance with this extraction process, the State has become a partner in underdeveloping these areas.

In northern Manitoba, much of the capital accumulation has come about as a result of Hydro development:

Surpluses have in fact been huge... Between 1970 and 1978 Hydro surpluses ...amounted to \$450 million. The problem is that Hydro surpluses accrue to bond holders resident elsewhere, and to those consumers of electricity, like the mines and U.S. corporations, who pay well below cost for the product.

(Loxley, 1981:159)

The notion of underdevelopment does not necessarily dictate poverty for all inhabitants of the hinterland regions (although it does so to many). Marchak (1975:40) suggests that the outcome is a "...lack of cultural facilities, a truncated economy and a lopsided occupational structure vis-a-vis the metropolitan population". Decision-making tends to be limited to the administration of metropolitan directives. Those few researchers who have taken the State into account in their discussions of the resource frontier see little reason to believe that the communities in the region will

eventually diversify beyond their current bases. Loxley (1981) reviews a strategy adopted by the NDP government in Manitoba which attempted to reduce the levels of dependency in the North. The strategy failed.

The role of the state in northern Manitoba after 1969 changed marginally with only minor concession being made to the workers and underclass of that region who had helped make the NDP victory possible. Essentially the state continued to support the accumulation of capital by a non-resident class of property owners. Hydro development dominated state policy and state expenditures in the north on an unprecedented scale, even though a significant part of the NDP's electoral support had come from native people and others who opposed this type of development... Policy shifts making it possible for the state to participate with the private sector in mineral exploration and development in no way threatened rates of profit in this sector and changes in mineral taxation did so only to a negligible degree. Each of these measures reinforced the traditional role of the north as a resource extraction enclave. All of this was known by 1975, and indeed the strategy exercise recognized this implicitly by not proposing the socialisation of the existing means of production, and by proposing the convergence principles be applied as far as possible to existing mining, forestry and hydro enterprises.
(Loxley, 1981:172)

The outcome of an underdevelopment process is to retain the towns built upon resource industries as entrepôts (Stelter, 1975) or intermediaries. These entrepôts are unable to generate growth within their own local economies. They also fail to develop connections with other entrepôts. "The primary connection and concern of the individual town is focused on the metropolis..." (Stelter, 1975: 271).

In some ways Gillam is like all resource towns or entrepôts, in others it is not. Stelter and Artibise (1978:8) suggest that all resource towns share the following characteristics:

(a) Status as an "adjunct of an industrial enterprise":

Hydro stations were originally developed in northern Manitoba in order to provide power to the mining industry (Netherton, 1983). Gillam was chosen as one of the town sites for employees working at Hydro stations. Without the demand for electricity for industrial use, massive development of northern hydro potential would not have occurred. At the time of the breakdown in Western Power Grid talks, all Hydro development plans were put on hold. The purpose of the power grid was to provide power to Western industries, and Gillam's prospects rose and fell with those of the industries it would service.

(b) "Lack of any local control over the town's economic development":

The lack of local control in Gillam has been referred to extensively in Chapter IV's discussion of Settled Gillamites and their enigmas. Knowles (1978:6) provides further elaboration:

Essentially, there are two main administrative bodies operating in the area; the Local Government District of Gillam and Manitoba Hydro. The Province of Manitoba's presence is very strong, albeit in many cases indirect as manifested through its various departments and agencies, through its ownership of Crown land, and through its ultimate control over both Manitoba Hydro and the Local Government District.

(c) A simplified occupational structure:

The most recent figures available for Gillam's employment were collected in 1978 for the Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce. At that time, there were 867 full and part-time positions in the community. My discussions with local administrators suggest that employment levels during the time I conducted my field work were at approximately 600. Keeping this drop in mind, employment figures will be reported as percentages. 65% of all jobs in Gillam were under Manitoba Hydro. 7% were under CNR. 15% of all employees worked for the Local Government District, the hospital or the school. The remaining 13% of jobs fell within the service category. Of this 13% reported in 1978, over 30% had disappeared by the time I arrived in Gillam, or did so shortly thereafter due to business closures.

In talking about occupational structure, essentially we are discussing Hydro's structure. Although the Crown Corporation in total is a highly stratified organisation, the Gillam installation represents the lowest level, with few positions at even the middle management level (1). The occupational structure is simplified because it is truncated, flat.

(d) The recent tendency to resemble suburbs of large cities:

Much of northern town planning derives from a Garden City approach to community design. This includes winding streets, bungalows or two-storey homes, paths for pedestrian movement, and a

variety of other features. Anybody who has ever visited a North American city suburb would recognize these features immediately. The map of Gillam (Figure II, p. 26) graphically demonstrates that Gillam is based on similar design principles. These design principles emerged from the desire to give resource towns the aura of permanence.

The various model town plans can be viewed as remedial efforts on the part of the State. Bradbury (1977:209) points out the problems with this planning approach, i.e., its contradiction:

...[T]he idea of planning for permanence and community stability appears to be enigmatic, given the circumstances of their dependence upon an unstable economic base and a cyclical pattern of investment and circulation.

The contradictory role of the State extends beyond its involvement in town planning to include all aspects of its generalised role in Gillam.

To speak of a state as a capitalist state does not mean that certain or all capitalists rule directly at the political level. It means rather that the State's role primarily entails maintaining the social conditions for economic growth and the reproduction of classes in a way consistent with the dynamics of the capitalist economy. This means promoting capital accumulation, but within the framework of containing and mediating relations among the various fractions of capital and between the subordinate and dominant classes.

(Panitch, 1981:24-25)

Because Gillam services a government owned and run industry, the role of the State is more evident and immediate than in other

northern Manitoba communities such as Thompson or The Pas. Bradbury (1979:148) suggests that there are three forces involved in metropolitan dominance of the hinterland: the role of the State, the role of corporations, and the role of investment and capital. All three factors are evident and separate in the northern Manitoba region as a whole, but in Gillam itself, they coincide. In other words, the State and its institutions perform a variety of functions, including legitimation, the drawing of the town into the larger economy, and developing the town as a site for its own investment, thus allowing for further capital accumulation. This latter function is particularly evident in the boom and bust history of Gillam. When accumulation appears possible, there is a "boom"; when it does not, there is a "bust".

Whereas in communities such as Flin Flon or Lynn Lake the State can act as mediator between labour and capital, ~~in Gillam~~ it must act both as mediator and as capitalist. Although, as Jessop (1982:80) states: "...the State is involved in capitalist reproduction on both sides of the capital-labour relation", in Gillam, through State ownership of Manitoba Hydro, this duality is laid bare. As Armstrong (1977:289) suggests: "...without implying a position of state neutrality or of a freely competitive economy, the state as umpire should be distinguished from the state as one of the players". In this case, the State in Gillam acts as umpire to the game in which it

is a major player. This basic contradiction does not operate "behind the backs" of Gillamites.

...institutions do not just work 'behind the backs' of the social actors who produce and reproduce them. Every competent member of every society knows a great deal about the institutions of that society: such knowledge is not incidental to the operation of society, but is necessarily involved in it.

(Giddens, 1979:71)

Both Hydro and Settled Gillamites "know" that the State, as it operates in Gillam, is paradoxically constrained through its dual role. Elements of that dual role become relevant to Gillamites. For example, the State must act as employer while at the same time ensuring that employment benefits (many of which are determined by the State for all industry) are not so high as to eliminate the accumulation of capital. Capital accumulation is impossible without labour, therefore the State must legitimate employment in Gillam, through incentives and promises. Although some of these incentives are ultimately illusory, at least some of the promises must be material in order to retain employees.

While the State, in its relationship with capital, encourages consumerism, it cannot either directly or indirectly provide wide-spread consumer services in Gillam without threatening accumulation. It can, however, legitimate "binges of consumerism" through providing trips out of Gillam. The fact that consumer goods are available in the South and not the North fosters the belief that

the South is "better" than the North, and the State must compensate through incentives.

Throughout all of these "paradoxes" or contradictions, the State (which is a political body, and not simply an administrative one) must continue to be seen as representing the interests of its electorate, including the people of Gillam.

At this point it is sufficient to note that the State in Gillam operates in a context of paradox and contradiction. In each role that it performs as developer, it comes up against its role as mediator, and vice-versa. Insofar as Gillam is concerned, the State must mediate its own activities.

If the State operates in a context which is based on mediations and compromises, it does so because it has not fully established control (and cannot do so) over social practices:

...the State will seek to organise and mobilise these practices into a national framework, especially through manipulating popular sentiment into a coherent and comprehensible hegemonic structure. The State will never fully succeed in this.

(Urry, 1981:45)

If ideological dominance is attained, it must be done at the consent of the dominated. Such consent is not always forthcoming, and agreement must be gained through compromise. These compromises ultimately result in contradictions.

Urry (1981:102) points to the State's broad sphere in sustaining and providing for capital accumulation, and he includes civil society

and the spheres of production and circulation, reproduction and struggle. The various arenas within which the State operates places it in internal conflict and contradiction. For present purposes, I borrow Giddens' (1981:231-2) definition:

I mean by "contradiction" the existence of two structural principles within a societal system, whereby each depends upon the other but at the same time negates it...its implication is that societal totalities are structured in contradiction, involving the fusion and exclusion of opposites. In other words, the operation of one structural principle in the reproduction of a societal system presumes that of another which tends to undermine it.

Beyond its role as a partner in the accumulation of capital (one structural principle), the State also participates in the reproduction of the social relations of production (another structural principle). Urry (1981:51) takes care to point out that reproducing social relations between agents is not the same as reproducing agents. It is to the former that this section refers. These relations are maintained in such a way that the ruling class exerts its domination via the State. One aspect of such domination is ideological. Domination extends beyond the productive sphere; it permeates all interactions within civil society. The reproduction of relations of production (much of which occurs in civil society) requires more than coercive powers. There is also the presence of consensual or ideological forms of control. This form of control is "hegemony", which is:

...the permeation throughout civil society - including a whole range of structures and activities like trade unions, schools, the churches and the family - of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs, morality, etc. that is in one way or another supportive of the established order and the class interests that dominate it.

(Boggs, 1976:39)

The class struggle is evident not only in the sphere of production but also within civil society: "...the reproduction of capitalist society is crucially dependent upon political and ideological struggle and not simply upon economic determination" (Urry, 1981:23). Ideological struggle is an important part of civil society, and the State cannot become involved in production without becoming involved in reproduction. The State, in its interactions with civil society, becomes a locus of struggle over the social production and reproduction of reality.

The preceding pages have dealt with the integral role of the State in the lives of Gillamites. The State is trapped in a paradoxical position, because it must act as both developer and representative. In traditional single industry towns, the State acted as partner in the accumulation of capital; in Gillam, it acts as director. Despite its capitalist role, the State must continue to participate in the reproduction of social relations of production. To do so, (paradoxically) it must come between itself and labour. In order to continue development, the State must exert domination, one

aspect of which is ideological. Domination need not always be coercive. Control can also be consensual, or "hegemonic":

...hegemony involves the successful mobilisation and reproduction of the 'active consent' of dominated groups by the ruling class through their exercise of intellectual, moral and political leadership.

(Jessop, 1982:148)

Urry (1981:64) suggests that, "Very broadly, it is the state that attempts to establish and sustain hegemony, an articulated structure that conceals and deflects the contradictions and conflicts inherent within civil society and between the state and civil society". Gramsci has defined hegemony as fragile; in order to maintain consensual domination, the State is forced to alternatively concede to labour and to capital in "unstable equilibria of compromise" (Gramsci, as quoted in Jessop, 1982:150).

...the maintenance of hegemony involves taking systematic account of popular interests and demands, shifting position and making compromises on secondary issues to maintain support and alliances in an inherently unstable and fragile system of political relations...and organising this support...

(Jessop, 1982:148)

Ultimately, the State has been successful in maintaining hegemony in Gillam, but in order to do so it has made compromises with respect to both production and reproduction. Compromises bring with them contradictions, and the contradictory activities of the State enter into the life-worlds of Gillamites and are typified, to be drawn on in interpretation when they are relevant. (2)

State Contradictions and the Relevance of State Activities

In the first part of this chapter, Control and Escape subjective because-contexts were related to the role of the State in Gillam as an objective because-context. The subsequent analysis of the State's activities in Gillam demonstrated the State's contradictory position with respect to its involvement in Gillam. This contradictory position is another objective because-context within which Gillamites conduct their daily lives. However, it is not the "contradictory position of the State" which is relevant to Gillamites, rather it is the various practices of the State and its institutions which Gillamites encounter and help reproduce. For example, a Settled Gillamite encounters the local government district administrator making decisions about small businesses, and provincial and federal political representatives canvassing for votes. A Hydro Gillamite encounters a larger pay cheque, and encounters the absence of shopping facilities. State activities are part of the lived-in and looked-to relevance structures of the Gillamite, and not State position. Once again, Hydro Gillamites do not encounter the contradictory position of the State, they encounter a variety of practices, some of which enhance the ability to escape, some of which

limit that ability. Similarly, Settled residents encounter practices which strengthen their control and others which weaken it. These practices are interpreted within because-contexts, contexts which place lived-in and looked-to relevance on escape and control.

Enhancements and limitations to the escape of Hydro Gillamites reflect the State's contradictory role in reproduction and production, and vice-versa. Strengthening and weakening of control for Settled Gillamites also reflect the contradiction, and vice-versa.

When elements of both roles of the State become simultaneously relevant to a Gillamite, enigmatic situations ensue. Resolutions to enigmatic situations reproduce the relevances, and a contradictory State position ensues. Enigmatic situations and State contradictions are mutually dependent. This mutual dependency is more fully elaborated in Chapter VII.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

1. Most Hydro jobs in Gillam involve maintenance of the Hydro installations, e.g., operation of devices to control water flows, maintenance and repair of such devices, electrical and mechanical maintenance, monitoring and channelling of levels of hydro-electrical generation, maintenance and repair of support vehicles and machinery, and so forth. Hydro Gillamites do not participate in any of the Crown Corporation's policy setting; such directives are received from Head Office in Winnipeg.
2. I have not attempted to develop a strong theory of the State in this dissertation, as my focus has been on how particular structural contradictions are experienced as enigmatic situations. This omission from the dissertation is a conscious one and I agree with Jessop (1982: 211) when he criticizes the various Marxist schools who claim to have developed a general theory of the State. I have referred to a number of contradictory State activities and can only suggest that the various forms of theorized contradiction are experienced at the level of lived reality. The difficulty in linking enigmatic situations with a single theoretical approach to the State may demonstrate the fact that the various theoretical debates reflect various aspects of lived reality, and that the complexity of State theories cannot be otherwise given the complexity of that group of people and activities we call "the State".

CHAPTER VII.STRUCTURATION IN GILLAM

The introduction to Part I of this dissertation suggested that sociological analysis must take into account the concept of structuration. This chapter will demonstrate the "fundamentally recursive character of social life" (Giddens, 1979:69). Giddens suggests that structure and agency exist in a relationship of mutual dependency. With the help of phenomenology, this mutuality can be examined. To do so, this dissertation selected certain aspects of agency (enigmatic situations and their resolutions) and structure (State contradiction in Gillam's resource development). This chapter will also demonstrate that the concepts "structure" and "agency" are increasingly objectified typifications of what is experientially the same phenomenon. The two concepts are, as Schutz stated, part of a single Chinese-box, and not two separate boxes.

Chapter III introduced the reader to the life-worlds of Hydro and Settled Gillamites. In doing so, the reader was also introduced to the lived-in relevances of the community's residents. For example, the frequency of airline flights in and out of Gillam is relevant to Hydro Gillamites; reliance on rail transportation is relevant to the Settled. University-entrance high school courses are relevant to Hydro parents; some kind of vocational training is relevant to Settled parents. Gillamites live-in these relevances,

and the relevances form an "in-order-to" context of meaning. However, not all relevances are part of the in-order-to context for all actions. When Hydro Gillamites are trying to fly out to Winnipeg, the relevance of high school courses does not enter the "in-order-to" context, it remains at the horizon of relevance in the life-world, still accessible, still relevant but irrelevant for the situation at hand. Because many relevances remain at the horizon of the life-world, and enter the in-order-to meaning context under different sets of circumstances, it is quite possible for these relevances to be contradictory and yet never to be recognized as such.

In the natural attitude, there is no motivation to keep all the elements of knowledge in fundamental agreement. Even if elements of knowledge are "theoretically" in contradiction with one another, that is, if they contradicted one another within a closed, formal, logically ordered system of knowledge, they do not need to conflict in the natural attitude. A conflict only occurs if it turns out that those elements in a situation that have been taken to be relevant in a taken-for-granted way up to now do not suffice for mastery of the situation, thus making it necessary for such elements as until now appeared as "less" relevant to be drawn on. If these elements that are now drawn on are inconsistent with the element originally employed, with regard to their meaning, then both elements of knowledge become problematic.

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:154)

This lengthy quote outlines the development of an enigmatic situation. For example, the fact that Hydro Gillamites have large amounts of disposable income is not enigmatic. The fact that there

is nowhere in Gillam to spend income on a daily basis is not enigmatic. The fact that both situations are of lived-in relevance and that the two elements contradict each other is enigmatic. This contradiction must be resolved if daily life is to continue. Schutz and Luckmann suggest that resolutions include 'bracketing' (e.g., "the contradiction is not important") or solving (either one element or the other is changed by the individual) or annulling (e.g., "there are two opinions about that") the contradiction.

Chapter V suggested that the subjective because meaning-contexts for the enigmas identified in Chapter IV were based on the lived-in and looked-to relevance of Escape and Control. Chapter VI demonstrated the objective because-contexts of State activities and State contradictions. The relationship thus becomes one as demonstrated in Figure III:

FIGURE III.

The following pages will clarify this relationship.

Being in Gillam allows Hydro parents to save for their children's higher education, yet that education may be jeopardized by the perceived poor quality of the school. One resolution to this situation is for parents to sit on the community's school board. The lived-in relevance for these parents is escape for their children. Money is saved "in-order-to" send children to university. Children go to high school "in-order-to" prepare for university. The quality of the school must be adequate "in-order-to" ensure success at university. Parents also look-to the relevance of escape in developing resolutions to the situation. Those who sit on the school board do so because they believe their membership will make a difference in their children's potential for escape. By sitting on the board, they encounter the activities and institutions of the State, including the Local Government District, which assists in the physical operation of the school, Manitoba Hydro which subsidizes the school's operation, the School Division which is responsible for the school's administration and the Manitoba Ministry of Education, which sets curricula and funding levels. These institutions and their activities enter the relevance structure of the Hydro board members, through meetings, discussions, letters, directives and so forth. These State activities also pertain to the relevance of Escape (i.e., "Does State Activity A increase or decrease the possibility for

Escape?"). At the same time, Hydro parents (or, more accurately, fathers) work for Hydro and the activities of Manitoba Hydro also enter the lived-in and looked-to relevance of Escape (i.e., "Does slowdown of Hydro construction increase or decrease the possibility for Escape?"). Inevitably, certain activities of these various State institutions contradict each other.

While the State will concede to providing higher wages and benefits for those living in Gillam (necessary for maintaining the social reproduction of labour power), it cannot provide a complete curriculum of high school courses every year without jeopardizing its accumulation or production function. Thus, State contradiction results in contradictory State activities which are encountered by Hydro Gillamites in the subjective because-context of Escape, a context which, when lived-in, produces certain resolutions to the enigmatic experiences of that contradiction.

We have now defined how enigmatic situations are "produced" and reproduced by State contradictions. If the discussion were ended here, we would have an explanation of enigmatic situations which negates agency and allows for structural primacy. In order to show structuration, it is necessary to show how human agency in enigmatic situations produces and reproduces State contradictions.

The key to understanding this structuration lies in the lived-in and looked-to relevances of Gillamites. Using the same example, both

higher wages and educational quality are elements within a larger context of Escape. Both are relevant for children's futures.

Without higher wages, parents do not believe they will be able to save enough money to send their children to college or university. Without high school education of acceptable quality, parents do not believe their children will be able to succeed in institutions for higher education. Both elements are part of the pragmatic interest of Hydro parents. At one moment, they demand that the State continue and increase employment benefits. At the same moment, they demand that the State improve the quality of the school. These demands place the State in a contradictory position. If the State increases benefits, it cannot at the same time spend dollars on school improvement without reducing its level of profit. If it does neither, it threatens its own ability to socially reproduce labour-power necessary for that very accumulation. If it places all of its emphasis on wages or all on school quality, its ability is similarly threatened. Therefore, because of the demands placed on its institutions, the State must compromise. Compromises introduce contradictions, contradictions created and recreated by the demands of Hydro residents and experienced as enigmatic situations requiring resolution (1).

