ANOMIE AND ACCULTURATION

ANOMIE:
A DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT
AND
AN APPLICATION TO THE CANADIAN INDIAN RESERVATION

BY

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

Anomie is a popular concept in modern sociology. It is also a concept that is used with many different definitions and connotations. In this thesis, the various usages of the concept are exmaned and evaluated. Through this analysis a revised definition of anomie -- one that depends on the concept "role" -- is presented. To suggest the utility of this new definition, it is applied to the study of the Canadian Indian Reservation. For this application, particular illustrations are drawn from the economic situation of the Indians of Manitoulin Island, Ontario.

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Introduction

Repeatly sociologists proclaim the importance of at least four distinct, but interdependent, steps in the achievement of a science of sociology: specification and clarification of concepts, theoretical formulation, methodological development, and the accumulation of data through empirical reasearch. It is to step one that this thesis primarely directed--the clarification and specification of a concept.

The concept in question is "anomie". In Part I, I will review the present usages of the concept, and, drawing from the critical evaluation of these usages, will present a revised definition of "anomie." In Part II, this definition will be illustrated by applying it to a concrete situation, in particular, to certain Canadian Indian reservations. The significance of this definition will be suggested through this application and the resulting hypothesis.

In stating these objectives, it is obvious that the author is ignoring the boundaties of two traditional dichotomies of the social sciences, the theory-research distinction and the sociology-anthropology separation. Watching a baseball game without knowing any rules is only half a story. So is the opposite--knowing the rules completely but never observing the game in play. Secondly, the baseball team without a catcher is incomplete. The catcher in isolation is of no use either. The analogy suggests the argument. A concept of Sociology with no possible application to an empirical referent is as useless as the observation of an empirical phenomena with no reference to a conceptual scheme. For this reason, both an analysis of

theories of Durkheim and data on the economic role of the adult male Indian are included in one thesis. Secondly, the specialization that suggests the applicability of a tool of study to all members of a society except to those of indigenous origins receives no justification; instead sociological concepts and the Indian reservation are both topics of this thesis.

Part I

Chapter I

"Anomie": A Review of the Usages of the Concept in Sociology

> "Recent years have seen the appearance of a sizeable sociological literature which bears upon one or another aspect of anomie--Interest in the concept of anomie has indeed grown rapidly enough for it to become (almost inevitably) vulgarized as it diffuses to wider and wider social circles." (Merton, 1957: 161)

In this chapter the sociological literature will be reviewed to present the definitions and applications of the concept "anomie" prevailing within. The review will center around six different definitions and the corresponding distinct applications of anomie:

a) Anomie defined as the "lack of regulation" and applied to conditions of a society or social insitutions (Durkheim, 1947, 1951: Parson, 1954);

b) Anomie defined as normlessness and applied the study of deviance within a society (Merton, 1949, 1957);

c) Anomie defined as conflict within the cultural order of a society and applied to conflicting ideologies (DeGrazia, 1948, Merton 1957);

d) Anomie considered as social disorganization and applied to the modern city (Young and Mack, 1962, Powell, unpublished, and Merton, 1957);

e) Anomie defined as meaninglessness and applied to the individual's working situation in modern industry (Mayo, 1954, and Powell, 1958, Srole, 1950);

f) Anomie defined as a psychological concept applied to personality types of modern society, (MacIver, 1950 and Riesman, 1950) Each of these six discrete usages of the concept anomie will be evaluated for their utility

and significance in sociology.[1]

A - Anomie as "Lack of Regulation"

An examination of the concept of anomie can begin at its birthplace; Emile Durkhein introduced the concept to sociology in De la Division du Travail Social, 1893, and in Le Suicide, 1897.

The task involved in asking how a concept was used by its originator could most easily be performed by simply withdrawing from a man's writings the definition he offered of a concept, and describing the phenomena to which he applied it. However, the difficulty is that Durkheim never presents a precisely defined or operational definition of anomie. Instead, a student must "discover" the meaning of "anomie" from the way in which Durheim uses the concept. Therefore, to attempt to understand Durkheim's

1. There have also been two attempts to empirically measure anomie (Srole, 1950, and Lander, 1954). The concept of anomie, as defined by the originator of each measurement, is included in the discussion of this chapter. However, since I must be first concerned with the clarification of the definition of the concept per se, before considering operational problems, their measures are not included in this chapter. For reference, a description and evaluation of the measures are summarized in Appendix "A".

definition of anomie, it is very important to consider the concept within the context that it was used. This means keeping to the forefront of the discussion two important characteristics of this context: anomie is, in both of its applications but one of a triad of concepts that appear together; and, secondly, a dominating interest of Durkheim was social solidarity, and anomie is one of three concepts to describe societal conditions which were antithetical to social solidarity. Remembering this argument the usage of anomie in Division of Labour and Sucide will be reviewed.

In Division of Labour, (Durkheim, 1933), social solidarity is the cornerstone of analysis. In the smaller and the primitive society, social solidarity was a product of the "collective conscience", that is, of "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society". This Durkheim designates "mechanical solidarity" (Ibid: 70-110). However, increased economic specialization, and a division in labour, was accompanied by increased individual variation. A common "collective conscience" fades. Social solidarity then becomes a product of an interdependence of the social units, that is, "organic solidarity" (Ibid: 111-132).

Using contemporary concepts, Durkheim's analysis can be seen as primarily concerned with the problem of social integration in a society. Social integration is seen as one of two ideal types: a "mechanical" type that is a product of an homogeneous group in which members share a very similar system of cultural "beliefs and sentiments"; and an "organic" type that is a product of a heterogeneous group in which each member may perform a different and specialized activity, therefore, being dependent

on others in the group for the products of their activity.

Completing his discussion of the division of labour, and fitting the topic within the context of social solidarity, Durkheim wanted to emphasize that, theoretically, the division of labour, as such, was not the cause of any weakening in social solidarity of a society. In his words:

> "Though normally the division of labour produces social solidarity, it sometimes happens that it has different, and even contrary effects. Now, it is important to find out what makes it deviate from it's natural course, for if we do not prove that these cases are exceptional, the division of labour might be accused of logically implying them". (Ibid: 353)

Theee types of exceptional or pathological forms of the division of labour are posited by Durkheim: the "anomic division of labour", the forced division of labour", and the division of labour wherein the "functional activity of each worker is inadequate". (Ibid: 374-395). The latter type is relatively self-explanatory. Durkheim is referring to a division and specialization of labour to an extent so extreme that the work role of the individual no longer utilizes his potential or offers him sufficient activity to keep occupied. The "forced division of labour" refers to that situation which is the opposite to the "spontaneous" division of labour in which each worker "fulfills his facilities", or, rewording Durkheim, to the situation in which a specific work role is ascribed to the individual regardless of his personal capacities, training and interests.

