THE LITTLE COMMUNITY THAT COULD BUT WOULDN'T: A CASE STUDY OF CONTROVERSY, INNOVATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG NORTHERN OJIBWA

By

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ABSTRACT

The main conclusion arrived at in this thesis is that social change in northern Ojibwa communities is linked to the balance of power and dependence found between various individuals and groups. To arrive at this the author examined the issue of obtaining illegal satellite signals in the village of Webequie, Ontario.

Through the method of participant observation several groups in this issue were identified, each had varied desires but all had the same interest--television service. In Webequie, the demand for such a system created a controversy which divided the village into two groups: those who wanted television and those who rejected it. Each faction held a degree of power, but the struggle to gain a satellite unit was more difficult for supporters. They not only had to contend with non-supporters represented by elders (those people most influential according to village norms and Ojibwa custom), but they also had to deal with the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Their desire was to enforce communications policy and they stated that legal action would be taken against all illegal systems.

Apart from the legal issue, all northern native settlements operating such equipment, despite CRTC threats, are faced with the added risk of losing their language and current way of life. This is so because most of the

programming found on such systems (mainly American "super stations") is controlled by people with values different from the ones practiced in remote Ojibwa--Cree villages. It is this cultural threat which concerns a fourth group identified in the study--Wawata Communications Society.

This organization was established to help preserve native culture, yet illegal satellite systems threaten to undermine their purpose. Realizing their position and the demand for television by many villages like Webequie, Wawata's goal was to resolve its dilemma. So, in this study of social change, one finds supporters who want television service, non-supporters who reject it, the CRTC who requires that communications policy be upheld and finally, Wawata who desires a solution to its problem.

By concentrating on interactions between these four groups over the issue of television, the researcher has conducted a case study of social change. To analyze the situation, the author used the principles of exchange relations, power-dependence, balancing operations and network exchange, found in Richard M. Emerson's power-dependence exchange paradigm.

The data obtained revealed that exchange relations were established between all groups. Furthermore, power and dependence was found not only between supporters and non-supporters, but also between advocates and Wawata, supporters and the CRTC, plus other government branches such

as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The power-dependence relation between non-supporters and advocates in Webequie generated an imbalance in which non-supporters maintained a "power advantage". Yet, through network exchange and one of the balancing operations (coalition formation) advocates joined with Wawata to balance non-supporters' power and in the end obtained television service.

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In addition, I thank all those people who helped with various aspects during the fieldwork. However two individuals, Robert and Susan Spence, should be distinguished from the rest. For without their kindness and friendship much of the fieldwork would not only have been impossible, but also far less pleasant. In the pages that follow, the author hopes that the reader's understanding of social change, in northern Ojibwa villages, will be enhanced.

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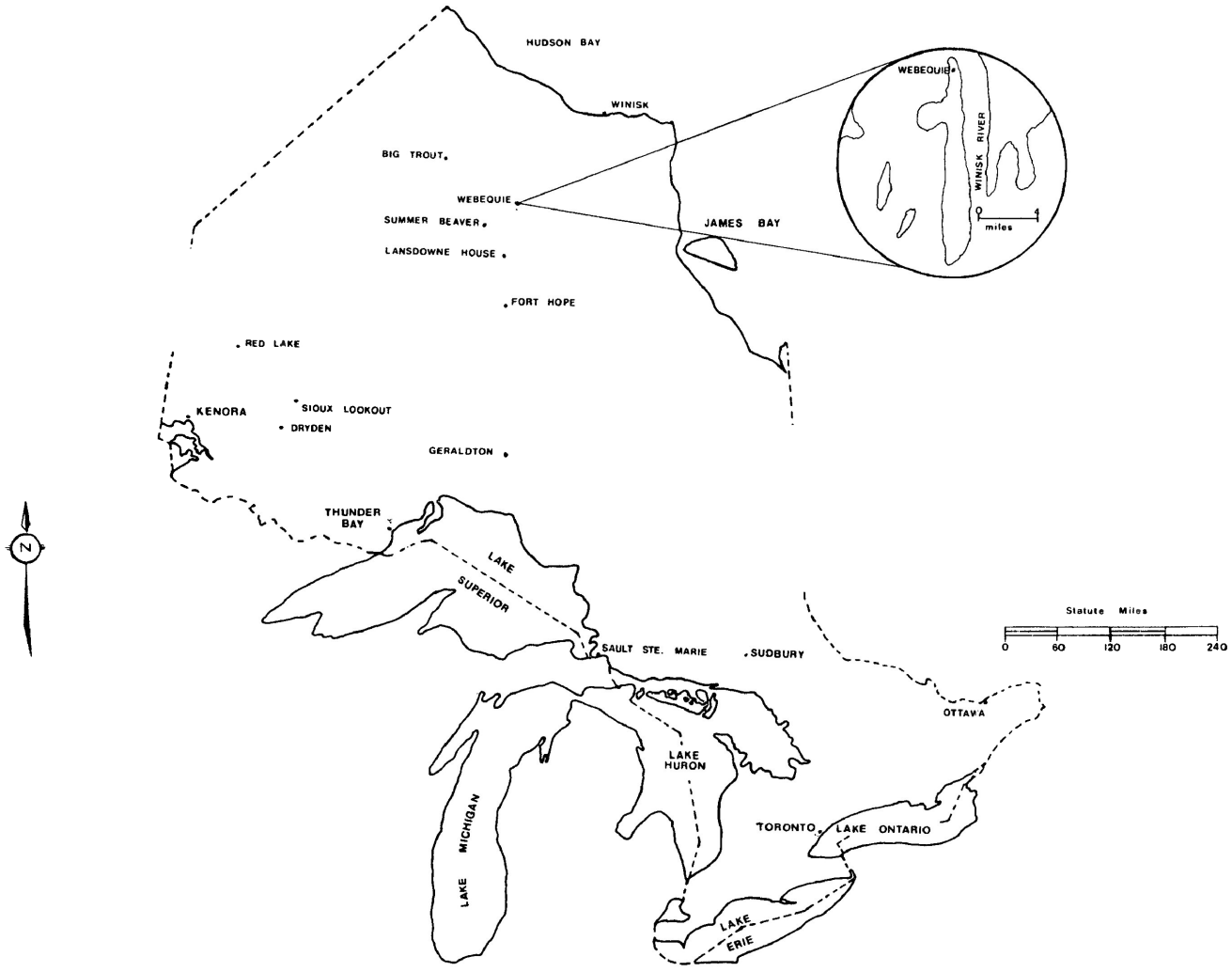


Map Locating Webequie In Ontario

Chapter One

Introduction: Webequie And The Debate Over Television

Empirical Observations and Participants' Perspectives

Some residents were ecstatic when television service finally reached Webequie, a remote Ojibwa settlement 330 kilometres north of Thunder Bay. Its arrival marked the end of a long struggle. Until October 1983, however much they may have wanted it, no one in the community could pick up television signals. Many had seen some television in nearby villages but when they tried to acquire it for themselves, they became embroiled in a lengthy controversy.

The events which led to installing television in the community were acrimonious, souring long standing friendships as the debate raged between those for and those against. The dispute began in the spring of 1982 when band office members, at the insistence of those who wanted the service, contacted a Dryden dealer. They learned that the village could have a satellite system and cable hook-ups, but for a price--$22,000.00.

However, not all residents were happy with the prospect and some began voicing their opposition. Many were elders (those people most influential according to village norms and Ojibwa custom) who questioned the expense and the impact

television would have on their language and current life-style. Their resistence was made more intense by the realization that once most villagers accepted the innovation, they would also have to live with the change.

On top of this, it was learned that a licence had to be obtained or the owners of such a unit could face legal action by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). So, the systems proponents were at an impasse; they had to contend not only with opposition from various influential residents, but also with CRTC licencing regulations.

The situation was clearly an instance of negotiating social change, and understanding the group dynamics in such cases is fundamental to our comprehension of the subject. This study, then, will examine the events surrounding the coming of a technological innovation to a northern Ojibwa village. It will focus, as an example, on Webequie's attempt to gain television service.

Background

The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission has, in the last few years, had to deal with the problem of illegal satellite systems, like the one Webequie proposed to buy. Yet, the creation of a clear-cut policy to deal with this situation has been impeded by several factors. Two basic ones are: the rapid pace at which new

telecommunications technologies are produced, and the opposition to CRTC policy by various members of the federal-provincial governments.

Technological advancements in communications rendered existent regulations obsolete. But demands for appropriate CRTC policy were hampered by disputes between federal-provincial governments over the issues of national sovereignty and economics, (Stanbury 1982).

National sovereignty or the struggle between nationalism and regionalism began after World War II, (Smiley 1980). Federal control in provincial matters led to discontent as provincial parties, especially the western (provincial parties), objected to the strong federal control on energy, transportation and communications. They asserted that federal policies reflected only the needs of the established core; in other words of Southern Ontario, (Schultz 1982). Discriminated against, the provinces felt they needed a larger role (more power) in determining their goals and objectives.

The provinces saw communications as an integral part of "province building" and each sought to expand its control in this area, (Schultz 1982). The federal government, in contrast, argued that they should "...exercise power over communications so that...there be a spirit of common nation-hood, a series of common values which can be preserved and diffused..." (Hon. P.E. Trudeau 1980:152). Yet provincial

parties maintained that the federal government, in the past, has tended to ignore their vital concerns. If communications policy decisions reflected those previously made, the provinces could suffer large economic losses. In the case of the satellite-cable television industry, economics is important since the money it generates means major revenue through taxation for the government in control.

Complicating this issue further is the CRTC's involvement. Provincial ministers associated with communications policy feel that the CRTC holds too much power over current regulations and that, in effect, it has become a policy making machine reflecting, for the most part, the views held by the federal government, (Degenstein 1981). In other words, it is feared that without the proper guidelines, the CRTC will try to expand its control over communications policy, inevitably limiting provincial jurisdiction.

One example of the resulting "confused" policy is the position taken by the CRTC on the issue of illegal satellite units which, in turn, has caused widespread discontent in many northern communities. On the one hand, the CRTC has condemned such operations and has stated that legal action would be taken against all offenders. On the other hand, many communities in Northern Ontario argue that their region is underserviced and that they have suffered deprivation of services long enough. Consequently, communities operating illegal systems continue to do so regardless of CRTC action.

For many Ojibwa settlements in the Treaty Nine region who operate such equipment, it is more than just illegal, it also threatens to change their language, beliefs and present way of life. Much or all of the programming carried on these systems (mainly American "super stations") is produced and controlled by a culture with norms and values different than those of native people in northern settlements.

This cultural threat is also of paramount concern to one organization whose purpose for existing is the preservation of Ojibwa culture--Wawata Communications Society. Since 1974, this organization has sought to promote native culture in communities such as Webequie by publishing a monthly trilingual newspaper (Ojibwa, Cree, English) and making available technologies, such as small community controlled radio stations, which help encourage native beliefs.

A glance at the accompanying map (p. viii) indicates that Webequie is geographically isolated and one may, rightfully, assume removed from such southern forces as the CRTC. In fact, until quite recently, the community did not have many of the conveniences most Canadians take for granted, for example, telephone service, hydro electricity or roads. Until an airport was completed in 1979, the community was completely cut-off for three month intervals during fall "freeze-up" and spring "break-up".

Although this isolation has obstructed the coming of

television service, other modern technologies such as boats, motors, and ski-doos have existed in the village for a number of years. The community has also, in the past ten years, faced increasing contact with Anglo-Canadians via government agencies, medical health personnel, teachers and members of the private service sector. Yet, English is still considered a second language for residents and is only heard in the school setting or when talking to outsiders unable to speak Ojibwa. In short, it may be said that the most intense period of change occurred only recently, (within the last ten or fifteen years).

This process of technological modernization, (which is discussed in detail in chapter two), is now manifesting itself in the social arena. The debate between supporters and non-supporters signals a shifting locus of social influence in the village. This is indicated by the fact that, despite community reaction, Webequie acquired television service. In general, it may be suggested that this case reflects a social transition taking place in many northern Ojibwa settlements, similar to what southern native communities experienced over three decades ago, (Dunning 1959).

Theoretical Perspective

To explain the way in which Webequie acquired television, the researcher will use Richard M. Emerson's power-dependence exchange paradigm. Other social change theories such as diffusionism, evolutionism, and marxism have both proponents and discounters, each providing valuable criticism to the above schemes. However for this study, the author has selected Emerson's approach. Although tested very little beyond controlled experimental conditions, this model provides, in the author's opinion, an adequate interpretation of the data.

Although exchange theory stems largely from social anthropologists such as Sir James Frazer, Branislaw Malinowski, Marcel Mauss and Claude Levi-Strauss, Emerson's brand of exchange evolved primarily from other exchange studies such as those conducted by Thibaut and Kelley, Homans, and Blau. While Emerson's paradigm is summarized in chapter four, the following brief overview will give the reader a sense of its application to social change and the situation found in Webequie.

Social change, in terms of Emerson's paradigm, can be analyzed by first examining the "exchange relations" that occur in the groups under investigation. An exchange relation, then, "...is conceived as an interactive relation between two parties (persons or organized groups) based upon reciprocal reinforcement" (Stolte and Emerson 1977:119).

Furthermore, there is an assumption that one party's behaviour or resource in an exchange is "valued" and rewarded by the other actors involved. Essentially, exchange relations are a series of encounters or interactions between parties having a past, a present and a probable future, (Emerson 1972).

In each of these transactions emerges the key elements of power and dependence. Simply stated, power occurs in a relationship when one party becomes dependent on the other for reinforcement. Thus, one party's dependence is, in fact, the other's power base. In such a relationship, the power the first party has over the second party is equal to the dependence the second party has upon the first, (Emerson 1972). In some exchanges, one party may have a disproportionate amount of power ("a power advantage") which according to Emerson, allows him to obtain greater rewards.

Empirically, Webequie has a multitude of power-dependence relations. One example of this is the association between supporters and non-supporters of television service. Power-dependence relations beyond the community include interaction between the CRTC and Webequie, the CRTC and Wawata; and Wawata and Webequie.

According to Emerson, when one party makes unreasonable demands which encounter resistance from other parties, the relationship becomes unbalanced. To correct this imbalance one or a number of balancing operations are used. Emerson

outlines four operations, (see chapter four), the fourth of which will be dealt with here, since it was applied to the situation found in this study. The process is labelled coalition formation. This operation occurs when one party coalesces with other parties to increase its overall power, and if needed, to balance an imbalanced situation between the parties involved.

In this study, it was found that supporters were subjected to what they considered to be unreasonable demands concerning television. In order to increase their power over non-supporters and the CRTC, they coalesced with Wawata to gain power and balance their disadvantaged position. Yet to fully understand this process, an examination of "exchange networks" is needed.

Network relations can be conceived of as "...a set of three or more actors each of whom provides opportunities for transactions with at least one other actor in the set..." (Emerson 1972:70). Each network has unique characteristics and each is subject to the same balances, imbalances, dependencies and power advantages as described earlier, but there may be a limited number of network forms.

One form is known as a "stratified network" which may be based on shared attitudes, values, common interests, age or similar resources, (for brevity, other network forms detailed by Emerson, but not applicable to this study, are discussed in chapter four). Each member of a stratified network gains gratification from members in that system,

forming a closed social network between actors. Members with shared interests (i.e., the desire for television) provide reinforcement for one another forming affiliations between actors, which make up a group or "category". A category in a stratified network is based on "similar resources" and "values held in common" (Emerson 1972:85).

On the issue of television, residents in Webequie were stratified in this way. Their opinions or "values held in common" were separated into two categories, those for and those against television. It was also found that village members were stratified on "similar resources". Supporters generally valued change, had some formal education and played a vital role in dealing with government agencies. Non-supporters, in contrast, valued tradition, had little formal training, but maintained great influence in community decision making matters.

Such categories can, according to Emerson's paradigm, be refined still further. Each group can again be stratified (intra-category) as a result of an unequal distribution of resource(s). For example, more active supporters generally had a larger part in obtaining television. While more active non-supporters, for the most part, held a greater interest in preventing television.

Although it was never observed in Webequie, Emerson (1972) further reasoned that those people with high ranking abilities (in intra-category transactions) tended to interact with lower ranked members only if problems existed in

the upper echelons. While lower ranked members initiated exchanges the transactions that would occur were decided on by members with greater abilities, (this Emerson termed Stage I). When interaction is less problematic among high rank strata members, (in intra-category exchanges) boundaries become more rigid and fewer transactions between upper and lower ranked individuals takes place, (this Emerson labelled as Stage II). Evidence does not suggest the existence of stage one or stage two in Webequie. However, the information did indicate that resource distribution was the variable which led to a stratified network and that a division based on resource allocation was evident.

Emerson (1972) proposed that since a society had many different categories each might be linked to form a complex network of exchanges through "cross-category" transactions. These interactions would take place between members with different resources, (i.e., supporters and non-supporters). He reasoned that resource acquisition and distribution would, as it was in intra-category exchanges, be found in cross-category transactions.

In the community, cross-category encounters took place between "active non-supporters" and "active supporters". However, non-supporters maintained a power advantage over advocates since non-supporters were represented by those people with ascribed status and presumed wisdom. This created discontent amongst advocates and produced an

imbalanced situation. To alter the power advantage and effect change, supporters coalesced with an outside group--Wawata Communications Society.