Hydro residents find it enigmatic that, while travel out is legitimated in a number of ways, service is poor and flights are

infrequent. One resolution to this situation is to rely on Manitoba Hydro to pressure the airlines. The lived-in relevance for Hydro Gillamites is that of Escape. Temporary escape is necessary "in-order-to" remain in Gillam. This in-order-to context is one of "need" as opposed to "want". Regular and frequent flights out are necessary "in order to" escape from Gillam. For many of the people I spoke with in the community, time in Gillam is measured by the time between trips out. This is the lived-in relevance. Hydro Gillamites also look-to the relevance of escape in developing solutions to infrequent flights. Those who rely on Manitoba Hydro to pressure the airlines do so because they believe Hydro's intervention will make a difference. By asking Hydro to intervene on their behalf, they encounter the activities of the State, including its representatives, the Town Site Administrator, and Manitoba Hydro management in Winnipeg. Manitoba Hydro, as an institution, thus enters the relevance structure of Gillamites, through its agents' response (or lack of response) to Gillamite demands. These responses (State activities) also pertain to the relevance of Escape (for example, "Does that particular response increase or decrease the possibility of Escape?") At the same time, Hydro Gillamites also must relate to the Town Site Administrator and Winnipeg management as representatives of their employer, and this also enters the lived-in and looked-to relevance of Escape (e.g., "If I make too much noise

over this issue will I affect my chances for future promotions and thus my final escape from Gillam?) Inevitably, the State is in a contradictory position.

While certain agencies within the State will concede to providing fully subsidized trips out (necessary for maintaining the social reproduction of labour power), the State, as a whole, cannot (or will not) alter its relationship to capital accumulation. The accumulation undertaken by the State does not include owning and providing airline service to its employees. (The socialization of the Manitoba economy does not extend to the "service" sector.) While the State legitimates travel out, through subsidies, it can only maintain service by negotiating with and regulating privately-owned airlines. Thus, State contradiction results in contradictory State activities which are encountered by Hydro Gillamites in the subjective because-context of Escape, a context which, when lived-in, produces certain resolutions to the enigmatic experiences of that contradiction.

The resolutions to enigmatic situations "produced" by State contradictions are recursive in that they tend towards the reproduction of those contradictions. Reproduction emerges from the lived-in and looked-to relevances of Gillamites. Both subsidized trips and frequent flights are elements within a larger context of Escape. Without subsidized trips, Hydro Gillamites do not believe

they could afford to travel to their southern homes and to the necessities which the South provides. Without frequent flights, Hydro Gillamites do not believe they could travel home when it was necessary. Both elements are part of the pragmatic interests of Hydro Gillamites. They demand that the State (a) subsidize flights, and (b) ensure frequency of service. These demands place the State in a contradictory position. While the State continues to subsidize trips, it cannot act directly to ensure frequent service, because the State does not own the airlines. To own an airline would produce two effects: it would reduce the level of profit enjoyed by the State as a result of its Gillam operations, but, more importantly, it would substantially alter the State's position in the accumulation network. State ownership would expand beyond the ownership of resources to that of service industries. The implications of such a move would extend beyond Gillam and Manitoba Hydro. Rather than owning the airlines, the State engages in negotiations with them to ensure service. Therefore, because of the demands placed on its institutions, the State must compromise. Compromises introduce contradictions, contradictions created and recreated by the demands of Hydro Gillamites and experienced as enigmatic situations requiring resolution.

The two examples provided here illustrate how the resolutions to enigmatic situations have a tendency towards reproducing the very

contradictions which were encountered as enigmatic situations. It should be kept in mind that enigmatic situations are part of the natural attitude, and thus part of what Gramsci termed "common sense".

"Gramsci identifies the absence of 'consciousness of historicity' and hence of self-knowledge as the principal feature that condemns common-sense thinking to a position of dependence and subordination."

(Clarke et al., 1977:50). Given the rapid turnover of families in Gillam, it is not surprising that enigmatic situations are encountered and re-created over and over again, for this is in fact a characteristic of Gillam for Hydro-affiliated residents: Gillam is a town with no history.

This is not the case for Settled Gillamites. The fact that Settled Gillamites also re-create enigmatic situations relates to another characteristic of "common-sense":

(Common sense)...is strangely composite; it contains elements from the Stone Age and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of the human race united the world over.

(Gramsci, 1971, as cited in Clarke et al., 1977:50)

While Settled Gillamites continue to demand local control over Gillam, they also petition the government to continue pouring funds into the community. If the State is to invest in Gillam to the extent which it has, there is a need to maintain control over the investment. Once again, the State is in a position of compromise, allowing the

Settled to advise on local issues without giving them responsible government, and discouraging its own employees from opening competitive small businesses without acting to ensure that its employees use local businesses.

The fact that State contradictions in Gillam are produced and reproduced by Gillamites could lead to the conclusion that, in the structure-agency relationship, structure is only the product of agency and therefore agency is primary to the life-worlds of Gillamites. Such a conclusion would fail to recognize that "subjective" interpretations by individuals and groups of individuals eventually become increasingly objectified (or reified) until that product of agency (structure) becomes an external factor to be used in interpretation: "...the intentionality of actors becomes objectified within social structures which have the capacity to affect the future intentionality of actors" (Smith, 1983: 13). The most important question to be addressed here is, why do certain interpretations become objectified and common while others do not? (2) With respect to Gillam, it is important to remember that the State acts to sustain under or uneven development through ideology-laden practices. These practices are aimed at maintaining the dominant ideology, or, to put it most simply, that the State's presence in Gillam is unquestionable. Hydro development in Gillam, the form it has taken, the way in which development was and continues to be

practiced, is part of an objective meaning-context, a meaning-context which supports the interests of capital. The more objectified that meaning-context is, the more successful the dominant class has been in its struggle for hegemony. At an analytic level, it is relatively easy to state that the ideological struggle has resulted in Gillamites living in a relevance structure which serves the interests of a class other than their own. Such simplified statements cannot explain the complexity of living in Gillam nor does it take into account the knowledge of Gillamites. "Northerners, both Whites and Amerindians, have a clear awareness of their difficult, misunderstood situation." (Hamelin, 1978:11).

Corrigan and Leonard (1978:100) state:

The extent to which subordinate classes legitimate the dominance of ruling classes, by virtue of their acceptance of dominant values and meanings, should be the subject of very close scrutiny. It is easy to over-emphasize the passivity of subordinate classes in this situation and once again to fail to perceive the struggles which exist on the ideological plane.

In fact, the very emergence of enigmatic situations demonstrates the struggle. Part of struggle includes the recognition that certain sets of values and meanings do not coincide. The recognition of contradictions such as those discussed in the preceding pages is far from passive; incentives and compromises would not be necessary in a system where a totally dominant hegemony had been achieved.

In their review of Gramsci, Clarke et al. (1977:49) stress that Gramsci viewed ideology as a "lived relation", or, to rephrase, as part of the life-world. Because ideology (in the sense of dominant ideology) is part of the complex lived experience of groups and individuals, its position within the life-world is not static: "The relation between the dominant ideology and common sense is not, however, hierarchically fixed, but driven by the class contradictions within it." (Clarke et al., 1977:50). In other words, the dominance of a particular ideology at a particular moment of action cannot be taken for granted by the sociologist.

For Gramsci, there is no state or moment of "hegemony" which is not contested; ... no hegemony which does not have to be won, secured, constantly defended. And this is so even when the site of that class struggle is apparently far removed from the terrain of the economic and the direct confrontation between the fundamental classes.

(Clarke et al., 1977:68)

In Gillam, the contested ground is that of State activities.~ One can imagine that the need to spend a weekend shopping in Winnipeg is far removed from class relations within a liberal democracy; yet, for Gillamites, this need is couched in their lived relations with state institutions and representatives, and in their recognition that certain state activities play against them while others "umpire" the game.

While State activities are embedded in institutions (such as Manitoba Hydro and the Local Government District) they are also

planted in objective meaning-contexts. The totality of state activity is thus embedded in interpretive schemes and with this objectification comes the internal contradictions of a system which acts to accumulate and legitimate. The objectification is actively produced and reproduced because the self-contradictory objectification is itself relevant as a lived-in and looked-to reality.

This analysis of structural contradictions and enigmatic situations demonstrates the mutual dependency of structure and agency in the lived-in and looked-to relevances of the non-Native residents of a single-industry community. The fact that both agency and structure enter the interpretations and actions of these residents demonstrates that struggle is a normal part of their everyday lives.

Part II of this dissertation will demonstrate how we, as sociologists, can develop explanations based on structuration that do not give precedence to either structure or agency. The method allows us to consider, accept and reject a variety of concepts in deriving an explanation which is inherently grounded and one which is pertinent to its context. Because of this process of constant negotiation, we are provided with a valuable tool in asking the questions that must be asked.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

1. This discussion has provided direction for further research. Jessop (1982: 223) states that "...to treat the state as a real (as opposed to formal, legal) subject with a pregiven unity is to exclude from view political struggles within and between state apparatuses..." This discussion includes implicit recognition that the actions of Gillamites take place within a context of competition among various State institutions (for example, Manitoba Hydro and the Ministry of Education) for scarce resources. By alternately placing demands on these various institutions, Gillamites contribute to that competition.
2. This question contains many sub-questions which go beyond the scope of this dissertation. In particular, the question is related to a concept of action which suggests that "...things possess powers and liabilities to do and suffer things that they are not actually doing and suffering and that they may never actually do and suffer" (Bhaskar, 1975:87). In adopting such a concept of action, a partial response to this question is that certain interpretations become objectified and common because people choose to create them as such, and that they could have chosen to create them as otherwise. These choices themselves are subject to the constraining and enabling properties of structures.

At another level, one might suggest that people appropriate (as opposed to create) meanings. This view, suggested to me by Dr. Charles W. Smith, suggests that meanings do not "become objectified" but are themselves inherently objective, and are appropriated by subjects who then modify and transform the appropriated meanings. If this is the case, and assuming that meanings are both discursive and practical, then future research would require an examination of these appropriate practices and modifications. Using such an approach, we might suggest that "contradictions" are inherently objective meanings and are appropriated, modified and transformed within enigmatic situations. This model would address change by an examination of appropriation practices and the ways in which meanings are transformed. In doing so, it would allow for Giddens' often repeated suggestion that through all social change, even the most radical, there is a thread of continuity.

The questions emerging from such a model extend beyond those addressed in this dissertation.

PART II. THE NEGOTIATIVE PROCESS

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTION

The explanation provided in Part I, of this dissertation represents the end product of a research process. The discussion of structuration in Gillam came about as a result of work at both theoretical and grounded levels. Specifically, my explanation of enigmatic situations and structural contradictions in Gillam is not based upon hypothesis testing. The purpose of this part of the dissertation is to describe how this particular representation of Gillam came to be.

Alexander (1982:30) suggests that "...all scientific development is a two-tiered process, propelled as much by theoretical as by empirical argument". The account of structuration in Gillam emerged from such a dual propulsion, including phenomenological and structural theories on one side, and participant observation and interviewing in Gillam on the other. In addition, this thesis contains a third source of propulsion, that of reflexivity.

Recent discussions of field work have stressed the need for a "reflexive" method. In this case, I take reflexive to mean an understanding of the research process which is continuously fed back

into that very process. Reflection occurs on both levels referred to by Alexander, that is, theoretical and empirical. In addition, reflection on each of the two levels does not occur in isolation. Of necessity, reflection must also be focussed on the relationships between our theoretical and empirical arguments. A truly reflexive research account must elaborate how the two levels of thought have been integrated by the researcher to form a cohesive explanation.

For purposes of this discussion, I have drawn heavily on the work of Glaser and Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (1967). I first read this piece of work before conducting any field work. At that time, I came away with one over-riding tenet: to reduce my level of commitment to preconceived theories. In reading the text at later stages in my research, I brought my attention to bear on their discussion of the "Constant Comparative Method", where theories are compared with each other. Although I agree with the approach up to this point, I believe I have adapted Glaser's and Strauss' method to make it more consistent with phenomenological epistemology. First, I believe that it is not sufficient to compare only theories: these theories must also be compared with the ground. Second, it is important to remember that the constant comparative method (including theory and ground) is one

of negotiation. Part I of this dissertation has already defined the concept of relevance. (See pages 111 to 113.) At one point in the research process, theory is of highest relevance to the researcher and the ground moves to the horizon of attention. At another time, ground is most relevant and theory at the horizon. At a certain time, however, both theory and ground must be relevant if we are to present a theoretical explanation which is grounded and a ground which is theoretically informed. After each theoretical sojourn, concepts must be subjected to grounded scrutiny. Similarly after each sojourn at ground level, material must be subjected to theoretical scrutiny. Once the mutual scrutiny (or negotiation) consistently results in the same negotiated settlement, an explanation emerges. A graphic representation of the process is presented in Figure IV.

The graph represents the complexity of the negotiations in which a researcher engages throughout the fieldwork process. In this case, the first level is that of ground: the researcher begins with a research question or area of interest. After becoming familiar with that ground, the knowledge gained is subjected to negotiation with theory; the question then becomes: "How do I theorize this grounded knowledge?" After an initial theoretical argument has been developed, the researcher returns to the ground to gain a deeper

FIGURE IV.

understanding of his or her knowledge of that ground. The direction taken by this immersion is guided by the theoretical arguments defined in negotiation, but it is not restricted to those arguments. After the immersion, the researcher once again subjects his or her grounded knowledge to theoretical negotiation. After a series of such ground-negotiation-theory-negotiation-ground phases, an explanation of the research area emerges, and new elements of either theory or ground do not alter the content of negotiations - they may elaborate on it. At this point, I suggest that an explanation has been produced.

Throughout this negotiative process, the researcher must also negotiate among all elements at the ground level (see top of graph). In attempting to understand the totality, one must understand all relevant aspects of ground in terms of one another. Similarly, theoretical elements are compared with each other, for example, how does my notion of underdevelopment (located at the beginning of my negotiation) compare to my notion of Escape (located at a later position in my research process)?

It is during the conduct of negotiation that reflexivity is most evident. Not surprisingly, it is also the conduct of negotiation which leads to intellectual break-throughs. In my research process, negotiation between the two levels led to the movement forward of my research: by its suggestions for research plans, by the rejection of

certain concepts and the search for new ones, and by recognition that more information was required.

I have chosen to report this process for a number of reasons. First, the product I have presented in Part I is the result of a research "biography", a biography which, for me, is inseparable from the explanation which ultimately emerged. Second, I maintain that it is not sufficient simply to conduct research in a reflexive manner; without an account of how that reflexivity was attained, there is little to assure the reader that the work was conducted in an interpretive manner. Finally, like Alexander, I too have encountered the separation of two levels of analysis: theory and ground. This is inherent in the way in which participant observation research is reported. Ironically, it is also evident in the critiques of that form of reporting. Much as I agree with Giddens, Alexander and others who decry the separation of theory and ground, I am forced to turn their criticisms back upon them, for they have done little more than add another layer of "theory" upon the issue. Some time ago, Giddens proclaimed a set of "new rules" for sociology. By presenting an account of my research process, I intend to demonstrate that these rules need not remain at the abstract level.

Figure V is a graphic representation of this dissertation's theoretical level, grounded level and the negotiations between the two. The process depicted led from from an initial interest in "cabin fever" to a discussion of structuration in Gillam.

Part II of this dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter IX details the process from the early interest in cabin fever to the rejection of my early explanation.

Chapter X carries the reader through my initial reading of phenomenology to my definition of enigmatic situations.

Chapter XI begins with my plan for research in Gillam and ends with my examination of the phenomenological conceptualization of structure and action.

Chapter XII outlines my recognition of Gillam as a northern ghetto through to my field note and document analysis.

Chapters IX, X, XI and XII each contain a description of the ground, theory and negotiations between them. I have written these chapters with the intention of reproducing the research process. In the final rewrite of this part of the thesis, I was encouraged to add more self-reflexivity to this description. (1) I have chosen to do so by adding a retrospective section to each of these chapters. In the retrospectives, I demonstrate that certain elements and concepts were carried forward and, most importantly, how they were carried forward.

What could be Chapter XIII is missing from Part II of this dissertation. Because it is the product of all that went before, and because repeated negotiations produced the same explanation (note the last double-headed arrow in Figure V) it is presented as Part I.

At the beginning of each chapter to follow, that portion of the graph which pertains to the material in that chapter will be presented.

The Conclusion to Part II (Chapter XIII) takes a backward look at the process and presents a phenomenological explanation for that reflexive glance.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

1. During the final rewrite, I also struggled with the question of self-reflexivity. How much of my own personal experience should be included in the retrospective? My experiences in Gillam profoundly changed my life. I believe the following pages demonstrate how those experiences forced and encouraged me to de-simplify my own thought patterns about living in remote communities. By necessity, this de-simplification extended into all my thought patterns - those about myself, my friends and acquaintances in Gillam and my academic ties. If I were forced to use one word to describe how I felt while conducting my research it would be "ennervated"; if I were forced also to find one word to describe my present feelings about the fieldwork experience, it would be "grateful". There is a limited number of models to guide us in how to present field experiences - experiences which revolve around change. One such model is to demonstrate personal change (For example, Briggs' (1970) Never in Anger.) I have used another model, which is to demonstrate conceptual change based on a negotiative process. By doing so, I agree with Young (1980:2): "The point of such study/action is not to produce a well-rounded individual but a well-rounded society". I do not believe that another researcher could personally re-experience Gillam in exactly the way I did, but I do believe that s/he could reproduce my method for reflexivity, that is, the constant negotiation between theory and ground.

CHAPTER IX.

CABIN FEVER AND RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

FIGURE VI.

Cabin Fever

Two years before I began my doctoral work, two issues were presented to me in a relatively short period of time, leading me to consider an aspect of social life, and in particular Canadian social life, which I had never considered before. The first was personal - a close friend moved to Chibougamou, Quebec for a year's teaching position. He left southern Ontario with great expectations, and among our friends there was much joking about his upcoming year in the bush, about the pioneer spirit and the long cold winters. As the year progressed, his letters south became more and more desperate. He complained about the lack of things to do, the boredom, the frustration, and the isolation. The terms he used for these symptoms were "cabin fever" and "bushed". His year in a northern resource community radically altered the person we had known. His open and humorous approach to life had changed to a withdrawn and cynical one. He eventually withdrew completely from my circle of friends, leaving us wondering what had happened to him up North.

As I was receiving his increasingly depressed letters, one of the classes in my Master's degree program was visited by a town planner/psychologist from the University of Wisconsin - William Smith. Mr. Smith had been involved in a number of planning exercises, and the majority of his discussion revolved around planning and construction difficulties in Alaska. On the basis of his experience in various

Alaskan communities, he related several anecdotes about the quality and character of life in the North. Many of these stories resonated with those reported by my friend in northern Quebec.

Perhaps being in Britain during this time period also served to heighten my interest in northern Canada, for I had begun to recognize both the size of the country as well as the concentration of its population. My knowledge of Canada's North was based on a rather vague idea that the isolated regions of Canada represented the country's economic strength - that Canada was a resource based economy. I began to wonder if there might be a link between this form of economy and my friend's "cabin fever". It appeared to me that cabin fever was a phenomenon which required examination. Why was it apparently endemic to or associated with the North, and what social factors could be present to explain its occurrence?

Interest

In my initial review of literature, three terms were used to refer to a number of symptoms. These were "cabin fever", "bushed", and "Arctic hysteria".

Nickels and Ledger (1976:11) suggest that:

Being bushed...refers to the fatigue felt after considerable time spent in isolation, i.e., away from civilization and the world outside...The concept of "cabin fever" implies not only wilderness isolation but also forced confinement with others...While a person can get bushed on his own, it takes more than one person confined within a small living space to bring about the effects of cabin fever.

The definition above, while useful in suggesting the conditions under which cabin fever takes place, failed to define cabin fever per se. This is more closely arrived at by Abbott and Kehoe (1972) when they describe cabin fever in terms of its manifestations (the model used here is a psychiatric one): "It is characterized by depression, irritability, easily provoked anger and breakdown of relationships with those persons with whom the sufferer is living" (1972:8). This psychiatric model was also adopted by Atcheson (1972).

My initial review of the literature had indicated to me that "cabin fever" was used in connection with (a) isolation conditions, (b) confined space containing more than one person, (c) problems in relationships, and (d) depressed psychological states.