The anomic division of labour is a more complex phenomenon. Durkheim offers three illustrations. (Ibid: 353-373). The division of labour becomes anomic in commercial or industrial crises, in which, "at certain points in the organism certain social functions are not adjusted to one

another". Anomie is seen also in "the conflict between labour and capital" with the resulting tensions and revolts--anomie being the outcome of the change from the situation of "the worker living at the side of his master" of the Middle Ages to the situation of the modern period with large industry separating the worker from employer. For example, Durkheim states, "...what is one attempted to fit in...precise language the current ideas on what ought to be the relations of employer and employee, of worker and manager, of tradesmen in competition...what indecisive formulas would be obtained". Thirdly, Durkheim sees the anomic division of labour exemplified in the specialization "introduced into scientific work", in which

> "each scholar becomes more and more enclosed, not only in a particular science, but in a special order of problems ...But then, science parcelled out into a multitude of detailed studies which are not joined together, no longer froms a solidarity whole. What best manifests, perhaps, this abscence of concrete and unity is the theory, so prevalent, that each particular science has an absolute value, and that the scholar ought to devote himself to his special researches without bothering to inquire whether they serve some purpose and lead anywhere." (ibid: 357)

Durkheim concludes, "If the division of labour does not produce solidarity in all these cases, it is because the relations of the organs are not regulated, because they are in a state of anomy." (Ibid: 368).

Furthermore, from Durkheim's illustrations, it can be seen that he closely associates the condition of anomie with conditions of change. He designates as anomic both the new or unique situation created by a crisis, and the situation, in which, by the nature of change, the social units have been separated from "the whole" without provision of connecting and regulating links. Clarification is added by Durkheim's statement

that:

> "Since a body of rules is the definite form which spontaneously established relations between social functions take in the course of time, we can say, a priori, that the state of anomie is impossible wherever solidarity organs are sufficient in contact or sufficiently prolonged." (Ibid: 368)

To these two conditions, frequency and duration of contact, Durkheim later adds another, namely, that the necessary "body of rules" can be established only when it is possible to do so without submitting the social structure to transformations of which it is incapable. Here Durkheim is making the assumption that, given these three requisites, it is a law of social situations that a "body of rules" will evolve. Social change, therefore, is an important variable in anomie: whether it be sudden or gradual, it forces new situations, and therefore, the need for new, or an addition to the old, "body of rules". Given the three requisites, the rules will form. But in an unique social situation, or in a prolonged situation in which the requisites are not fulfilled, the "body of rules" does not form, and the resulting social situation he designates anomie.

One further point from the "Division of Labour" is relevant. Durkheim implies that the existence of an anomic social situation can be traced, in cause, to the absence of regulative social powers functioning to define this "body of rules" for the individual. The family, the territorial group, or an occupational group can serve as potential definers and regulators of social action; when no such groups serve this function for the actor(s) the situation is predictable anomic. Thus, incorporating this in the above discussion, but perceiving the phenomena from ego's perspective, Durkheim is suggesting that an actor involved in a situation is

given, by the social groups with which he interacts, a "body of rules" that regulate his action. In situations of social change, whether slow or sudden, if the group fails to impose this regulation the situation for ego is anomic.

In Suicide, (1951), the concept of anomie recurs. Perceiving suicide not as a phenomenon personal to the individual, but as one explicable through the social structure, Durkheim's concern was with "suicidal currents" provided by varying states of the social organization. He discusses three of these suicide-producing states, that he designates the "egoistic", the "altuistic" and the "anomic".[2]

To discuss the anomic, it is again important to see it within the context of the other two "suicidal currents". The egoistic suicide is attributed to the lack of integration of the individual into society: the altruistic suicide is attributed to the over-integration of the individual into society. Excessive individualization results from social forces throwing the individual onto his own resources. He is not adequately structured into society. This is placed at the opposite pole from in-

2. A footnote of Durkheim's suggests a fourth suicidal type;

> "...a type of suicide the opposite of anomic suidice, just as egoistic and altruistic suicides are opposites. It is the suicide deriving from excessive regulation, that of persons with futures pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline...Do not the suicides of slaves, said to be frequent under certain conditions...belong to this type, or all suicides attributable to excessive physical or moral despotism? To bring out the ineluctible and inflexible nature of a rule against which there is no appeal, and in contrast with the expression "anomy"...we might call it fatalistic suicide."
> (Ibid, 1951; 152)

sufficient individualization resulting from social forces rigorously controlling the individual with more than adequate structuring into society. Both affect the individual's evaluation of his life, and, thereby, create a potential for suicide. To quote Durkheim, "...one occurs because society allows the individual to escape it, being insufficiently aggregated in some parts or even the whole; the other, because society holds him in too strict tutelage". (Ibid: 221)

Durkheim discusses political, religious, and family structures to demonstrate that the degree of integration of ego into these elements of society is related to suicide rates -- lack of integration to the egoistic, over-integration to the altruistic.

The anomic suicide Durkheim attributes to "the lack of regulation" of the individual by society. Again, anomie is discussed in terms of acute crisis situations, as he illustrates with example of abrupt economic changes and the "domestic anomie" of divorce or widowhood, and in terms of more chronic situations such as he perceived in the sphere of trade and industry. In the former instance, a sudden readjustment within the social order brings a state of deregulation to the individual. In the latter, there is a constant failure of the system to define and impose regulation on the individual; he remains "eternally dissatisfied" and "longing for infinity". In both cases, a definition of his social situation and the patterns for acting therein are not provided by society to regulate the action of the individual. To quote Durkheim; "A regulative force must play the same role for moral needs which the organism plays for physical needs". (Ibid: 248) When there is a failure of society

to serve this regulative function, the situation for the individual is anomic.