Overall Problems With The Approach

As indicated earlier, power is a concept which is central to this overall framework of analysis. Yet, there has been much debate and numerous studies, (Lasswell and Kaplan 1950, Dahl 1957, Mills 1958, Blau 1964, Parsons 1951, Wrong 1968, Nagel 1968, Mulkay 1971 and Baldus 1976), focusing on "power" as it relates to status and position in the overall social structure, but they remain largely inconclusive. Further uncertainty arises when one questions if power is manifest identically regardless of cultural socialization or internalization of norms and values. Recognizing that the community under study is native, it should be pointed out that this project does not intend to impute subjectivity into individuals' actions when power is used in Webequie, nor will it attempt to understand the process of "socialization" or the "internalization" of norms which govern power and social change in Ojibwa culture. Rather, the objective here is to describe the general social context and then to place the empirical data into an overall theoretical framework. Such an undertaking will help one to understand more completely the process of change in a small native community.

However, it must be recognized that problems do exist with the concept of "power". Further, it should be noted that although the exchange approach has been successfully applied to other cultures (Malinowski 1922, Sahlins 1965, Barth 1966 and Levi-Strauss 1969), there have been questions, (Marsh 1967), as to its overall analytical capacity. Such concerns should not go unheeded, yet this author believes the present analysis, using Emerson's paradigm, can be successfully undertaken without the limitations indicated above.

Outline Of The Study

Overall, the study is organized into seven chapters. After these introductory comments, a chapter outlining the changes Webequie has undergone will enable the reader to gain a sense of the village's current situation. In the third chapter, a review of the literature is given, describing the salient works which may have led to the formation of Emerson's paradigm. The following chapter sets forth, in detail, the theoretical perspectives employed in the study. In the fifth, the researcher describes the method used; that is, participant observation augmented by unstructured interviews with the villagers.

The empirical section includes a detailed description and analysis of the situation in Webequie in terms of the paradigm described earlier. Finally, the major findings of the study are summarized and conclusions are drawn on the basis of the research undertaken.

Chapter Two

A General Accounting of External Influences On The Community of Webequie

Introduction

Having briefly described Webequie's overall situation in the previous chapter, this discussion will focus on the changes in the village brought on by external factors. These influences on the community can best be described as episodic. In retrospect, the events may be viewed as points of intense activity followed by intervals of adjustment. The phases, of which there are four, are labeled as the treaty signing period, the private enterprise period, the community formation period, and the post war modernization period. Each particular period is an antecedent to the next and is basic to our understanding of social change through the external influences on Webequie.

The First Phase (Treaty Signing)

The events preceding the 1905-06 Treaty are many and varied. However, scholars (Surtees, 1971, Fiddler and Stevens, 1982) believe that there were two factors which ultimately led to the signing. On the one hand, native people in the region had for several years suffered sickness, starvation (due to unusually harsh environmental conditions) and a lack of game. While on the other hand,

the Ontario Government, then led by George Ross's Liberals, wanted treaties signed as legal documents to secure lands for future industrial growth in the region. Yet, at the Fort Hope signing some doubts were expressed about the nature and number of benefits outlined in the treaty. A skeptical Chief Mooniyas stated:

> Ever since I was able to earn anything, and this is from the time I was very young, I was never given anything for nothing, I always had to pay for everything I got, even if it was only a paper of pins...Now...you gentlemen come to us from the King offering to give us benefits for which we can make no return. How is this? (Fiddler and Stevens, 1982:72)

Allegedly, the chief was reassured by a missionary who stated "...that treaty money and signatures were for 'faith and allegiance to the king' and for giving up land 'of which they could make no use'" (Fiddler and Stevens, 1982:72).

Thus, the 1905-06 signing and subsequent adhering in 1929 to the James Bay Treaty designated the land around James Bay (and to the west roughly following the 50th parallel to the Ontario/Manitoba border), as the Treaty Nine region. However Webequie, as a community, was not established until after the Second World War. Prior to the war, it was known only as a meeting place (possibly due to its central location on the Winisk River) for extended families who hunted in the surrounding area. They lived a traditional nomadic existence making it impossible for government officials to communicate or deal with them as a group. Hence, when the signing took place the people living

in the area were recorded as belonging to the Fort Hope Band, (as they remain registered to this day).

Following the 1905-06 signing, a long hiatus existed until the 1929 adhesion where Anglo-Canadian involvement with the native people was slight. At that point, intense missionary activity began. Elders in Webequie tell of encounters with missionaries, many of whom were from either Big Trout Lake or Lansdowne House. They travelled the well known hunting trails and held small services with extended families. Christianity disseminated rapidly, and reportedly, by the early 1930s it was widely practiced by native lay ministers who would learn what little they could from missionaries and continue spreading the "holy word". According to R.W. Dunning (1959), Christianity was adopted quickly by the Ojibwa because their own great spirit (KISCHE MANITO) could easily be transferred to Christian theology without changing their own system. Furthermore, Dunning (1959) points out that natives may have believed they stood to benefit materially by a better understanding of the White man and his religion. Whatever the reason, Christianity was strongly embraced by the extended families and to some degree, set the stage for further external involvement which followed.

The Second Phase (Private Enterprise)

By the late 1920s, the Webequie site had become a common meeting place for social and religious events. A small Hudson's Bay building was set up in the early 1930s which was operated by local Indians and, on occasion, by a Hudson's Bay employee. They probably practiced what the company called "...'camp trade' which is the smallest unit of trade; no 'debt' (credit) is allowed and a minimum of necessities such as flour, tea, tobacco, a few traps, and snare wire is kept in stock" (Dunning, 1959:14). However, families wishing to obtain winter supplies still travelled to Lansdowne House or Fort Hope. Hudson's Bay records reveal a great deal of fur trading occurred between the people in this area and the post at Lansdowne House. The Bay manager recorded in the store journal, dated Wednesday December 28, 1932:

> Messer Wraight and Boyd in from Webekwei with Charlie Severn...brought back over 200 mink for us...(Hudson's Bay Company Archives 1932:21).

The Bay was not without competition, other businesses like Revillons Fur Trade Company also operated in the area, but found it difficult to compete and eventually left.

Thus, after vigorous trading in the early 1930s, brought on mostly by competition between companies, the pace slowed. By the end of the decade, native families had come to depend on the small Hudson's Bay building and regular

Anglican services held by a native man named Sofea. The milieu was right for a permanent community, all that was needed were for the nomadic families in the surrounding area to settle.

The Third Phase (Community Formation)

Prior to the end of World War II, the Government of Canada introduced social aid programmes, one of which was the Family Allowance Act (1944). Although natives in the region had received emergency rations in the past, (through various missions and Hudson's Bay outlets) now aid was being distributed on a regular basis. As before, it was made available to those who qualified through remote Hudson's Bay posts, most often in the form of needed supplies. At the annual treaty payment, officials would explain to Family Allowance recipients that according to the Family Allowance Act Amendment (1946) those who collected such benefits were required to send their children to a reserve school. No schools existed around Webequie, so many families travelled to Lansdowne House each spring and the children attended school throughout the summer. In the fall, families would leave to spend the winter months hunting, trapping and teaching their children the traditional way of life. Consequently, as regular subsidies became available nomadic families around the Webequie site began to settle near the small Bay structure; eventually establishing the present day community.

As subsidies continued, more families became less nomadic and the settlement population grew. The aid programmes also helped to enhance trade by allowing native families to obtain more manufactured goods, which in turn whetted their appetites for more Anglo-Canadian commodities. And since the Hudson's Bay post distributed the relief benefits those who received aid tended to deal there as well. In fact, business increased enough that another Bay post was built, first as a satellite of Lansdowne House, then later as a full trading post operated by an outsider named John Ridge. The Bay carried out its function of distributing government aid, assisting the Ontario Government's Fish and Wildlife Division with the issuing of licences, and trading furs, uninterrupted, for the next ten years before more developments occurred.

The Fourth Phase (Post War Modernization)

Native problems, generally, did not seem to be an issue until after World War II (Weaver, 1981). Post war settlement of the 1950s, in part caused by transfer payments, spurred other developments. The Hudson's Bay post expanded once again, building a larger store in 1959-60. The materials for construction were brought in by the first "tractor train" -- a number of large trucks and other heavy equipment driven in a convoy through the bush and across the ice in the dead of winter. Shortly thereafter a small

nursing station was erected, near the present day Agency cabin, (See accompanying map, page 32) and a nurse from Lansdowne House made regular visits to treat those who were ill.

Following the 1961-62 Crown Timber Amendment Act, (which effectively meant private forest industries were no longer fully responsible for forest regeneration and that it would now be handled by the Ministry of Natural Resources, (then known as the Department of Lands and Forests), native employment in tree planting occupations became an annual activity. Each spring natives from Webequie would sign contracts with the Ministry to plant trees. This has become an important source of income for community members as every available, able-bodied man in Webequie is employed during the months of May, June and July. Men travelled (as they do today) to southern towns where nearby tree planting operations were under way.

Little else occurred of a developmental sense until 1964 when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), then known simply as the Department of Indian Affairs, built the Webequie Day School, a teachers' residence and a small Agency cabin for visiting DIAND employees. Henceforth, the children followed the normal school cycle, starting in September and ending in June. White teachers were brought from the south, (as they are today), spending the school year in the community and then

leaving immediately after school was finished in the spring. Lodging for teachers was (and still is) provided by DIAND, complete with running water and indoor plumbing as many teachers would not tolerate the stay without at least some of the conveniences they enjoyed down south. The DIAND school generator provided basic electrical needs and propane gas was used for cooking.

By the mid 1960s, post war aid programmes to natives had created an increasing dependence on government support. Indian Affairs in Ottawa was trying to change the dependency relationship which existed for Canada's natives. In Ottawa, government policy makers believed that natives across Canada should have more control (Weaver, 1981). In response to this policy, Webequie residents took action by building the first Band Office in 1966-67. Also that year, the Trappers Co-op Store was established; giving the Bay its first competition in approximately fifteen years. However, the Co-op was a small operation managed by a local person and financed by a Catholic missionary from Lansdowne House. So it was of little threat to the dominance of the Hudson's Bay post which had the financial backing to carry a large variety of commodities, the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR) approval to issue trapping licences and, perhaps most importantly, the ability to grant individuals credit.

After a three year pause, construction resumed, in part, due to an increase in population. In 1969, two more school rooms and another teachers' residence were added.

Further external influences resulted when Confederation College in Thunder Bay began off-campus adult education in Webequie the same year, teaching courses in business skills and English up-grading. The courses ran for three months, usually in the winter from January to March.

Motion pictures were introduced in 1972 by a Catholic missionary from Lansdowne House. Initially they were shown on an irregular basis, but later, in a more organized way by local volunteers who ordered the pictures from a movie club. Electrical power to operate the projector was supplied by the DIAND generator in Webequie. Yet, at that point so little was understood about the technology and the English language that movies would often be viewed out of sequence; showing the last or the middle reel first. However as time passed, movies became so popular that the grade eight class at the day school began showing films to help pay for their annual trip to Toronto each spring.

A year later, new competition for the Bay store came in the form of the Webequie Trading Company. Like the Trappers Co-op, it was a small business financed by a white outsider but operated by a local person. The business began quite successfully, but met an ill fate when the owner died, leaving the untrained manager to handle its affairs. Shortly thereafter the store went into financial decline and eventually closed, (it later reopened in 1975 as a Band Store called KISHEBANAKA).

Further government involvement occurred when DIAND instituted democratic elections in Webequie. Before 1975 all chiefs were elders, becoming chief not by election, rather by the traditional means of age, wisdom and ascribed status. In addition, the chief acted not only as the leader in Webequie, but also as a councillor on the Fort Hope Band. However, in the winter of 1975-76 in accordance with DIAND policy, it was made clear that from that point forth all chiefs and councillors were to be elected. To implement this, an interpreter explained voting procedures in Ojibwa and the first election was held.

Further population increase by 1975 created a need for yet another school room. To solve this problem a recently built staff house, detached from the main school, was quickly turned into a classroom and called "the portable". To accommodate the displaced staff members, a third residence was built.

The next year a local employment assistance project grant (LEAP) was made available for the clearing of land to build an airport. Although many rejected the idea, land clearing for the airport went forward. When a meeting was held, government officials told community members that an airport would improve not only the amount and quality of food, but it would also lower the price as well. Land clearing and airport construction introduced other government agencies such as the Department of Transportation (DOT)

and the Ontario Hydro. This, in turn, set the stage for still other Anglo-Canadian inroads.

External influences to this point had always been tempered by the fact that they were usually followed by an adjustment period. However, the years between 1978 and 1981 can only be described as an unrestrained, intense, time of modernization for the people of Webequie. Government financing and private industry came together to provide new services and the construction of numerous facilities. In 1979, Bell Canada began installing a satellite receiver and switching station for telephone service; again a development resisted by many residents. At the airport site, massive buildings were erected as garages for the large trucks and equipment now used. Ontario Hydro constructed a building to house two generators that would supply the entire community with electricity for the first time.

The Department of National Health and Welfare (DNHAW) planned to build another nursing station on the top of the hill near the access road to the new airport (See accompanying map, page 32). However, when the new log structure was built, local carpenters did not realize that the plans, which were supplied by the Department of National Health and Welfare, called for dry "seasoned" logs. Instead of seasoned wood, they used freshly cut logs. The result was disastrous. The building was sound until the logs began to dry and twist causing large gaps in the walls. The new

log station soon became uninhabitable as the winds blew through the gaps. As one visiting doctor reportedly said, "...The cracks in the walls of this building are so wide that when the wind blows, it parts your hair down the middle of your head" (fieldnotes, 1982).

With the airport nearing completion, more construction was being contemplated for 1980-81. The Department of National Health and Welfare planned to relocate its full time nursing station from Lansdowne House to Webequie. This plan would concentrate the facilities in Webequie, forcing them to build another larger station. Therefore, a third station was built near the second by outside contractors who used factory manufactured materials. The DIAND started to construct a fourth teachers' residence along with a small laundry house. The laundry facility was added to remedy problems of over-load on the original sewage system caused by the new teachers' quarters. And finally, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to build a larger store.

When construction finally began a diverse group of outsiders arrived, contracted by numerous government agencies to construct various facilities. Carpenters, electricians, plumbers, heating technicians, well drillers, communications people, and hydro linesmen converged on the village. In a number of instances when the construction workers went, they left lasting impressions on community members. In one particular case, two electricians were

expelled from the community because of their immoral conduct with local girls.

More problems occurred when a small company was contracted by the Department of National Health and Welfare to drill a well for the third nursing station. Following its completion and while the equipment was still in Webequie, the company was contracted to "sink" six more wells; one for the Day School, four for the Community, and one for the Hudson's Bay store. What originally started as a one month job turned into a ten month stint for the well driller. Environmental conditions made work extremely difficult and during his extended stay the young man underwent what northerner's commonly call "cabin fever". He was finally removed from the community and the last well was sunk by another company member.

Also in 1981, the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) instituted a new programme, whereby a village member would be trained as a special constable. Prior to this, disputes were, for the most part, handled internally by community members. An incident in which a local man was killed by a Department of Transportation truck on the airport access road may have precipitated such a programme as there was strong community reaction. Regardless of its impetus, the programme aimed at fostering better rapport between the OPP and the community, while at the same time creating full time employment for one person.

By the end of 1981, in a span of just three years, most of the proposed construction was completed. The airport was finished, the fourth teachers' residence was built, the new Hudson's Bay store was in operation, the community was supplied with both hydro and telephone service and the new nursing station was open to care for community members who were sick.

The new nursing station has, to date, had a large effect on the community. Many residents find it difficult to adjust to the new health care technology, to the two full time white nurses, and to the battery of doctors, dentists, optometrists and psychiatrists who make routine visits as frequently as once a month and all at least biannually. Most of the physicians are from Toronto. For their stint in the north, they are headquartered at the Sioux Lookout Zone Hospital and shuttled to remote nursing stations usually for two or three day stays.

Environmental officials also make routine visits to check sanitation and the local drinking water. Community drinking water contamination stems primarily from spring run-off. Ground water from around the many latrines seeps into the river where most people draw their drinking water, resulting in influenza and other viral diseases. Also, the lack of indoor plumbing and clean water among village households creates such year-round health problems as "lice" and "scabies". As a result, the resident nurses are kept

busy treating patients, especially infants. If the ailment is too serious the patient is transported by air medical evacuation ("MediVac") service to the Sioux Lookout Hospital immediately, day or night.

Although people receive modern medical care at the nursing station, many still prefer the traditional medicine man. For his part, he claims that nurses practicing modern medicine can not treat sick people properly because they treat everyone with the same medication. In his words: "If five sick people went to the nurse with a headache, she would probably give them all the same "stuff". But if they came to me, I would give them different medicine because they are all individuals and can not be treated the same way" (Fieldnotes, 1982:293). Some people are undecided, trying modern medicine and then following it up with a trip to see the medicine man. Whatever medical beliefs community members may hold, the resident nurses are not awarded the same social prestige as the medicine man. This may stem from the fact that the nurses are white outsiders and they have neither family ties nor much in the way of community involvement beyond their work.

Parallel to modernization by direct external influences, internal growth spurred by external grants has taken place; but the results have varied. For example, in an attempt to stimulate local business external funding was obtained by the band office in 1975-76 to build a new Band Office building,

and adjacent to it, a bakery. The bakery failed because there was a lack of capital by the entrepreneur to purchase equipment (i.e., ovens) needed to get the bakery operating. Later that year, a coffee shop opened (also funded by a grant) which has, to date, been successful. A saw mill, owned by the Band, was restarted with the hopes of producing lumber for building houses in the community. This is an "on-again off-again" project, depending upon the availability of grant money. And finally, in 1979 money was made available through the recreation fund held by the Band to purchase a small radio station from Wawata Communications Society.