The most comprehensive review of the fields of isolation and confinement is found in Ledbetter's Cold Regions Habitability (1974), a publication produced for the U.S. army.(1) In this article, Ledbetter discusses cabin fever as a term used by cold regions inhabitants to describe the following problems: boredom, lack of motivation, decreased ability to concentrate, excessive use of alcohol and drugs, intense need for privacy, vandalism, hostility, anxiety, tension, marital and parent-child conflict, mental and physical breakdown and intense anxiety over separation from family and friends. Although Ledbetter and others (for example, Altman) made reference to

cabin fever, their research was not aimed at direct examination of the phenomenon.

In these early stages of my research, I located two articles which did examine cabin fever directly, and which attempted to identify its occurrence. The first, "Mental Health Practices in the Yukon" (1972) is a descriptive report prepared by Abbott, Zone Psychiatrist and Kehoe, Zone Psychologist with the Department of National Health and Welfare in the Yukon. The article gives a general overview of health services in the North, as well as particular mental health problems encountered, one of which is cited as "cabin fever". On the basis of their experience in dealing with patients, Abbot and Kehoe offer the following composite of a person likely to develop cabin fever:

- (a) Female;
- (b) Married with several young children (and not employed);
- (c) Born and raised in Canada;
- (d) No family or close friends in their new home town on arrival;
- (e) Husband working long hours and away from home a great deal;
- (f) A shy, retiring personality structure;

(g) A husband-initiated decision to move North.

The person who is seen to have cabin fever is diagnosed as suffering from severe depression and medical treatment resembles that for any type of temporary mental illness.

Nickels and Ledger (1976) made use of Abbott and Kehoe's composite picture to test the incidence of this form of mental illness in the North. The common-sense notion which they tested was that "winter, wilderness and womanhood are incompatible with mental health" (1976:1). Using records of drug usage, they concluded that mental illness during the winter months is not directly connected with either sex or geographical location. They suggested that problems equated with "cabin fever" are not particular to the North and that this suggested northern mental illness does not exist. Indirectly they also suggested that, whatever cabin fever may be, it is not mental illness.

Had I accepted that cabin fever was indeed a mental illness, I could at this point have concluded that it was not a viable research focus. However, my concern was that denial of the existence of higher rates of mental illness in the North did not serve to deny the existence and usage of terms such as "cabin fever" and "bushed". The research I had examined had imposed a definition on the terms; there had been no direct examination of how they were used by lay people. I

was still left with my original question: What is "cabin fever"? The result of this negotiation was a review of the literature on meaning.

Meaning, Reference Groups and Underdevelopment

Material by Berger and Luckmann (1966), Becker (1963) and Scheff (1963) suggested that the term "cabin fever" acted as a label which had been used in a system of language. The referents of the label would require research; I conceptualized the process of labelling "cabin fever" as a dynamic one, as part of the communication process. My adoption of the concept "label" led to a further question: Were there any implications beyond the purely interpersonal level of labelling? Although not exclusive to the North, the term often appeared in that context. "Cabin fever" and "bushes" were obviously related to cold climates, and the northern environment was perceived as some form of stimulus for undesired behaviour and feelings.

The idea of moving to the Canadian North is probably one of the least appealing thoughts possible to most people. The remoteness and isolation, overpowering terrain, unproductive soils and unfavourable climate - coping with all this would simply be too much.

(Robinson, 1970:79-80)

Reference group theory and its accompanying concept of relative deprivation, as developed by both Merton (1957) and Runciman (1966) allowed me to begin to build a theoretical framework concerning the development of both positive and negative perceptions of and labels for the environment. The work of Runciman, Merton and others suggests

that humans do not judge their situations in a vacuum, but "put on the hats" of different groups in order to assess their own comparative advantages and disadvantages.

Reference group theory allowed me to discuss why "cabin fever" might emerge as a label. Hamelin (1978:3-4) suggests that the North has been the subject of "mirages and disappointments" as a result of over-idealized or excessively pessimistic northern images. In general, southern images are negative, and Hamelin recalls Cartier's description of "the land God gave to Cain". The North is defined as an undesirable place to live because it is perceived as such by southerners (with some exceptions, naturally). When southerners are taken as the reference group by those living in isolated posts, relative deprivation ensues, in that the northern situation is not as satisfying as a perceived southern one. It seemed probable that the labelling process for cabin fever could be a manifestation of such deprivation.

Merton (1957:246) had pointed to the direction to be taken in order to study relative deprivation (or in my case), its hypothesised manifestation:

...[T]he theory of reference group behaviour must include in its fuller psychological elaboration some treatment of the dynamics of perception (of individuals, groups and norms) and in its sociological elaboration some treatment of channels of communication through which this knowledge is gained.

In order to examine the "sociological elaboration", i.e., why southern Canada appeared to be providing the standards of acceptability for northern migrants, I introduced underdevelopment theory to the argument. It is implicit in the notion of underdevelopment that the dominant center provides all standards (be they social, economic or cultural) for migrants to the underdeveloped periphery.

In general, underdevelopment theorists have focussed their attention on third-world countries, attempting to show how the dynamics of capitalism have maintained these nations in a state of underdevelopment. Time alone will not allow these countries to reach Western standards of living: "In conventional usage development means the process of developing while underdevelopment is conceived only in a static fashion as a state - underdeveloping is not considered as a possibility" (Bernstein, 1973:25). The process of exploitation and extraction of locally produced surplus is made possible because "dominant countries are endowed with technological, commercial, capital, and socio-political predominance over dependent countries" (Dos Santos, 1973:76). In short, underdevelopment is a necessary and inevitable consequence of capitalism. The situation which underdevelopment theorists wish to remedy is best described as follows:

...[O]nce a country of people is converted into the satellite of an external capitalist metropolis, the exploitative metropolis-satellite structure quickly comes to

3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
ANSI and ISO TEST CHART NO. 2

organize and dominate the domestic economic, political and social life of that people.

(Fränk, 1967:10)

This dominance is of major concern to Galtung (1971) in his structural theories of imperialism and social development.

Imperialism is one form of dominance, creating disharmony in peripheral nations. The mechanisms of imperialism serve to protect the Center from the Periphery. He illustrates this by noting that Periphery nations tend to have only primary products to export, and hence, less power. Galtung suggests five types of imperialism: (1) economic; (2) political; (3) military; (4) communication; and (5) cultural.

Although underdevelopment theorists have concentrated on the relationship between third world countries and world powers, recent uses of the theory have related to Canadian regional disparities (Brym and Sacouman, 1979). As Galtung has pointed out, imperialism includes both intra- and inter-national relations. A preliminary review of literature on the economic, political and social conditions in the North indicated that the North has been, and continues to be in a process of underdevelopment (Hamelin, 1978; Rea, 1976; Wonder, 1971). This material, which is, strictly speaking, outside the underdevelopment school of thought strengthened my hypothesis that the North of Canada is indeed an underdeveloped area: "Historically, the north has displayed a tendency toward 'growth' without 'development'" (Rea, 1976).

My conclusion was that cabin fever had been inadequately defined in the available research. I hypothesised that the phenomenon was a label, a manifestation of relative deprivation. Such relative deprivation was based on a southern comparison group used by northern non-Native residents. Reference to the south was hypothesised as a direct consequence of northern underdevelopment and southern dominance.

Plan

I derived my proposed method for grounding an explanation from theoretical and substantive material by acknowledging an underlying tension in the explanation, i.e., between macro levels of dependence/underdevelopment and the micro meaning of cabin fever. This tension was certainly not novel.

...[S]ociology has been perennially concerned with the problem of the relationship between the individual and society; the problem being that of reconciling their claims...At the very least there remains in sociological work a persistent tension between them and a reluctant recognition of that tension as constituting a problem of continuing and central concern.

(Dawe, 1978:363-364)

My method for examining cabin fever adopted Giddens' approach to this tension: the structure (or Northern underdevelopment) was seen as both a constraint on and an enabler of human agency (Giddens, 1976:161). I suggested that it would be a serious mistake to presume that underdevelopment presents only constraints, as it allows for

(enables) activities which cannot occur in developed areas.

Underdevelopment could also act as an influence in perceiving oneself to be "relatively gratified".(2) The implications of taking this tension into account were that the method chosen needed to allow for examination of both levels of 'reality': the level at which structural constraints and enablers operate, and the level at which meaning develops. The unit selected for study was a small community, which I believed would permit me to examine (a) how underdevelopment is promoted through dependence on outside centers, and (b) how the hypothesised manifestation of relative deprivation, cabin fever, emerged within this social context.

The community I selected was Thompson, Manitoba. My reasons for selecting Thompson were both pragmatic and methodological. I had been presented with the opportunity to spend nine months in the North, employed as a sessional lecturer with Inter-Universities North.(3) My place of residence would be Manitoba. Pragmatically speaking, the position of lecturer would provide me with income while I did my research and with entrée into the community. Methodologically speaking, Thompson appeared to be a good choice because of its size (c. 20,000 people), its age (less than 25 years old) and its single industry (INCO), which would simplify the examination of links with the south. I then prepared a research plan to examine the hypotheses I had developed during the theoretical stage.

A method of gathering data on the meaning of cabin fever was proposed, making use of two techniques:

- (1) interviews of a group of individuals who had recently arrived in Thompson, followed by additional interviews over the course of nine months; and
- (2) maintenance of a field diary, based on participant observation.

Although I recognised the possibility that cabin fever would not emerge in interviews and conversation, I fully expected it to be a salient term. In order to identify dependence on the south, I proposed a review of municipal and industrial documents, provincial records and newspapers.

My closing remarks to this research proposal were as follows:

It cannot be overemphasised that in terms of my theoretical basis, my field experience will contain not only negotiation with individuals, but a form of negotiation with my theories. The concepts referred to in this paper are seen as performing a sensitizing role, and I anticipate that through the course of my research I will work out from these concepts, applying new ones when deemed appropriate, or discarding those contained herein if they fail to help me understand the problems encountered. As such, I adopt Glaser and Strauss' (1976) suggestion that theory be 'grounded' in the unfolding and emerging process of understanding which we have labelled 'research'.

I quote this paragraph at length because it was to become very important in my research activities during the initial nine months I spent in the North.

Thompson

I arrived in Thompson in September, 1980. My teaching position required that I teach in Thompson, Gillingham and Churchill. (During the winter term I also taught in Wabowden.) (See Figure 1 for locations.) The travelling from community to community consumed a major portion of my time. My initial reaction to Thompson was that a population of 20,000 was much smaller in the abstract than it was at ground level. I quickly came to realize that the community I had proposed to study was inappropriate. There were a number of reasons for this conclusion.

(1) Thompson was a relatively large town by northern standards. Participant observation would necessarily be limited to a small number of groups, who were not necessarily representative of the complete community.

(2) I had assumed that my role as university lecturer would provide me with an unambiguous position within the community. In other words, I had assumed that my teaching would eliminate the difficulty of being viewed as an outsider. My initial discussions with students in my Thompson class clearly indicated that this was not the case. Of all the communities in which I taught, the Thompson class was the most difficult in terms of developing rapport. Although my students were

interested in my research, generally they were reluctant to participate.

(3) My proposal for interviews had been based upon a sample of newcomers to Thompson. After contacting INCO for a list of personnel moving to Thompson at approximately the same time as I did, I received a polite letter informing me that the company would not release personnel information. This response may have been due to the fact that, at that time, there were very few newcomers. Thompson's population was dropping rapidly as a result of reduced production in the INCO mines.

These were the pragmatic reasons for not choosing Thompson. It must be admitted that these practicalities might have been overcome had a more serious theoretical problem not emerged. The problem was relatively simple: no one talked about cabin fever. In fact, instances of "expressed relative deprivation" were few. I was forced to examine the expectations which I had held when I developed my theory of cabin fever and its related method.

Break-Through (Rejection)

In negotiating between the theory I had developed and the ground I was encountering, I was forced to compare the ground as it was presented versus the ground as I had anticipated it would be. It was clear to me that my model, at its micro level, had failed to take into

account the obvious fact that, with or without cabin fever, people are engaged in a variety of daily tasks. These tasks were only incidental to my model. In fact, I had seen daily life as more of a "confounding variable" than an explanatory factor.

The process of re-examining my model in light of the ground in which I was observing and participating continued throughout my first period of time in the North. The negotiation was primarily between the micro levels of theory and ground.

My examination of reference group theory did not lead to conclude that the theory was meaningless. However, it did fail to explain the process by which an individual comes to understand him or herself as relatively deprived. This failure to explain process is described by Urry (1977:32):

The model of man (sic) is simply one who acts in accordance with the norms and values that play upon him. There is no notion of action that is built up by actors through their interpretation of objects, situations and the actions of others, of their experience of others, of their experience of their world. An actor simply refers to, relates to or identifies with a social object and his action is seen to flow simply from the norms and values of that object. That we know from our experience of the world that human society consists of acting (and not simply of reacting) agents is systematically denied.

Although I had not yet identified the failure of my model of explain process at the level of "model of person", it was clear to me that reference group theory might be capable of predicting relative deprivation, but it could not predict how this deprivation would be

acted out, or, indeed, if it would be acted out at all. It could be used to explain why non-Native northerners wanted to leave the North for frequent visits to the South, but it could not explain the elaborate rituals associated with "getting out". It could explain why non-Native northerners receiving excellent benefits might not complain about food prices (relative gratification (2)), but it could not explain the strategies people used to ensure that they had a good selection of foods.

The result of my negotiation was the choice simply to record what I had observed during my nine months in Manitoba. I also concluded that whatever model I would use in the future would need to include a more dynamic view of the community than the one I had previously used.

My final decision during this stage of negotiation involved the selection of a community for which I would plan my research. I chose Gillam. Like Thompson, it was a single industry town. It was even more remote than Thompson, accessible only by air or rail. My primary reasons for selecting the community were its size (approximately 1,500 people) and potential for entrée. The size allowed me to identify and become familiar with all major groups in the community, not just a small portion, as would have been the case in Thompson. Of the four communities in which I taught, my Gillam students were the most interested in and supportive of my research. In particular, there was one student who insisted upon introducing me to as many people as

possible. This woman was one of the most socially active people I was to meet in Gillam, and it was my good fortune that she decided to enroll in a university course that year.

At the end of nine months, I returned to Ottawa and began to develop a model which was more representative of the North and its associated everyday life than the one with which I had begun.

Retrospective

My initial academic interest in cabin fever came about "in-order-to" understand the changes which had occurred to one of my friends. During my initial negotiations at the theoretical level I attempted to explain what links there might be between everyday life (cabin fever) and the larger social structure (the North and its underdevelopment). These initial questions were to be carried forward into my use of Giddens' principles of structuration.

Despite my initial failure to find those links, this stage of the research process brought to my attention the fact that language and words within language are part of a very complex system of interpretation and action. My experiences in the North strengthened this view, and led me to the more extensive examination of phenomenology.

Prior to entering the field I had looked to reference group theory to help me understand the relationship between cabin fever and

underdevelopment. Elements of the knowledge I gained in examining reference group theory can be found in my notion of "Escape" for Hydro Gillamites.

The research I examined on underdevelopment during this stage was to be most useful when I came to understand that the majority of enigmatic situations encountered by Gillamites were related to State contradictions. However, my final explanation allows for both a structural explanation and an agentive one: during this stage, the two levels of analysis were not connected.

In particular, I believe it is important to discuss why my decision to reject the explanatory model of relative deprivation/underdevelopment was a break-through in my research. In effect, my rejection of the model was one of the many rejections I was to make of positivism. I do not pretend to have lost all vestiges of that particular way of thinking. With all its faults, a positivistic approach to research is a comfortable one, because it is relatively well-defined and, more importantly, it is the way I have been taught to think and plan. Positivism continues to hold an immense appeal to my sense of logic, despite my recognition that a hypothetico-deductive model would not allow me to ask and respond to the questions that must be asked. By admitting to myself that I could not conduct research as

I had planned it, I took the first step towards the explanation here. This break-through was crucial because it allowed me to sensitize myself to the life-worlds I would subsequently study.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

- (1) There are problems of both relevance and generalisability linked with military studies of Northern isolation. Although researchers do maintain (in most cases) that the views expressed are solely their own, it is interesting to note that in a 1973 collection of research on the area (Rasmussen, 1973) nine research articles of the twelve reported were funded by military organisations. It should be pointed out that interest in isolation and sensory deprivation among the military arose in reaction to the emergence of brain-washing as a military tactic during the Korean war. Prolonged isolation and confinement were seen as one technique of brain-washing, and the military interest appears to have been in developing preventative measures for their own personnel.

The military interest in isolation was also spurred during the late 1940s and 1950s by the development of isolated Northern stations (the DEW line), whose function was to monitor U.S.S.R. air activity.

- (2) The term "relative gratification" was suggested to me by Stephen Richer.
- (3) Inter-Universities North is an "outreach" educational program sponsored by three southern Manitoba universities: The University of Manitoba, Winnipeg University and Brandon University.

CHAPTER X.
CONCEPTUALIZING ENIGMATIC SITUATIONS

FIGURE VII.

As stated in the previous chapter, the theory of relative deprivation had failed to provide me with a valid model of the dynamics of day to day life in the North. While the concept of relative deprivation could explain a state or an attitude, it could not explain richly enough the action which might or might not occur as a result of that perceived deprivation. I returned to Ottawa with a series of field notes, including observations and my initial attempts at explanation. These were useful in a number of ways. My recorded observations allowed me to return to the ground when I began my new research proposal, they allowed me to design my research plan in such a way that it would be consistent with the social environment within which it would take place. For example, I was aware that I would have relatively easy access to the school, hospital and social events. My initial attempts at explanation led me to a series of new questions concerning the North. These can be broken down into two sub-headings: interpretation and resistance.

Interpretation

Through my discussions with my students and other Gillamites, it became clear that situations which I had previously viewed as instances of relative deprivation were not interpreted in a vacuum. In some way, a community was involved in interpretation. This involvement of large sectors of the community in the interpretation

of single events did not necessarily lead to a "mystical" consensus. In fact, other members of the community might be referred to as disincentives for a particular interpretation. For example, a woman who did not work for Manitoba Hydro made the following statement to me during my initial field work:

This isn't a Hydro town and Hydro doesn't own it. Just because the people who work for Hydro think the school should be different doesn't mean it should be. There are other people in this town who don't agree with them.

In this instance, the informant is not taking into account Hydro employees' interpretations to arrive at consensus. Instead, she is using them in a negative sense. This does not downplay the importance of community, for her interpretation is based on the knowledge of the substance of others' interpretations. At this point in my negotiation, I had little systematic information to use for explanation. My field notes provided me with evidence that the community was important in terms of interpretation, but not how.

Resistance

At this point in my research I had not formulated my question as one of "resistance". Instead, I would often ask myself why people living in Gillam did not simply revolt. During my nine months of initial field work, I had been privy to a number of complaints, many of which were difficult to view as trivial. Health care was an area

of risk, education for older children seemed to be less than adequate, food prices were high while selection was limited, airline service was only partially predictable, and employment for unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled women was virtually non-existent. If these people did not revolt, why was Hydro able to keep any employees in Gillam at all? To suggest (as much Northern literature does) that Gillamites were there for the money seemed only a limited explanation. Money alone could not account for the decision to go to Gillam and then to remain.

Negotiation

My first task in revising my theory involved an examination of the concept of "community". I attempted to locate the community as part of a process of meaning construction. I used both interpretive concepts and those coming out of the community studies' tradition in sociology to develop a model of both community and interpretation. I termed this a model of actionalism, and delineated the process by which action emerges. This action results from an interpretation which takes into account the interpretations of others; the individual's interpretation is not direct or finite, but involves an iterative process. In other words, an interpretation is never settled for all time, and, indeed, it is the relationships between one person's interpretation and another's which allow for a joint

interpretation to emerge. This does not necessarily mean consensus, i.e., two people can share a joint interpretation of a situation while agreeing to disagree.

Having completed a paper on community-based interpretation, I was faced with an additional and age-old problem: the issue of free will versus determinism. In this context, how much interpretation was an individual able to make, and how much was attributable to forces outside him or herself? This problem was not unique to my particular research area, but relates to an ongoing tension within the social sciences. It seems that the most evocative statement on this issue can be found in Dawe's (1978:365) description:

The machine, the bureaucracy, the system versus human agency, human creativity, human control. This is the contradictory modern experience running through all our lives in mostly minor and mundane, but occasionally major and dramatic ways. While we never cease to experience ourselves as acting, choosing, purposeful, aspiring human beings, we also never cease to be aware of the factory gates closing behind us, the office days that are not our own, the sense of oppression by organizations nobody runs, the "not-enough-world" we are forced to inhabit most of the time...