Anomie, Durkheim states, differs from egoism and altruism "in its' dependence, not on the way in which individuals are attached to society, but on how it regulates them". (Ibid: 258) Egoism and altruism are concepts pertaining to the individual and his participation or involvement in collective activity; anomie is a concept concerned with the individual and his patterns or definitions for action. Durkheim recognizes the affinity between the former two and the latter, particularly the affinity of egoism and anomie, granting that "...it is, indeed, almost inevitable that the egoist should have some tendency to non-regulation; for since he is detached from society, it has not sufficient hold upon him to regulate him". (Ibid: 258) And, restating the point made in Division of Labour -- "Anomie indeed springs from the lack ofcollective forces at certain points in society; that is, of groups established for the regulation of social life" -- he now must conclude that "anomie, therefore partially results from the same state of disaggregation fromwhich the egoistic current also springs". (Ibid: 288) At the same time, Durkhein adds, "...one may live in an anomic state without ... the egoistic, and vice-versa". For example, "We may offer society everything social in us, and still be unable to control our desires...". (Ibid: 258)

Keeping Durkheim's usage of the concept of anomie within the context of it being but one of three phenomena that, together, he opposes to "Social solidarity", the following summary can be made:

TABLE I

The Unit of Analysis	The Unit of Analysis and Social Solidarity	The Unit of Analysis and the Opposite to Social Solidarity
Division of Labour		
the economic order	division in labour produces social solidarity through the interdependence of units	pathological forms of the division of labour 1. activity inadequate 2. forced 3. anomic
Suicide		
the society	society is in essence social solidarity either -mechanical -organic	suidical currents in the society 1. egoistic 2. altruism 3. anomic

The two trieds of phenomena above that represent counterparts of "social solidarity" are internally constructed on similar criteria. Considering the two contexts in which these three concepts appear, the distinction between them lies only in what Durkheim was using as the unit of analysis, namely, the economic order in the first, and society in the second. In both analyses, the opposite pole to social solidarity is described as taking one of three forms:

(1) the individual actor is too loosely bound or intergrated within the activity of the social unit;

(2) the individual actor is too strongly bound to, or intergrated within the activity of the social unit;

(3) the individual actor is not regulated enough by the social unit.

Recalling Durkheim's footnote in Suicide,[3] a fourth form can be added to make the analysis logically complete, namely:

3. See footnote 2, page 9 above.

(4) the individual actor is regulated too much by the social unit.

It is now apparent that there are two variable involved in social solidarity, or the lack thereof. One is the variable of the individual's participation in the society, that is, the integration of the individual into social activity. This is the variable to which the concepts of egoism and altruism apply. The other is the variable of the regulation of the individual's activity, that is, the integration of the individual's action into the normative definitions for activity. This is the variable to which the concepts of anomie and fatalism apply. A condition of social solidarity would include appropriate social participation and appropriate normative regulation of the members of the society (or group). The culture and social structure of societies will vary in the degrees of each variable available to members. Thus, in analyzing the variable of "social participation" in or between societies, we could raise the question; "What are the particular cultural patterns defining the degree of participation of persons in social activity?" In analyzing the second variable, "normative regulation" we raise the question; "To what degree does the particular social structure allow members to fulfill or act in terms of these cultural patterns?"

Solidarity is endangered by extremes[4] of either variable. Altruism

4. Of course, the question of the boundaries of what is "pathological" and the definitions of the threshold of "adequate" incorporation of the individual are unresolved problems for Durkheim.

and egoism are concepts to described the conditions in which particular cultural patterns define, respectively, an excessive and an insufficient degree of participation of members. This is a variable concerned with "just what" kind or degree of participation is defined for a member in the society. Contemporary concepts relating to this variable include "excessive individualism," "mass society," "alienated," "atomism," or "groupless[illegible]." Anomie and fatalism are concepts to describe the conditions in which there is an excessive or insufficient "regulation" of members by whatever cultural patterns that exist. This is a variable concerned with the relationship of members to cultural definitions. No contemporary concepts relate directly to this variable although indirectly we could include discussions of culture conflict, marginal man, social disorganization (when this concept is used to include inadequate operation of social control mechanisms), psycopathic society, normlessness, or retreatism.

This analysis now allows a final statement of durkheim's usage of the concept of anomie. Anomie is defined as "absence of regulation." That is, anomie is used to describe a "too weak" relationship between cultural definitions of a society and acting units within the society. The concept distinguishes this phenomena from others that are described by the concepts of fatalism, altruism or egoism.

In contemporary sociology, the only usage of "anomie" approaching a similarity to Durkheim's usage is that to Talcott Parsons.

Parsons applies the concept of anomie in his essay, "Some Sociological Aspect of the Fascist Movements" (Parsons, 1954). Anomie he defines as: "a certain type of social disorganization,...the state where large

numbers of individuals are to a serious degree lacking in the kind of integration with stable institutional patterns which is essential to their own personal stability and to the smooth functioning of the social system." (Ibid: 125)

To clarify the definition of this "state" of anomie, Parsons refers to the "two principal aspects" of anomie (aspects, we should note, that refer to personality, not social system components). First, he states "there seems to be a deep-seated need for a relative stability of the espectations to which action is oriented" (Ibid: 125): absence of "relative stability of expectations" is one aspect of anomie. This absence of stable expectations results either when expectations are too vague or too conflicting. To provide any real guides for action.

The second aspect of anomie he considers as "the need for a sufficiently concrete and stable system of symbols around which the sentiments of the individual can crystallize." Parsons does not elaborate his meaning here: we do not know whether a "system of symbols" refers to values and ideologies or to more concrete representations.

Parsons declares that "the large-scale incidence of anomie in western society in recent times is hardly open to doubt," and developes this conclusion by examining both social system and psychological correlates of this "incidence of anomie."

On the level of the social system, Parsons, like Durkheim, considers anomie and change closely related. To quote Parsons: "... there is a limit to the extent and rapidity of change which can take place without engendering anomie on a large-scale." (Ibid: 127)

A variety of changes in western society are analyzed as the causes contributing to the anomie of today: the Industrial Revolution that resulted in occupational changes from agriculture to industry and commerce, migration to urban centers, corresponding changes in styles of life, and in the instability and cyclical fluctuations of the new economy; or, of equal importance, the "process of rationalization" that corresponds with scientific developements modifying traditional conceptions of the empirical world and encouraging a critical attitude toward all beliefs which bases are not verificable through empirical observations. The sources of anomie, Parsons argues, is not in the new beliefs or ways per se, but rather in the process of change. The rapidity of the change and the unevenness of the change resulted in a situation where there was no opportunity to provide a stable reorganization or functional alternatives.