Summary

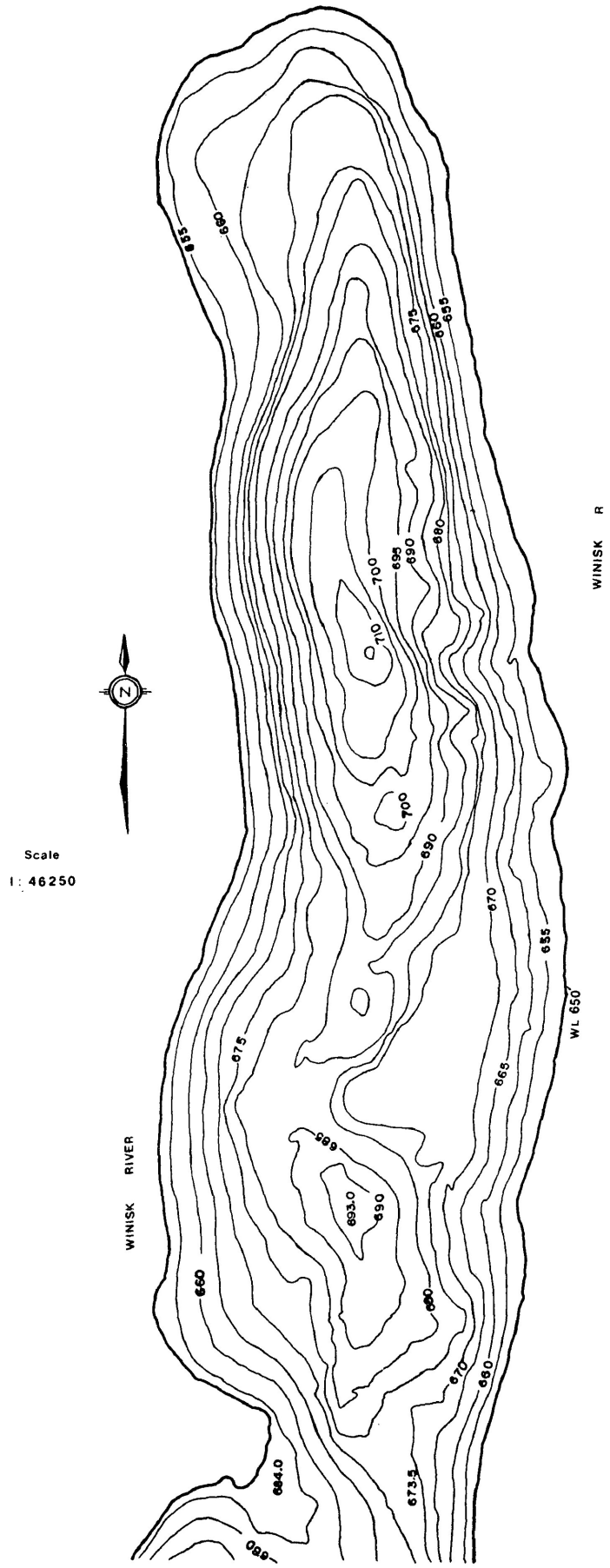
Clearly, the above discussion demonstrates that as remote as the community may be it has gradually become dependent on external institutions. More external control in both the government and the private sectors resulted in modernization and an increase in facilities such as telephone, hydro and better transportation services. Government agencies such as the Department of Transportation, the Department of National Health and Welfare, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Ontario Provincial Police, the Ontario Hydro, and the Ministry of Natural Resources have influenced nearly every facet of community life be it political, economical, or social.

DIAND has, with increasing degrees, controlled both political and economic activities, largely through band

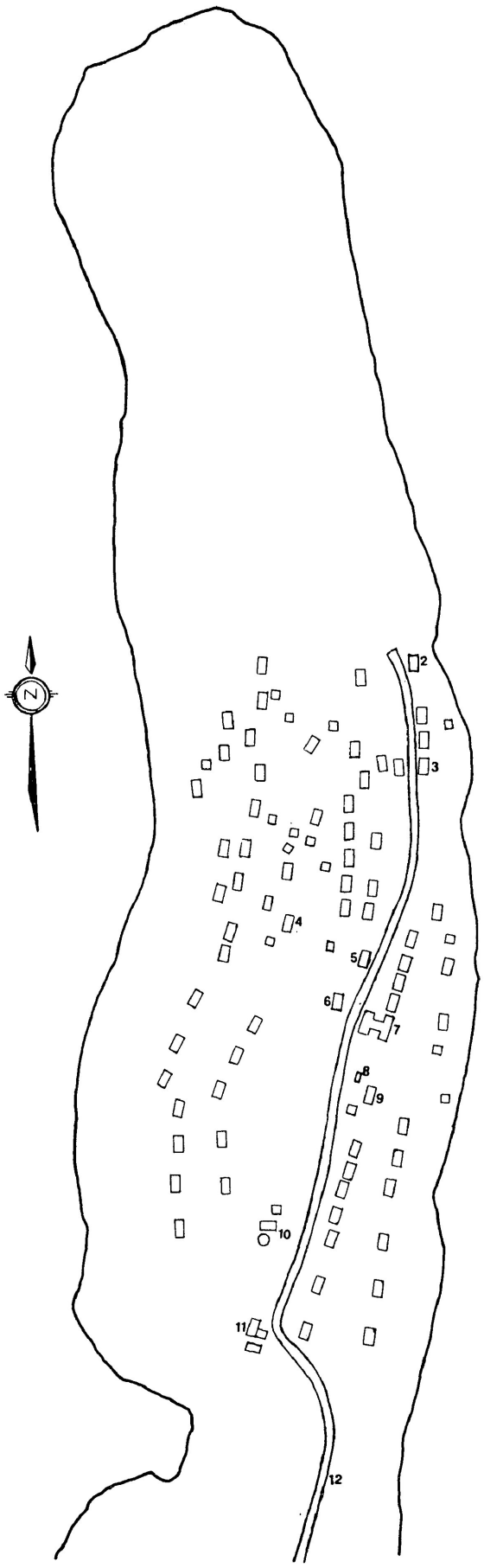
office officials. The OPP have penetrated and now arbitrate over events which at one time would have been handled in a traditional fashion. The MNR enforces trapping quotas and is responsible for a large part of their yearly wage income. And finally, DNHAW has imposed environmental regulations on the building of latrines and drinking water contamination.

The private sector has also had a major influence on the community. The Hudson's Bay Company has for a number of years, worked hand-in-hand with the government to distribute aid and issue trapping licences. It more than any other private enterprise has enhanced the native appetites for Anglo-Canadian commodities, while at the same time acting as a fur trader. Similarly, trapping in general is tied to, and ultimately controlled by, world demand for fur. More recently, Bell Canada has introduced telephone service which further links them to the external world. And other private contractors from the south have come and gone leaving their personal mark on local memories.

Nevertheless, what is important here is the type of external pressure and extent to which Webequie has been able, due largely to their relative isolation, to stave off the overwhelming influences of Anglo-Canadian culture. It must also be noted here that the community has been able, thus far, to control and partly adjust to external pressures. This in some way makes them unlike their southern Ojibwa counterparts who have been overwhelmed by Anglo-Canadian cultural contact.



Map of Webequie's Relief



LEGEND

1. Grave Site
2. Hudson's Bay Store
3. Kishebanka Store
4. Church (Anglican)
5. Andrew's Coffee Shop
6. Satellite Classroom
7. Webequie Day School
8. Webequie Radio Station
9. Webequie Band Office
10. Bell Canada Office
11. Nursing Station
12. Road to Webequie Saw Mill and Airport

Scale
1: 46250

Map of Buildings Found In Webequie

Chapter Three

A Review: Salient Works Which Led To Emerson's Paradigm

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Introduction

Emerson's exchange paradigm has undergone relatively little testing except in controlled experimental conditions. Yet, proponents (Emerson 1964; 1976, Stolte and Emerson 1977; Cook 1975) of the strategy believe that it can be applied in all circumstances--"controlled" or "real life". One significance of the Webequie case study is that it will help to substantiate the assertion that this approach may be used beyond controlled experimental settings.

In chapter one, it was briefly stated that the formation of exchange theory stems largely from social anthropologists such as Sir James Frazer (1919), Branislaw Malinowski (1922), Marcel Mauss (1954) and Claude Levi-Strauss (1949). However given the limits of the present focus, this literature review will only consider those theorists whose work is paramount in modern social exchange theory and which Emerson considered fundamental in formulating his paradigm. As he states:

> During the last fifteen years there has emerged in Sociology and Social Psychology a distinct approach called social exchange theory. For figures were largely responsible: George Homans, John Thibaut, Harold Kelley, and Péter Blau, (Emerson 1976:335).

Contemporary exchange theory evolved from a variety of theoretical perspectives, including "utilitarian economics", "structural anthropology" and "behavioural psychology". Each provided principles which enabled theorists to formulate certain presuppositions about the nature of human interaction. Current exchange theorists are influenced primarily by either the "behavioural psychological" camp or the "utilitarian economic". Yet, as Chadwick-Jones (1976:2) maintains, "They all declare a central interest in the interdependence of relationships between persons and in the actual process of social behavior."

In this chapter, then, the author will examine the behavioural psychological work of J. Thibaut and H. Kelley, the "exchange behaviourism" of G.C. Homans and the "exchange structuralism" of P.M. Blau. Special attention is given to their overall strategy and to the controversies of tautology, reductionism and the micro-macro debate. This accomplished, an explanation will be given as to how Emerson's paradigm differs from that of the last mentioned scholars.

J. Thibaut and H. Kelley

Thibaut and Kelley's (1959) de facto exchange approach to small group interaction is derived from scholars such as McDougall (1908), Ross (1908), Dashiell (1935) and Sears (1951). Thibaut and Kelley began by undertaking an extensive examination of dyad relations and their consequences. This

is accomplished, they maintain, with "...a matrix formed by taking account of all the behaviors the two individuals might enact together" (Thibaut and Kelley 1959:10). In each matrix cell, parts of an outcome in dyadic interactions are "summarized". The consequences are then measured by two principles, "reward" and "cost", which they define as "...the pleasure, satisfactions and gratifications the person enjoys..." and the "...factors that operate to inhibit or deter the performance of a sequence of behavior..." (Thibaut and Kelley 1959:12).

From this, it is reasoned that in a voluntary exchange significant social behaviours will only be repeated if they are reinforced in some way. In each encounter these rewards (or costs) are reinforced by a "behavior sequence or set" and it is this "set" which becomes the unit of analysis. Thus "behaviour sequences" in interactions help determine whether or not a relationship will continue. If it persists, the transactions between two people can still only be partly predictable from the matrix, since most behaviour, particularly in new exchanges, are viewed as exploratory. Hence "new relationships" can be aborted if, on subsequent transactions, they do not meet acceptable standards set by one or both of the parties involved. Although such "standards" are empirically determined by the actors, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) detailed the criteria by which one may evaluate "rewarding experiences".

To do this, they introduce two closely related concepts, "comparison level" and "comparison level for alternatives". The first concept assesses the relationship per se, determining if it is beneficial or not. The second concept determines at what point rewards are no longer valuable and alternative sources are considered. By evaluating an exchange in this manner, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) not only add to the understanding of dyad relations at an empirical level, but they also detail a theoretical means of determining whether an individual is in a position of power or dependence. They assume that each person has some power and that relations are "interdependent". Yet in this exchange, "interdependency" may have varying degrees, ranging from near total power, to almost complete dependence, which leads them to construct three "broad exchange types" (Thibaut and Kelley 1959:101). The first type is identified as a "trading relationship" in which each party is reciprocally rewarded, (Chadwick-Jones 1976).

The second type of exchange identified is "fate control relations". This occurs when a more powerful party exercises dominance and control over a weaker party, increasing or decreasing the weaker's gratifications. The third exchange type is labelled "behavior control relations". "This differs from 'fate control' in that the weaker actor's outcomes vary not as a function of either the stronger's behaviour choices or of his own, but rather as a function of the interaction

between them" (Thibaut and Kelley 1959:103-104). By detailing these "exchange types", Thibaut and Kelley (1959) sought to explain and predict behaviour outcomes in dyad relations. Once this had been examined, they turned their attention to the function of norms, roles, and tasks found in an exchange, describing their influence on voluntary and non-voluntary dyad relations.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) insist that principles found in dyad relations can be applied to larger group formations. This will expand the matrix to explain and predict various other behaviour concepts, such as interdependence and power relations in larger groups. To make the transition from dyad to larger groups, triad relations are analyzed. One triad exchange is the formation of coalitions (later adopted by Emerson). In this transaction, two members join to influence a third party. Influence may be exerted by any one of the concepts developed earlier in dyad relations. Other concepts such as status, formation of group norms and group goals are also analyzed, but all with respect to the matrix outcomes and principles found in dyad relationships.

Thus, Thibaut and Kelley's (1959) approach can be seen chiefly as the way in which two or more actors become interdependent when obtaining desired outcomes. By employing principles such as cost, reward, alternative, power, dependence, norms and roles they were able to summarize and analyze in matrix form the outcome of

different encounters. Once these concepts were developed, Thibaut and Kelley turned their attention to applying such principles to larger groups, expanding the matrix and increasing the analysis of group behaviour.

G.C. Homans

G.C. Homans' strategy, although dealing exclusively with dyads, differs greatly from Thibaut and Kelley's. Simply stated, Homans' (1961; 1974) approach involves the construction of five basic propositions of human behaviour upon which he builds further corollaries to various social exchanges. Homans then applies these principles to differing social situations, maintaining that "...[in] an example of true social exchange....The persons concerned tend to repeat a mutually rewarding exchange and in so doing tend to add new types of exchange to the original one" (Homans 1974:68). Originally conceived by Thibaut and Kelley (1959), Homans later adopted the principle as a basis for his concept of elementary social organizations. As more interactions take place a complex web of relations is established, forming a group. The resulting increase in complexity creates a multitude of transactions, exchange power differentials, and ultimately greater social interaction. Since different members of the group may have varying images of what "value" and "reward" mean "generalized rewards" (i.e., money) are needed. Once these "general

rewards" are used, more efficient dealing can occur as more ambiguous rewards such as "power" and "esteem" are no longer required, or are of diminished significance. Through interaction and "generalized rewards" a routine method of exchange is established, ultimately saving both time and energy, (Homans 1961; 1974).

Over time individuals institute certain norms and positions which are enforced to aid in greater organization and more effective dealings--the emergence of bureaucracy. However in this process, "elementary social behaviour" first used to form social groups does not vanish. Instead, it persists "...if only because the norms that define institutions and the orders given in instituted organization can never prescribe human behavior to the last detail, even if they were obeyed to the letter, which they are not" (Homans 1974:367). This primary behaviour, "...then, is not driven out by institutionalization but survives along side it, acquiring from it new reasons for existence" (Homans 1974: 367). The "new reasons" may have either positive or negative results. If they support the institution they are considered positive. But if they run counter to the institution they may be considered negative. As stated earlier, formal institutions can not provide and prescribe all human behaviour. Thus, when "elementary social behaviour" is neglected by formal institutions, needs arise which other individuals or groups furnish. A dialectic is produced in

which social response opposes established norms thereby initiating change and, consequently, bring about conflict resolution, (Homans 1961; 1974).

Thus, Homans' approach can be viewed as a set of steps. Once social organization has evolved to a particular point and "elementary social behaviour" is neglected, social mechanisms emerge which bring about change, inevitably causing further evolution of social forms (Chadwick-Jones 1976).

P.M. Blau

P.M. Blau (1964), like Homans, believed in this general concept of social order. But unlike G.C. Homans or J. Thibaut and H. Kelley, Blau believed his structural exchange analysis would illuminate human behaviour more clearly. In Blau's view:

> The purpose of the intensive analysis of interpersonal relations...is to derive...a better understanding of complex structures of associations among men....It is this fundamental concern with the analysis of simpler processes for clarifying complex structures that distinguishes the approach here from that of other students of interpersonal processes, notably George C. Homans and John Thibaut and Harold H. Kelley... (Blau 1964:2).

Like Homans and Thibaut and Kelley, Blau begins his analysis with concepts borrowed from psychology. He asserts that "...psychological dispositions give rise to the more complex social processes that govern structures of interconnected social association..." (Blau 1964:20). From this

basis, he undertakes an analysis of power, social reward, reciprocity and imbalances. But unlike Homans', Blau's structural exchange analysis does not map out, explicitly, the different exchange principles employed. Thus from the outset, the reader is left to unravel these propositions, unaided, from the rest of the text.

Basically, Blau's "prolegomenon" concentrates on the importance of specific types of reinforcers used, types of power and control found in social forms, and the influence norms, values and socialization have on exchange relations--particularly at more complex levels of social organization. By addressing these issues, Blau seeks to make clear what was left obscure in Homans' work, (Blau 1964).

Blau, like Homans, viewed social patterns as a set of evolutionary stages, but in far greater detail. At each juncture, there may be a multitude of transactions each containing plays for power, reward, integration among actors or resistance between them. Each actor is, therefore, subjected to a number of stresses and strains at any given stage as social forms evolve. Yet through all these exchanges, specific norms and values, defined by the social network, influence the type of rewards received, the type of goals desired and the type of action considered legitimate. Once this has been established, Blau turns his attention to the type of norms and values that would enhance or impede transactions found in more complex social units.