Thus dualism of social experience is central to our very existence in modern society. It is therefore central to all the forms of thought and work which articulate our experience of that society.

In his review of the sociological tradition, Dawe suggests that this ontological condition of modern man has led to two sociologies, finding their origins in and/or bearing similarity to the distinction

between the thoughts of Hobbes and Rousseau. One sociology builds upon the notion of social structure, the other upon human action.

Sociology has presented us with two ways of viewing the world: a determinist one and one based on action. Debate between the two approaches is the history of sociology, and attempts to reconcile the two approaches have ended, according to Dawe, with action subsumed by structure (for example, Parsons' attempt to include "voluntaristic action" within a model based on structure).

Clegg (1978) makes a similar argument when he suggests that sociology as a discipline is characterised by the relationship between its constituent parts, these being *logos* (signifier) and *socius* (signified). He examines the development of sociology as one based on oppositions. The failure to reconcile the two viewpoints results in "the assimilation or the annihilation of either one of the constituent parts of sociology by the other" (Clegg, 1978:72).

During my examination of this rather weighty topic, I was fortunate to attend a lecture given by Dr. Rom Harré of Oxford University. Dr. Harré is a philosopher of science who has specialised in social psychology. His lecture focused on the differences between two psychologies, one which views human behaviour as automotistic and one which views it as autonomistic (i.e., non-agentive versus agentive). Dr. Harré posed a very interesting question to his audience: how is it that both theories of human behaviour have

endured? His response to this question could not have come at a more appropriate time in my theory-ground negotiations. He pointed out that a resolution of whether or not human behaviour is agentive or not could not be achieved at the level of theoretical discourse. This was indeed the level at which the debate had been held. Harré suggested that the issue may not be one of "either/or" but "both". In other words, there may be instances where behaviour is determined and others where it is agentive. Which instances are thus subject to empirical examination. He defined those instances where there is some dispute over agency as "enigmatic". "Quite simply, in these cases we don't know."

Break-Through and Field Notes

Harré's response clarified two issues for me, by once again grounding my area of concern. Indeed, he suggested that theoretical resolution is impossible without grounding. The entire question of free will/determinism as it is dealt with at the theoretical level is a chimera and requires empirical grounding. Research and information collection must be designed to take this ambiguity into account. It is not necessary to predefine the level of agency in any particular situation, only to acknowledge that the source of any action is enigmatic, and, that the ultimate analysis will reflect varying levels of agency.

The second break-through which emerged from Harré's discussion related to the everyday situations of Gillamites. The question I had formed was: Why do Gillamites remain in the face of their expressed dissatisfaction with the community? And, further, why, after a litany of grievances relating to the town, did some people conclude with the statement that they enjoyed living there? This was indeed enigmatic to me. Re-examining my field notes, I discovered a consistent theme: that not only was such a situation enigmatic to me, but was also enigmatic to some Gillamites. For instance, the following statement was made by a woman who was not affiliated with Manitoba Hydro:

They come up here and you meet them at the Co-op or at the school or wherever and all they can do is bitch. But then you run into them at the Legion and they keep talking about how much they like it. It doesn't make sense, eh?

Although Harré used the term to refer to situations in which social scientists find themselves, the term also captured this sense of ambiguity expressed by Gillamites. In using "enigma", I acknowledge that my use of it vis-a-vis Gillamites varies considerably from Harré's.

Enigmatic Situations

There were many other recorded instances of enigmas in my field notes, instances where Gillamites expressed ambiguity over the

interpretation and resultant action pertaining to a number of situations. For example, questions were often raised as to why medical treatment of any consequence (including childbirth) was unavailable, despite the fact that the town contained complete hospital facilities. These enigmatic situations were viewed as problematic, non-sensical, and were prefaced by expressions of ambivalence, uncertainty, puzzlement and confusion. They required some effort to "figure things out". I proposed that the process of interpretation becomes most evident in those situations which are perceived as less than certain, and that these "enigmatic situations" would allow me to examine the interpretative process.

I then proposed to examine those enigmatic situations which relate to the experience of non-Native residents in geographically isolated communities. By adopting this focus, I believed I could empirically examine the inherent tension between agency and determinism. If a tension existed, it would be examined and discussed in a grounded fashion. Presumably the tension would be related to the structural and geographical location of Gillamites, although I proposed no "formula" for conclusions.

Retrospective

This chapter represents my theoretical negotiations with information I had gained while in the field. While in Gillam, I

had become aware of the complexity of interpretations, and how certain interpretations came to be shared. As a result of this recognition, I concentrated on examining community interpretation. This would later be reflected in my discussion of shared subjective because-meaning contexts (Escape and Control). This stage also served to focus my attention on shared meaning contexts rather than those specific to individuals.

During this stage in my research I asked myself why I had seen so little active resistance despite Gillamites' recognition that the community had a number of unique problems. This question was carried forward and refined until ultimately I was asking myself about the relationship between contradictions in State activities and Gillamites' enigmatic situations.

Dr. Harré's influence is evident throughout the following stages of this research. He was influential in two respects. First, he provided me with a label for those situations which had proved most interesting to me while in Gillam: enigmas. Although Dr. Harré used the concept in terms of how social scientists must view problems, he provided me with a moment of "Eureka".

Second, he suggested a method of analysis which I have presented as negotiative. By suggesting that, in certain research situations, we do not know which of two competing arguments is valid, he led me to recognize that the arguments must be negotiated. Not only must theoretical elements be negotiated, but their relationship with ground also must be.

Finally, I will point out that at this stage in the research, I had gone no further in elaborating underdevelopment as a structural explanation. It was not until I returned to Gillam that I recognized that, while I had developed my notions of interpretation, my conceptualization of structure remained embryonic.

CHAPTER XI.

FIELDWORK TO STRUCTURE AND ACTION

FIGURE VIII.

Plan

Given the nature of the core questions guiding the proposed research, as well as the proposed model of tension, the appropriate choice of research strategy was that of an intensive field study (versus a mailed questionnaire or structured interview only). Gillam was suitable for intensive research because (a) it was compatible with, and indeed formative of my theoretical development, and (b) it was feasible to conduct research there, given my excellent contacts.

The core descriptive question which had emerged from my negotiation between theory and ground was: What are the enigmas faced by residents of the geographically isolated community of Gillam? Before answering this question, I developed the following domains, within which enigmas would be located: Transportation; Cost of Living; The School; Recreation; Housing; Employment; Health Care; Government; Family Problems; Social/Psychological problems; Climate/Environment; and Isolation. Although these were based on a literature review and pilot field work, I recognised that some of the domains might be eliminated or subsumed by others, or new ones might emerge. They were seen as "handles" for the initial stages of research, guiding my early days in the field.

I proposed to collect my information through participant observation, intensive interviews with non-Native Gillamites, interviews with administrators and document analysis. Participant

observation would take place in a variety of public places and at formal and informal functions. Three records of participant observation would be kept: a condensed account of daily events, an expanded account (to be completed each day), and a journal or diary, which would record my personal and theoretical reactions to the experience. Intensive interviews would be conducted with a selection of informants. The criteria for selecting these informants were: Hydro/non-Hydro affiliation; marital status; sex; and presence of children. The specification of informants is provided in Appendix A. Thirty-five informants were to be located by a version of the reputational method; various people within the community would be asked to identify potential informants on the basis of these criteria.

Gillam: Ground and Field Work

It is naturally quite difficult to convey the sense of confusion which I experienced during my initial days back in Gillam. I was in a substantially different position than I had been the year before. Although I had maintained friends in the town, I no longer had a clearly specifiable role. My only objective (in an academic sense) was to gather information on the everyday lives of Gillamites. This confusion and anxiety did not come as a total intellectual surprise to me, as much of the field work methods texts warn the neophyte.

Confusion and anxiety appear to be inherent to the practice of any research; during field work the practice is all-encompassing and, if the researcher lives with local people, it continues for 24 hours a day. During these moments of anxiety, which extended (albeit at different levels) throughout my time in Gillam, it was often difficult to determine whether the anxiety resulted from questions of the legitimacy of the research project or from the confusion of learning. Telling oneself "You're supposed to feel anxious" does little to assuage the feelings: good informants and friends and the ability to withdraw do much more.

During my first few days in Gillam, I established a list of names of potential informants, based on the criteria I had established. I then wrote to these people, requesting their help, and later telephoned their homes. All but two of the people agreed to be interviewed, and substitutions were made. Interviews were spread over a period of ten weeks; during the first weeks I interviewed seven or eight people a week, the number of weekly interviews was reduced with time.

After an initial settling-in period of about three weeks, I developed a weekly routine for participant observation (although it was not rigid). I visited the hospital, school and recreation center approximately once a week, talking and listening to anyone who had time to spare. (This was not particularly difficult; often I would

simply become part of ongoing conversations). Two or three times a week I would go to the shopping center, dropping in at the Co-op, the Bay and the insurance office (the latter was a drop-in point for many Gillamites). Approximately every two weeks I would stop at the local general/liquor store, and go for coffee at the hotel restaurant. More informally, I would spend at least one morning or afternoon a week having coffee with some of the town's women. My visits to the Legion became less frequent with the time spent in Gillam. The first part of every morning was reserved for recording field notes and writing in my journal. By the end of the third month I had completed all my interviews and had begun the initial analysis of both my interview and participant observation data.

Theory: Uncovering the Life-Worlds

My research in Gillam included two strategies for uncovering the life-worlds of its residents. As mentioned previously, my research plan included a list of domains which subsequently were used to organize a description of the everyday lives of Gillamites. The guide used to direct my interviews included questions on each of the domains. (See Appendix B.) My daily field notes were placed on index cards and also organized by domains. Of the two sources of information, field notes were far more detailed than interview transcripts. I began the analysis of my notes and transcripts

shortly after arriving in Gillam, looking for areas of agreement and differences. My selection of interviewees had been based on a number of differences in life situations: age, sex, marital status, family size and employment. Shortly after I began analysis of information, I began to recognize a pattern in my information, that is, that the differences between Hydro and non-Hydro residents were the most marked. In comparison, other differences were related to elements within a shared life-world, while the life-worlds themselves of my two analytic groups (Hydro-affiliated and Settled) were not shared. I continued to note the various categories, but increasingly came to recognize that my ultimate description (as presented in Part I) would be based on these two groups.

Ground

The research process of coming to understand the life-worlds of Gillam and of identifying enigmas within those worlds occurred more or less simultaneously. Giddens (1976: 161) suggests that

Immersion in a form of life is the necessary and only means whereby an observer is able to generate... characterisations [of social activity]... To 'get to know' an alien form of life is to know how to find one's way about in it, to be able to participate in it as an ensemble of practices. But for the sociological observer this is a mode of generating descriptions which have to be mediated, i.e., transformed into categories of social-scientific discourse.

The categories which organised my description of life-worlds among

Gillamites required less mediation because they were less abstract than those which might be used to organise enigmas. Put simply, it was non-problematic to ask people about transportation, housing, etc. But, "Have you experienced any enigmas lately?" would have been nonsensical; "enigma" is a second-order construct, based on the first order ones used in the description of life-worlds.

As defined earlier, enigmas involve expressions of uncertainty, doubt, ambiguity over situations encountered in the everyday world. A return to the ground had been crucial at this stage in my research. It is relatively easy to be captured by a theoretical concept and to begin to imagine that the concept is all-pervasive. This had been my unspoken assumption before I re-entered the field - that each day of field work would provide me with endless lists of enigmas. The return to Gillam forced a quick negotiation. Enigmas were far less frequent and tangible than I had unspokenly expected. (It is one thing to say in a research proposal that one does not expect frequent occurrences, and quite another to spend day after day wondering if any will emerge.) Nevertheless, Gillamites did express doubts and ambiguities. My first task was simply to develop a list of expressed enigmas.

Renegotiation of Phenomenology and Enigmatic Situations

The result of my analysis of field notes and transcripts was a description of the life-worlds of Gillamites and a descriptive

Listing of the enigmas they encountered in their daily lives. This was a necessary step, but did not in itself provide any explanation. In my first attempt to classify the enigmas, I distinguished between long-standing enigmas (the cost and quality of transportation, the housing allocation system) and emergent enigmas (the taxation of northern benefits, the closing of the Bank).

It was also my intention to classify the resolutions to those enigmas as either passive:

I guess there's nothing we can do about the tax. The people down South sure aren't going to fight for us.

(Hydro woman, 30s, Interview)

or active:

I'm quitting my job in June and going home...I already pay enough taxes and they can't have any more.

(Hydro man, 20s, Post Office)

My original concept of enigma had been that certain situations present themselves as problematic, requiring attention. The enigma rested at that point of tension between agency and non-agency. The purpose of the field work had been to ascertain what typical enigmas characterised the life-worlds of Gillamites. My analysis had not addressed itself to that tension and could not do so without a deeper understanding of phenomenological literature on the subject.

Theory

I had struggled earlier with the tension between a sociology of structure and a sociology of action. I returned to it with a narrower question: what could the debate provide me in order to explain Gillamite's enigmas and their resolutions?

Bauman (1976) suggests that both approaches to sociology, i.e., social order and human control; represent the development of a science of "unfreedom", where society is conceptualised as nature-like and the task of a science is to identify those constraints imposed by this external nature. As a result of this focus, any attempts to conceptualise free will are treated as heresies, and vehemently rejected. The result has been a truncated sociology.

Knowledge of unfreedom (constraints; nature, reality - all these family of concepts, meaningless unless traceable to the same pre-predicative source) without intuition of freedom unaccompanied by knowledge of its potential or actual limitations.

Hence any system of knowledge (including sociology) which describes the structure of unfreedom alone, is a one-sided account of human experience and needs additional constructs to foreclose its unaccounted-for components.

(Bauman, 1976:28)

Tiryakian (1962:5) came to a similar conclusion when he stated that "...the issue of the individual versus society has no appeal to sociology as a theoretical problem".

It is clear that many sociologists have come to the conclusion that a new form of conceptualising is necessary if we are to resolve the historically created tension between the two basic elements of sociology. In recent years, Giddens has proposed a theory which takes this duality into account, and "...expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency" (1979:69). His theory of structuration suggests that "...all social action consists of social practices, situated in time-space, and organised in a skilled and knowledgeable fashion by human agents" (Giddens, 1981:19). The theory is complex and has not been fully developed: for the purpose at hand, it is sufficient to note that Giddens (1979:69) conceptualises "...structural properties of social systems [as] both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute these systems".

If we are to consider a reconciliation of social order and human control, we must discontinue the practice of irrevocably "bracketing" (i.e., eliminating) one or the other 'for the purposes of analysis'. Bracketing should only be temporary, but the brackets are often not removed.

When social science recognizes that the objective reality of society, groups, communities and formal organizations is subjectively experienced by the individual and that these subjective experiences are intimately related to the subsequent externalization and objectification procedures in which humans engage as they think and act in the social world, then a more informed and reality-based social science will result.

(Psathas, 1973: 13)

The Formation of Humans: Conceptualising Action

Bauman (1976), Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1979) and Hollis (1977) all point to the importance of reasons (as opposed to causes) in the explanation of human conduct. "...human beings reflexively monitor their conduct via the knowledge they have of the circumstances of their activity" (Giddens, 1979:254). It is this concept of reflexivity which in part distinguishes the school of interpretative social science. This type of consciousness relates to the self as well as the social world.

Harré and Secord (1972:89) provide the following summation of self-reflexivity:

We believe that what differentiates men from all other organisms is that men are aware that they are aware of what they are doing, that is, they are capable of monitoring their own self-monitoring.

Giddens' view of human actors is that they are knowledgeable, and competent beings, capable of reflecting on the world around them. "Every competent member of every society knows a great deal about the institutions of that society: such knowledge is not incidental to the operation of society, but is necessarily involved in it" (Giddens, 1979:71).

In suggesting that humans are reflexive beings, the social scientist must be mindful that the reflexivity of day-to-day life

differs from his/her own. "...whereas for science the primary relationship between man and his environment is cognition, for common sense it is action" (Levy, 1981:6). Both Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979) stress the distinction between practical and discursive consciousness. Discursive consciousness relates to the "accounts" which actors are capable of giving, whereas practical consciousness relates to "...tacit knowledge that is skilfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct, but which the actor is not able to formulate discursively" (Giddens, 1979:57).

As mentioned earlier, my fieldwork had been based on the assumption that both human agency and social structure need be taken into account. If human agency was not to be dissipated by social structure, it was imperative that the view of humans as active and reflective in their daily lives (and not just at crisis points) be retained and clearly elaborated. For that reason, I turned to a deeper examination of phenomenology.

Activity and reflexivity cannot be automatically assumed under a phenomenological framework. They must become the objects of study. "Phenomenology...comprises the attempts to describe the phenomena of consciousness and to show how they are constituted" (Phillipson, 1972:121). In focusing on the constitution of consciousness, it is inevitable that a large part of phenomenological sociology has come

to be known as the science of common-sense. Leiter (1980:20) suggests the following reasons for the salience of such a science:

First, the sociological version of the problem of social order depends on commonsense knowledge for its solution. Second, the everyday practice of sociological research rests on the use of commonsense knowledge. Third, social forces that influence social conduct are ultimately rooted in people's use of commonsense knowledge. Fourth, the study of commonsense knowledge is a way of studying macro phenomena where it really counts - the level of everyday life.

The elucidation of everyday life and commonsense knowledge has comprised much of the phenomenological program in sociology, and it is this very program which has borne the brunt of criticism. Perhaps the most severe (and most frequent) criticism of phenomenology is that it is inherently conservative. It has been suggested that by narrowly examining the way the world is made accountable by various actors, there is disregard for the fact that:

...most people can manipulate only trivial events that do not relate in any way to basic life chances. It ignores the fact of the values, or power, or status, or economic base as ordering actions and determining the nature of the social order. It offers a one-sided interpretation that denies the reality of the social structure.

(Morris, 1977:154)

Keeping this important critique in mind, I began to examine phenomenological writing with the goal of locating some part of that approach which would allow for the recognition of social structure and which would support my argument that enigmatic situations might be the locus of that recognition.

Phenomenology and its Concepts

"The phenomenological approach, in all its varieties, is concerned with the meaning, or intention, that social action has for actors, the ways in which individuals interpret their worlds" (Morris, 1977:26).

A short perusal of the literature relating to phenomenological sociology indicates the disputed terrain of this relatively new branch of social science. The original Husserlian formulation has spawned a number of derivatives based on different reading of the text, as well as on different modes of grounding the theory in the intersubjective world.

Despite the seemingly diverse range of phenomenological sociology, there are nodes of agreement among this group. Agreement appears to relate to a common view of the applicability of the concept of consciousness to the social sciences:

Phenomenology, unlike most other modern philosophic fashions, makes explicit its ontological commitments...mental phenomena have as real and as unavoidable an existence, albeit in a different way, as have physical phenomena.

(Roche, 1973:5)

Agreement also seems to focus around the radically critical role phenomenology can play (Zaner, 1973:31). By placing all elements of reality under this type of criticism, "There can be no uncritical acceptance of assumptions since assumptions structure the world as we observe it and cloud our vision" (Psathas, 1973:13).

Clearly, the critique of phenomenology as conservatism is rooted in the dual nature of sociology, and it is possible to examine human control at the expense of social structure. The result is a one-sided view of the social world, and one which fails to explain. Bourdieu (1977:21) suggests that:

...the prerequisite ~~for~~ a science of commonsense representations which seeks to be more than a complicitous (sic) description is a science of the structures which govern both practice and concomitant representations, the latter being the principle obstance (sic) to the constructions of such a science.

This stipulation has already been noted in Giddens' theory of structuration, where structures are conceptualised as both constraining and enabling. "To enquire into the structuration of social practices is to seek to explain how it comes about that structures are constituted through action, and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally" (Giddens, 1976:161). By examining phenomenology in more detail, it was not my intention to eliminate social structure, merely to bracket it.

There are a number of phenomenological approaches to sociology. Morris (1977:9) suggests that "...in order for an approach to be legitimately called phenomenological it should have some recognizable relation to the central thesis of Edmund Husserl". This research establishes that relationship by referring to the interpretations of phenomenology undertaken by Alfred Schutz. Schutz was the first, and most prominent, social scientist to consciously and programatically

attempt to explain the social sciences and their objects of study through phenomenological concepts.