At the psychological level of consideration Parsons states, "that one of the most conspicuous features of the present situation lies in the extent to which patterns of orientation which the individual can be expected to take completely for granted have disappeared." (Ibid: 120) On this basis he suggests that the typical individual reaction will be a "state of insecurity," and hypothesizes that the psychological correlates of anomie will be either of two attitudes: "Attitudes tend to vacillate between indecision which paralyzes action - ... (and) compulsively "over-determined" reactions which endow particular goals and symbols with an excess of hatred, devotion or enthusiasm over what is appropriate to the given situation." (Ibid: 126)

Thus, for both analysists, individual reactions to anomie are pre-

dicted: Durkheim predicated suicide. Parsons predicts either "indecision" or "compulsively over determined reactions." It is from the latter that Parsons suggests an explanation of Fascism, by hypothesizing that the emergence of Fascism can be explained through the anomie in the structure of Western society.

Also, in conclusion, we can see that Parson's definition of anomie as "The state where...individuals are...lacking in the kind of integration with stable institutional patterns" is very similar to Durkheim's definition of the concept as "a lack of regulation." Both are concerned with an actor's relationship to the defined patterns of action within a social system. The weakness or inadequany of this relationship is defined as anomie. And the source of anomie, for both Durkheim and Parsons, is sought in the social system's process of change.[5]

5. In his essay "Durkheim's Contribution to the Theory of Integration of Social Systems" (Wolff, 1960: 118-153), Parsons' discussion of Durkheim's concept of anomie is very similar to my interpretation. He described anomie as a "decisive" theoretical component of Durkheim's writing, primarily because it reflects this conception of the relationship between the actor's patterns for action and culturally defined patterns of appropriate action. To quote Parsons:

> "The older view, which the early Durkheim shared, saw the goals of the action of the individual as located within his own personality, and saw social norms, which were 'exterior' to him, as located in society, which was a 'reality sui generis'. Because they were located in two different systems, the goals of the individual and the norms of society were dissociated from each other. Durkheim's concept of anomie was a formulation of his great insight that this dissociation was untenable...Hence ...the conception of the interpenetration of personality and social system, the conception that it must be true, in some sense, that values and norms were parts of the 'individual consciousness,' and were, at the same time, analytically independent of'the individual.' (Ibid: 143)

B - ANOMIE AS NORMLESSNESS

To Robert Merton can primarily be attributed the present day association of anomie and deviant behaviour. (Merton, 1949 and 1957). Deviance, Merton discusses in terms of "goals" and "means" -- of the culturally defined legitimate purposes and objectives and the culturally defined institutionalized ways of obtaining these goals. Analysis of Merton's discussion can show that he delineates two possible factors causing deviance evolving around this goals-means dichotomy: Merton intermingles these two in his discussion and makes no reference to the fact that he is involved with two factors.[6]

One of these factors he discusses as the possibility that a culture may independently emphasize, to an extreme proportion, either the

6. The confusion caused by Merton's intermingling of these two factors, is evidenced in various summaries of Merton's discussion that are found in the literature. Martindale, for example, interprets Merton's article by discussing the proportionate degree of emphasis placed on culturally defined goals and means (Martindale, 1960: 475).

Looking at another summary, we find an interpretation of Merton' through a discussion of the disassociation between the culturally defined goals and means and the availability of these means (Merton and Nisbet, 1961: 63).

culturally defined goals or the culturally defined means to these goals.

> "To say...that cultural goals and institutional norms operate jointly to shape prevailing practices is not to say that they bear a constant relation to one another... There may develop a very heavy, at times a virtually exclusive, stress upon the value of particular goals, involving comparatively little concern with the institutionally prescribed means of striving toward these goals. The limiting case of this type is reached when the range of alternative procedures is governed only by technical rather than institutional norms...This constitutes one type of malintegrated culture. A second polar type is found in groups where activities originally conceived as instrumental are transmitted into self-contained practices, lacking further objectives...There develops a tradition-bound sacred society marked by neophobia. Between these extreme types are societies which maintain a rough balance between emphasis upon cultural goals and institutionalized practices, and these constitute the integrated and relatively stable, though changing societies." (Merton, 1959: 133-134)

The second factor is evident in his discussion of the association between "culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations."

In reference to the first factor, Merton is speaking of the strength or intensity with which both goals and specific means of obtaining these goals are defined within a culture. As an example, Merton refers to the situation in competitive athletics in which the goal of victory may be far more strongly emphasized than faithful adherence to the legitimate means to this goal, that is, where "winning the game" is emphasized more than "winning under the rules of the game."

When he discusses the second factor of disassociation between "prescribed aspirations" and "avenues for realizing these aspirations," the culturally defined goals and means are accepted as given; the problem is the availability of these defined means to all members of the population --- the old "life-chances" concept of Weber. As an example Merton dis-

cusses the differferential accessibility of means within the class structure, leading him to the hypothesis that there is a greater rate of deviance among the lower classes. (Ibid: 144)

For both factors,[7] either given this disproportionate cultural emphasis on either the goals or the means to the goals, or given this disassociation between culturally defined means and accessibility to these means, deviance is predicted. Merton posits four forms of deviance: innovation, the accepting of culturally defined goals but the developing of new means to these goals; ritualism, the ignoring of culturally defined goals as such and the compulsive adherence to the institutional means as

7. When Merton speaks of this "emphasis", or "stress", on one of the two elements of culture, it appears that this could be operationally defined in terms of sanctions -- either positive or negative. In other words, a society offering rewards of any form to its' members proportionate to their degree of defined goal attainment and proportionate to their degree of utilizing the institutionalized means, and inflicting punishments of any form on its members proportionate to their failure to obtain the specified goals and proportionate to their attempts to do so by non-institutionalized means, would be the integrated society. When rewards and punishments are relegated primarily to the attainment, or failure of attainment, of culturally defined goals, and neglected in relation to the means to these goals, or vice-versa, the "malintegrated culture" is described.

ends in themselves; retreatism, the withdrawing of support from both the culturally defined goals and means; and rebellion, the rejection of both the culturally defined goals and means, with the active attempt to establish new definitions.

Also, for both factors, "anomie" enters the analysis. At separate times, both the conditions of disproportionate culture emphasis on either the goals or the means or the condition of disassociation between culturally defined and accessible means are discussed as producing "a strain toward anomie".