Blau insists that the elementary processes outlined above (competition, integration, reciprocity and resistance) at the micro level are also found at the macro level; thereby giving social behaviour some uniformity, (Blau 1964). However, he also realizes that there are large gaps in this analysis when moving from elementary exchanges to more complex ones. As Blau points out:

> All investigation of complex structures ignoring all problems except those directly pertaining to legitimating values is just as inadequate and one-sided as an investigation of social associations that ignores exchange processes and power relations (Blau 1964:254).

Taking this into account, Blau continues his study of norms and values in more complex social structures by concentrating on "organized collectives", which are "...associations of people with distinctive social organizations, which may range from small informal friendship cliques to a large bureaucratized formal organization" (Blau 1964:285). These "organized collectives" are subject to power differentials which cause discontent, change and eventually a redefining of established norms.

It is in this manner that the reader gains some indication of how both individuals and groups (and complex organizations) display behaviours which bring about wanted rewards. Furthermore, Blau provides the reader with answers to issues that were left vague in Homans' work. By concentrating on norms and values, Blau is able to supply a detailed description of "how" and "why" social structures

exist, persist and change (Blau 1964) in elementary and complex levels, as well as from micro to macro structures. However, like Homans, and Thibaut and Kelley, Blau's formulation has not gone without intellectual criticism in terms of tautology, reductionism and the micro-macro issue.

Much criticism (Deutsch 1964, Deutsch and Krauss 1965, Doreian and Stockman 1969, Liska 1969, Abrahamsson 1970 and Chadwick-Jones 1976) has been levelled against Homans, Blau and to a lesser extent Thibaut and Kelley. Chadwick-Jones (1976) maintains that tautology becomes manifest "...when 'explanation' takes the form that the strengthening of behavior is <u>said</u> to be the result of reinforcement <u>irrespective</u> of whether the latter can be identified or isolated....The explanation in this case is circular: behavior is strengthened by the operation of reinforcement and reinforcers is what strengthens behavior" (Chadwick-Jones 1976:14). Based on this definition, many of Homans' axioms are, in fact, tautological. For example his use of "value" which is defined simply as "the degree of reinforcement or punishment" (Homans, 1961:40) and his definition of "reward" which is reinforcement that has value (i.e., money) have a circularity of meaning. In other words, it may be argued that "value" and "reward" are defined by each other; thereby making them tautological. Similarly, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) suffer the same problem when they assert that satisfactory relationships occur because of "selective"

transactions. In other words, only rewarding exchanges are continued while unrewarding ones are terminated. Chadwick-Jones (1976:49) points out that this is tautological since "...they [Thibaut and Kelley] conclude that satisfactory interactions are those followed by rewards, which are defined as 'the pleasures, satisfactions...' (p. 12) of a person." Blau (1964) makes little attempt to eliminate the problem of tautology in his work as well. His reply to charges of tautology are twofold.

Initially, Blau (1964:6) argues that tautology can be averted in his work by restricting the definition of exchange to "...actions that are contingent on rewarding reactions from others and that cease when these expected reactions are not forthcoming". However, Anthony Heath (1968) points out that this definition does not allow for measuring the "quantities" of reinforcement in all transactions. In other words, in an intangible exchange, it would be impossible to measure the behaviour of one actor independently of reinforcement given from another. And if Blau's definition is correct, then one must also assume that all intangible transactions are, by definition, not considered real exchanges and therefore should not be analyzed. It would seem Blau's answer merely "explains away" some of the conceptual difficulties without addressing the real question of tautology.

Blau's other response to this criticism centres around more empirical matters. Tautology, Blau asserts, is inherent in all human behaviour, making both tautology and behaviour inextricably bound together. Therefore, any examination of social situations would be extremely problematic. He believes, with "human behaviour" concepts such as "value" and "reward" are, in fact, "different sides of the same coin" and therefore can not be separated. As Blau suggests: "...the significance of social "commodities" [intrinsic rewards] exchanged is never perfectly independent of the interpersonal relation between the exchange partners" (Blau 1964:89). If this is correct, then they should be treated as one unit of analysis--something Blau (1964) fails to do; but as will be seen below, something on which Richard Emerson concentrates.

A second major weakness found with Blau, Homans and to a lesser degree with Thibaut and Kelley's work focuses on their inability to deal with the micro-macro issue. This theoretical problem of trying to discern what structures and processes found at the macro level can also be examined at the micro level, and vice versa, by employing the same sociological axioms has been on-going for a number of years. Parsons (1951) made an attempt to deal with this problem through his use of institutions and individuals or groups in society. However, criticisms on the stagnant nature of his theoretical propositions from conflict theorists, such

as Ralf Dahrendorf (1958), has shown that his attempt, for the most part, has failed.

Homans' (1961; 1974) theory of exchange focuses primarily on the dyad and small group interaction. While the analysis is comprehensive at this level, as one moves to a more macro level it becomes clear that he must make a number of "theoretical assumptions" for his strategy to work. Consequently, Homans takes as "given" issues, such as the transformation from primary to secondary reinforcers, which are most important when making the micro-macro switch.

In contrast, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) are more systematic than Homans. Nevertheless, some problems do exist with the "matrix of outcomes" as one moves from dyadic to larger group exchanges. Problems arise not with accuracy, but rather with the number and complexity of matrix cells needed to explain larger group behaviour. Thus, for any one complex group, the researcher may have to interpret hundreds of matrix cells, making the analysis cumbersome and difficult to follow.

On this issue, Blau seems to take a more cautious approach, claiming that he never set out to delineate major macro exchange axioms. In his words:

> ...the aim in this book is not to develop a full theory of complex social structures but merely to indicate the connections between such a theory and the social processes... (Blau 1964: 254).

In this way, Blau has more or less skirted aroung the problematic micro-macro debate.

On the philosophical issue of "reductionism", Thibaut and Kelley (1959) have received few negative remarks. However Homans, and to a lesser extent Blau, have undergone numerous criticisms concerning this problem. Reductionism as defined by Nagel (1961) "...is effected when the experimental laws of the secondary science (and if it has an adequate theory, its theory as well) are shown to be the logical consequence of the theoretical assumptions (inclusive of the coordinating definitions) of the primary science" (Nagel, 1961:352). By this definition, the psychological basis of Homans' behavioural exchange theory has drawn much criticism and concern from researchers such as Blain (1971), Razak (1966) and Needham (1962). Yet Homans insists that "The institutions, organizations and societies that sociologists study can always be analyzed, without residue, into the behavior of individual men. They must therefore be explained by propositions about the behavior of individual men" (Homans 1964:229). However, scholars such as Chadwick-Jones (1976) point out that if Homans' belief is correct; then, it would logically follow that individual behaviour may again be reduced to biological behaviour and inevitably to biochemical laws. This reductio ad adsurdum is as problematic in mathematics (Sagan 1980), as it is in the natural sciences, (Nagel 1961). From this wider

philosophical issue, Blain (1971) argues that Homans makes much the same reductionist error as others have in mathematics or the natural sciences when he implies that the operant behaviour of individuals form basic laws and that by understanding these basic operant laws more complex social systems can be explained.

Blau, although assuming the same basic psychological premises as Homans, has undergone less criticism, (except for Chadwick-Jones 1976), regarding reductionism. This may be due, in part, to Blau's diverse theoretical perspectives. Those people who criticised Homans for reductionism, found Blau's theory to be a detailed analysis of exchange using functionalism, conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, and economics. Yet even by integrating the many theoretical approaches, Blau has been unable to rid the exchange perspective of all the problematic issues discussed above. Richard Emerson has been more successful in dealing with these issues. It seems appropriate therefore, before elaborating his paradigm in the next chapter, to discuss the manner in which he resolves the plaguing problems of tautology, reductionism and the micro-macro debate.

R.M. Emerson

Emerson (1962; 1972) has accomplished this task by altering the focus of analysis. As he states:

> Much of the controversy about...tautology and reductionism is easily resolved. It only requires that we adopt explicitly the social exchange relations as the basic unit of analysis....It is my contention that the above confusion concerning the issue...springs directly from a failure to honor the integrity of the social relation as a unit of analysis... (Emerson 1976:345).

This "explict" adoption of exchange as a unit of analysis was offered by Blau (1964) but was never used by him. Emerson has capitalized on this notion, maintaining the individual actors should not be the focus of investigation, rather analysis should centre on the relationship that two or more actors form. The individual characteristics are incidental here because the focus is now on the relationship between parties who exchange resources--be they tangible or intangible. As Emerson asserts:

> Attention is focused upon characteristics of the relationship as such, with little or no regard for particular features of the persons or groups engaged in such relations. Personal traits, skills, or possessions (such as wealth) which might be relevant to power in one relation are infinitely variable across the set of possible relations...(Emerson 1962:32).

Once this has been established, researchers can turn to examining the rewards received, or foregone in a transaction; thereby determining stability or instability in each exchange encounter, (Emerson 1972). Since the

relationship is now the focus of attention, researchers can concentrate on particular types of exchanges, hopefully creating a stronger overall approach.

It must be stressed again that individual actors and their values are not a concern. Rather of concern are the elements in the social milieu which may alter, in some way, rewards given in a particular transaction.

While both Blau and Homans sought to explain "why" a person entered into an exchange, Emerson's approach maintains that "why" is not critical, (Chadwick-Jones 1976). The actor has entered into a transaction and must, to some degree, exchange rewards. Thus, Emerson's use of balance, imbalance, power and dependence seeks to establish how social exchanges--not individuals--vary across a multitude of encounters, (Emerson 1962; 1972). It is in this way that culture becomes less of a factor in this study of social change as individuals and their cultural background are no longer the focus of analysis, rather the focus now centres on examining the exchange act. Hence, the problems as cited by Marsh (1967) of intra-cultural analysis are less of an issue.

Emerson contends that reductionist criticism are also obviated in this scheme, since operant principles provide only a sound base being too general for critical sociological examination. Therefore to gain a sociological analysis, one must build on the general psychological foundations and

formulate more accurate sociological constructs. As Emerson points out:

> ...as propositions become more general, they tell us less and less about more and more. Principles of gravitation tell us something about falling apples and something (the same thing) about moons which don't 'fall'. But they tell us very little about apples per se. Similarly, operant principles tell us something about men,...,all men....But as they stand, they tell us very little about organized society among men because they are so general (Emerson 1970:382).

Thus, Emerson insists that much of what is covered in his paradigm is sociological in nature and can not be explained by operant psychological principles. Although such principles do provide a basis for his approach, they are enhanced as the paradigm unfolds with sociological explanations and concepts. In this way, Emerson avoids the reductionist charges such as those levelled against Homans and Blau.

Emerson, unlike Blau, Homans and Thibaut and Kelley, has completely resolved the micro-macro problem in his paradigm. This was accomplished by shifting the analysis from actors to forms of exchange, which as outlined earlier, also obviated the issue of tautology. With the relationship as the unit of analysis, micro level interactions between individuals and small groups are examined the same way as macro exchanges are between cities, countries, and nations. Thus, Emerson (1962; 1972) contends that whether one is investigating small groups or nation states, analysis

can be conducted with an equal degree of accuracy using the same criterion. Having briefly discussed these theoretical problems, the next chapter will outline Emerson's strategy.

Summary

Emerson's paradigm has, to date, undergone very little testing beyond controlled experimental conditions. However, this study examines Emerson's approach using a "real life situation". The strategy evolved from a background of research which included psychology, exchange behaviourism and exchange structuralism by such scholars as J. Thibaut and H. Kelley, G.C. Homans, and P.M. Blau.

Thibaut and Kelley's analysis of small group interaction leads them to examine various types of encounters between two people, representing the outcomes in matrix form. Central to this approach are concepts such as cost, reward, alternatives, dependence, norms and roles. Once an extensive investigation of dyad relations is complete, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) apply principles developed in those exchanges to larger group formations expanding the matrix of behaviour outcomes still further.

Homans concentrates on a behavioural exchange borrowing heavily from operant psychology. He believed that social organizations pass through a system, evolve into more complex structures, and develop abstract reinforcers. At some point, elementary behaviour, which still exists in complex social

systems, is neglected causing discontent. Once this occurs social mechanisms emerge which bring about change, inevitably causing further evolution of social forms.

Blau, like Homans, agreed with a psychological foundation. But, unlike Homans, Blau's structural exchange analysis maintained that human behaviour was far more complex and therefore must be examined in greater detail. By concentrating on norms and values, Blau was able to supply a detailed investigation of "how" and "why" social structures exist, persist, and, in fact, change in elementary and complex levels as well as from micro to macro forms. However rigorous their work, Homans and Blau and to a lesser degree Thibaut and Kelley were unable to escape severe criticisms concerning tautology, reductionism and the micro-macro issue.

Emerson (1962; 1972) suggested an alternative strategy which, to this point, has undergone relatively few criticisms. His approach shifts the focus of analysis from examining individual actors to forms of exchange between actors. No longer is the researcher concerned with "how" or "why" the individuals or groups enter into an exchange; the fact remains that they have and the relationship should be analyzed. This shift in focus alleviates the plaguing problems of tautology and the micro-macro issue.

In Emerson's general approach, operant psychological principles form the basis, which has drawn criticisms of

reductionism. However, Emerson argues that since operant concepts only form the basis and nothing more, the major exponents of his paradigm are not totally reducable to psychological principles. From this psychological foundation, he further establishes an analysis of exchange relations detailed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Emerson's Social Exchange Network

Introduction

While the previous chapter outlined the background of Emerson's scheme, this discussion will fully detail his overall approach. However, it must be pointed out that not all of the paradigm's features are given equal consideration. Rather, the author has chosen (due to its extreme complexity) to elaborate on only those principles which apply directly to the case of social change in Webequie. With this in mind, the following account of Emerson's paradigm will be divided into: (1) the exchange relations, (2) the exchange and power-dependence, (3) the balancing operations, and (4) the exchange networks.

Exchange Relations

An "exchange relation" may be conceived as an interactive relation between two parties (persons or organized groups) based upon reciprocal reinforcement", (Stolte and Emerson 1977:119). It is not necessary that each transaction in a "voluntary" relationship be reciprocally rewarded, but one party's resources must be "valued" and "rewarded" by another party occasionally or intermittently (Emerson 1972). Transactions can occur with no reward,

but if there are repeated encounters without reinforcement the transactions will eventually stop. In Emerson's view "...exchange relations are by definition reciprocal and if this reciprocity is broken the relation will extinguish over time", (Emerson 1976:388-389).

Relations, then, that are limited in both time and scope are not worth analyzing, (Emerson 1972). An exchange relation must contain a past, a present, and an "implied future" (Emerson 1972:46). Such relations among people in Webequie, as elsewhere, arise out of constant, long term association between community members. Residents, because of their geographic isolation, usually interact with each other from childhood until death.

On a larger scale, exchange relations take place between Webequie and the outside world, as long term interaction is recorded in both the public and private sectors, (Driben and Trudeau 1983). Long term transactions have also occurred between Webequie and Wawata. They have what can be described as a long term relationship as the community has interacted with Wawata in an official and informal way since 1974.

Exchange and Power-Dependence

Power and dependence are central to the overall understanding of this paradigm. Once a social exchange has taken place (either by individuals or groups) power and

dependence emerge. This occurs by the formation of a "mutual dependence". According to Emerson, this "...is produced when one party "A" depends upon another party "B" for reinforcement or gratification. This reciprocal dependence causes one party to influence the other's behavior so that

..each party is in a position, to some degree, to grant or deny, facilitate or hinder, the other's gratification" (Emerson 1962:32). Dependence, then, may be conceived as a "basic exchange relation" with reinforcements contingent upon certain behaviours; and where the level of dependence is governed by the strength of rewards, the behaviours elicited and all alternative reinforcements either party may receive, (Emerson 1972:50).

From this definition, Emerson (1962; 1972) submits that one party's dependence on another is, in fact, the other's "power base". He further asserts that the power (and "potential power" or the level of "potential cost") that one person can induce over another is viewed as the stronger actor's ability to obtain the weaker's resources (either tangible or intangible) regardless of efforts made by the weaker to resist. Therefore the power of the first party over the second party is equal to the dependence the second has upon the first. Essentially, power of one actor over another rests in controlling things which are considered "valuable" to one or both parties. Hence, it is theoretically possible that dependence in one area may give rise to

power in other areas. With this in mind, the next logical step, according to Emerson (1972:64), is to examine under what conditions an actor may use power and what factors may limit its use.

Power, Emerson observed, is used when one's resources (i.e., knowledge or money) allows access to another's resources. Once this occurs, it may be exercised to either control or exploit the valued commodities, giving the stronger party a "power advantage". Continued use of power (exploitation or control of one's valuables by another) creates an imbalanced situation in the overall exchange process, (Emerson 1972:65).

However, power is limited when it is vested in a particular role (Emerson 1962:38). This is so, because the individual's power is bound to that role, which is in turn "legitimately" supported by others. Emerson believes "...the notion of legitimacy is important, for authority is more than balanced power; it is directed power which can be employed (legitimately) only in channels defined by the norms of the group" (Emerson 1962:38). In Webequie, power and dependence are found on a multitude of levels; two of which will be briefly discussed below.

Power and dependence is found between young, formally educated individuals and older less formally schooled persons. Each maintains power in Webequie, but the older less formally educated individuals because of ascribed status

and presumed wisdom hold a power-advantage over the younger formally trained members. It can be stated, then, that between some community members there exists "mutual dependence and reciprocal, but unequal power".