Although Schutz drew ideas from a number of social scientists, he can be seen as the critical disciple of both Husserl and Weber. By analysing Weber's concept of meaningful action, Schutz pointed out a number of theoretical limitations in Weber's approach:

He naively took for granted the meaningful phenomena of the social world as a matter of intersubjective agreement ...[and] when commonsense assumptions are uncritically admitted into the apparatus of a science, they have a way of taking their revenge.

(Schutz, 1967:9)

Whereas Husserl had concerned himself primarily with the subjective world, Schutz took as his object of study the constitution of the intersubjective world, or, what would later be referred to as "the social construction of reality". In order to do so, he made use of and modified a number of phenomenological and sociological concepts. These concepts are defined in Appendix C.

By alternately placing structure and action at the horizon and boundary of relevance, this thesis attempts to explain the situation of Gillamites at a structural level, while retaining a concept of human control over action. This is done by employing the negotiative process outlined in Chapter VIII.

Recovering Control Through Uncertainty

Gorman (1977) has developed a critique of phenomenology and attacks Schutz and his followers as proponents of a sociology of description, and, to use Bauman's term, unfreedom.

[W]e utilize [Schutz's sociological method] exclusively to investigate acts exhibiting actors' non-questioning acceptance of their surrounding social imperatives. As a result, Schutz's social science is relevant only to social behaviour not an outcome of thoughtful choice.
(Gorman, 1977:80)

Gorman's criticism of phenomenology is not without grounds; much of this research has focused on identifying recipe knowledge and describing its operation, rather than on the elaboration of situations where recipe knowledge is inapplicable.

The temptation to equate the epoché of doubt in the natural attitude with doubt, or lack of questioning in general looms high in Gorman's critique of Schutzian phenomenology. This equation fails to take into account the depth of Schutzian theory: a careful reading of Schutz shows quite clearly that the epoché relates to the life-world and not to all elements within it.

Problems and difficulties, perplexities and puzzles, manifest themselves within the horizon of an on-going, actual continuity we call experience. That there are selves, that there is a communication between persons, that events occur, that there is a world are implicit assumptions of common-sense reality.

(Natanson, 1974:25)

Schutz and Luckmann (1973:61) stress that the taken for granted does not mean the unquestionable. As a result of the typification process, it is inevitable that certain phenomena will require

interpretation. Schutz relates these instances of questioning to the pragmatic nature of humans:

as long as the recipes permit me to obtain desired typical results, they are unquestioningly applied and complied with; they are not put into question or doubt **unless the results fail to materialize.**

(Schutz, 1966:27, emphasis added)

Because the stock of knowledge is socially, biographically and situationally limited, the frequency of situations where recipe knowledge is inadequate and requires active modification is quite high. Schutz proposes that this is a result of the "...fundamental opacity of the life-world" (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:141). What the individual assumes is that a new interpretation is possible. By making the distinction between "in-order-to" and "because" motives, Schutz indicated that plans are based on typifications, but he did not stipulate that the typifications must be routine ones.

As soon as we have attained knowledge we deem sufficient of that which has become questionable, we discontinue that endless task and by an arbitrary decree consider the problem as solved in a way sufficient for our purposes.

(Schutz, 1966:117)

This is indeed part of the natural attitude: we do not doubt that certain situations in the everyday world will require interpretation.

Part of the fund of common-sense knowledge is the distinctive recognition that the unexpected is always possible and that fellow-men, ourselves included, are

always capable of breaking out of the circuit of the taken for granted and the condoned and acting in novel and sometimes erratic ways. The prime lesson of common sense is that we must comprehend man in his situation if we are to understand him.

(Natanson, 1974:115)

By examining the configurations of uncertainty it is possible to rescue phenomenology from its criticised conservatism. When the taken for granted is placed in doubt, strategies are adopted for the typification of phenomena. These typifications are then used in the project of plans as action. The question of what the emergent typifications are constituted can then become one for "radical" research.

A Phenomenology of Uncertainty: Enigmas and their Resolutions

The failure of phenomenologists to clarify the concept of uncertainty has been noted by Light (1969). With particular reference to the phenomenological sociology of knowledge developed by Berger and Luckmann (1966), he criticises the tendency of phenomenologists to overemphasise the human need for certainty. The outcome of this emphasis is a view of humanity which promises little in the way of change. Light proposes that a new sociology be developed, one which takes into account the assumption that humans are not afraid or unwilling to think. His suggestions are based on the concept of an on-going struggle between knowledge and uncertainty.

[The sociology of uncertainty]*1* would concern itself with processes which routinely rupture the ordinary man's knowledge of reality as derived from his daily

cycle of existence, e.g., the impact of an educated Negro [sic] upon a race bigot. The specific task of the sociology of uncertainty would be to investigate the circumstances under which ordinary people repudiate accredited truths duly passed down by certified experts, give hearing to "crackpots", and fashion for themselves new versions of out-of-experience reality. (Light, 1969:195)

In reading criticisms of phenomenology, one is often left with the impression that the phenomenological human is one who rarely encounters the need to think. Typifications provide all responses to situations. There is little to encourage the notion of reality construction: instead, we see an army of reality repetitors, or the reality protectorate, as Bauman (1976) would have us believe.

In his conviction that humans are intentional and pragmatic, Schutz did indeed stress the importance of typifications which would allow "getting on with it". But, equally as strongly, he suggested that recipes are not always adequate.

Schutz saw meaning as multi-levelled, with varying configurations within it. Unification occurs within the context of experience, a context which grows larger with each new experience (Schutz, 1967:76-77). Although we have lived our lives in a series of separate steps, at one level they become "unified objects of a monothetic attention" (Ibid.:75). It is the context of experience which provides us with our typifications, and allows us to project into the future. This context also allows for the emergence of doubt, and Schutz suggested that two types of doubt may occur. The

first appears "...within this total coherence of experience [and] contradictory experiences can occur without impairing the over-all unity." Although the results expected through recipe knowledge do not occur, this need not imply an incoherence within the context of experience. A more active interpretation may be required, but there remains a "known" to which the unknown may be referred (Schutz, 1967:84).

The second kind of doubt is more pervasive:

We do sometimes recognize that a lived experience is novel, that it is a "first" for us. This presupposes a reference back to the schemes we have on hand, followed by a "failure to connect": This in turn throws the validity of the scheme into question. Whenever a phenomenon turns out to be unexplainable, it means that something is wrong with our scheme.

(Schutz, 1967:84-85)

Not only is doubt part of experience, it is a part of common-sense knowledge. Doubts can therefore be seen as part of mundane existence, and accepted parts of reality. The question of when and why doubt emerges is one for research, as is the question of how that doubt is resolved.

My review of phenomenological literature led to the following more detailed definition of enigmatic situations: Enigmatic situations are defined as the routine disruptions arising in everyday life which require typification if pragmatic interests are to be followed. In contrast routine situations can be defined as part of the ongoing experience of daily life in which already formulated

typifications are sufficient for furthering pragmatic interests.

Enigmas are not critical situations as defined by Giddens (1979:24),

i.e., radical disruptions of accustomed routines, nor are they crises involving threat to life.'

In conclusion, the resolution of enigmas should not be viewed as escape into certainty, the criticism made of Berger and Luckmann by Light. In fact, this model allows for uncertainty itself to emerge as a typificatory scheme or resolution to an enigma.

Retrospective

This stage of my research involved my most extensive negotiations between ground and theories of action. Although I conducted this negotiation with structure in mind, it was not until the next stage (presented in Chapter XII) that I was to perform the final negotiation, and to develop an explanation based on principles of structuration.

My attention to Schutz led me to a deeper understanding of enigmatic situations, and how relevance and meaning structures acted as matrices for the interpretation and resolution of those situations. The emphasis on "in-order-to" and "because" meaning contexts allowed me to understand how enigmatic situations are experienced as part of a time continuum, and how certain interpretations are "practical" while others are "discursive".

In my initial attempts to classify resolutions to enigmatic situations, I had suggested that certain resolutions were passive while others were active. I later chose to eliminate these classifications, but my focus at this stage helped me to gain an understanding of what it means to live in and reproduce contradictory experiences. The salience of production and reproduction of contradictions was also brought out in my attention to uncertainty.

By examining Schutzian theory I had developed an elaborate notion of interpretation of enigmatic situations, one which allowed me to summarize Gailamites' interpretations through meaning-contexts. It remained for me to show how these meaning-contexts shared a mutually dependent relationship with structural elements.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

- (1) The difference between the sociology of uncertainty and cognitive dissonance theory is well defined by Totman (1973:219-220):

It is the challenge to rationality stemming from the absence of hypotheses, and consequent doubt about the existence of sufficient explanation which defines variously - the state of dissonance, the anomalousness of the situation...

The other situation - doubt as to which of several hypotheses is the right one - would seem to relate more to the state of uncertainty...

CHAPTER XII.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRUCTURAL CONCEPTS

FIGURE IX.

Break-Through: Negotiation between Ground and Theory

At the same time as I was working through the negotiation between ground and phenomenological theory, I was also addressing myself to an issue which had emerged during my fieldwork, which I called "consumerism". The plethora of consumer goods in almost every Hydro home was astonishing, but people admitted that it did not compensate for living in Gillam. My interpretation at the time was that Hydro Gillamites were pursuing a middle-class lifestyle, although they did not call it that. This was particularly evident in their attitudes towards anything involving their children: education, recreation, clothing, etc. All seemed to believe that Gillam was not a place to achieve upward mobility for their children, but Gillam was a place where parents could earn enough money to pay for those things which facilitated that mobility, for example, university education.

Gillam as Northern Ghetto

It seemed to me that Gillam was in fact a working class "ghetto", and one which had collectively developed the dream of a middle-class lifestyle. Those who were not part of the dream (the Settled) were left behind in the rush to attain the services and goods considered necessary for that type of life.

As I was formulating these ideas, it became increasingly evident to me that the State had actively involved itself in this

"ghetto-isation" of northern Canada. This could not be more evident than in Gillam, a community based upon a state-owned crown corporation. Initially I saw this involvement as primarily economic. The State provided a large number of working class residents with the financial means to achieve a middle-class lifestyle, but was also involved in the ghettoisation of those same residents, making the lifestyle unattainable. The concept of "ghettoisation" which I had formulated while in the field brought me back to my original proposal, where I had suggested that southern reference groups were the result of underdevelopment. I returned to this literature, asking what research on planning in the North and the State's role in planning could tell me about ghettoisation and the enigmatic situations which developed within those ghettos.

Planning Literature

My theoretical investigation focussed on Canadian northern resource towns, and only tangentially dealt with the underdevelopment of traditional Native communities. The model which is most commonly found is a heartland-hinterland one, in which the resource town is seen to play the role of entrepôt (Bradbury, 1979; Stelter and Artibise, 1978). Entrepôt functions are essentially colonial, acting as "vassals of metropolitan powers elsewhere" (Stelter, 1975:283).

Artibise and Stelter have used their theoretical approach to explain the form that communities take. They posit a relationship between town function and form on one side, and economic relationships on the other. Although their ideas are thought provoking, they are less rigorous than those of Bradbury, a Canadian geographer. Rather than say the North is underdeveloped, he suggests that it is unevenly developed. The State assists in accumulation and legitimation, while corporations draw individual resource towns into the international economy. This international economy enters the resource community via industrial and banking capital, making the town a site for further capital accumulation.

Much of the literature on the resource frontier adopts a planning perspective, which necessarily focusses attention on the State. There is ample evidence to suggest that frontier communities bear more physical similarities than differences (Robinson, 1962; Queen's University, 1953). I digressed from a strict review of the State and underdevelopment for a period of time. There was good reason to believe that an examination of planning literature would increase my grounded knowledge of the North. Later I was to discover that the digression had broader implications.

McCann (1978) traces the history of planning in resource towns from the turn of the century to the present, pointing out the many similarities in physical layout among resource communities. One of the major changes in these towns has resulted from the adoption of comprehensive planning policies emerging from the Garden City, Neighbourhood Unit and Radburn concepts. He concludes that

...the comprehensively planned town is thus symbolic of the core-periphery system of resource development. The frontier exports staples such as mineral and forest products. In return, the core (Great Britain, the United States and southern Canada) supplies actual patterns of living, specifically the planning theory of resource communities.

(McCann, 1978:46)

Harrington (1970) refers to the product of such planning as "suburbia in the bush". The literature is replete with condemnations of northern town planning's failure to take into account indigenous conditions.

For the most part, planning for new towns on Canada's resource frontier has differed little from what is being done in the older urbanized areas. It would seem that in their desire to avoid the deficiencies of the past, the post-war planners have proceeded on the false assumption that in order to reproduce the living standards of the older more temperate south, it is also necessary to duplicate the southern urban patterns.

(Robinson, 1962:136)

In reading this literature, I found myself asking two questions: Why has there been such an emphasis on town planning in the North? And secondly, why do these town plans generally result in mid-North suburbs?

The emphasis on town planning can be related to traditionally high turnover rates among the northern workforce. Harrington (1970:156) has put this most succinctly: "The best way to anchor a good work force is to provide homes where men can bring their families." Good town planning was seen as an answer to turnover problems. Robinson (1962:66) relates stability to efficient, attractive and stimulating environments. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the planning principle dominated northern literature, spawning other areas of research such as interest in quality of life indicators. (This is particularly evident in the material published by the University of Manitoba's Center for Settlement Studies.) The implicit assumption is a physically determinist one, i.e., research will point out the problems and town planning will resolve them.

The second question posed above is why do these towns consistently resemble each other and suburbia? Robinson (1962:137) suggests that planning trends in the North merely reflect conformity and mass consumption standards throughout North America. McCann (1980:255-6) concludes that the periphery merely adopts the innovations of the core. This answer also appears to be consistent among researchers: southern planning principles dominate in the North as a result of the general core-periphery relationships involved.

Bradbury (1977) brings this out very clearly in his Ph.D. dissertation on northern British Columbia towns. Refreshingly, he goes beyond the standard critique of planning policies to examine the underlying structure. He very quickly lays to rest the determinist argument that good planning can determine the future of resource towns:

The government and the companies argued that the creation of new towns with all the physical trappings of an urban centre, and all the physical aspects of a permanent settlement, would in some way modify the stability of the resource towns in the province. However, there was one vital flaw in this particular argument: the permanence or stability of a settlement was allied with the fortunes of the resource base of the community and the fortunes of the company which operated the industrial enterprise, and not with the settlement per se. No amount of physical planning or social planning could affect this basic linkage.

(Bradbury, 1977:18-19)

Through his analysis of municipal reforms, Bradbury points to the seminal role of the State in instigating and maintaining resource industries in the North. This evidence of the centrality of the State required a re-negotiation of my original model of underdevelopment in the North.

Ground

My review of underdevelopment literature (and subsequent digression) had developed a view of the North, and hence Gillam, as being driven by the South. The characteristic "simplified occupational structure" was highly consistent with my concept of

"ghetto". The theory could not in any sense be called one of structuration. Looking only at the economic characteristics of Gillam, it was impossible to define and explain Gillam's development. This was a model which showed the North to be free of dissent: capital, the State and corporations played out their struggle and the result was a North defined by southern standards. This did not go very far in allowing me to explain enigmas and their resolutions. This is not particularly surprising, as this form of theory does not address itself to everyday life. It does not acknowledge the tension between the sociology of action and the sociology of system. While it is important to recognize how a politico-economic system is produced, it is equally important to recognise its reproduction. Underdevelopment theory did not provide me with the second part of the explanation, nor could it explain why certain enigmas arose rather than others.

Negotiation: More Conceptualization Needed

Throughout my examination of town planning literature and phenomenological theory, I had been directing my attention to two research sub-issues. First, I was searching for an explanation of why certain enigmas occurred regularly, and others emerged, were dealt with, and passed away; why some were general and others were unique. Second, I was searching for an explanation of the working class ghettoisation of the non-Native North. If such an explanation

was possible, it must also speak to the enigmas of Gillamites. In short, I was searching for a model of structuration.

As mentioned previously, Gillam is a single industry town, based on a Crown corporation, Manitoba Hydro. In terms of my description of the life-worlds of Gillamites working for Hydro this led to the dual role of government (or State) as employer and government (or State) as representative. It seemed obvious that any examination of the structural properties associated with Gillam must take into account the role of the State.

Role of the State

Giddens (1981) suggests that sociologists take their views of the State from either Durkheim or Marx. Although the two theorists had different conclusions concerning the State and its role, it is inevitable that there is some comparability in their descriptions, given their common debt to Saint-Simon.

In each case the state is seen primarily as a coordinating framework within which economic relationships are carried on - in the one case (Marx) thus expressing mechanisms of class domination, in the other (Durkheim) as injecting morality and justice into the occupational order.

(Giddens, 1981:208)

The difficulty with using a Durkheimian and pluralist model is aptly pointed out by Parent (1978:31): "...[T]he pluralists avoid the whole question of powerlessness." The pluralists' failure to

predict and explain the social problems of the 1960s reflects their inability to deal with the grievances of "the muted and less favoured groups". This appears particularly pertinent to the case of Gillam, where anything other than mute recognition of powerlessness is the exception rather than the rule.

A pluralist view of the State could also not explain the chronological similarity of town plans across northern Canada. Rapoport (1969:47) points out the ultimate decisive force in terms of physical design is "...the vision that people have of the ideal life". But who are these "people"? Bradbury (1977) suggests that "people" increasingly have become town planners. My review of the literature clearly indicated the southern orientation of these planners. Through contract arrangements or direct employment, they are the employees of the State and their planning principles are those of the State. These planning principles and their changes over time reflect the attempts by various regimes to reduce the social and economic costs associated with instant towns, e.g., high levels of transiency, crime, alcoholism.

The State in capitalism has no mandate to reorganize the foundations of society. Its mandate is, instead, to maintain those very foundations while engaging in remedial reforms that leave the main structure and purpose of society intact.

(Dear and Scott, 1981:8)

The various model town plans can be viewed as remedial efforts on the part of the State, but they are only part of a more generalized role

which the State assumes. In terms of northern development, the question now became one of determining which structural principles concretised by the State undermine which other principles?

On pages 149 to 156 of Part I, I have demonstrated how activities directed towards state capital accumulation contradict those directed towards legitimisation and the social reproduction of labour power.

Negotiation: Theory to Ground

My conclusion to this theory review was to propose that (1) the economic underdevelopment of the North by capital and State, (2) the cultural hegemonic struggle within civil society and the State, and (3) the various contradictions between the two all become contributors to a field of action. The three elements enter daily life and are taken into account in interpretation and action. By taking the concrete instances of these factors as part of their life-worlds, individuals incorporate them into the stock of knowledge at hand. Their presence becomes part of the social, biographical and situational limitations upon this knowledge. This is achieved through reference to the individual past, the group's past and present participation in the group. Underdevelopment places limits on the situations which are likely to occur, as well as making it likely that one individual's experiences will concur with those of others around her or him. The cultural/hegemonic struggle also

informs the stock of knowledge in that the individual will have been exposed to particular ideologies and counter-ideologies as a result of his/her biography and social group. Finally, as a result of the situations encountered, the past experiences by self and group, the stock of knowledge will also contain typifications regarding contradictions within that struggle. The stock of knowledge then becomes the source of information with regard to the interests and relevances of particular elements in daily life.

The model suggests that there is a relationship between enigmatic situations and structural contradictions, although this relationship is not direct and certainly not mirror-like. To assume so would be inconsistent with a view of agency. In order to retrieve agency, it was necessary to return to ground (following Harre's directive that agency vs. determinism is to be resolved at the empirical level).

My original examination of the list of enigmas had led me to attempt a categorisation of enigmas based on their emergence and initial interpretations. In light of the theoretical insights offered by the review of the concept of hegemony (i.e., hegemony as struggle) it seemed more powerful to distinguish enigmas by their meaning contexts.

This decision quite quickly dissolved a nagging doubt which had been pursuing me since my days in the field: that I hadn't "found" enough enigmas, that I was forcing situations into a category to

which they did not properly belong. This doubt had been somewhat discouraging. In retrospect, my discomfort with this doubt had been quite influential in my negotiative process, and is a good example of "cognitive nervousness". Up to this point, I had found no explanation which could remove the doubt. However, once I began to

- (a) conceptualise enigmas on the basis of their meaning-contexts,
- (b) within the context of State activities, it was quite apparent that I had not failed to find "enough" enigmas, but that enigmatic situations which were resolved through active struggle were few.