For example, in reference to the first factor, Merton states:

> "With such differential emphasis upon goals and institutional procedures ... the technical most effective procedure, whether culturally legitimate or not, becomes typically preferred to institutionally prescribed conduct. As this process or attenuation continues, the society becomes unstable and there develops..."anomie". (Ibid: 135)

And in reference to the second factor, "it is the conflict between cultural goals and the availability of using institutional means - whatever the character of the goals - which produces a strain towards anomie". (Ibid: 166)

Anomie, itself, Merton defines as normlessness. (Ibid: 135) Therefore, in relation to either of the socio-cultural situations he has described, anomie is seen as a product. This argument is based on the assumption that deviant, but acceptable or "successful" behavior, will weaken the normative structures: "...deviant but 'successful' behavior tends to weaken, and at the extreme, destroy the respect of institutionalized means". (Ibid:180)

Merton's argument can be summaried thus:

1(a) A disproportionate emphasis on either culturally defined goals or means is one possible source of deviance.

1(b) A disassociation between culturally defined means and available means to institutionalized goals is one possible source of deviance.

2 Deviance occurs in four possible forms: innovation, retreatism, rebellion, and ritualism.

3 Deviance in any of these four may weaken the normative structure.

4 Normlessness is anomie.

5 Therefore deviance may create anomie.

6 Therefore two possible causes of anomie are the two possible causes of deviance, the disproportionate cultural emphasis on either goals or means, and the disassociation between culturally defined and accessible means.

Quite distinct from this argument is a second one; anomie enters the analysis in another relationship to deviance. The typology of deviant behavior (Ibid: 181) is also referred to as a typology of responses to anomie. (Ibid: 182) Different adaptive responses to anomie are expected depending on various social factors; similar arguments are presented as when Merton was considering this typology as forms of deviance. Innovation is a response to a situation in which there is less concern for the means than for the goals or when the institutionalized means are inaccessible. Ritualism is a private or individual response to escape "status-anxiety" and "frustrations" in the situation of extreme goal emphasis. Retreatism is an adaption when both the prescribed goals and defined means are accepted, but the means are inaccessible. Rebellion is the active response that negates the cultural definitions and can lead to, on a small scale, the formation of a subgroup culture, or, on a large scale, the formation of a revolution.

It is obvious that anomie has now been given another definition. Anomie is in this last argument, being used as a concept to described that condition of a culture in which there is a disproportionate emphasis on either the goals or means, or, in which the prescribed means are inaccessible. The four forms of deviance are now discussed as responses to such a cultural state, that is, responses to anomie. Following from this, Merton can argue that anomie is the cause (or one of the casual factors) accounting for deviance. Granted this, then also, deviant behavior becomes a sympton of anomie.

Merton's second argument can be summarized thus:

1(a) Within a society there may be a disproportionate emphasis on either the defined goals or means. This can be referred to as anomie.

1(b) Within a society there may be a disassociation between culturally defined means and available means to the institutionalized goals. This can be referred to as anomie.

2 Individual adaptation to anomie may occur in four possible forms: innovation, retreatism, rebellion, and ritualism.

3 These adaptations to anomie are forms of deviance.

4 Therefore anomie, in the two possible forms (1(a) and 1(b)), is a possible course of deviance, in the four forms.

There is one major problem with this second argument: it is completely meaningless within the context of his earlier definition of anomie. Recalling his former definition of anomie as "normlessness", let this be substituted in (2) above. None of the forms of deviance show, on examination, how they could be adaptive responses to anomie (as normlessness). Innovation is not a response to normlessness, but, by his analyses, a response to the impossibility of fulfilling the norms. Ritualism is certainly not

a response to normlessness; rather, it is the opposite response of accepting compulsively the normative structure. Retreatism too in no way can be seen as a response to normlessness; instead, by his argument it is the response to an inability to fulfill the norms. Rebellion, also, is no adaptation to an absence of norms but an attack on, and recreation, of norms.

This latter usage of "anomie" therefore, is completely inconsistent with his earlier definition of the concept. If anomie is to be defined as normlessness, then the latter theory of anomie as a causal factor in deviance becomes meaningless. Carried to its extreme the theory becomes absurd: normlessness causes deviance, but deviance from what?

In summary, in Merton's attempt to relate anomie and deviant behavor, he posits two theories: deviant behavior is one possible cause of anomie; anomie is one possible cause of deviant behavior. In the first theory, anomie is defined as normlessness, and deviant behavior, is successful, carries the potential to weaken the institutionalized norms. In the second theory, anomie is used to refer to the social and/or cultural conditions themselves in which either (a) there is a disproportionate emphasis on culturally defined goals or means to these goals, or (b) there is some disassociation between the culturally defined means and the socially structured available means.

In conclusion, first we can recognize the inconsistency between the two theories connecting anomie and deviant behavior. This raises the question as to whether anomie is to be defined (1) as a condition of a social situation "normlessness", or (2) as a condition of culture in which either goals or means to the goals are disproportionately emphasized, and/or, (3)

as a social structure-cultural condition of a disassociation between culturally defined means and the socially-structured accessible means. That is, we have not only the question of what is the definition of anomie, but also the question of anomie as a condition of what--a social situation, the culture, or the degree of compatibility between the culture and social structure. Merton's contribution to the usage of the concept includes therefore this presentation of three distinct definitions of anomie.[8]

C - Anomie as Conflict Within A Culture

To De Grazia, "the study of anomie is the study of the ideological factors that weaken or destroy the bonds of allegiance which make the political community." That is, De Grazia is restricting his analysis of anomie to the level of cultural integration, and then only to that aspect of culture which we can designate ideology.

For example, in his discussion of modern society and anomie, De Grazia is concerned particularly with the religious and political belief systems. He examines the clash between the "Competitive Directives" of the economic institution and the "Cooperative Directives" of the religious institution -- that is, "Shove thy neighbor" versus "Love thy neighbor" --- to demonstrate a conflict between belief systems in Western society and to illustrate, what he calls, anomie.

8. We could note that when Parsons deals with this same discussion of a typology of deviant behavior, he makes no use or mention of the concept of anomie. (Parsons, 1951: 249-326)

In his discussion, De Grazia brings to the forefront the suggestion that anomie, like other features or conditions of society, can be expected to vary in degree or intensity. He offers definitions of two types of anomie: "simple anomie" is the more moderate form caused by conflict between belief systems; "acute anomie" is the more severe condition caused by conflict within an ideology.