On a larger scale, power and dependence is also evident between Webequie and the outside world. The relationship between the village and, for example, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) may be seen as one of "unequal dependence and unopposed power". The government relies, to a degree, on Webequie for co-operation and approval in land use plans or treaties. Hence, the community's power rests in the people's enshrined legal rights and native status, while Webequie's dependence on the government for social and economic aid is sizable. This strong reliance gives the government a substantial "power advantage" over Webequie.

Power and dependence also takes place between Webequie and Wawata. This can be described as dependence and reciprocally equal power. Wawata is dependent on Webequie for support and feedback in its various projects, while, Webequie is dependent on Wawata for special services such as the high frequency trail radios or assistance with communications problems.

Emerson (1972) asserts that power-dependence relations may be based on tangible objects (i.e., money) characterized in this study by certain (but not all) relations between

Webequie and the outside world; or they may be rooted in more intangible matters such as attitudes, values and cultural norms found in the community. Whatever the basis, "power" and "dependence" are not always overt in an exchange relation and in many cases are only manifest when one party makes unreasonable demands which encounter resistance from other parties, (Emerson 1972:64).

When a "power advantage" is employed, one or a number of balancing operations are used to correct the imbalanced situation since an imbalance state will always, according to Emerson (1972:66), move toward balance and stability. However, he further cautions the reader by suggesting that this "...does not mean that imbalance does not occur or cannot survive. It does mean that imbalance stems from events outside the situation and its 'survival' is a problem to be explained when it occurs" (Emerson 1972:67).

Balancing Operations

As stated above, varying degrees of power and dependence are found in all relations. In Emerson's view this produces an imbalance in the system, causing "tensions" and general "discontent". When this occurs the members involved may seek to correct this condition through one or a number of the balancing operations. This alters the relationship, decreasing the stronger party's control (the one with a "power advantage") over the weaker more dependent member,

thereby creating a more balanced situation. This movement from imbalance to balance may occur by:

Operation 1. A decrease in interest on the part of the weaker party (withdrawal),

Operation 2. An increase in the "availability" of goals for the weaker member by extending his network of relations, (Network Extension).

Operation 3. An increase in interest of the stronger member (Status giving from A to B); and

Operation 4. A decrease in the "available" alternatives open to the stronger party (Coalition Formation by the Weaker) (Emerson 1972:67-68).

It must be emphasized that although four balancing operations are outlined and discussed here, it is unlikely all four will occur in a given circumstance. Rather, it should be made clear that "...which one (or what combination) of the four will take place must rest upon analysis of conditions involved in the concrete case at hand" (Emerson 1962:35). In this study, to obtain television and bring about social change balancing operation four was used. Therefore, the author will deal with the other three only insofar as needed for the reader to gain an accurate understanding.

In the first balancing operation the demands that one party places on another dependent party are substantial. Using its "power advantage" the stronger member often frustrates and controls the weaker. To alter this imbalance

situation, the weaker actor may resort to "withdrawal" severing all ties and transactions with the stronger.

The second balancing operation does not separate the members involved, rather it increases their exchange network by forming new allies and expanding the power base. This move may occur in two ways: (1) by adding new members to the relations; or (2) by closing the relationship off. Emerson (1962; 1972) claims that the second move creates a more lasting stability than the adding of new relations, since in the second there are less people which cause less imbalance.

Balancing operation number three is based on "status recognition". This is given by the weaker member to the stronger in an effort to secure greater control over the more superior member through increasing his motivational investment in the exchange relation, (Emerson 1962; 1972). This may be accomplished by such things as "monetary rewards" or ego-gratification--the latter is more commonly used because it is cheaper and easier to give, (Emerson 1962:39).

The final balancing operation is termed "coalition formation" and it is one found on the issue of television in Webequie. This differs from balancing operation two; in that, in an imbalanced situation the increase in exchange relations (a collective party) creates a balance, but will leave the participants unchanged. While, in contrast, the emergence of a coalition (balancing operation four)

integrates two or more exchanges into one unit, which then acts as one voice, (Emerson 1972:68).

Emerson asserts that a coalition is found in all organized groups. Hence, organized groups are formed by coalitions, perhaps to obtain certain goals. To illustrate, consider two Webequie residents who enter into an exchange with a third to obtain a certain commodity. Each member has a common goal (i.e., television service) and each is willing to form a coalition to act as one stronger unit. Once this group has formed, each member may not act individually with regard to the specific goal, rather they can only act on the group's behalf with the group's permission. It may happen that a status hierarchy will evolve in which a stronger (less dependent member) will be selected, by the group, as their leader. When this occurs, all other interactions the group leader may have, not pertaining to the common interest of the group, are outside the social system under investigation. Yet, to fully understand the balancing operations and how they apply to social change and the conditions found in Webequie, an examination of "exchange networks" is needed.

The Exchange Network

As mentioned earlier, Emerson's approach of analyzing exchange relations rather than focusing on individual actors has provided a solution to the long standing problem of

tautology and the micro-macro issue. This shift allowed it freedom to examine individuals and small groups as well as larger more complex social units. With the emphasis on exchange relations rather than the individual, concentration can now focus on developing "universalistic standards" among both single actors and groups, (Emerson 1972).

One of the ways Emerson sought to develop such a scheme was through the use of exchange networks. Although his analysis has not been fully developed yet (Emerson 1972:71), a number of processes can be detailed.

The exchange network, according to Emerson (1972:70),

> ...is a set of three or more actors each of whom provides opportunities for transactions with at least one other actor in the set. Thus, a network can be considered an 'opportunity structure' for each actor in the network".

Each particular network is very complex and may have unique characteristics, but they are all subject to the same balances, imbalances, dependencies, and power advantages as stated earlier.

Emerson (1972) begins by developing principles that underlie the basic thrust of this process. He reasoned that exchanges may be "connected" to create "identifiable network structures". Each structure may contain actors who exchange similar or different resources. For example, in this study of social change, actors with interest in television exchanged similar resources (positive views about television). Each actor trades views with the other, but the resource

(positive views) is always the same. While, for example, in another type of network structure, members with different commodities (i.e., village labour and capital) may develop a network. In it, each party exchanges different resources that are needed or desired by the members involved. Thus by tracing various network connections, different exchange "network forms" can be identified. Emerson (1972) has singled out a number of network forms: (1) the unilateral monopoly, (2) the division of labour, (3) the social circle, and (4) the stratified network.

Unilateral Monopoly

In this network form one party contains valuable resources which a number of other actors need or desire; thereby giving one member a "power advantage". A hypothetical example might be a bank in a small village like Webequie. The bank services many members and controls a resource (money) valued by all. It therefore has a "power advantage" and a unilateral monopoly.

Emerson (1972) reasoned that this structure is, by his definition, imbalanced and is subject to change. As competition increases between members for rewards (i.e., as various actors want to borrow more money from the bank) cost of obtaining the resource will increase. To balance such a relationship individuals may try to find other sources of rewards (i.e., they may look for other banks to deal with).

If other sources are not found exploitation by the advantaged party may occur. Members may try to survive without rewards from the advantaged party, employing "balancing operation one" (withdrawal from the exchange); or if other conditions occur other balancing processes may be used.

Division of Labour

The formation of a "division of labour" can result from balancing an imbalanced exchange relation such as a unilateral monopoly. In a division of labour, each party involved has different needed or desired resources to exchange. In other words, each party specializes in a particular resource or product; thereby establishing a certain independence. So, the party with a "power advantage" must depend, to some degree, on other members for their specialized resource. This lessens the advantaged party's power, yet it must be emphasized that the structure remains monopolistic.

Social Circles

While the "division of labour" dealt with "cross-category" exchanges (transactions between members with different resources), social circles focuses on "intra-category" encounters, (exchanges between parties with similar resources).

In this structure, Emerson (1972) believes that as similar resources are exchanged, relations between actors

may be strengthened, forming a "closed network" of transactions. Interaction may occur between two individuals with similar but valued resources (i.e., money) in a closed network which is also balanced. If a third member joins the pair, one of the individuals will gain a "power advantage", much like the unilateral monopoly discussed earlier. However, unlike the unilateral monopoly, this is an "intra-category" relationship with similar resources. Yet, just as the unilateral monopoly was imbalanced, so is this structure. Balance can be obtained by allowing a fourth member to join, forming an exchange with the others. This move balances the network and reinforcement between all actors helps close the structure. Hence a "closed network", according to Emerson (1972), may be one in which a balance is formed and boundaries are established by its members.

Stratified Network

This form is the most complex of the networks discussed to this point and it is the one found in Webequie. It is similar to the "social circle" in that it contains "intra-category" transactions, but different because it also consists of "cross-category" relations. Such a network may be based on shared attitudes, values, common interests, age, or similar resources. Members in a stratified network gain gratification or reinforcement from other members in that particular system, forming affiliations between actors.

These "affiliations" make up a group or "category". In a stratified network this "...is a set of actors classified together on the basis of similar resources and values held in common" (Emerson 1972:85). Residents in Webequie were, on the issue of television stratified in this way. Their opinions or "values held in common" were separated into two categories: those for television and those against it. Villagers were also stratified on the basis of "similar resources". Supporters who were "actively" involved in obtaining television generally valued change, had some formal education and played a vital role in dealing with government. In contrast, non-supporters who were "actively" involved in preventing television for the most part, valued tradition, had little formal training but maintained great influence in community decision making matters.

Since intra-category transactions are based on common interests and similar resources, they may have "overlapping" membership with other networks. It is possible, and indeed probable, that any one person may be a member in a number of different networks, depending on what their interests or attitudes are on a given issue. For example, many residents who desire television and want social change, may also like the radio. They may become members of a radio committee; thereby involving themselves not only with television, but also in other networks.

This general analysis can be refined still further. According to Emerson (1972) stratification in a particular

group (intra-category) is the result of an unequal distribution of resources (i.e., education, money, or even skill), making it the independent variable. In Webequie, supporters were stratified on the basis of education and personal interest in obtaining television. Those people who had more education played a key role in dealing with the outside world and generally had an active desire to obtain television. Non-supporters, although holding different interests, were structured the same. Advocates with ascribed power or presumed wisdom, for the most part, were actively interested in preventing television.

Emerson (1972) further reasons that those people with greater resources (in intra-category transactions) tended to interact with members with less resources only if problems existed in the upper echelons. While members with less resources initiated exchanges, the transactions that would actually occur were decided on by members with greater resources. This is expressed as "...unequal in inter-class exchange and equal in intra-class exchange, which is another way of saying that some status aspiration...characterize Stage I" (Emerson 1972:84).

When interaction is less problematic among those in the upper strata, (in intra-category exchange) boundaries become more rigid and fewer transactions between members with differing amounts of resources takes place. Thus, Emerson concludes "...it is clear that resource distribution and

acquisition is the independent variable governing stratification and passage from Stage 1 to Stage 2 or vice versa" (Emerson 1972:84).

In addition to intra-category exchanges and the resulting stratification, Emerson (1972) asserts that society, with its many categories, is linked together to form a more complex network of exchanges through cross-category interaction, which occur between parties with different resources. Emerson reasoned that resource acquisition and distribution (the independent variable in intra-category encounters) would also be found in cross-category transactions. Such exchanges may occur on a multitude of levels between a number of different networks.

In the community, cross-category transactions took place between "active non-supporters" and "active supporters". However, non-supporters maintained a power advantage over advocates since non-supporters were represented by those people with ascribed status and presumed wisdom. This created discontent amongst advocates and produced an imbalance situation. To alter the power advantage, supporters coalesced with an outside group, Wawata Communications Society, in order to increase their chances of reaching their intended goal--television service.

Theoretical Difficulties

To this point, few criticisms have been levelled against Emerson's overall paradigm. One reason may stem from the fact that the paradigm is limited to examining the "nature of a relationship". Hence, characteristics such as actor's values, ideologies, and their place in the social structure as such are not of major concern. However, scholars such as Baldus (1976) argue that by examining power as Emerson has; that is, from an "interactionist" perspective rather than from a "structuralist" perspective, "...basic structures of domination in the system may be entirely ignored" (Baldus 1976:183). The result, Baldus argues, is "all interests seem alike". He continues:

> They differ only with respect to their intensity and their organizational characteristics. Judged by their manifest conflicts of interest alone, contemporary capitalist societies appear accordingly as 'fractured into a congeries of hundreds of small special interest groups, with incompletely overlapping membership, widely different power bases, and a multitude of techniques of exercising influence on decisions salient to them...' Such a view effectively precludes any search for underlying forms of structure domination (Baldus 1976: 183).

Baldus claims this inability to gain a complete understanding of power in a social situation is problematic to all investigations using an "interactionist" approach.

Ironically, researchers committed to an "interactionist" scheme claim that a structural analysis of power is inadequate for much the same reason. In an article on "power", Wrong (1968) points out that:

> ...if we treat power relations as exclusively hierarchical and unilateral, we overlook an entire class of relations between persons or groups in which the control of one person or group over the other with reference to a particular scope is balanced by the control of the other in a different scope (Wrong 1960:674).

Therefore studies by researchers such as Gerth and Mills (1953), Merton (1957), Frank (1967) and Poulantzes (1976) are somewhat misleading since they "overlook an entire class of relations".

Clearly, then, the different concepts of power held by the structuralists and the interactionists are far from being resolved, yet attempts have been made. Recognizing this problem, Stolte and Emerson (1977) sought to rectify it by undertaking an experimental examination of "position and power in exchange network structures", using graph theory to aid them. However, the outcome remains largely inconclusive as "more refined analysis" is needed.

The concept of power becomes even more nebulous when one considers the elements of socialization and internalization of norms or values. Scholars such as Piaget (1962), Maccoby (1968) and Scott (1977) maintain that the way a person is socialized may determine how they perceive, conceive and use power, yet much of this research is inconclusive as well.

Overall, such uncertainties are not thought to be a problem in this study since the purpose here is not to understand socialization or the internalization of norms which may govern power in Ojibwa culture. Rather the objective is

to identify power when it is overtly used in an exchange relationship. Other more "meta-theoretical" disputes, on-going between "structuralists" and "interactionists", are somewhat beyond our focus since they are only resolvable at an abstract level and will not limit analysis in this study. Nevertheless, such difficulties are pointed out to inform the reader that this paradigm is not without theoretical shortcomings.

Summary

In the preceding discussion, it was stated that Emerson views exchange relations as encounters between two or more individuals in which each is reciprocally rewarded in some way. The transaction must be repeated having a past, a present and an implied future before it is worthy of investigation.

Power-dependence emerges from these transactions, giving each member or group different abilities. In many cases, Emerson observed that a "power advantage" of one over the other would cause discontent and to correct this situation of imbalance certain balancing operations are used. The balancing operations, ((1) withdrawal, (2) network extension, (3) status giving from one to another; and (4) coalition formation), alter the power advantage and correct the imbalanced situation. An examination of exchange networks and the situation in Webequie provides the reader with a better understanding of the balancing process.

An exchange network is, according to Emerson, considered an "opportunity structure" where two or more parties can engage in transactions. Each, although unique, is subject to the same balances, imbalances, power advantages, and dependencies found in all relationships.

Emerson (1972) has singled out a number of network forms: (1) the unilateral monopoly, (2) the division of labour, (3) the social circle; and (4) the stratified network. The unilateral monopoly is identified by the fact that one party holds a "power advantage" over all others. This power is gained by acquiring or maintaining needed or desired resources. One example may be a bank in a small community which controls a needed commodity (money).

The division of labour may result from balancing an imbalanced state such as a unilateral monopoly. In a division of labour each member holds needed or desired resources, which give them a certain power or independence. Although the structure is still monopolistic, it is more balanced because the members are less secure.

The social circle, unlike the division of labour, deals with intra-category transactions. The structure is identified by the fact that similar resources are exchanged, which serve to strengthen ties between the parties involved. By strengthening ties, boundaries are established and access to an exchange circle is limited.

The "stratified network", which is found in Webequie, is based on shared values, attitudes, common interests, age

or even similar resources. Since exchanges are based on "common interests" and "similar resources", affiliations may be established between actors. These "affiliations" make up groups or categories. According to Emerson (1972), these categories may be stratified (intra-category) based on the unequal distribution of resources.

At this level, two stages can be distinguished. One involves a type of "status" aspiration within a hierarchy of classes and the other maintains that this class difference produces a decrease in interaction between those with different resources or needs--even though they may all believe in a common goal. This allows Emerson to suggest that there are unequal relations between "inter-class" and equal relations in intra-class exchanges. In addition, Emerson asserts that society is linked together by cross-category transactions. In these cross-category exchanges resource acquisition and distribution, found in intra-category encounters, will also exist in these exchanges. Such transactions may occur in a multitude of levels, between a number of different networks.

Applied to the issue of television in Webequie not only do power-dependence relations exist, but stratified networks are also found on different levels. At the community level, non-supporters and supporters can be found, which again can be subdivided into active and less active, forming a hierarchy. At another level, stratified networks may be

seen between supporters in the village and external groups such as the CRTC. In this study, the analysis centres on all of these groups regarding the issue of television services. General theoretical difficulties with the concept of power are also outlined. The debate over whether power should be examined as "social structural" or "interactive" is far from settled.

Finally, problems with cross-cultural socialization and internalization of norms which govern power, are not thought to be an issue since it is not our intent to provide insight into such elements in Ojibwa culture. Hence, this author believes that such difficulties, as outlined, will not limit the study in any way.