Nevertheless, no hegemonic force is absolute, i.e., there is always a counterforce. Dominance is always more or less successful. With this in mind, a typology of the meaning contexts of enigmatic situations becomes possible. The typology emerges from a long negotiation between theory and ground, between concepts of agency and structure. A classification of empirical events is possible using agentive and structural principles: contradictions, meaning-contexts and enigmatic situations.

Recognition of Structuration

After reviewing the literature on the State and its contradictions, I returned to an analysis of enigmatic situations. As I examined my descriptions of the emergence and resolution of the various enigmas, their relationship to State contradictions became clear. Activities of various State institutions were central to all

of the enigmas I witnessed. My task then became one of explaining that centrality as one involving the mutual dependency of structure and agency. In order to do so, I elaborated on several phenomenological concepts (e.g., in-order-to and because-contexts). These elaborations have been used to detail the relationship between State contradictions and enigmatic situations. The result of this final negotiation was the outline of my ultimate explanation: that State contradictions and enigmatic situations are mutually dependent. This explanation appears as Part I of this dissertation.

Retrospective

In returning to the structural level of explanation, I was guided by experiences at ground level, i.e., my conception of Gillam as ghetto. Not only did I see Gillam as a ghetto, but I began to recognize that certain Gillamites were trying to escape the ghetto, while others were trying to control it. However, I also recognized that Gillam was not exactly a ghetto; it was an entrepôt. This entrepôt-nature of the community provided a structure of interpretation for Gillamites.

Bradbury's material on the role of the State, corporations and capital allowed me to understand northern Manitoba as a whole, but it did not explain Gillam, a community serving a Crown Corporation. Nor did it deal with the everyday life-worlds of resource community

residents. However, by going back to Bradbury's initial interest in town planning, I could incorporate his method of analysis without losing a notion of action. Planning literature provides an exemplary description of how hegemony operates and how it is never complete. Planning itself is a "remedial" effort on the part of the State.

By focussing on State activities in Gillam, while simultaneously developing notions of Escape and Control, my ultimate explanation of the production and reproduction of State contradictions and compromises emerged.

This final retrospective has focussed on the major directions emerging from my negotiation. By necessity, it cannot report on the "fine-tuning" of the explanation. Although the analysis provided in Part I of this dissertation remained constant for a considerable period of time, new information and concepts were brought to bear on this explanation throughout my drafting of this dissertation. These concepts also became the subjects of negotiation. In general, they have served to elaborate on the discussion of the mutual dependency of structural conditions and enigmatic situations, rather than to alter the basic premises.

The final decision taken with respect to this dissertation pertained to its organization. The form it has taken has a long history. I shared a peculiar feeling with other student fieldworkers first returning from the field, and this can only be phrased as

follows: "I've done it now...I understand it...so why do I have to write it up to get the degree?" In my reluctance to sit down and write, I often examined that sense of "completion/avoidance" and ultimately came to recognize that I had no model for describing the derivation of a grounded explanation. It became imperative to me that I not allow my negotiations to be lost in the reporting of research. At the same time, it was imperative that I not lose Gillam either.

A second important reason for this dissertation taking the form it has taken emerged from my discussions with students planning to undertake field research. It seemed that the one thing these students did not expect was that their categories of analysis and basic assumptions (that is, much of their received knowledge) about the field situation they planned to enter might be altered radically during their contact with the ground. By organizing my dissertation in the fashion I have, I hope to demonstrate to others like myself that field sociologists should and indeed must expect revolutionary and radical changes to their assumptions. By working with these changes as opposed to against them, the revolution can enhance our views of the field and it can ensure that we ask the questions that must be asked.

CHAPTER XIII.CONCLUSION (PART II)

In the preceding four chapters, I have outlined the process leading up to the explanation provided in Part I of this dissertation. By recounting my theoretical and grounded sojourns, as well as my negotiations between the two levels, I have demonstrated that (a) phenomenology can be used as a methodological guide, (b) that the result need not be ahistorical and astructural, and (c) that the examination of several theoretical viewpoints need not be indiscriminate if it is conducted within a grounded context.

I make no apologies for asking the reader to **work** in understanding the process which led me from cabin fever to structuration. By presenting a reflexive account of my research experiences at all levels, I ask the reader also to be reflexive and to recognize that the model of fieldwork I present here may be more instructive than those I encountered in my initial examination of "fieldwork methodology". As interpretive sociologists, we must develop a means of conveying the inextricability of theory and ground. It is ironic to me that many sociologists who call for such a means do so at an abstract level. If we wish to assert that "Theory and fact are, rather, terms of convenience, decided by the focus of scientific attention at a particular time" (Alexander, 1982:30), we must do so in a grounded fashion. Part II of this

dissertation demonstrates not only that, but just as importantly, how theory and fact are related to each other. Adopting a reflexive methodology, the relationship must be one of negotiation.

A Phenomenological Conclusion

Several concepts which have been used in this dissertation to refer to the experiences of Gillamites can also be used to clarify the research process described in the preceding pages.

Within the traditional format for presenting fieldwork methods and their results, the researcher is not present in the explanation. In Part I of this dissertation, the community, life-worlds and enigmatic situations are described without reference to the way in which various elements within Gillam and within theoretical traditions entered my life-world, were typified and acquired meaning and relevance.

In Part I, I have given the reader access to the because-context of my research process. Each chapter's information is presented because it holds a relevant place in the final explanation. Most research conducted by social scientists is presented in this because-meaning-context. Such presentations do not integrate how the researcher typified the reality encountered. This occurs because such presentations do not recognize duration and sequencing of research. The reader therefore can see the explanation as "time-less". As a result of this timeless nature, the reader tends

to assume that the because-context provided the in-order-to motives of the process. We are led to believe that the detail of what we say we did was the detail of what we originally said we were planning to do. In other words, we conflate the because and in-order-to context. Stanley and Wise (1983:152) make a similar argument:

...research reports within both of these models [naturalism and inductivist positivism] utilize abstractions from reality organized and presented within a pre-chosen framework. This framework organizes material for us, the readers, in a 'logico-temporal' manner. We aren't given enough information about the temporal occurrence of events, but a form based upon the logical development of an argument.

For those readers who assume that the because-context was the in-order-to context, there are consequences:

Presenting the research as orderly, coherent and logically organized has consequences. One of these is that most social science researchers start off by believing that what is presented in these descriptions is a reasonable representation of the reality of research. Most of us get a nasty shock when we come to do research ourselves.

(Stanley and Wise, 1983:153)

Because research reports do not integrate the in-order-to meaning context, they provide little guidance for prospective researchers on how to proceed from initial interest to reported explanation. For this reason, we turn to fieldwork manuals. These manuals may be very useful in describing how to collect information once we have a research plan, but they too assume that we have

already developed a because-context. Karp and Kendall (1982) suggest that the major task of fieldwork (and its most difficult) is to draw boundaries. The drawing of boundaries is the establishment of a because-context, and, as Karp and Kendall suggest, we are given little guidance in how to do so.

I have stated that logico-temporal styles of presentation provide the reader with a because-context. This is not precisely correct, as these styles present only one part of the because-context, what might be termed the objective because-context. They do not present the subjective because-context. This is inevitable if no attention is given to the in-order-to context, because the two (in-order-to and subjective because) are closely related. Therefore, an explanation is given which assumes "spontaneous" or "hypothesized" objectification. I have already demonstrated that typifications are based on previous typifications, the process being one of increasing objectification. (See Chapter III.) In the retrospectives provided at the conclusion to the chapters in Part II, I have also demonstrated the meaning-contexts used in negotiating my explanation.

It is important to describe the development of the product because it demonstrates the Chinese-box nature of sociological explanation. At the same time as we provide an objective because-explanation of our research, we must also provide a subjective because and an in-order-to-explanation. This is not only more representative of the research process (and thus a valuable heuristic tool) but also provides us with a way of determining the adequacy of an explanation.

CHAPTER XIV.CONCLUSION (POSTLUDE)

The word "conclusion" is a typification which is assumed to be of a shared meaning. We all understand what the word means in the context of a dissertation. However, because I have approached so much of the work which produced these pages with an attitude of doubt (in its phenomenological sense), it seems fitting that I should "doubt" the shared meaning of a single word. The pages that follow describe the lessons I have learned in producing this dissertation, as they appear in my backward-looking glance. This is the meaning I attach to the term "conclusion".

Humans are fortunate in their selective memories. It is quite impossible for me to reproduce and re-experience the stock of knowledge at hand with which I began this research. If it were possible to do so, and to immediately compare it to my present stock of knowledge, I believe I would be far more than overwhelmed. (I share this fortunate situation with all human beings, for we would all be overwhelmed if we could directly compare our current state of knowledge with that which we experienced years ago.) Of necessity, my reflexive analysis of the lessons I have learned is backward-looking.

I have chosen to present my conclusions under three headings: theoretical, methodological and substantive conclusions. This categorisation has been done in order to increase communication with the readers. Unfortunately, I believe it artificially segments a part of my life-world: at certain times in my reflection upon my research, I have seen glimpses of a totality which eludes my attempts to conceptualize fully. Therefore, I am left with the substitute of breaking down that totality into separate concepts which can be communicated.

Theoretical Contributions

The major theoretical concepts which this dissertation addresses have been "structure" and "agency". In working with them, I have drawn on social phenomenology, interpretive sociology and the Marxist thesis of contradiction. Because I was attempting to link two concepts which normally are separate, I have come to recognize that there is a very good reason for the lack of guidance in how to join the two through a grounded approach. I agree with Dawe (1978:403) when he states:

...in the conventional sense, Sociology still has no theories of social action. Consistently, it has begun with the concept of social action and ended with its negation, paradoxically by its repeated translation from the level of the social actor to that of the social system.

While Dawe has suggested the metaphor of "conversation" to link the two levels, I have suggested that of "negotiation". The two metaphors have many similarities, as can be seen in the following:

...it is the prime imperative of the sociology of the conversation that we ceaselessly listen to and converse with the voices from everyday life, wherever and however they are to be heard, including our own; that we listen for the detail, for every nuance, every inflexion, every change of tone, however slight, in the myriad ways in which people make their lives, in order to recognize and understand and articulate human agency at work.

(Dawe, 1978:414)

This eloquent language is recommending a process of explanatory development that is inherently grounded through conversation. By examining enigmatic situations, I have focussed on human agency at work.

I did not begin my research process by hypothesizing that enigmatic situations and structural contradictions were related. Using Dawe's metaphor, I did begin with a conversation between human experiences and structural discussion. Ultimately, it is the sociologist as agent who negotiates between the partners and derives an explanation. We must be wary of the tendency to objectify and thus mystify our metaphors. There can be no "conversation" in the absence of the sociologist. By accounting for my negotiations (Part II), I have de-mystified my own theory development. I have also demonstrated why, if we wish to bridge action and structure, we must be eclectic, because, as Dawe points out, **there are no bridging**

sociological theories. My conclusion is that such theories may not be necessary if grounded explanations can demonstrate the principle of structuration.

Conclusions, understood as lessons learned, also can be forward-looking, in the sense of "Where do we go from here?" For my purpose, I ask the question, "How could my explanation be enhanced?" Very simply, the next partner to the negotiation must be theories of power.

The theory of structuration is based upon the following claims: that social theory...should incorporate an understanding of human behaviour as **action**; that such an understanding has to be made compatible with a focus upon the **structural components** of social institutions or societies; and that notions of **power** and **domination** are logically, not just contingently, associated with the concepts of action and structure as I conceptualise them.

(Giddens, 1982:197)

This dissertation has examined Giddens' first two claims directly; the third appears in my discussions of the Escape and Control contexts, and in the conclusions to my discussion of structuration (Part I). In the sense that I have demonstrated how objectification bestows external "reality" on structural elements, I have demonstrated how humans can become dominated by their own creations. A more detailed and grounded examination of power relationships vis-a-vis Gillam would have enhanced this dissertation's explanation, but it could not have been done without the prior understanding of agency and structure.

My final conclusion lies somewhere between Theory and Methodology: I have come to recognize why directives related to grounded theory are so often generic and so rarely specific. In 1972, Nicolaus stated:

all has not been well within the organized sociological profession, even on its own terms. The glimpses into the inner core which the official record affords give a picture of spreading unrest within the upper ranks themselves...There is a repeated complaint about the lack of 'creative theoretical articles'.

(Nicolaus, 1972:155)

Since 1972, North American sociology has been responding to the complaint through the (re)emergence of Marxist debate within the discipline. While this radically altered the social explanations proffered by sociologists, it often gave these explanations from a position of structural imperialism. Recent recognition of cultural marxism has gone some distance in deflating this structural imperialism, but the point must be made that both (a) grounded theory, and (b) negotiations between structure and agency continue to be the "view from below". If this position of relative powerlessness within the discipline is combined with the time-consuming (and routine-disrupting) nature of grounded theory research, the choices are evident. Grounded theory construction is ignored altogether, or, if recognized, recognition comes in the form of abstracted suggestions.

Methodological Conclusions

By emphasizing the empirical character of sociology, phenomenological sociology rests on the fundamental assumption that qualitative changes in our comprehension of the social world can come only through empirical investigation of that world. All theory emerges from a methodology, a way of generating the theory.

(Phillipson, 1972:116)

In this dissertation's Prolegomenon, I suggested that the methods used in my research emerged from a stance of "cognitive nervousness". This implies that the development of an explanation is an iterative process, that is, one of constant negotiation.

Negotiation is literally impossible in the absence of grounded investigation:

Over the past decade, a number of studies have cited grounded theory as a broad justification for field research methods, but few substantive studies applying the approach have appeared...beyond those by the concept's originators.

(Emerson, 1981:360)

In conducting my research, I have applied the concept as well as given an account of its practice. I have found few published guides along the way. (This was discussed in detail in the Prolegomenon and Introduction to Part II.)

In looking back on the methods I have employed in this research, perhaps the most difficult aspect has been following Phillipson's (1972:110) prerequisite of phenomenological sociology:

...that the researcher develop ways of making his (sic) practical reasoning accountable and observable to the reader of his research reports; only in this way can the researcher show the links between his concepts and the social phenomena he claims to be investigating.

In writing this account, I experimented with ways of presenting both the explanation I had developed and the way in which I developed it. In the Prolegomenon I have discussed why I did not use the traditional format. A second format which I attempted and subsequently abandoned was a reversal of that I eventually followed. In that first version, I attempted to fully reconstruct the research process, and the explanation appeared only at the end of the document. This was unsuitable for two reasons: First, placing the explanation at the end of the dissertation placed an onerous burden on the readers, because they were asked to wade through a lengthy "travelogue" of concepts and information before "getting to the point". By presenting the "point" first, the readers now are provided with a meaning-context within which they can interpret the negotiations up to that point.

Second, my account of the practical reasoning is itself abstracted. The purpose of providing a reflexive account is not to reproduce reality, but to describe its constitution. This became clear to me when I asked others to read my original "travelogue": it was not necessary to ask the readers to re-experience my research process but it was necessary that they understand it. This necessity

would be more easily achieved if they had a prior knowledge and understanding of the results of that process.

In looking forward, I suggest that it is important not only that the researcher develop ways of accounting for specific research, but that as sociologists we develop ways of guiding others in how to develop ways.

Substantive Conclusions

My conclusions in this area relate to Gillam, Manitoba and to the assumptions lying beneath the majority of "resource community" studies. In general, I believe these studies are flawed on two accounts. First, they often assume that the "problem" with these communities is their people. This is clearly stated on each of the University of Manitoba's Center for Settlement Studies publications: "On the assumption that **the problems of human settlement might well be the limiting factor** in the social and economic development along Canada's resource frontiers..." (Center for Settlement Studies, 1972:Cover; emphasis added). The initial assumption that somehow human settlement can be separated from social and economic development leads to a series of questions which I do not believe are the most important ones. There are other questions that must be asked.

Second, I believe that the majority of resource community studies do not question whether or not agency is a pivotal factor within those communities; they assume it is not. Bulmer (1975:64) describes this assumption with respect to mining communities:

In theoretical terms, the mining community is seen as subject to determination by exogenous economic forces operating at the structural level. The distinctive features of mining communities stem from their solidary working-class character. Collectivities of actors at the local level are important only in so far as they represent local instances of societal processes of class formation and class action. Social change in mining communities is brought about through the impact of large-scale economic forces, mediated through particular types of social structure.

In conclusion, I suggest that the literature on resource communities would be well served by studies questioning such assumptions. **These indeed are the questions that must be asked** (as mentioned on page 9).

With notable exceptions such as Bradbury and Marchak, literature on resource communities is plagued by a lack of recognition of the seminal role of the State in the everyday experiences of resource community residents. This particularly limits the explanations which this literature can provide because so many frontier communities are based on State-owned resource industries. I suggest that further research could begin with grounded questions about how individuals in towns such as Gillam experience the compromises made by the State in its dual role of accumulating capital and legitimating that accumulation. Inevitably, these grounded questions should be

negotiated with theoretical concepts pertaining to hegemony. This dissertation presents initial information on how resource community residents struggle against a dominant hegemony while at the very same moment reproducing it. It is my belief that, while hegemonic practices are less veiled in resource communities, their role is similar to those in all capitalist formations. Research focussing specifically on these questions in resource towns could serve to inform the more general questions about State, civil society and hegemonic practices.

It has been easier to draw conclusions on the theory I have developed and the methods I have employed than it is to draw conclusions about "Gillam". Perhaps this is because theoretical and methodological suggestions are those I make to myself as researcher, while substantive areas pertain to my judgments of the actions of Gillamites. I have come to understand, through my fieldwork, that recognition of a problem is not always its solution. This dissertation suggests that there are at least two Gillams, one of the Settled and one of the Hydro-affiliated. Although they live in separate life-worlds, these two groups share their relationship to the structural contradictions inherent in the State's activities in Gillam. As long as the worlds remain separate, this commonality will not be recognized. If this dissertation in any way unveils that commonality, it may reduce the suspicion and hostility between the

two groups. In that way, it would make a contribution to the everyday experiences of Gillam by Gillamites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBOTT, A.P. and KEHOE, J.P. (1972). "Mental Health Practices in the Yukon", Canada's Mental Health, 20, 4-10.

ALEXANDER, Jeffrey C. (1982), Theoretical Logic in Sociology, Vol. I.: Positivism, Presuppositions and Current Controversies, University of California Press, Los Angeles.

ARMSTRONG, Hugh (1977), "The Labour Force and State Workers in Canada" in L. Panitch (ed.), The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

ATCHESON, J.D. (1972), "Problems of Mental Health in the Canadian Arctic", Canada's Mental Health, 20, 10-17.

BAUMAN, Zygmunt (1976), Towards A Critical Sociology: An Essay On Commonsense and Emancipation, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

BECKER, Howard S. (1963), Outsiders, The Free Press, New York.

BERGER, Peter, Brigitte Berger and Hansfield Kellner (1973), The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness, Vintage Books, New York.

BERGER, Peter and Thomas Luckmann (1966), The Social Construction of Reality, Anchor Books, New York.

BHASKAR, Roy (1975), A Realist Theory of Science, Leeds Books Ltd., Leeds, U.K.

BOGGS, Carl (1976), Gramsci's Marxism, Pluto Press, London.

BOURDIEU, Pierre (1977), Outline of a Theory of Practice, tr. Richard Nice, Cambridge University Press, London. /

BOWLES, Roy T. (ed.) (1982), Little Communities and Big Industries, Butterworths, London.

BRADBURY, John H. (1979), "Towards An Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada", Economic Geography, 55, 147-170.

BRADBURY, John H. (1978), "Class Structures and Class Conflicts in 'Instant' Resource Towns in British Columbia - 1965 to 1972", B.C. Studies, 37, 3-18.

BRADBURY, John H. (1977), Instant Towns in British Columbia: 1964 to 1972, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Dept. of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver.

BRIGGS, Jean (1970), Never In Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

BRYM, Robert J. and R. James Sacouman (eds.) (1979) Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada, New Hogtown Press, Toronto.

BULMER, Martin I.A. (1975) "Sociological Models of the Mining Community", The Sociological Review, 23, 61-92.

CARNOY, Martin (1984), The State and Political Theory, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

CENTER FOR SETTLEMENT STUDIES (1972), Fifth Annual Report, University of Manitoba, Center for Settlement Studies, Winnipeg.

CLARKE, John, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts (1976), "Subcultures Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview" in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds.), Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain, Hutchinson, London.

CLEGG, Stewart (1978), "Method and Sociological Discourse" in Michael Brenner, Peter Marsh and Marilyn Brenner (eds.), The Social Contexts of Method, Croom Helm, London.