In DeGrazia's usage of the concept "anomie", a resulting question concerns whether anomie now becomes synonomous with concepts like culture conflict, or cultural disintegration. These all appear as concepts to describe conflict or incompatibility between the various elements of a culture.

From this, a second significant question to be raised is the problem of a distinction between theoretically conflicting cultural elements and conflicting cultural elements appropriate to a defined group of actors in a particular situation. If, for a specific actor or collectivity of actors, priority is defined between theoretically conflicting ideologies, then one can not assume an "anomie" situation will result for the actor (s) in question. That is, the method of analyzing the cultural belief systems in reference to internal inconsistency, incompatibility, or conflict, of the various elements, is a completely different method than that of analyzing the cultural elements defined in relation to a specified situation and in-reference to the actors of the system or subsystem in question.

D - ANOMIE AS SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

The concept of anomie, defined loosely as social disorganization, is most frequently adopted in discussions of the modern city. In fact, in the glossary in a general introductory text book of sociology, both the

definitions of "urbanism" and of "mass society" are cross referred to the definition of "anomie" -- the latter being defined as: "a condition of society marked by normlessness ... characteristic of members of mass or urban society". (Young and Mack, 1960: 381-383)

This definition demonstrates the tendency in modern literature to associate all the "bad" characteristics of modern society, and in particular, of modern cities, with the concept of anomie; such characteristics as the high degree of impersonality in many social relationships, the diversity of individual and group interests, or the lack of mutual identification of members of a geographically defined community, fall prey to those who wield the concept in this way. The vagueness of the application of anomie in this way, plus the lack of any empirical support for applying the concept, usually leaves many of the conclusions from this literature beyond the touch of evaluation.

Powell, in his paper, "The Evolution of the American City and the Emergence of Anomie" (unpublished), exemplifies this usage of the concept. He examines the city Buffalo through an historical analysis. Describing the development of the city he seeks to show that anomie is a product of the spirit of capitalism and of the economic institutions, not of the process of urbanization itself.

Regardless of the validity of his conclusion, Powell's paper can be immediately criticized for the absence of a concrete definition of anomie, and for the a priori assumption of the existence of anomie in the city. Instead of presenting a definition of anomie, and then validating his application of this concept to the city, in the introduction to the paper Powell

describes the city of today as "diseased"; and 'the disease is anomie". This declaration is supported by such dramatic phrases as "anomie" permeates the urban organism"; "Physically, the American city is a kind of standarized chaos"; and "Socially, the metropolitan milieu is bereft of solidarity".[9]

Moreover, it is awkward to speak broadly of an "anomie city". City is a demographic and geographic unit. To treat a city as the unit of social or culture organization hardly appears realistic. Instead, it would be meaningful to specify a unit of social phenomena, a situation, a subgroup, or a group, and then discuss the solidarity of the unit.

E - ANOMIE AS MEANINGLESSNESS

In another paper Powell (1958) supplies an illustration of a fourth definition of anomie -- anomie as meaninglessness. He draws on this usage of anomie in his endeavour to relate occupation and suicide. Hinging his analysis on the concepts of "status" and "anomie", Powell hypothesizes that

9. In Durkheim's terms, perhaps what Powell is insinuating basically, and, perhaps quite validly, is that a common "collective conscience" is lacking in the modern city. However, this does not necessarily mean lack of solidarity. As Durkheim emphasized, differentiation itself is not anomie. Within groups or subcultures regulative power may exist. Between these groups, patterned modes of action and reaction may be defined. Even in diversity, integration as a whole can exist through some underlying means of regulation.

occupation is the primary variable in studying suicide. His argument is not relevant here. What is important is his definition of anomie. This concept defined as "meaninglessness", is applicable, in his words, to the person "characterized by a general loss of orientation, emptiness and apathy".

A man's self-definition, Powell claims, is a product of social processes and an incorporation of social roles as called forth by status. He claims status, depends primarily on occupation. So, he argues, it follows that the definition of self is embodied primarily in the occupational world. If the occupational world fails to offer defined goals and means, or if these are made inaccessible or conflicting, lack of a meaningful self-definition results for the individual involved. This "meaninglessness" Powell terms anomie.

Mayo (1954) uses the same definition of anomie in describing work situations. Mayo was advocating the increase of expressive social rewards for the individual in industry to compensate for what he thought was "the disintegration of external primary group". At present, he felt that individuals were acting "without meanings for efforts." This lack of meaning he terms "social anomie".

Srole, too, exemplifies this usage of "anomie". (See appendix "A") "Anomie" he never did define, but his five components for measuring anomie are all involved with the individual's perception of, and meaningful emotional investment in, his social environment. In a later comment Srole, recognizing that his usage of the concept is at the individual level and not the societal level of other writers, suggested that his measurement be termed the "anomic scale."

One basic question emerges from the work of all three men. How does the application of the concept to individual subjective "meaninglessness" relate to its other applications? Can we, for example, justify the definition as both "normlessness" and "meaninglessness"? "Meaninglessness" we might hypothesize, is related to "normlessness", or the inadequacy of patterned directives for action. It could be granted that norms bear a potential meaning. However, internalization of norms, and subjective experience of meaning from these norms appears a far more complex problem that merely the factor of the presence of norms per se.

Likewise, can the concept be defined as "meaninglessness" and also as cultural conflict, or as social disorganization? If the same concept is applied at these various levels of generalization, then an underlying implication is that what is described by the concept at one level is synonomous with what is described at other levels.

F - ANOMIE AND A PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE

What Mayo and Powell suggested, MacIver (1950) pronounces boldly: "Anomie is a state of mind". An the particular "state of mind" he describes as

> "the state of mind of one who has been pulled up by his moral roots, who has no longer any standards but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continity, of folk, of obligation. The anomic man has been spiritually sterile, responsible only to himself, responsible to no one. He derides the values of other men. He lives on the thin line of sensation between no future and no past". (Ibid: 84-85)

A similar psychological definition of the concept is exemplified in the writings of Seisman (1950). To Seisman, the "anomic man" becomes

"virtually synonymous with maladjusted". Not only does he transfer the sociological concept to a psychological phenomena, he disregards the possibility of any social factors in operation to produce his "anomic man". Reisman, instead, defines the "anomics" as those who "constitutionally and psycholofically lack the capacity to conform to the behavior norms of society". (Ibid: 287)

The intermingling of the psychological with the sociological applications of this concept of anomie exemplifies the same confusion over which Allport (1924) attacked Durkheim forty years ago -- the "social facts" level with explanatory power within itself versus the psychological behavioral level to which an explanation of social phenomena always led back. However, without supporting either of these theoretical orientations, there remain sufficient reasons to question this "anomic man" usage of the concept.