Chapter Five

Procedure: The Method of Participant Observation In Webequie

Introduction

The method employed in this case study of social change was participant observation augmented by unstructured interviews with villagers. The community is presented here under its real name, but the actors involved have been given pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity. Although the specific names chosen here are not found in Webequie, Biblical names similar to the ones in this thesis are commonly used in the community, a practice which probably reflects the continued dominance of the church.

Since Webequie is an Ojibwa village, this chapter will begin by examining the issue of cross-cultural fieldwork. Then, it will discuss the choice of participant observation as a methodology, outlining relevant aspects such as the nature of observation, whether passive or active and the issue of gaining acceptance in the community.

Cross-Cultural Fieldwork

The difficulties of cross-cultural fieldwork have been detailed by Beattie (1966), Marsh (1967) and others. Some of the problems they cite were encountered by the author and will be dealt with here.

John Beattie (1966:87) states that "...no foreign [researcher] can ever be wholly assimilated to another culture; he can never quite become one with and indistinguishable from the people he is studying." Yet the fieldworker must gain a degree of acceptance in order to study his subjects. It was my experience in Webequie, while of course I was never fully assimilated into the community, to enjoy what seemed to be a degree of acceptance. By visiting the local coffee shop each morning, I gradually gained acceptance into a group of regulars there. Yet, my acceptance with them was always with the recognition that I was still a "white outsider". This was made clear to me one day (week six), while having coffee. On this occasion, I saw the nurse and a man walking down the road and I asked: "Who is the new 'whiteman'?" My question was met with not a little surprise and it was made quite clear that since I too was a 'whiteman' I should know who the other white people were in Webequie. As it turned out, he was the optometrist who was there to check the school children's eyes. Realizing that I said something "not right", I made a mental note to inquire about this incident and continued with the conversation. Wishing to discover my error, I later recounted the situation to another native friend, a resident married to a whitewoman who was one of the day school teachers. He explained that although the term "whiteman" was commonly used by natives speaking Ojibwa to describe white outsiders, it

was considered "odd" for a white person to refer to other caucasians as simply "whiteman". This event was a clear indication to me that despite my acceptance I was still viewed as an outsider.

Nevertheless, Beattie maintains that the "outsider status" should not be considered entirely a disadvantage, since often residents will talk "more freely" with someone not related to others in the village. Thus the fieldworker is able to cover all social classes or groups in the community to obtain the needed information, (Beattie 1966:87). In Webequie there were no clearly defined social classes, but social groups do exist. At the outset, I concentrated on interviewing members I thought were important figures; that is, the band staff, the councillors, the chief, the nurse, the day school staff, the manager of the Hudson's Bay Store and the local lay minister. However, it became increasingly evident that some of those people, such as band staff members, whom one might expect to be influential, were not.

According to Beattie (1966:88), in cross-cultural settings it is important for the researcher to be "...adaptable, tactful, good-humoured, and possessed of a sense of proportion. Above all, he is patient and considerate." At times I found this ideal was difficult to maintain, particularly when questions I asked were not eliciting information concerning the television issue. In Webequie, I discovered

that interviews in the conventional sense (Hyman 1954), more often than not, yielded little information. Cultural differences in the way Ojibwa individuals are socialized made it difficult for them to reply right away, (specifically, it is not customary to respond quickly to direct questions, (Batchewana Educational Workshop, April 1982)). Even in casual participant situations, I soon learned that answers would probably not be immediately forthcoming. If I asked a question and a reply was not instantaneous, it did not mean that the respondent was avoiding the question, nor was he being rude. It merely reflected the cultural differences which existed in the way natives respond. Often I would ask a question and no immediate response would be given. Then, two or three days later the person would approach me and say, "Remember the other day you asked me..." and he would proceed to give a reply.

Marsh (1967) and Beattie (1966:89) assert that "...language has assumed...importance in fieldwork for different peoples have different ways of conceptualizing their social and physical universe and concepts can only be...communicated through language." Although English was rarely heard outside of the classroom most residents could speak and understand it to some degree. Upon arrival, I was furnished with the name of an interpreter (employed by Statistics Canada during census taking in Webequie) to assist me, but I did not use his services. At first, I relied on

the Ojibwa I knew from two years of study. This provided me with an understanding of the language structure and basic conversational skills. Also it seemed to display to village members that I was interested in Ojibwa culture. As I became more familiar with the surroundings and people, I would inquire how much English this person or that one knew before going to talk to them. Those residents who spoke no English (mainly elders) I did not interview until I was well enough acquainted to ask assistance from a friend who could interpret for me. If I was at all unclear about what was translated, I would give my understanding of it back to the interpreter in English and ask if it was correct. If my comprehension of the matter was correct and I still doubted the information, I would cross-examine the interpreter based on other knowledge I had gained on the subject. If the translator became confused or stopped talking, I would merely note it to check later and go on with the interview. Despite some difficulties, the researcher believes that in the end accurate accounts of situations were gained.

Participant Observation

Participant observation as a method of study is undertaken when "...the fieldworker observes and also participates in the sense that he has durable social relations in S.[1]

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[1] "S" as used by Zelditch stands for social systems under investigation.

He may or may not play an active part in events, or he may interview participants in events which may be considered part of the process of observation", (Zelditch 1969:9). Many scholars (Vidich 1955, Schwartz and Schwartz 1955, Gold 1958) believe that participant observation can be divided into two categories: "the passive observer" and "the active observer". In the passive role, used primarily in controlled laboratory experiments, the examiner remains "detached" from the situation under study. This position of "relative anonymity" allows the researcher to record the events as they unfold without affecting the situation in any way, (Schwartz and Schwartz 1955).

In contrast, the active observer "...maximizes his participation with the observed in order to gather data and attempt to integrate his role with other roles in the social situation" (Schwartz and Schwartz 1955:349). Most of my data were obtained through the role of "active observer", carried out in casual settings such as Aaron's Coffee Shop, or while hunting, trapping, fishing and ski-dooing. Notes were kept in a daily journal throughout the fieldwork period. At no point did I record information while the subject was talking since it was enough just to follow the conversation. However after each encounter, I would record what had been stated so that, most often, before fifteen or twenty minutes had elapsed the event was committed to paper. As Strauss (1964) points out, the longer the time period between the

event happening and noting it on paper, the greater the chance of error.

However, like the "passive observer", the active role is not without certain drawbacks. By actively participating the person may "go native" (Vidich 1955:357), becoming emotionally involved with his subjects. The fieldworker may allow personal bias, "ethnocentrism", to distort his perception of the situation or he may affect the study area to the extent of contamination, rendering the data unreliable. Much depends on role-relations the researcher has while in the field. In other words, how the subjects perceive the field-worker and conversely how he regards the subjects is critical to the success of a study. Such criticisms are at the root of much skepticism directed towards the method of participant observation, (Stavianos 1950; De Laguna 1957, McCall 1969). Although a novice at fieldwork, I was cognizant of the issues surrounding objectivity and remained cautious when becoming acquainted with the subjects under study.

The gaining of acceptance is a critical factor in most social fieldwork situations, but it is even more important when using the method of participant observation. This is so because the researcher must rely to a great degree on the people he is investigating, (Gold 1958, Beattie 1966, McCall 1969). Janes (1961), in his study of a small American town, points out that several stages of acceptance exist which one passes through when entering a field situation for the first

time. There are five phases and each reflects residents' perceptions of the researcher. Thus, information gained at each juncture enables the fieldworker to identify what stage he is at.

The "newcomer phase" is a short period marked by a general acknowledgement of the researcher's existence in the community. This ends when he begins to interact with the residents. On my first fieldwork period (May 4 - July 1, 1982) and on my second trip (November 6 - December 15, 1982) this time was brief. Since, on both occasions I attended a meeting and addressed the village over the community radio a few hours after arriving.

The "provisional phase", according to Janes (1961), is a time when residents question you on your research intentions. In the present case, I was repeatedly asked "What I planned to do" and "About how long did I intend to stay?" Such remarks help residents to form a general impression about my work. As Whyte (1981) suggests, if the researcher is "all right", the project he is working on is, generally, also "all right". On the second stay in November 1982, residents were already familiar with me and my purpose for being there. No questions were asked, instead I was greeted with smiles, hand shakes and such statements as, "so you're back!"

Janes' third phase, termed "categorical acceptance", is an interval in which residents, having "sized up" the

researcher, come to a decision of whether the project is "legitimate" or not. Residents also show a general interest in what the researcher might be uncovering. The fieldworker at this point has little difficulty gaining information, such as descriptions of various village issues, the community's history or the town's different social organizations. Residents will offer the fieldworker various types of information and direct him to different sources of data in an effort to help.

In the case of Webequie, a number of small occurrences indicated that I had reached this juncture. One event, (during week seven) was especially telling of Janes' note regarding "residents showing a general interest in what the fieldworker is discovering". On this occasion, I was en route to interview the medicine man when I met another resident. Although I scarcely knew this man, I greeted him and we began a light conversation about such topics as the weather. He then inquired about what other people had said regarding television and as the conversation progressed, the topic switched to the nursing station. The discussion eventually ended with him explaining public opinion concerning health care in Webequie. At that point, I realized that our discussion had diverted me from my initial intent of visiting the medicine man. However it should be noted that this delay was of little concern, since it was customary to call on a person without prior notice and I had not arranged

to meet him beforehand. Although this is just one example, it clearly demonstrated to me that I was at Janes' third stage.

During the third phase, I became acquainted with a number of people, each holding varied opinions on the issue of television. For example, band office employees were divided on this issue. Some staff members thought that television was good, while others believed that such a service would only cause community discontent. Others I became familiar with, such as elders, band councillors, members of the recreation committee, the film club and the radio board also contributed views concerning the issue of television. Yet my limited time in Webequie, prevented me from achieving a relationship that extended beyond "categorical acceptance" with many of them.

The fourth phase, according to Janes (1961), is one of "personalized acceptance". At this point the fieldworker is accepted as a friend by one or a number of the residents in the community. Members are more willing to tell the researcher the "inside story" and personal views about issues in the village. This juncture is also marked by a general belief that the fieldworker is familiar with past events and present circumstances surrounding an issue. Some time was taken to arrive at this point and limited time permitted me to reach this phase only with certain parties. Therefore, information given was checked as closely as possible with other sources.

On the first trip, I gradually found myself taking part in conversations with those who frequented the coffee shop. (This consisted of men only, women and children would often purchase goods there, but rarely would they stay to partake in discussions). As I gained acceptance, I became aware that since my Ojibwa was at times insufficient more English was used in order to include me in the conversations. If it looked as though I was not able to follow what was discussed in Ojibwa, one of the participants would usually stop and explain. Then they would all add jokingly, "Make sure you put us in your book." Other characteristics of the group became apparent to me. For example, the members were generally young or middle aged. Most of the regulars were unemployed although they all had, at one point, worked for the band in some capacity. Three individuals, including the owner of the coffee shop, were in favour of television, while two were opposed to it. With one exception, all of these men had attended high school in the south, although none had completed their course of study.

Generally, it seemed that those who frequented the coffee shop and other residents assumed I knew as much about what was happening in Webequie as anyone else in the village. One incident, in particular, revealed to me that I had reached Janes' "fourth phase" (that is, they thought I was familiar with "present circumstances"). I was walking from the Hudson's Bay Store to Aaron's Coffee Shop when I was

stopped by one of the coffee shop regulars and asked: "Why is the MNR plane parked at the Bay dock?" I explained that the Bay Manager was discussing fur quotas with a Ministry of Natural Resources employee. Apparently satisfied, no further questions were asked; he seemed to presume that I would know as much about village occurrances as anyone else might.

On my return in November 1982, I found myself easily accepted back into the coffee shop group. In a relatively short period of time (one or two days) I was participating in conversations as though I had never left. During this fieldwork period, one of the coffee shop regulars began telling me about a resident nicknamed "Crazy Harry" who had recently threatened to kill his parents. Although I knew nothing of this man's mental state, it was taken for granted that I did. Later I learned that the man had a long history of mental illness and that his behaviour had caused community members to refer to him in private as "Crazy Harry", (Fieldnotes 1982:391). This event, if one accepts Janes (1961), demonstrated that members not only took for granted that I was "familiar with past events", but they also did not hesitate to tell me an "inside story" about a community member who was rarely talked about in front of strangers. On the second stay, I asked fewer questions and received more information. Things were pointed out to me that I otherwise would have missed. Yet, it must be made clear to the reader that my acceptance at this level was only gained with certain groups and not the entire community.

The final stage, termed "imminent migrant" by Janes (1961), is initiated when residents learn of the researcher's intended "departure date". By this point, no new information is offered, but questions are asked about the investigator's findings. Some people may even indicate their intentions of "keeping in contact" with the researcher after he has left the community, (Janes 1961:449).

This phase, (like the fourth stage) was best demonstrated on my second departure, but again it was only observed with residents that I knew fairly well--mainly those at the coffee shop. Some questions were asked about what I learned, but members seemed primarily interested in whether I wanted to return. It was as if they determined how well I liked Webequie, by whether or not I wanted to come back. Some asked for my address and suggested that they would contact me when in Thunder Bay, but generally little was said about my departure. What follows, then, is the outcome and conclusions of this investigation.

Summary

The method used in this case study was participant observation augmented by unstructured interviews while the researcher was in the field. Biblical pseudonyms were given to the actors involved, but the community is represented here under its actual name.

Difficulties of cross-cultural fieldwork, detailed by

Marsh (1967) and Beattie (1966) were discussed. The "outsider" status, according to Beattie (1966), has both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, this status may seem negative because the researcher must first be accepted by the group under study. If he can not gain at least a degree of acceptance, he will not be able to conduct his research. On the other hand, if accepted the "outsider" status may be positive, since people will talk more "freely" to someone not related to others in the village.

The issue of language was also examined. Beattie (1966) asserted that language was important to the fieldworker because different cultures conceptualize their "social" and "physical" situation differently and this can only be expressed through language.

According to scholars such as Schwartz and Schwartz (1955), Vidich (1955) and Gold (1958) participant observation can be divided into two categories: the passive observer and the active observer. The passive role is used mainly in controlled experimental conditions where the examiner remains detached from the situation.

In the active role, (used in this study) the fieldworker participates directly with the subjects. Yet, this role is not without drawbacks. For example, the active observer may "go native", becoming emotionally involved with his subjects. The fieldworker may allow personal bias "ethnocentrism" to distort his perception or he may have poor field relations

with the subjects under study; thereby impeding or contaminating the fieldwork.

According to Janes (1961), the gaining of acceptance by a researcher in a field situation contains five phases. The first stage is labelled the "newcomer phase". It is a short period marked by the community's general acknowledgement of the researcher's existence in the village.

The second stage is termed the "provisional phase". This is a period when residents ask questions and generally "check the fieldworker out". Janes' third stage is listed as "categorical acceptance". Having "sized up" the fieldworker and having come to a decision as to whether the project is "legitimate" or not, the residents may then volunteer information and direct the researcher to different sources of data.

However, in the fourth phase called "personalized acceptance" various residents may become friends with the researcher, offering him the "inside story" on community issues and giving him personal views of village problems.

The final phase is known as "imminent migrant". At this point no new information is offered. Questions may be asked about the investigator's findings and some people may indicate their wish to "keep in contact" with the fieldworker after his departure.

Chapter Six

Community Debate Over Television: A Discussion And Analysis In Terms of Emerson's Paradigm

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Introduction

Although a brief examination of Webequie's situation was undertaken in chapters one and four, this discussion will analyze the information, in detail, using Emerson's exchange paradigm. By examining the data in this way, the reader will understand more fully the process of community change in northern Ojibwa settlements. The chapter is divided into four parts: (1) the exchange relations, (2) exchange and power-dependence, (3) the exchange networks; and (4) the balancing process.

Exchange Relations

According to Emerson (1972:46) an exchange relation may be any interaction between two parties (individuals or groups) where one or both of the parties involved are reciprocally rewarded in some way. Transactions in a volunteer relationship can occur without reward, but when repeated without reward they will eventually stop. Relations such as this, and any other short term interaction not having a "past", a "present" or an "implied future", are not worth analyzing in Emerson's view. Each encounter, to be of interest must give feedback which helps regulate successive

transactions, providing a "continuity" to the members involved, (Emerson 1972:46). Exchange relations among people in Webequie, as elsewhere, arises out of constant, long term association between comunity members. Residents interact closely with each other from childhood until death, with the exception of a short period when interaction is minimized as some of them attend high school "down south". Otherwise, cases of migration from the community are few. Since 1955, residents estimated that only about a dozen people left. The majority of cases were women who had married men from other villages. The other cases are men who haved moved "down south" with the intention of staying, but finding the life style radically different and jobs hard to get, they returned to the familiar surroundings of the settlement.

At this fundamental level, exchange may also be seen on a larger scale between Webequie and the outside world, as long term interaction is recorded in both the public and private sectors, (Driben and Trudeau 1983). Transactions between the community and DIAND occurred repeatedly over the last thirty-five years and more recently the village has interacted with other government agencies, such as Department of National Health And Welfare and Canadian Employment And Immigration. Exchanges arise over such things as social assistance, treaties, constitutional issues or educational matters.

Similarly, Webequie and Wawata have what could be defined as a long term, reciprocal relationship, in that since 1974 the community has interacted with Wawata in a formal and informal way. Other exchanges between Wawata, T.V. Ontario (TVO) and the Ministry of Northern Affairs (MNA); or MNA and TVO are significant, but they only indirectly affect Webequie. Although it is important to acknowledge they exist, the discussion will concentrate on direct, long term interaction with parties in Webequie, and the relationship they have with groups in the outside world.