CORRIGAN, Paul and Peter Leonard (1978), Social Work Practice Under Capitalism: A Marxist Approach, Macmillan Press, London.

DAWE, Alan (1978), "Theories of Social Action" in T. Bottomore and R. Nisbet (eds.), A History of Sociological Analysis, Basic Books Inc., New York.

DEAR, Michael and Allen J. Scott (1981), "Towards a Framework for Analysis" in M. Dear and A. Scott (eds.), Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society, Methuen, London.

DOS SANTOS, T. (1973), "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America", in H. Bernstein (ed.), Underdevelopment and Development, Penguin Books, London.

EMERSON, Robert M. (1981), "Observational Field Work", Annual Review of Sociology, 7, 351-378.

FRANK, André Gunder (1967), Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review Press, New York.

GALTUNG, Johan (1971), "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research, 1, 81-117.

GIDDENS, Anthony (1982), Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory, University of California Press, Berkeley.

GIDDENS, Anthony (1981). A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Vol. I, Power, Property and State. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

GIDDENS, Anthony (1979). Central Problems in Social Theory. University of California Press, Los Angeles.

GIDDENS, Anthony (1976). New Rules of Sociological Method. Hutchinson, London.

GLASER, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.

GORMAN, Robert (1977). The Dual Vision: Alfred Schutz and the Myth of Phenomenological Social Science. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

HABERMAS, Jurgen (1973). Legitimation Crisis, tr. Thomas McCarthy, Beacon Press, Boston.

HAMELIN, Louis-Edmond (1978). Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too, tr. William Barr, Harvest House, Montreal.

HARRE, Rom (1979). Social Being: A Theory for Social Psychology. Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, New Jersey.

HARRE, Rom and Peter F. Secord (1972). The Explanation of Social Behaviour. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

HARRINGTON, Lyn (1970). "Thompson, Manitoba - Suburbia in the Bush". Canadian Geographical Journal, 81, 154-163.

HOLLIS, Martin (1977). Models of Man: Philosophical Thoughts on Social Action. Cambridge University Press, London.

JESSOP, Bob (1982). The Capitalist State. New York University Press, New York.

KARP, Ivan and Martha B. Kendall (1982). "Reflexivity in Field Work" in Paul Secord (ed.), Explaining Social Behaviour. Sage Publishing, London.

KNOWLES, J.A. (1978). Socio-Economic Analysis and Projections for Gillam, Bird and Sundance, Report Prepared for Polar Gas Project, Underwood-McLellan Ltd., Winnipeg.

LEDBETTER, C. Burgess (1974). Cold Regions Habitability. Cold Regions Research and Engineering Laboratory, Hanover, New Hampshire.

LEITER, Kenneth (1980). A Primer in Ethnomethodology. Oxford University Press, New York.

LEVY, David J. (1981). Realism: An Essay in Interpretation and Social Reality. Carcanet New Press, Manchester.

LIGHT, Ivan H. (1969). "The Social Construction of Uncertainty". Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 14, 189-199.

LOXLEY, John (1981). "The 'Great Northern' Plan". Studies in Political Economy, 6, 151-182.

LUCAS, Rex A. (1971). Ninetown Milltown Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

MANITOBA, Province of (1978). The Local Government District of Gillam: Street Addressing and Naming. Department of Municipal Affairs, Winnipeg.

MARCHAK, Patricia (1975). "Class, Regional and Institutional Sources of Social Conflict in B.C.". B.C. Studies, 27, 30-49.

MERTON, Robert K. (1957). Social Theory and Social Structure. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

MORRIS, Monica B. (1977). An Excursion into Creative Sociology. Columbia University Press, New York.

MCCANN, L.D. (1980). "Canadian Resource Towns: A Heartland-Hinterland Perspective" in Richard E. Preston and Lorne H. Rasswurm (eds.), Essays on Canadian Urban Process and Form II, No. 15, Department of Geography Publication Series, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario.

MCCANN, L.D. (1978). "The Changing Internal Structure of Canadian Resource Towns". Plan Canada, 18, 46-59.

NATANSON, Maurice (1974). Phenomenology, Role and Reason: Essays on the Coherence and Deformation of Social Reality. Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Springfield, Illinois.

NATANSON, Maurice (ed.) (1967). "Preface" in Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers, Volume I. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

NETHERTON, Alex (1982). The Opportunities and Limitations of a Hydro Development Strategy: The Case of Manitoba 1960-1980. Unpublished Manuscript, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario.

NICKELS, James B. and Jack Ledger (1976). Winter, Wilderness and Womanhood: Explanations or Excuses for Mental Health Problems. Center for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

NICOLAUS, Martin (1972), "The Professional Organization of Sociology: A View from Below" in Robin Blackburn, Ideology in Social Science, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow.

PANITCH, Leo (ed.) (1977), The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

PARENTI, Michael (1978), Power and the Powerless, St. Martin's Press, New York.

PHILLIPSON, Michael (1972), "Theory, Methodology and Conceptualization" in Paul Filmer, Michael Phillipson, David Silverman and David Walsh, New Directions in Sociological Theory, Collier-Macmillan Publishers, London.

PLEVA, E.G. (ed.) (1963), The Canadian Oxford School Atlas, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Toronto.

PSATHAS, George (ed.) (1973), Phenomenological Sociology: Issues and Applications, John Wiley and Sons, New York.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, Institute of Local Government (1953), Single Enterprise Communities in Canada, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.

RAPAPORT, Amos (1969), House, Form and Culture, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

RASMUSSEN, John E. (ed.) (1973), Man in Isolation and Confinement, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.

REA, K.J. (1976), The Political Economy of Northern Development, Background Study No. 36, Science Council of Canada, Ottawa.

ROBINSON, Ira H. (1970), "Planned and Unplanned Patterns in 'Resource Towns'" in Leonard Marsh (ed.), Communities in Canada, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto.

ROBINSON, Ira M. (1962), New Industrial Towns on Canada's Resource Frontier, Research Paper No. 73, Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Chicago.

ROCHE, Maurice (1973), Phenomenology, Language and the Social Sciences, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

RUNCIMAN, W.G. (1966), Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

SCHEFF, Thomas J. (1966), Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.

SCHUTZ, Alfred and Thomas Luckmann (1973), The Structures of the Life World, Northwestern University Press, Evanston.

SCHUTZ, Alfred (1970), Reflections on the Problem of Relevance, ed. Richard Zaner, Yale University Press, London.

SCHUTZ, Alfred (1967), The Phenomenology of the Social World, Heinemann Educational Books, London.

SCHUTZ, Alfred (1967b), Collected Papers, Vol. III, ed. Maurice Natanson, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

SCHUTZ, Alfred (1966), Collected Papers, Vol. I, ed. I. Schutz, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.

SMITH, Charles W. (1983), "A Case Study of Structuration: The Pure-Bred Beef Business", Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 13, 3-18.

STANLEY, Liz and Sue Wise (1983), Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

STELTZER, Gilbert A. and Alan F. J. Artibise (1978), "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective", Plan Canada, 7-16.

STELTZER, Gilbert A. (1975), "The Urban Frontier in Canadian History" in A.R. McCormack and Jan MacPherson (eds.), Cities in the West, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa.

TIRYAKIAN, Edward A. (1962), Sociologism and Existentialism: Two Perspectives on the Individual and Society, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

TOTMAN, Richard (1973), "An Approach to Cognitive Dissonance Theory in Terms of Ordinary Language", Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 3, 215-238.

URRY, John (1981), The Anatomy of Capitalist Societies: The Economy, Civil Society and the State, Macmillan Press, London.

URRY, John (1973), Reference Groups and the Theory of Revolution, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

WONDER, William C. (ed.) (1971). Canada's Changing North.
McClelland and Stewart, Toronto.

YOUNG, T.R., (1980), "Cultural Marxism: An Introduction", Media,
Culture and Society, 7, 1-24.

ZANER, Richard M. (1974), "A Certain Rush of Wind:
Misunderstanding Understanding in the Social Sciences", Cultural
Hermeneutics, 1, 383-402.

APPENDIX "A"IDENTIFICATION OF INTERVIEWEES

Before entering the field to conduct research, an interview guide was developed (see Appendix "B") and desired interviewees specified. The specifications were as follows:

Hydro Interviewees (20)

16 married - 6 wives	- 4 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 3 wives not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
- 6 husbands	- 4 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 3 wives not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
- 4 couples	- 2 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
4 single		- 3 males
		- 1 female

TOTAL HYDRO

20

Settled Interviewees

12 married - 4 wives	- 2 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
- 4 husbands	- 2 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
- 4 couples	- 2 with children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
	- 2 without children	- 1 wife employed
		- 1 wife not employed
3 single		- 2 males
		- 1 female

TOTAL SETTLED

15

TOTAL

35

APPENDIX "B"INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Inform interviewee about the purpose of the interview and the reason why I am in Gillam. Stress that I am trying to understand and describe everyday life in the town.
2. FOR HYDRO INTERVIEWEES:
Why did the interviewee first come to Gillam?
Where did the interviewee live before?
Ask for a description of the interviewee's first week in Gillam.
(Prompts to include questions about perceptions of and feelings about the town.)
Ask the interviewee how long s/he has been in Gillam and how long s/he intends to remain.
3. FOR NON-HYDRO INTERVIEWEES:
Ask the interviewee if s/he grew up in Gillam. If yes, ask for a description of growing up there. If no, follow Hydro guide above.
4. Ask the interviewee to describe a typical week in Gillam.

5. Ask the interviewee to describe the following areas of life in Gillam to me as if I were a total stranger and didn't know the community at all:

- a) Gillam as a town
- b) Transportation (airlines, train service and winter road)
- c) Cost of Living (groceries, housing)
- d) School (teachers, facilities, contact with)
- e) Recreation (spare time, clubs, use of recreation centre, parties)
- f) Housing (allocation, quality, cost)
- g) Employment (job, past jobs, aspirations)
- h) Health Care (use of doctors, nurses, hospital facilities)
- i) Government (local, provincial, federal)

j) Family Problems (does Gillam have "more"?)

k) Social-Psychological Problems (depression, alcoholism, cabin fever)

l) Climate and Landscape

6. Ask the interviewee to discuss whether or not Gillam is isolated.

(Above questions should include prompts about what the interviewee thinks other people think about the area. For example, what do you think other people think about the quality of the school?)

7. Ask the interviewee to describe what s/he thinks people down South think about Gillam.

APPENDIX "C"THE CONCEPTS OF ALFRED SCHUTZThe Life-World (Lebenswelt)

Schutz adopted this concept, which refers to "...the concrete reality of an individual's lived experience" (Morris, 1977:10) from Husserl. In keeping with his assumption of consciousness as intentional, Schutz put forward a view of humans as pragmatic beings, a characteristic which is necessarily part of the experience of the life-world. For example, he (1970:136) suggests that the life-world "...is experienced by each of us as the world with which he is or may become sufficiently familiar in order to carry out the business of living". Schutz viewed the life-world as the locus of day to day existence: "By the everyday life-world is to be understood that province of reality which the wide-awake and normal adult simply takes for granted in the attitude of common sense". In carrying out the business of living in the life-world, the individual operates within a natural attitude.

The Natural Attitude

This attitude can be seen as the method by which the individual experiences the life-world, allowing the social world to "...be lived through as a system of order with determinate relation-constants". Natanson (1967:xliv) suggests that the natural attitude is that of *epoché*, or double doubt. The life-world cannot be experienced as natural/normal unless there has been a prior suspension of doubt in its existence. This comes about as a result of the fundamental anxiety - fear of death, which is outside the realm of the natural attitude and the life-world.

The Taken-for-Granted

Much of what we experience in the life-world, as well as the life-world's very existence, is taken for granted. Naturally, what is and what is not taken for granted is dependent upon the intentional quality of consciousness. "The taken-for-granted is always that particular level of experience which presents itself as not in need of further analysis" (Schutz, 1967:74).

Meaning

Although humans take much for granted in their life-worlds, Schutz did not conclude that all action was mechanical as a result. People are future-oriented, and conduct themselves on the basis of

plans which they project into the future. It is the project which confers meaning on individual actions.

Rather than distinguishing "meaningful" and "meaningless", Schutz suggested that experiences are either phenomenal or prephenomenal, depending on whether or not they involve reflection. There is thus a tension between thought and life: "Thought is focused on the objects of the spatiotemporal world; life pertains to duration" (Schutz, 1967:69). Schutz' use of Bergson's concept of *durée*, or the stream of consciousness, informs not only his view of meaning, but also his distinction between act and action.

Act versus Action

Natanson (1967) indicates that "Dr. Schutz defines 'action' as human conduct self-consciously projected by the actor. 'Act' on the other hand designates accomplished action." "Act" therefore relates to duration, in that it is "transcendent enactedness"; whereas "action" is "immanent enactment" (Schutz, 1967:40). Schutz suggests that any plan is viewed in the future perfect tense, so "that action is the execution of a projected act" (Ibid.:61). It is through the future perfect tense that future actions hold meaning for us as acts.

Interpretation

If meaning is related to *durée*, then interpretation is that point in the *durée* when the reflective glance is cast upon acts and actions. It is meaning which confers unity on our lived experiences, creating schemes which Schutz refers to as meaning-contexts. The different schemes held by the individual represent varieties of ordering experience. "Interpretation, then, is the referral of the unknown to the known, of that which is apprehended in the glance of attention to the schemes of experience" (Schutz, 1967:84).

Structures of the Life-World

Because humans are spatio-temporal beings within the life-world, certain structures or meaning-contexts are pregiven and structure all experiences. The first structure is a spatial one, and includes (a) the world within actual reach, and (b) the world within potential reach (i.e., either restorable or attainable). The second structure relates to whether or not a particular zone can be directly manipulated by the individual (primary zone) or whether action must be mediated (secondary zone). Finally, the world is experienced as having temporal structure, including both world time and subjective time. World time is experienced as (a) finite/permanent; (b) irreversible; and (c) historically/situationally grounded.

Subjective time is less rigidly experienced and is coterminous with the *durée* of consciousness. These structures are not unique to the individual, but are shared by all members of the human group.

Intersubjectivity

"The life-world is not my private world nor your private world, nor yours and mine added together, but rather the world of our common experience" (Schutz, 1973:68). Schutz suggests that there are two idealisations which allow for intersubjectivity. These are (a) the interchangeability of standpoints, and (b) the congruence of relevance systems. When taken together, the two idealisations constitute "the general thesis of the reciprocity of perspectives" (Ibid.:60).

Typifications

Natanson (1974:85) indicates that the reciprocity of perspectives is a major illustration of typification. By typification, Schutz suggests that the world is made meaningful to humans by the ordering of phenomena on the basis of selection of particular aspects of those phenomena. "All our knowledge of the world...involves constructs, i.e., a set of abstractions, generalizations, formalizations, idealizations specific to the respective level of thought organization (Schutz, 1967b:5).

Typifications are formed by selective attention to one (or more) common characteristic of certain phenomena. Much of what is typified occurs through language, which "typifies experiences, allowing me to subsume them under broad categories in terms of which they have meaning not only to myself but also to my fellowmen" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:39). Typifications are both subjective and intersubjective, providing selective order to an inherently undifferentiated field of phenomena.

Recipes

Some of the typifications which humans make use of in interpreting and acting upon the world become a part of the routine, part of the taken for granted and eventually we come to use them as we would any tool or device for furthering our interests (Schutz, 1970:144). "...[A]s long as the recipes permit us to obtain desired typical results, they are unquestioningly applied and complied with..." (Gurwitsch, 1966:xvii).

Stock of Knowledge

The sum total of all available typifications is referred to as the stock of knowledge at hand. Schutz (1973:103) suggests three fundamental elements comprise the stock of knowledge.

- (a) It is situationally limited. Because consciousness is always consciousness of, all knowledge in the everyday world is directed at a spatially, temporally and socially delimited situation.

(b) It holds a biographical character, and my experience is different from yours because of our unique "biographical articulations". "...[T]he sequence, experiential nearness, experiential depth and duration of experience...determines the unique biographical articulation of the stock of knowledge" (Schutz, 1973:113).

(c) It is socially conditioned and historically given.

I live in the commonsense world of everyday life equipped with specific bodies of knowledge. What is more, I know that others share at least part of this knowledge and they know that I know this. My interaction with others in everyday life is, therefore, constantly affected by our common participation in the available stock of knowledge.

(Berger & Luckmann, 1967:41)

Relevance

The stock of knowledge at hand consists of a set of typifications, but typifications do not stand alone, in abstract: they only exist in relation to particular problems. In other words, all typifications are conditioned by relevance. Schutz and Luckmann (1973:183) state:

All experiences and acts are grounded on relevance structures. Every decision more or less explicitly introduces, besides the actor, a series of relevances. The relevance problem is perhaps the most important one at the same time the most difficult problem that the description of the life-world has to solve.

Schutz proposed three forms of relevance:

- (a) Thematic (or topical) relevance: Such relevance may be imposed or voluntary, and relates to "...now the unfamiliar is conspicuous within the surrounding of the familiar and is brought into relief by it" (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:167). The world is thus divided into spheres of theme and horizon (Schutz, 1970:20).
- (b) Interpretational relevance: Interpretational and thematic relevances are closely connected: once a theme has emerged from its horizon, it becomes interpretationally relevant.

In adverting to a theme, one does not grasp it as unique and without relation to other experiences. Just as the theme is constituted for consciousness, it is brought into coincidence with 'relevant' elements of knowledge.

(Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:197-198)

Coincidence between theme and interpretation may appear to occur simultaneously, as a matter of routine, or active reflection may be necessary on the part of the individual.

4 OF 4

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

In short, the coincidence of the theme and the interpretation is achieved by comparing the new element with those typifications existant in the stock of knowledge at hand, and under all the constraints imposed by that stock.

(c). Motivational relevance: This final form of relevance "...puts conduct in the current situation into a meaningful relation with life-plans and daily plans, in the case of both routine prior decisions and 'extraordinary' decisions" (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:210). In other words, a phenomenon becomes motivationally relevant if it is relevant for future action.

Schutz stresses that the three systems of relevance exist in interdependence. For example,

...my motivational relevances are sedimentations of previous experiences, once topically or interpretationally relevant...to me, which led to a permanent habitual possession of knowledge.
(Schutz, 1970:55).

Because the three systems are so intricately connected, and also because relevances (like all knowledge) are biographically, situationally and socially bounded, it is impossible (and unimportant) to determine the chronological priority of the systems.

Motives: "In-Order-To" and "Because"

Matanson (1967:xxxix) uses time structures to differentiate between the two types of motives:

Motives which involve ends to be achieved, goals sought for, are termed "in-order-to" motives; motives which are explained on the basis of the actor's background, environment or psychic disposition are called "because" motives.

Once again, Schutz uses the concept of *durée* to distinguish motives, just as he did to distinguish between acts and actions. It is also suggested here that the two branches of sociology (sociology of action and sociology of structure) can be seen as emphasising either in-order-to motives or because motives. Schutz indicates that as social scientists we should beware of confusing the two.

Constructs of the Second Degree

In analysing the methods of the social sciences, Schutz pointed out that social scientists, like all actors, typify under motives and relevances, but these motives and relevances are different from those of the everyday world, and operate under a different set of procedural rules. "...[T]he constructs used by the social scientist are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, namely constructs

of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene" (Schutz, 1967b:6). Social scientists also proceed by identifying certain phenomena as thematically and interpretationally relevant, while allowing other phenomena to remain at the horizon.

APPENDIX "D"

THE LIFE-WORLDS OF WOMEN AND MEN IN GILLAM

Unlike the almost total separation of Hydro and Settled Gillamites, there is a much higher degree of interaction between men and women in the community. There are virtually no single women in Gillam; Hydro women come to the town because that is where employment is available for their husbands.

Although there is a greater degree of sharing in the life-world between men and women due to this higher level of interaction, the two genders experience the community in slightly different ways, and develop different typifications. This difference in the texture of the life-world also applies to women without children; in some cases their typifications are similar to those of the males; in others they are more akin to those of females with children. This will be pointed out when it is relevant.

The Life-Worlds of Hydro Women in Gillam

Hydro women and their children, like their husbands and fathers, are entitled to three trips south a year. Hydro families plan these trips carefully, but women with children must also take into account their children's welfare: will the children miss school? should we

take a holiday and leave the children here with friends? Women are also responsible for their children as far as travel by rail is concerned - making sure the children have seats, keeping the children quiet, dressing and preparing children for the 2:00 a.m. boarding of the train. For these women, travel is travel with children.