It may be argued that the phenomena to which these two usages of the concept apply are related; personality and social environment are in various ways interdependent. Still, supposing the anomic social situation and the anomic man are counterparts of one another, this does not grant their equivalence. Yet, the use of the same concept at both levels of phenomena carrys the unvalidated assumption that a social situation designated anomic not only produces psychological effects in the actors involved, but is <u>the</u> causal factor producing what is termed the "anomic" psychological effect. But the effects of the anomic situation on the personality are yet unexplored. There are strong grounds for hypothesizing that there would be a psychological reaction to an anomic situation but there is also the possibility for predicting that the psychological response

of the individual could vary from apathy to extreme tension, from withdrawal to aggression. To apply the one term to these various responses only clouds an issue for which more appropriate, less recondite personality concepts are already available.

Chapter II

The Concept of Anomie As A Useful Scientific Concept: Past and Future

> "For scientific purposes certain criteria for concepts may be set up...they must first be precisely differentiated from other concepts. Second, they must be given empirical referents. Third, they are not more or less valid, but only more or less useful for a given purpose of analysis." (Levy, 1952: 228-230)

In the above quotation, Levy postulates three important criteria for sociological concepts. Using these criteria, in this chapter, we can evaluate the present usefulness to sociology of the concept of anomie. On this foundation, a revised definition of anomie and a model for its empirical application can then be presented.

A - An evaluation of the usage of the concept.

The first criterion of a scientific concept that Levy lists is that a concept be clearly and precisely defined. This makes it possible to ascertain exactly what the referent of a concept is and to distinguish the referent from the referents of other concepts.

How well does the usage of the concept "anomie" measure up to this criterion? First, we can recognize that there is no one definition of anomie. Instead, from Chapter One, we see that anomie has been used with, at least, six different definitions. Depending often on the perspective and conceptual scheme of the user, a new definition and application of the concept

"anomie" appears. Moreover, this diversity of definition is not a product simply of different disciplines, or even different authors: within one context the same author may use the concept in more than one way. (See Merton and Powell, above mentioned, pp. 18-25 and pp. 28-30 respectively). We have to conclude that rather than examining any systematic development and use of a concept, we are examining "anomie" with several usages and definitions.

These several definitions involve not only using the concept to refer to different phenomena, for example, normlessness and conflict of norms, but to refer to phenomena at different levels of abstraction. For example, we have found anomie used to refer to a condition of culture (DeGrazia and Merton, above mentioned pp. 26-27 and pp. 22-24 respectively), a condition of social relationships or social structure (Merton, pp. 22-24 and Powell, pp. 28-29), a condition of the individual's subjective perceptions (Srole, p. 30 and Mayo, p. 30). Here the most evident problem is the implications presented by ignoring the analytical distinctions between various levels of generalizations: the unvalidated suggestion is that anomie at one level is correlated with, or even synonomous with, anomie at another level of discussion. Yet, social science has not yet postulated the exact relationships between these various conceptual levels of abstraction. What indeed is the relationship between a specified cultural condition and a particular psychological state or a defined subjective statement of individual perception?

Thus, the primary and predominant criticism of the present usage of "anomie" is that we have no <u>one</u> usage. Instead, we have a diversity of

definitions applied at various levels of abstraction--the anomie of "anomie". This threatens any clarity of communication and any systematic development of a theoretical scheme using the concept.

The solution to this situation involves, first of all, recognition of it. This step was taken in Chapter One above, in which examples of the various usages were described. Secondly, we need a means of distinguishing between the various referents described by the one concept, retaining "anomie" to refer to only one referent. This task can perhaps be accomplished by evaluating each separate definition presented above, in terms of its precision, its potential to be operationalized for empirical research, and therefore, its general utility to sociology.

To begin with, on the basis of the previous discussion in Chapter One, there are three usages of the concept which I will delete immediately from further analysis. Anomie equated with social disorganization (p. 27-29, above) lacks any precision or empirical qualities of definition and instead carries only certain valueladed overtones: the concept of social disorganization (with its own problems) can serve this function. Also, for the ambiguity and imprecision of anomie used to refer to subjective meaninglessness and/or a psychological state, we can substitute less recondite personality concepts.

This leaves the usages exemplified by the work of Durkheim, Merton and DeGrazia. To summarize, we have:

(1) anomie used to refer to a condition of culture, that is, anomie as conflict within or between elements of culture (DeGrazia, p. 26-27, above), and anomie as a disproportionate cultural emphasis on either the goals or means of action (Merton, p. 22-24, above);

(2) anomie used to refer to a condition of the relationship between

culture and the social structure, that is, a disassociation between the culturally defined goals and the socially structured availability of means for achievement of these goals (Merton, p. 22-24, above);
(3) anomie used to refer to a condition of a society or social system and defined as normlessness (Merton, p. 18-22, above);
(4) and anomie used to refer to a condition of the relationship of an actor to cultural definitions for social action, that is, anomie as the lack of regulation or definitions for action (Durkheim, p. 2-14 above).

The underlying similarity in all these definitions is the concern with "problems" of culture; the specification of "the problem" differs. Definition (1) above is concerned with the problem of cultural integration or the internal degrees of appropriate adjustment and compatibility of cultural elements. But to operationalize this definition, how can cultural conflict or "disproportionate cultural emphasis" be investigated? Only with the population itself can we establish the existence of certain values, norms, and cultural definitions. This raises the possibility that within any defined segment of the population the apparently conflicting cultural components may be resolved, with variations in subgroup experience of the total culture and with varying solutions of defining priorities between cultural elements. Thus, cultural conflict would appear to be important only when two or more conflicting elements define the appropriate action in a given situation for a given actor. This definition of anomie would then be revised to include the specification of the situation and actors: anomie would be defined as the operation of conflicting cultural definitions

for action in a given situation for a given actor.