Exchange And Power-Dependence

Once an exchange relationship is established a "mutual" dependence forms. Emerson (1962:32) reasoned that this "...is produced when one party...depends upon another party ..for reinforcement..." and once this occurs, one party's dependence is, in fact, the other's "power base". "Power" ("and potential power or level of potential cost") can be used by the stronger to obtain or control the weaker's resources (either tangible or intangible) regardless of efforts made by the weaker party to resist (Emerson 1972).

In the present situation, Webequie has, over time, come to rely on certain residents to obtain government assistance through transfer payments in the form of welfare, unemployment insurance, or family allowance. Village members, in general, acknowledge that assistance is an important part of

the community, but only a few have the needed skill and formal education to deal with the process to obtain it. Although these formally educated individuals are young, their knowledge has given them power in the village. Yet, these members are also dependent on other older members, who have little formal training or desire to deal with government agencies, but have ascribed status and presumed wisdom in social-cultural matters. This intangible dependence is strong and in many ways difficult to describe, since much of the reinforcement is given on a psychological basis. Regardless of how this occurs, Emerson (1972) reasoned that when one's resources (knowledge or wisdom) allows access to another party's resources the stronger party is in a position to control or exploit the situation. In this case, residents with acknowledged wisdom and ascribed status use their resources to control (not exploit) others in the village. This control, by those people with ascribed status, furnishes them with a "power advantage".

The "power advantage", then, originates primarily from the Ojibwa socialization process which teaches children to respect elders as authority figures and to follow their example, (Jenness 1935, Hallowell 1955, Dunning 1959, Rogers 1962). Therefore, it can be stated that between key individuals in Webequie there exists mutual dependence and reciprocal, but unequal power. Despite recent acculturative forces, Granzberg (1980:85) asserts that it is incorrect

...to assume that fundamental changes in external patterns are always accompanied by equally fundamental changes in internal patterns. It is not generally understood that there can be considerable Westernization on the surface and yet considerable traditionalism underneath."

At this general level, power and dependence is also evident between Webequie and the outside world. The relationship between the community and various government agencies such as DIAND may be characterized as one of unequal dependence and unopposed power. The government relies in what seems in practice to be a very small degree on Webequie for cooperation and assistance in approving land use plans or treaties. Consequently, the community's power rests, primarily, in the people's enshrined legal rights and native status.

In contrast, Webequie's dependence on the government for social and economic support through various assistance programmes is sizable (Driben and Trudeau 1983). This strong reliance gives the government a substantial "power advantage" over Webequie. The government's advantaged position serves to control and manipulate the current relationship. In this case, reliance in the economic realm gives rise to control or adherance in the area of communications policy. This was clearly exemplified by the village's decision not to go ahead with plans to buy an illegal satellite receiver when legal action was threatened by the CRTC.

The exchange relations between Wawata and Webequie can be described as one of dependence and, reciprocally, equal power. Wawata is dependent on Webequie for support and feedback on its various projects. Plus, the community's endorsement helps Wawata with needed official clout and a potential market for its products. Thus, Webequie's power rests in its ability to furnish or withdraw needed support and feedback to Wawata's endeavours.

Yet, Webequie is dependent on Wawata for special services such as the high frequency trail radios and assistance in dealing with communications problems or official representation of natives' views. Hence, Wawata's influence in the community stems, in part from its success as a spokesbody of native concerns and in part by furnishing Webequie with communications products which have proven popular and beneficial to the village. One such service is the community radio station which has been both popular with and advantageous to residents.

This is the general overall situation found between various members in the community and the relations Webequie has with groups in the outside world. Yet, to gain a more precise understanding of how such exchanges and power-dependencies among residents relates to the adoption of television service and the accompanying social change we must examine "network exchanges".

Network Exchange

An exchange network, according to Emerson (1972:70) is ...a set of three or more actors each of whom provides opportunities for transactions with at least one other actor in the set...". Although this concept is the least developed in the paradigm, Emerson has sought to show how exchange networks among single actors or groups can be detailed giving them "universalistic" application. Preliminary investigation (Stolte and Emerson 1977) indicates that each network form has unique characteristics, yet they are all subject to the same balances, imbalances, dependencies and power advantages discussed earlier, (see chapter four, page 63).

Circumstances in Webequie demonstrate elements found in a "stratified network". This formation can be based on shared attitudes, values, common interests, age or even similar resources. Members with shared interests (i.e., the desire for television) provide gratification for one another, forming affiliations between actors. These "affiliations" make up a group or "category". In a stratified network this "...is a set of actors classified together on the basis of similar resources and values held in common" (Emerson 1972:85). Study of Webequie residents revealed that, on the issue of television, members were stratified in this way. Their opinions or "values held in common" may be separated into two categories. A number of examples will illustrate the differing opinions held by community members.

On the one hand, some individuals viewed the coming of such a technology in much the same way as they did the coming of hydro electricity or telephone service; that is, with considerable apprehension. A couple of individuals expressed it in this manner:

> We have to pay telephone and hydro bills each month and the band gets nothing for it. The money leaves Webequie and we are left with nothing (Fieldnotes 1982:417).

> I don't know too much about T.V.--it will be up to the chief to decide about it...but it will be hard on all those who must pay hydro, telephone and feed their kids. Financially they will only be worse off than they were before, (Fieldnotes 1982:277).

As these examples indicate, economics played an important role. Some residents argued that given the current economic situation it made little sense to bring in a new and potentially costly innovation such as television. This economic fear stemmed from the fact that Webequie, like many other native communities, depends largely on government aid. Band office records revealed that only 36 of the 235 adults living in Webequie had full-time jobs; nine of which were in the private sector and twenty-seven in the public domain. Other sources of income included temporary wage labour in the spring and traditional pursuits such as trapping and fishing. However, band staff noted that changing world demand for fur often causes prices to fall sharply making trapping expenses (i.e., traps, ski-doos and petrol) too great for a profitable return on investment.

In addition to the concern over cost, others feared adverse social, psychological and physical effects. A selection or replies by various people are given:

> Personally I think it's hard enough to get kids to work today. They don't want to chop wood or do the washing. When T.V. comes we will never be able to get them to work, (Fieldnotes 1982:431).

> I think that the kids will stay at home all the time and watch sports. Everyone will become lazy because they will see sports on television instead of playing it, (Fieldnotes 1982:240).

> When television comes people will talk less, Ojibwa stories and the language will be forgotten and all you will hear is English television programmes and whiteman's teachings, (Fieldnotes 1982:357).

Such cases illustrate personal apprehensions of many village members. Since high unemployment left many residents with "extra time on their hands", recreation and local activities gained considerable importance. Volunteer organizations that arrange events such as hockey, baseball and the films seen nightly were afraid of a drop in participation. This would not only hinder support, but also it would no longer be possible to raise money from such events. Members pointed out that proceeds, especially from movies, are used to help support other events such as the Treaty Day Celebrations which occur each year on or around the day the original Treaty was signed. Others, at the day school, believed it would not be possible to take the grade eight class on what has become an annual trip to Toronto, since much of the money for the trip was raised by the showing of films throughout

the school year. This, combined with the fear many elders had over language and culture loss, served to make many residents hesitant.

On the other hand, some community members stated that television would add greatly to the educational aspects of the village. As one elderly man suggested:

> I would like to see the news and political things. I would like to find out how [sic] other places look like and see other parts of the world. I can do this if we had T.V. (Fieldnotes 1982:37).

Like this man, many residents believed that television would help educate community members of events in the outside world. They felt that transitional adjustments from isolated nothern villages to southern urban centres could be made easier for those who go to high school. Adjustment problems were so sensitive that in 1979, the band office began a government funded programme to help mitigate them. The project concentrated on having an "education councillor" (a person from the community) travel to the different high schools in an attempt to deal with difficulties faced by the many boarding home students from Webequie. The project, to date, has only been partially successful as adjustment to new technologies and the rapid pace of city life is still problematic for many students. Many residents believed the problem would be corrected if children were well acquainted with events in the outside world before leaving the village--a task easily accomplished, they maintained, by television.

Athough economics was a factor some settlement members, still wanting television service, argued that:

> Many people go to the movies every night now, and they take their kids too. Sometimes when I go to the movies and take my kids it costs me $15.00-$20.00. Just think how much money you would save if you didn't go to the movies every night because you had T.V. to watch, (Fieldnotes 1982:44).

Many individuals asserted that television, in addition to educating residents, would also help economically. They pointed out that initially it would be expensive, but eventually it would be cheaper than the current form of entertainment (movies).

A few residents claimed that television would provide recreation for all those children unable to play sports and who were also too young to be a volunteer disc jockey at the local radio station. Others insisted, that those people who said that local sports would disappear because of television were not being realistic. A young hockey player was quick to point out that other communities such as Big Trout Lake had television, but had not suffered these effects. He argued that more local sports would result because people would naturally be inspired by watching the professional athletes in action. In his words:

> I figure there will be more sports when T.V. comes and people watch what is happening. In Big Trout Lake that is what happen. More people started playing hockey after seeing it on T.V. (Fieldnotes 1982:257).

Such opinions formed the basis of two groups; those people who valued and supported television and those individuals who diapproved and rejected it.

As the reader may remember, in this exchange network residents were stratified not only on "values held in common", but also on "similar resources". Therefore, it should be made clear that supporters who were "actively" involved in obtaining television generally valued change, had some high school education and played a vital role in dealing with government funding agencies. In contrast, non-supporters who were "actively" interested in preventing television, for the most part, valued tradition, had little formal schooling, but had great influence due to ascribed status and played an important role in community decision making matters.

Residents who affiliated themselves with one group, often saw all others as being inflexible. For example, supporters tended to label all non-supporters as conservative, unyielding and unsympathetic to the formal educational needs of the young. Some informants who supported the obtaining of television believed that those opposed to it were "all the same", in that they rejected all innovations, be it television, telephones or hydro electricity. In the words of one band staff member speaking about those in the community who were against television service:

> They don't understand what happens down south. So you tell them that the band office is trying to get T.V., then you tell them about the difficulties and how much it will cost. But they don't listen to what it will cost, they only hear "T.V." and then they don't hear anything else. It was the same with the telephone and electricity. The band office approved it, but everyone thought it was free. Then when they found this was not the case, they were mad, but it was too late. Hydro and telephones were here to stay, (Fieldnotes 1982:418).

Non-supporters were inclined to view all advocates as too rash, too careless with their heritage and, most of all, too disrespectful of traditional values. Consequently, it can be stated that Webequie had a stratified network based on the issue of television service. This network was divided into two groups, supporters and non-supporters. Each category held similar resources and common values, but publicly each category was diametrically opposed to the other.

However, public perception is not always accurate, as Granzberg (1980:99) explains, the "...separation of people into those polarities is a distortion of the real situation. Most people are somewhere in between, with fine distinctions between them in how much modernism and traditionalism they feel is advisable." Essentially, Emerson (1972) takes a similar view and suggests that since intra-category transactions are based on common interests and similar resources they may have "overlapping" membership with other networks. It is possible, and indeed probable, that any one person may be a member in a number of different networks,

depending on what their interests or attitudes are on a given issue. In other words, the people who want television may also be interested in other more traditional pursuits, such as trapping or carrying their babies in a cradleboard (ATIKINAGON). While residents who reject television may like other modern conveniences such as ski-doos or disposable diapers. This was demonstrated in a conversation which took place at Aaron's Coffee Shop. In it, one young man described the television issue in his household:

> My father says that T.V. is good to have, but other people about half of this community don't want it....There is no point in getting T.V. because half the people say no....I don't want T.V. because I like playing my stereo better. I guess I am in the half that says no, (Fieldnotes 1982:406).

Each faction's boundaries, then, are at best ill-defined. Only certain supporters were actively involved in obtaining television, while the majority were passive. Similarly, while all non-supporters felt that the community would have been better without television, only a few were actively interested in preventing it. Nevertheless, each group can be interpreted as a "category" since its more "active" members held similar resources and shared interests.

With this in mind, each category (supporters and non-supporters) may be refined further. According to Emerson (1972) stratification in a particular group (intra-category) is the result of an unequal distribution of resource(s), (i.e., education, money, or even skill), making it the

independent variable. In this study, supporters were stratified on the basis of education and personal interest in obtaining television. Those people who had more education played a key role in dealing with government departments and generally had an active desire to obtain television. As stated earlier, their resources gave them power in the community and a higher status amongst supporters. To illustrate, an in-depth examination of this group is necessary.

Throughout the fieldwork, the researcher talked to many residents who wanted television, but knew little about how to obtain it. In these discussions, two individuals, Nathan and Gabriel, were frequently named as "the ones" who would bring in television. They were reportedly knowledgable about the different problems and were considered authorities on the issue. In short, they represented all those who wanted the service. Since education, plus the desire for television were factors of stratification in the category "supporters" and since the service must be obtained from the outside world, it was not surprising that both individuals worked at the band office. As stated earlier, most transactions with the outside world were handled through the band office; thus, such a position gave them access to information on the acquiring of television.

During the time that the researcher interviewed Nathan, he was employed as the education councillor. This job required a degree of formal education and a functional

fluency in English. The job demanded that he travel to various high schools in Thunder Bay, Sault Ste. Marie and Sioux Lookout to deal with adjustment problems Webequie students were having. Gabriel also had some English language skills, was a band councillor and the community representative on the executive board at Wawata Communications Society.

Although the two worked separately on the issue of television, each remained as an active leader. Gabriel's access to the latest Wawata information regarding television and his position as one of the four band councillors gave him a higher rank amongst supporters, while Nathan's formal education, English language skills and travel experience also furnished him (like Gabriel) with a higher rank amongst supporters. Their individual efforts and communication with each other provided needed reinforcement and gratification --which Emerson (1972) termed "intra-category" exchange.

Structurally, non-supporters were substantially the same. However, different resources and interests stratified them on the basis of ascribed power or wisdom and interest in preventing television. In the field, the researcher encountered many residents who did not want television, but it was learned that only a couple were "actively" opposed to it. Since ascribed power and the active desire to prevent television service were factors of stratification in the category, "non-supporters", those people identified as being

actively opposed to television, (David and Noah) believed strongly in traditional Ojibwa values and were conservative in their outlook.

During the period of fieldwork, David was a band councillor. Although only middle aged, his prudence and his kinship ties gave him considerable power amongst his fellow non-supporters. Noah, David's uncle, was an elder in the community with considerable ascribed power and held traditional views. He was one of Webequie's founding fathers and had great social influence. Noah had little direct band office involvement, but exercised considerable power in decision making matters through his nephew David. Together, David and Noah represented all those who did not want television service. Their power, not only gave them a higher rank amongst non-supporters, but it also gave them a "power advantage" over supporters.

Individuals who represent each category's desires were selected by the group, or they appointed themselves as group representative with no opposition. Vocal exchanges between the two groups or categories, most often, focused on these members. Their stated views were backed by others who provided various degrees and types of endorsement, depending on their interest or acceptance of the matter.

Supporters furnish an example of this point. Gabriel and Nathan's acquired knowledge and Wawata affiliation allowed them to speak for supporters. In light of Emerson's

paradigm, they have "legitimate authority" to represent the group. However, Emerson (1972) also asserts that when power is vested in a role such as this, it is also limited by it. This is so because "legitimate" power is bound to the role occupied. In this particular stratified category Gabriel and Nathan had legitimate power to speak for the group on the issue of television, but only on that issue. If the matter had concerned treaty issues, for example, some other person might have been selected as a representative. This is significant since the example underlies Emerson's (1972) belief that personal traits are less important and that power stems primarily from the position in a given relationship.

Emerson (1972) reasoned that once a hierarchy, such as the one above, is created members with greater abilities would interact with each other while actors with lesser resources would be inclined to interact amongst themselves. If problems exist in the upper strata, lesser ranked individuals who desire to interact would initiate exchanges to higher ranked members, but the decision to transact is still made by the actors with the greater ability--this is defined, by Emerson (1972), as "Stage 1". If no difficulties exist in the upper echelon and all members are interacting, boundaries will become more rigid. When this happens, fewer exchanges will occur with members in the lower strata --this is defined, by Emerson (1972), as "Stage 2".

Despite the differing ranks, the data did not indicate that members with more influence (i.e., Gabriel and Nathan) only transacted amongst themselves. Furthermore, there was no evidence to suggest that less active members with less resources had difficulty interacting or initiating transactions with more active, more influential people. In addition, the information did not reveal that exchanges were ultimately decided upon by individuals with greater power. In short, there was no indication of "status aspirations" or the Stage 1 - Stage 2" process. Consequently, in this study it is difficult to determine whether the distribution of resources is "...the independent variable governing.. passage from Stage 1 to Stage 2 or vice versa" (Emerson 1972:84). However, the information does indicate that resource distribution will establish a division amongst individuals.

Having detailed intra-category exchanges and the resulting stratification, Emerson (1972) asserts that society, with its many categories, is linked together to form a more complex network of exchanges through cross-category transactions. Such interactions occur between members with different resources, (i.e., non-supporters and supporters). He reasoned that resource acquisition and distribution (the independent variable in intra-category encounters) would also be found in cross-category transactions. Within Webequie a multitude of networks exist

and operate simultaneously. In order to clearly illustrate cross-category exchanges, just transactions between higher ranked individuals in one stratified network, based on the issue of television service, will be examined. By isolating one network and one rank, the reader will better understand how other more complex exchanges, with numerous cross-category transactions, between numerous ranks, take place.