When Hydro women discuss transportation, they usually do so with reference to children. Whereas males stress the value of access to the outside world, women are more likely to emphasise the process as well. They frequently mention the convenience of jet service to Winnipeg, as this cuts down on travel time with young children. Similarly, they assess train service negatively because of the long travel time (at least seven hours) and the level of service in comparison to airline provisions.

Both females with children and those without tend to be responsible for weekly grocery shopping at the community Co-Op. This brings them in direct contact with the high cost of living. Most women I spoke with told me that after being in the community for a period of time, they simply stopped looking at the prices on products.

If you need it, you're going to buy it
anyway because there isn't any place
else to go where you can get a cheaper
price.

(Hydro female, 30s, shopping centre)

They are also confronted with the lack of selection in terms of grocery items. The freight train carrying fresh produce arrives in

Gillam on Wednesday night; very few women delay shopping until Friday because the produce has been depleted by that time.

Clothing, other than basics, is bought outside the community. Children are taken to Winnipeg or Thompson in the spring and the fall, and are outfitted for the season. If other needs arise, the options are a small selection of clothing at the Bay or catalogue shopping at Sears.

In my conversations with women in Gillam, the lack of services emerged time and time again. There is often no hairdresser in the community, so personal care must be fit into busy trips to the South. There are no true fast food services during the winter months. A hamburger stand opens during the summer. The only option for dining out is the local hotel which is relatively (although not exorbitantly) expensive; the quality of the food varies and many Gillamites only use the facility for large gatherings, e.g., holiday dinners, farewell parties.

In discussing issues which related to the cost of living, women were more likely to accentuate the increased spending power and disposable income they enjoy as a result of their residence in Gillam.

If recreation is viewed as a time of relaxation, coffee klatching is a major recreational activity for the women of Gillam. Part of being an unemployed woman in Gillam is the knowledge that friends and neighbours may knock on your door at any time for coffee, and that you

may reciprocate. The visits provide relief from housework, a chance to discuss mutual problems (often children and husbands) and to exchange information on the activities of others. Occasionally, the klatching becomes regularised for a specific purpose; discussing the school, learning to bake, knitting groups (this last was referred to as "Stitch 'N' Bitch" by one of my female interviewees).

Women are also involved in the recreation center, although some complain that it only provides athletic activities. Generally, the two activities women participate in are curling and baseball. There are separate womens' leagues, and these provide "a night out with the girls", as well as mixed leagues, which usually involve husband-wife teams. On these evenings, many of the women (and their spouses, if mixed) follow their formal activity with a visit to the Legion. This provides women with an opportunity to visit and chat with men other than their husbands.

Parties involve either getting together for drinks in the evening or dinner parties. The latter are less frequent and are the responsibility of the women. The former are most often at the initiative of their husbands. During the summer, group barbeques are relatively frequent, although black flies make it necessary to eat indoors.

For women with children, recreation includes that of their offspring. Most women try to ensure that their children are involved.

in some form of activity: hockey, figure skating, and so forth.

During major competitions, children's recreation absorbs almost all of the mother's leisure time, as she must continue to run the home while these competitions are underway.

If men focus on informal and informal recreation activities in Gillam, females are more prone to mention the expressive side of leisure in the town: that Gillam is a good place to make friends, or, alternatively, that Gillam is a boring place. Women were also more likely to discuss the value of a well-rounded recreational activity structure for children; many expressed concern that their children, particularly the older ones, were missing out on "cultural" activities in the South.

Given that most Hydro women in Gillam are not employed, their familiarity with the home is much greater than that of their spouses. In interviews with women, they were more capable and/or willing to discuss the quality of their housing, the nuisances which could not be alleviated, and how they would change them if they had the choice. For women with children in single-wide trailers, the home was a crowded place; for women living in trailers without basements, the home was a place with little or no storage space. As the houses are owned by Manitoba Hydro, those living in them cannot undertake any major renovations. Any small repairs are done by their husbands, and the women often have to exercise patience until their spouses complete

these tasks. The only way to eliminate major housing problems for the Hydro women is to move into better quality housing. In order to do so, the family must collect housing "points", based on number of children, seniority and position. Those women who feel that their housing is inadequate for their needs make themselves familiar with the housing list, and spend a great deal of time discussing it. They remain suspicious that the Hydro administration will bypass the list in allocating newly vacant homes, as this has been known to happen in the past. Complaints about these allocations must be forwarded through their husbands, who are often reluctant to cause trouble in the Hydro offices. Part of attaining quality housing for Hydro women in Gillam is not only being diplomatic with the Crown Corporation's townsite administrator, but with their husbands as well.

Women in Gillam are more willing to talk about the social-psychological and family problems of the community, and as a result consider themselves to be more informed on these matters than their spouses. Many of the women I spoke with came from small towns in southern Manitoba, and had grown up in close family networks, extending to uncles, aunts and grandparents. For these women, Gillam is a place where there is no family, and they must rely on each other for the social and emotional support they previously received from their kin.

You have to make your family in Gillam,
because everyone is in the same boat.
(Hydro Female, 20s, School)

Relying on other community members for support tends to bring out problems which might be less obvious in a more atomised town. These problems range from concern and fear over rumours of incest to coping with the daily boredom of the town. In formal interviews with the women, very few of these problems were discussed in depth: most would mention alcoholism and drug-reliance and abuse as Gillam-related problems. Participant observation was more useful in highlighting what concerns existed. Some issues could be discussed in public settings (a recorded interview), others could be discussed in a large group, and others could only be whispered in private spaces. Wife beating and child abuse were part of this last category. In my stay in Gillam, these two behaviours were mentioned frequently. Gillam is a place (perhaps like any other), where women are beaten by their husbands and children are abused by their parents. The women are also able to discuss the problems of alcoholism as it relates to others, but rarely will they discuss the addiction as it relates to themselves or to their spouses. For some women in Gillam, daily life involves making sure that spouses are sober enough to work, to drive, coping with the knowledge that if a husband is not home, he may be somewhere getting "plastered" and will need attention when he comes home. Some women deal with this experience by joining AL-ANON, a group affiliated

with AA which provides support for the families of alcoholics. Others deny that the problem is alcoholism: "boys will be boys". Others eventually leave their husbands and the town.

Women themselves are subject to alcoholism, although its display is not as public as among males. Most women I spoke with saw male alcoholism as a far more widespread and serious problem than female alcoholism. The major addictive problem for women was described as a reliance on tranquilizers such as Valium.

You see some women down at the Co-Op,
and honest to God, they just look like
zombies.

(Hydro Female, 40s, Interview)

From time to time affairs develop in the community, relationships which are difficult to carry on in secrecy. These are seen as "part of life", and not necessarily related to life in Gillam per se.

In my discussions with Hydro women, most related the problems they were aware of as stemming from boredom. "There's nothing else to do besides drink." One woman suggested that the problems had existed long before couples move to Gillam.

They come up here thinking they'll be
able to work out all their problems, and
when they don't, it just gets worse
because they're so disappointed.

(Hydro Female, 30s, Library)

Women with children tend to have more contact with the health service provided by the community than do others. The majority of these contacts involve minor ailments, and the mothers see the

hospital as a place for dealing with earaches, bruises and cuts. A serious childhood injury or illness involves evacuation of the child (and parent) to another community. Perhaps the major typification of the hospital for the women of Gillam is that it is not a place for childbirth. Women must leave town to deliver babies: most return "home" to the South. The result is that pregnant women must deal with two doctors, one for pre-natal care and another for delivery. Some women have chosen to deliver their babies in Gillam, but the majority of women I spoke with viewed this as unnecessary and "silly" risk-taking. Despite these negative aspects, women in Gillam expressed satisfaction that health care in Gillam was consistent with the province's policy of universal health care, and that services were available in Gillam.

Hydro mothers hold responsibility for the day-to-day school life of their children. They ensure that children attend, and they deal with much of the expressive side of school, such as relationships with teachers and other students. As a result, they are more familiar with the individual teachers and students in the school than their husbands are. A number of the women have also substituted for teachers at some point, or chaperoned field trips. These also increase their knowledge of interpersonal relationships within the school. Some of the Hydro mothers also sit on the school board and have become familiar with the school's administration, particularly with regard to disciplinary

policies. In short, Hydro women concern themselves with the daily, qualitative aspects of their children's schooling. The school was seen as a major contributor to the development of a child's personality, self image, etc. Many women expressed anxiety over whether the Gillam school was adequately staffed and administered for these purposes.

For most Hydro women in Gillam, employment is something which pertains to husbands and not themselves. The opportunities for paid female work are limited mainly to the school, the hospital, government offices and part-time work in the few service outlets. Hydro does not maintain a major administrative center in the town, which reduces the possibility of finding clerical work. For many women, particularly those with young children, this is not problematic as they have chosen to drop out of the work force for a period of time. Others move from part-time job to part-time job, hoping to find employment that is suitable. Some have given up, and remain at home until their husbands are transferred from Gillam.

There is a certain amount of ambivalence about female employment in Gillam among the Hydro women I spoke with, both in interviews and informally. Most of those with very young children suggested to me that they had planned to leave the labour force to raise their children. The number of women with children whom they consider to be "raised" is quite low, and not all of these women that I encountered

expressed an interest in returning to the workforce. Those women who do wish to be employed are generally young married females who have not yet begun their families. Almost all the females stressed that "working" was more than a financially motivated activity. Paid employment got a person out of the house, doing different things, meeting different people. Even those women who said they preferred to stay home with their young children emphasised the importance of choice. None of these women felt that this choice was available in Gillam. While men would stress the financial/promotional aspects of their jobs, their spouses would more often focus on job satisfaction. This does not indicate that the women were unconcerned with those aspects of their husbands' employment. However, given that the salaries in Gillam are high and that most employees see some chance of promotion, the women seemed to be concerned with job satisfaction because it directly entered their lives.

This new job has really made a big difference. He used to just want to come home and sleep. Now he likes his job a lot more, and he's spending time with the kids.

(Hydro Female, 30s, coffee klatch)

It is not surprising that tensions which arise in a non-gratifying workplace are carried home with the employee. The women are also concerned with more than the fact that dissatisfaction at work affects their own home lives. Many of those I spoke with whose husbands were

unhappy also expressed concern for the effect this was having on their husbands' morale:

That's not a life. He's miserable all the time. I just wish he could find something he liked.

(Hydro Female, 20s, hospital)

In a community which is dominated by Hydro (in terms of job market) women must take into account their husbands' positions when dealing with co-residents. Although they are often not familiar with the work done by their husbands, they are aware of the "pecking order" on the job, and this awareness enters into their relationships with other women and men in the town.

Every since [Joe] got that promotion, she doesn't even have the time of day for us. Just walks around with her nose up in the air.

(Hydro Female, 40s, recreation centre)

Their only method for dealing with this situation is through their husbands, and many conversations are held about relationships on the job, rivalries in the Hydro system, etc. This provides wives with guidelines for their interaction in the community, guidelines which are not part of their own making. For Hydro women, Gillam is a place where men work for pay and women stay home.

If Hydro Gillamites in general see the government as both employer and taxation source, female Hydro residents have no direct contact with either government function. Many of the women I spoke with admitted that their opinions of government derived from

conversations with their husbands. One possible exception to this "adopted" viewpoint was the female assessment of government-sponsored social services. The women I spoke with were more likely than their husbands to see these services as desirable and necessary.

Climate affects both men and women in Gillam, although in slightly different ways. Many Hydro wives feel trapped in the house with small children during the winter months. Any venture out requires bundling of themselves and their children, and can become an unpleasant task. Often women give up on the attempts, and remain indoors for days at a time. In small trailers, with young children, this proves to be "nerve-wracking" and many women express a dread of winter and

...being stuck in the house with
hundreds of little hands reaching for
you.

(Hydro Female, 30s, interview)

For almost all of the Hydro women I spoke with, Gillam is an isolated place. Many mentioned that they felt they were missing out on life. Relatives are far away and rarely visit. Friends and jobs are left behind when husbands relocate, and women must make lives for themselves and their families in a community where they have no formal roles to play, where they are, in a sense, riding on their husbands' coat-tails. Gillam is a place for taking care of children and staying home, and where female employment is the rare exception, rather than the rule.

Both men and women assessed Gillam in relation to their daily activities. For males, this meant relating the community to their employment. Although Gillam was not seen as ideal in terms of social activities, and emotional ties, it was seen as a desirable place to be for employment reasons. Women also mentioned this, but were not as prone as their husbands to extol the virtues of this particular aspect of life in Gillam: it was not their life. Many of these women mentioned that Gillam was a good place for young children, but not for any other age group. Even though Gillam was seen as a friendly place, it was not home - there were no relatives close by, no life-long friends. The community was often referred to as boring or transient, and for the Hydro women of Gillam, this was not what they believed a good community to be.

The Life-World of Hydro Men in Gillam

Transportation in and out of Gillam requires that men arrange for holiday time or time off work, often involving negotiations with fellow workers as well as supervisors. Except in the case of emergencies, the men suggest that these plans must be made well in advance. It is also the males who generally make the arrangements for travel and accommodation while the family is away from Gillam.

Many of the males I spoke with stressed that "at least" there was access to other communities, and that an employee could not be expected to live in Gillam unless this were the case. Males also

stressed justifications for additional holiday time given to Hydro's northern employees, and considered the situation to be equitable.

It's the least they can do if they're
going to stick us up here.

(Male, 30s, Legion)

When first arriving in Gillam, it is the men who first are made aware of their increased consumer power through salary cheques. Accepting a posting in Gillam represents large salary increases, and many of the men I spoke with felt that the higher prices were more than offset by salary increases and housing subsidies.

Sure the cost of living is high, but
we're still better off than we would be
down South.

(Male, 40s, Interview)

Generally these men do not concern themselves with the day-to-day costs of running a household: although they are aware that these costs are higher than in southern towns, most cannot explain which particular consumer goods lead to the difference, with the exception of hardware items and automobile-related costs. In both of these areas, the men complain that not only are costs high (gasoline is at least \$.15 a liter more expensive than in Winnipeg), but the selection is limited. Automobile maintenance is a problem as the local mechanics are not certified, and many of the Hydro employees attempt to barter with Hydro mechanics or knowledgeable friends in exchange for repairs and tune-ups. My interviews with males very rarely elicited strongly negative views on the cost of living, and,

in informal conversations, it was very rarely the case that discussions of prices were initiated by males.

Men, like women, make use of the recreation center for formally organised activities such as curling, hockey, broomball and baseball. Like their wives, they follow the activity with visits to the Legion for drinks and socialising. Unlike the women, from time to time the men will also do their drinking in the hotel's pub, which has a reputation of being rough and "the Indian bar". These visits involve serious drinking and are referred to as "giving her".

Hydro husbands are also more likely than their wives to spontaneously invite people back to the house for a drink. Because a number of males are on shift-work, these parties can occur at any time of the day or night.

The men also find more activities in terms of the outdoors. Most male Gillamites own ski-doo's and go out on group trips. Some of the Hydro men also hunt, fish and trap, although it is not widespread in the group. Generally, male recreation in Gillam involves sports and/or drinking - often the two are combined.

When asked about recreation, males were most likely to express the value of the community's recreation center. They were also more likely to point out that Hydro had donated this facility to the town and to express satisfaction over the fact that Gillam was a "party town".

Housing for Hydro employees is part of the job. Like their spouses, the men have a detailed system of describing the various types of Hydro housing in the community. Unlike their wives, they do not have as much familiarity with their own particular houses. There is little required of the male in terms of the house: anything but minor maintenance and repair is performed by the company (including the clearing of snow from driveways). During the summer months they are expected to maintain the lots, but many of these are small, and some are not sodded. Their major contact with the house occurs through Hydro or through their wives. Often they must mediate the two. The men seem reluctant to demand housing service from the company, fearing that it will reflect on their jobs.

I'm not going to be calling the town
site manager every five minutes. I
don't have time when I'm on the job.
(Male, 30s, party)

Most agree with their wives that housing is less than ideal, but are willing to wait until their Hydro positions or seniority afford them a better home. Males most often began their conversations about housing with reference to the desirability of home ownership. This was normally followed by a discussion of cost: the affordability of Gillam housing and the less manageable cost of home ownership in the South.

Whereas women are concerned with the quality of the educational process, men expressed more concern over the quality of the product,

i.e., what qualifications will their children receive from the school? As a result, they have less knowledge of the characteristics of the individual teachers, and more of the administration surrounding it. Both men and women see the school as a source of social mobility, but the males stressed the programs available to a greater extent than their wives.

If it's a choice between getting a computer or a French teacher, give me the computer. What the hell difference will it make for a job if my kid can speak French?

(Male, 30s, School)

The males ultimately tended to bring all school issues, including administrative ones, to the bottom line of their effects on children's future job possibilities.

Gillam males who work for Hydro have very little to do with the town's hospital (apart from those who are members of the hospital board). For these Hydro men, the hospital is a place to avoid, except in cases of extreme emergency or on-the-job accidents. In informal conversation, they stressed that they didn't like going to hospitals or doctors anywhere, but that they certainly wouldn't go to the local hospital given the choice.

Both males and females agreed that universal, generalised health care was a desirable situation. But the meaning of "universal" varied. For males, the existence of such a system was often related to "anonymous" health care. Males were more likely than females to

indicate that they deserved to make medical visits "without the whole town knowing about it". For this reason, health care in the South was described as more desirable than that which was available in Gillam.

Gillam's Hydro women had a large range of social psychological and family problems to discuss. This did not appear to be the case with the males. In my interviews, some indicated that alcoholism might be a major problem; when asked to discuss this further very few made reference to alcoholism's effect on the community, referring instead to the workplace. A number of male Gillamites also expressed concern with the sale of drugs such as marijuana in the community. Although wives occasionally mentioned this, the males pointed it out far more often, implying that job relations gave them information to which their wives did not have access.

If Hydro males have less detailed typifications of social problems in the community than do their wives, their images of employment in Gillam are far more elaborate. For these men Hydro enters directly into their day-to-day experience of the town, both on and off the job. Getting along with neighbours means getting along with co-workers and supervisors, and relationships within the town can affect work relationships, and vice-versa. These men often expressed the feeling that their chances for advancement were

assessed not only in terms of their job performance, but their community performance as well. I was often told that it was impossible to get away from the job in Gillam, and that any misconduct during non-work hours not only reached the ears of local supervisors, but was also relayed to the Winnipeg head office. Very few mentioned the union as a source of support, indicating that, if they were going to get a better job, they could only do so by doing their job properly, and by keeping themselves and their families quiet and out of trouble.

In discussing employment with males, they were most likely to begin with a focus on the monetary rewards of their jobs in Gillam, as well as possibilities for promotion. They would also, although not as frequently, discuss their history with Hydro and past/current relationships with supervisors. Very few brought up the issue of female employment. When questioned, they often mentioned that it would be "nice" if women could work, but that their (male) salaries could easily support a family in Gillam. The ability of females to be gainfully employed was not disapproved of, but in only one conversation during my stay in Gillam did a male suggest that the absence of such opportunities was totally unacceptable.

Like their wives they recognized that the government was their employer and that provincial political action could imply action against their source of income. The federal government was a remote

body, whose main function was to tax incomes. Not suprising, men supported the government's activities in expanding Hydro, and accentuated the positive aspects, such as benefits, of the government as employer. They also viewed the taxation role of the government in a negative light, feeling they were carrying an undue burden. In no case did any Hydro male refer to the value of the government as an organisation representing the interests of its constituents.

For the Hydro men, Gillam was a place to get ahead, a step in the Hydro ladder. In addition, it offered salary levels and overtime unavailable in other Hydro communities. The isolation was seen as temporary, and for most it was more than offset by the salaries and possibilities for promotion. It was also a place where their wives were less likely to be satisfied, and families had to decide whether salaries and promotions compensated for the isolation and the boredom suffered by women. Although the men would praise Gillam in terms of employment, suggesting that it was a good place to live, when asked to summarise their experiences in Gillam, they would often remove their "Hydro hats" and conclude that despite all of the job advantages, Gillam still wasn't home.

The Life-World of Settled Male and Female Gillamites

Unlike their Hydro counterparts, there is far less discrepancy between the male and female typifications of Gillam among the Settled. This group shares a common history in the community. The

majority are small-business owners, and the running of these ventures is on a family basis. The men and women have had to work together in fighting and adapting to the changes brought on by Hydro development. In this process, they have been forced to discuss and articulate what they believe and know about Gillam. As a result of these discussions, the group has come to present a unified typification of life in Gillam.

END

13.08.87

FIN