On the issue of television, Gabriel and Nathan (representing high ranking supporters) interacted with David and Noah (representing high ranking non-supporters) making the exchange "cross-categorical". In this relationship, David and Noah held a "power advantage" since, as the readers may recall, they maintained ascribed status and wisdom which was a strong psychological factor. Yet, their dependence on individuals such as Nathan and Gabriel furnished supporters with a certain amount of power. Interactions between these representatives were, largely, on an informal, one-to-one basis at the band office. Such a process may be a long and, at times, frustrating experience for the less advantaged party. This was clearly evident during a discussion with Nathan at Aaron's Coffee Shop. In it, the author inquired if any progress was made in the attempt to obtain television service. Nathan's reply was illuminating in that it not only revealed his frustration, but also his travel experience and English ability. When asked abour progress he replied:

> I don't know, not much I guess. It is up to the band councillors, they will make the decisions...

Then he added:

> ...but you know, trying to get things done in Webequie is like trying to mate elephants. It doesn't happen very often and when it does, it's a big deal with a lot of talk, (Fieldnotes 1982: 168).

The continuing control by influential non-supporters not only demonstrates that resource distribution is once again the independent variable, but also that continued control creates frustration and imbalance. This situation will, according to Emerson (1972), inevitably move towards balance.

Balancing Process

To alter this imbalanced circumstance, active supporters needed to initiate action which would bring about balance. In Emerson's view this could be accomplished by one, or a combination, of the four balancing operations detailed earlier (see chapter four, page 61).

In light of the evidence, balancing operation four (coalition formation) best explains the process by which Gabriel and Nathan sought to change powerful non-supporters advantaged position and in the end obtain television. As the reader will recall, coalition formation integrates two or more exchanges into one unit, which then acts as one stronger voice, (Emerson 1972:68). To balance the imbalance

situations, action was taken by both Nathan and Gabriel. Such action not only demonstrates relations between high ranking members of one group with high ranking members of the other group in Webequie, but also their relations with outside organizations, fitting them into a larger social network. In other words, by tracing the actions of Gabriel and Nathan, the reader will better see how high ranking supporters are linked by exchanges with others in Webequie and groups in the outside world.

After non-supporters and the CRTC stopped plans to buy an illegal satellite receiver and cable hook-ups, (thereby exercising their power advantage over those in Webequie who wanted the service) Nathan began searching for an alternative way to obtain television. He contacted CRTC personnel in Ottawa for more information. He discovered that legal satellite signals could be obtained from Canadian Satellite Communications Inc. (Cancom) with the proper licences from the Department of Communications. Commission personnel gave Nathan the address of Cancom's area sales manager and he, in turn, sent Nathan a number of application forms, literature on the Cancom system including prices and information on CRTC policy.

At roughly the same time, Gabriel learned that Wawata was in the process of negotiating an agreement with TVO. According to Gabriel, Wawata's purpose for this arrangement was threefold: (1) to improve existing service to Wawata

community radio stations, (2) to provide better native language programming; and (3) to extend their radio service since few native settlements in the Treaty Nine region qualified for CBC feed.

Since its inception in 1974, with a monthly newspaper (Ojibwa, Cree, English) and the high frequency trail radio system, Wawata had expanded considerably. Still, they sought to improve radio communications by linking the small community radio stations with their broadcast centre in Sioux Lookout. Although technologically feasible, the link was too costly for Wawata to have undertaken alone, (Angeconeb 1982). However, with growing support from native communities in the region, they began negotiating an arrangement with the Ministry of Northern Affairs (MNA) and TVO, which extended Wawata's service. This arrangement had MNA grant Wawata money to purchase space on TVO's Anik C Satellite. Initially, the objective of the TVO arrangement was not television per se, but rather to use the satellite system to transmit radio signals from their Sioux Lookout office, linking the community radio stations in a real native broadcasting network.

However, in the spring of 1983 Federal Minister of Communications, Francis Fox, acting on earlier recommendations, announced that money was being made available to native communications societies across Canada over a four year period to improve or produce new radio and television

programmes in the native tongue, (WAWATAY NEWS Apr. 1983). Following the announcement, Wawata made it clear to the settlements it represented that their support would be essential for Wawata to access any of the federal funds available. They urged the individual villages to apply for TVO service, enabling them to receive Wawata broadcasts, thereby increasing and reinforcing their official representation (WAWATAY NEWS Apr. 1983). The additional funding from the government would allow Wawata to provide not only extended radio service, but also a free, culturally relevant native language, television or radio programming. To employ Emerson's terminology, Wawata was trying to coalesce with as many communities as possible in order to increase its bargaining power in the TVO, MNA, Wawata arrangement.

The news of such an agreement caused Nathan to place his application plans to Cancom "on hold". With Wawata's assistance, both Gabriel and Nathan now foresaw that supporter's goal of television service could be realized. Especially since Wawata had the ability to deal with outside groups such as the CRTC and also maintained a favourable influence in Webequie.

Through a series of encounters, Gabriel and Nathan explained to David, Noah and other councillors about the new arrangement. They concentrated on dispelling commonly held fears community members had. They reminded others in the community that part of Wawata's purpose was to voice native

concerns and to do this they needed native support. Furthermore, they stressed that the community radio station which was popular with all, even non-supporters, could be greatly improved if Webequie followed Wawata's suggestions to apply for TVO service. News and other radio programmes would be received in Ojibwa through the Wawata system. Yet, they emphasized that for this to happen, a TVO satellite receiving dish needed to be installed.

In this way, the radio station would receive and rebroadcast Wawata's signals, plus it would also strengthen Wawata's official representation with the government. The other important factor in obtaining the TVO receiving system was that television service would be available to anyone with a television set. In short, Gabriel and Nathan proposed that by following Wawata's plan, Webequie not only would have improved native language radio service, but they would also access the TVO service and provide Wawata with needed support. Above all, Gabriel and Nathan explained that the service would be free, except for the cost of a set. In addition, the system would need no costly cable hook-ups and would be fully licenced by the CRTC. Once while having coffee at Aaron's, the researcher asked Gabriel how he went about convincing others that television was needed. He explained:

> First, you have to tell them about T.V.--me I know about it because of Wawata. You tell them the good points. Then wait until you see some interest--you know--if they want more information or something like that. Then you try to convince

> them, one-to-one--alone. When a band meeting is called, even though there are four councillors you might have the backing from some of them, (Fieldnotes 1982:378).

In light of Emerson's paradigm, balance was achieved by coalition formation, (balancing operation four). Initially, Nathan acted by acquiring more information from the CRTC, while Gabriel established contact with Wawata. Upon finding that Wawata was involved with plans to improve native radio service through the TVO system, supporters (Nathan and Gabriel) decided to strengthen their ties (coalesce) with Wawata. By coalescing, power and dependence was reciprocated. On the one hand, Wawata gained needed official support in their attempts at recently announced federal funds. On the other hand, supporters gained needed influence by being affiliated with Wawata, and the chance to receive better radio service and acquire TVO for free.

The actions of both Nathan and Gabriel indicated that active high ranking members of one category, "supporters", interacted with active high ranking members in another category, "non-supporters", over the issue of television service. However, the resources of ascribed status and wisdom gave the category "non-supporters" a power advantage over supporters. To alter this advantage, and in turn, balance the imbalance, Nathan and Gabriel decided to coalesce with an outside organization (Wawata). Their influence stemmed in part from the fact that they officially voiced native concerns and, in part, from the success of their

products. Together Gabriel, Nathan and Wawata balanced non-supporters advantaged position and TVO service was obtained in October 1983. This fact is important, since it indicates that once the position of "power", held by non-supporters, was balanced social change could occur.

Summary

In summary it may be stated that the principles of Emerson's power-dependence paradigm were, for the most part, substantiated by the information. Exchange relations which are interactions between individuals or groups having a "past" a "present" and an "implied future" were found in Webequie. Plus, exchange relations occurred between Webequie and the outside world. On the issue of television, transactions occurred between the community, Wawata and the Government of Canada.

Power-dependence which is central to the understanding of this paradigm was also apparent. Certain members with formal education and the ability to secure needed government funds gained a degree of power. Yet they were dependent on other members with ascribed status and wisdom in social-cultural affairs. Those with ascribed status maintained, what Emerson (1972) termed, a "power advantage" and in this case controlled the adoption of television service.

Power-dependence was also found between Webequie and the outside world. The relationship between it and Wawata

can be described as one of dependence and reciprocal power. Wawata's power stemmed from the communities it officially represents. Hence, Webequie's power over Wawata rested only in its ability to furnish or withdraw support for Wawata.

In contrast, the government's relationship with Webequie is one of unequal dependence and unopposed power. The government's power advantage over Webequie is a result of its heavy economic dependence. Yet, the community retained some power (however little) through enshrined legal rights, treaties, and land claims. To better understand community change and the relationship between exchange, power-dependence and the adoption of television, an examination of exchange networks was needed.

An exchange network is "...a set of three or more actors each of whom provides opportunities for transactions with at least one other actor in the set..." (Emerson 1972:70). Although this is the least developed of Emerson's concepts, aspects such as all networks are subject to imbalances, dependencies and power advantages can be outlined.

In Webequie a "stratified network", based on shared interests and similar resources, was evident. The difference in community opinion over television service gave rise to two factions: those people who supported television and those individuals who opposed it. Each group or category was comprised of active and less active members which had varying degrees of interest in obtaining or preventing the service.

Intra-category transactions occurred between members of the same group (i.e., between Gabriel and Nathan), while cross-category transactions took place between members of different categories with different resources or interests (i.e., between David and Nathan).

Intra-category exchanges can be refined still further to include transactions between those who were active, high ranking and those who were less active, low ranking. Those who were active high ranking members in the category represented the group. They were chosen by the group or appointed themselves without opposition. They had "legitimate authority" to speak for the group. However their power was limited by their role, because it was vested in the role. Thus, they could not over-step their authority or those who endorsed them no longer would.

Although it was never observed in Webequie, Emerson (1972) reasoned that those people with higher ranking abilities tended to interact with lower ranked members only if a problem existed in the upper echelon. While lower ranked members initiated exchanges the transaction that would occur were decided on by members with greater abilities ("Stage 1"). When interaction is less problematic among high strata members, boundaries become more rigid and less transactions between upper and lower ranked individuals take place ("Stage 2"). Evidence does not suggest the existence of stage one or stage two in Webequie. However the

information does indicate that resource distribution was the independent variable in a stratified network and that a division based on resources allocation was evident.

In cross-category interaction non-supporters maintained a power advantage over supporters since non-supporters were represented by those people with ascribed status and presumed wisdom. This created discontent amongst advocates and an imbalanced situation.

To balance the situation, active supporters contacted and coalesced with Wawata. When this happened, the less powerful party gained influence and balanced the imbalance circumstance. By coalescing, Wawata received needed support from Webequie which increased Wawata chances of obtaining government funds which they needed. While Webequie gained increased influence, better radio service and TVO for free.

Chapter Seven

General Summary And Conclusions

This brief summary will recall for the reader the more salient points raised in the study. The thesis examined social change in Webequie by its attempt to gain television service. The debate over an unlicenced satellite system divided the community into two groups: advocates anxious for it and non-supporters leery of it. Complicating the issue further, the CRTC which regulates the obtaining and resale of satellite signals appeared to be on the verge of taking legal action against all unlicenced units. So, supporters had to deal not only with discontent from non-supporters (which included the elders, those people most influential according to village norms and Ojibwa custom), but also with CRTC licencing regulations.

Webequie's proposed satellite unit would have been no different than others already being used in neighbouring villages. Such systems created problems for the CRTC, yet there was no clear-cut policy to deal with the situation because of jurisdictional disputes between federal and provincial governments. In the face of inadequate policy many settlements in Northern Ontario freely operated illegal satellite equipment with little regard to CRTC threats.

However for native villages using such systems it is more than just illegal, it also threatens to damage their language and traditional way of life, because the programming is produced and controlled in a foreign culture. This cultural threat concerned one organization in particular whose purpose is to help preserve Ojibwa culture--Wawata Communications Society. Wawata has, since its inception, promoted native culture through its various services. In 1982, it decided to improve its existing radio service by linking the small community radio stations to its broadcast centre in Sioux Lookout. To do this, Wawata had to purchase space on TVO's Anik C Satellite. The objective was not television, but rather the use of the satellite system for radio signals. However to ensure a TV Ontario-Wawata deal, support was needed from the settlements they served in the Treaty Nine region. The request was met with success, due largely to the fact that its commitment to preserving native culture gave it a favourable influence in many communities, including Webequie.

In Webequie, the preservation of Ojibwa culture was of great importance to those opposed to television. Non-supporters asserted that such an innovation would change their current norms and values, plus it would be an added expense which they could not afford. The debate, then, between non-supporters and supporters over the issue of television is really over the desire for, and the opposition

to, social change. The fact that Webequie obtained television service in October 1983 is evidence of the strong desire many residents had, despite community reaction, to acquire such a service and social change.

To explain the way in which television was gained, the researcher used Richard M. Emerson's power-dependence exchange paradigm. Emerson's paradigm evolved primarily from studies conducted by Thibaut and Kelley, Homans and Blau. From these works, Emerson adopted operant psychological and social structural elements, while avoiding the traps of tautology, reductionism and the micro-macro debate which plagued the earlier works.

The information for this study was gained by the researcher through participant observation augmented by unstructured interviews with villagers. From this data, it was found that exchange relations among Webequie residents, as elsewhere, stemmed from constant, long term, association between community members. On a larger scale, exchange relations took place between Webequie and the outside world through interaction and trade in both the public and private sectors. Further, exchanges occurred between Webequie and Wawata.

The data showed that power-dependence was found on a multitude of levels. In Webequie, it was concentrated between young, formally educated individuals and the older, less formally schooled residents. Since the village relies

heavily on government assistance the members with higher education who are best able to obtain such assistance have a degree of power in the community. However, they are dependent on the elders who possess ascribed status and presumed wisdom in social cultural matters. This psychological dependence gave elders a "power advantage" in this situation.

Power and dependence was evident between Webequie and various government departments such as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Here the relationship was one of "unequal dependence and unopposed power". The government relied to a degree on Webequie, while in contrast, Webequie depended very heavily on the government for financial aid. This strong reliance gave the government a "power advantage" not only in the financial sector, but also in other areas such as the enforcement of CRTC policy.

Power and dependence was once again found between Webequie and Wawata which was labelled as "dependence and reciprocally equal power". Wawata was as dependent on Webequie for support and feedback, as Webequie was on Wawata's ability to represent them officially in matters of native communications. Thus it was found that, in the Webequie-Wawata exchange relationship, each had relatively equal power.

The circumstances in Webequie indicated that, on the issue of television, a "stratified network" existed.

Residents' opinions or "values held in common" were separated into two categories: those people who opposed television service and those individuals who supported it. In addition, data revealed that supporters who were "actively involved in obtaining television generally valued change, had some high school education and played a vital role in dealing with government funding agencies. In contrast, non-supporters who were "actively" opposed to television, for the most part, valued tradition, had little formal schooling, but had influence due to ascribed status and played an important role in community decision making matters. Each category's boundaries were ill-defined. This was so because only a few members of each group were active and outspoken. The other individuals, although aligned to a particular group, remained passive.

The study of Webequie also suggested that "cross-category" transactions were generally undertaken by group leaders. These individuals represented each category's desires and were selected by the group or had appointed themselves as leader without opposition. Their stated views were backed by others who provided various degrees and types of reinforcement, depending on their interest or acceptance of the matter.

Yet, the hierarchy which resulted between more and less active members, in Webequie's debate over television, did not demonstrate the strict boundary establishment and the

difficulty of interaction between levels that Emerson's paradigm predicted. In short, Emerson's "Stage 1 - Stage II" process was not observed in Webequie. However, the distribution of resources (tangible or intangible) and the persistent control by influential non-supporters through their "power advantage" did create frustration and imbalance.

Data indicated that this imbalance was altered by coalition formation, (the fourth of Emerson's balancing processes). Active supporters achieved this by realizing that their power, on the issue of television, could be increased by coalescing with Wawata. With this help, advocates were able to influence non-supporters, thereby balancing the power advantage. The fact that Webequie obtained television in October 1983, is evidence that a balance of power was gained by supporters over non-supporters.

The main conclusion arrived at in this thesis is that social change in northern Ojibwa communities is governed by the balance of power and dependence found between various individuals and groups. The significance of this may become more evident when viewed beyond the focus of the present study. For example, it has been standard practice for government officials, when dealing with native communities, to interact strictly with the band office. It is taken for granted that, because band representatives are selected by the people, they are naturally the most

influential. Yet, this study found that band officials were chosen primarily because of their formal education, English language skills and ability to deal effectively with government. This gave them a degree of power, but as indicated by interactions between Gabriel, Nathan, David and Noah the majority of power actually remained with other residents who were generally older and had a more traditional view. Therefore, it is suggested here that the success of many new programmes or innovations would be increased if local power-dependence relations were more extensively examined. However, recognizing the limitations all government departments face, such lengthy community studies are not always possible. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that without the acceptance and support of local power groups, attempts to introduce new projects or innovations will meet a high degree of resistance and perhaps failure.

It should also be emphasized that more research is required on this matter. As the reader is probably well aware, social change through the introduction of innovations is complex. Hence, further study in more communities may provide researchers with a better understanding of the role imbalance, balance, power and dependence plays in dynamic "real life situations". Further empirical inquiries would broaden the data base and help substantiate claims that Emerson's paradigm can be successfully applied beyond controlled experimental settings.

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