If, this latter addition to the definition is accepted, then definition (2) above can be seen as one particular case or type of anomie. If anomie is used to refer to the operation of conflicting cultural definitions for action, in a given situation for a given actor, then, one case of conflict could be between the culturally prescribed goal of action and, in respect to the particular situation and actor, the culturally defined allowable means of obtaining the goal. Other possible variants of the case could be the conflict of two or more equally emphasized goals or two equally emphasized but conflicting means to a goal. The concepts of "goals" and "means" are therefore only two possible conceptual components of culture that could be substituted for the general phrase of cultural definitions. Likewise, such concepts as values and norms could also be substituted in the definition.

Definition (3) above, anomie defined as "normlessness", presents similar operational problems as definition (1), anomie defined as cultural conflict. How can one speak of "normlessness" without specifying in relation to what social situation and actors? If these specifications are granted, then anomie would be defined as the absence of normative directives for action, in a given situation for a given actor. This presents then another variant of the revised definition above: the resulting situation for an actor in the presence of conflicting definitions or in the absence of any definitions would be similar. Both imply the unavailability of any clear-cut cultural guides or definitions for action.

Merton and DeGrazia can now be both described as speaking of potential

anomic situations. Portraying the areas where cultural definitions or role expectations are inconsistent with the means of fulfilling these definitions, as Merton did, points to possible causes of anomie; specifying the actors involved will then reveal the anomic situation. Likewise with DeGrazia; a determination of conflicting cultural definitions gives the possible source of anomie. However, only when the analysis is brought down to ego, and his roles in a defined social system, can we know whether this conflict or the inconsistency is relevant to him. For, within a defined social system, the social unit defining appropriate action for ego could just as predictably have established either new definitions of new means, or have defined priorities in the case of conflicting cultural definitions.

There was a reason for listing Durkheim's usage of anomie last: we now can see that it is possible to incorporate all three definitions above into one definition and this resulting definition is very similar to that of Durkheim. From the above three definitions, with the necessary revisions, we could summarize the following general definitions; anomie refers to the absence of appropriate cultural definitions for action in a given situation for a given actor. This "absence of appropriate cultural definitions" may be the result of the absence of any cultural definitions for action or the presence of only conflicting definitions amongst which no priority or degrees of appropriateness are defined. This definition is equivalent to, but more precisely defined than, Durkheim's usage of anomie as the "lack of regulation of the individual".

Thus, we are left with one definition of anomie. With the criteria of precision and empirical utility as guides, a revised definition of anomie

is presented: anomie refers to the absence of appropriate cultural definitions for action in a given situation for a given actor (s). Anomie then is being used to designate a particular type of relationship between the actor in a social situation and the cultural directives for action--the type of relationship that is too weak.

The question now is what conceptual scheme could be used for analyzing the presence or absence of anomie. It is possible, as mentioned above, to use various concepts to describe analytically the components of culture--norms, values, goals, institutions, ets. However, here, we want to describe not just culture, or its components, but this relationship between culture and the actor. The only available and appropriate concept therefore would be that of "role". No other concept in present sociology has this significant quality of being both a unit for the action of the individual and a unit for the cultural definitions of the collectivity. It is the only concept by which the cultural integration of the individual's action can be analyzed. By the concept "role", we are making the assumption that the individual's actions are a function of the definitions and expectations of others. (Or, in Durkheim's terms, of the "regulation" by others). By role, we specify the normative elements of social behavior, and, therefore are discussing the relationship of the individual actor to cultural definitions. This is the same relationship we want to analyze for anomie.

We therefore can present a definition of anomie, through using the concept of role. The concept "role" of course has a history of definitions all its own. Role has been used in no less than five different ways, the chosen usage often a product of the particular theoretical framework of the user:

(i) At the level of the individual, role has been defined as the individual's perception of behavior expected of himself. Role becomes defined as "a sequence of learned action performed by a person in an interaction situation...Each person takes a role in response to his perception of the other". (Sarbin, 1954: 116)

(ii) At the level of action, role has been defined as the actual behavior of the individual; role is "the manner in which an individual actually carries out the requirements of his position." (Davis, 1959: 311)

(iii) At the level of the normative link between culture and action, role has been defined as the defined expected behavior from ego;

> "From the point of view of the actor, his role is defined by the normative expectations of the members of the group as formulated in its social traditions. The existence of these expectations among his fellows constitutes an essential feature of the situation in which any given actor is placed." (Parsons, 1951: 34)

(iv) At the level of the social system, role has been defined in terms of the functional implications of action for the social system; "roles are means of allocating motivated individuals to required activities, roles are fulfillment of these for the achievement of group ends". (Levi, 1952: 281)

(v) Finally, role is frequently used as synonymous with the concept of status, and defined as the location of ego in a system of social relationships. For example, "we may use either 'role' or 'status' to mean the entire social position". (Johnson, 1960: 161)

In this paper, the definition of role will follow that of Parsons, (iii) above, but with added specifications. Role will be used to refer to the behavior defined as appropriate for and expected from the actor. However, to operationalize and apply the concept later, the following

qualifications will be added:

(a) defined by whom, that is, specifying "alter" presenting these definitions and expectations to ego;

(b) defined for whom, that is, specifying ego in terms of his position or location in the social system, assuming that the expectations from ego will be a function of his social position;

(c) defined for what social activity or situation.

In summary, role here is used to refer to the expectations defined, by a designated alter, for ego in a given social position, in reference to certain social activity.

As for the other levels of phenomena involved in the five definitions of role mentioned above, (ii) will be referred to as the role performance of ego, (i) as the self-perceived role of ego, and (v) as the social position of ego, in a defined social situation, while (iv) can be spoken of as the functional significance of ego's role performance to the social system.

This definition of the concept role can now be related back to the definition of anomie. Anomie was defined (p.39 above) as the absence of appropriate cultural definitions for action in a given situation for a given actor. That is, anomie can be more operationally defined as the "failure" of an alter to present an appropriate role to ego.

A hint of this possibility of defining anomie in terms of the concept of role is present in Parson's writings. At one point, he defined anomie as "the polar antithesis of full institutionalization..." (Parsons, 1951: 39). When we ask to what "institutionalization" refers, we find a classification of "the primary elements of social structure" into six

categories, to which, "relative to all these categories of structural elements there may be any degree of institutionalization from complete anomie at one pole to full integration at the other". One of these categories include role-orientations: the others involve categorization of actor-events as objects, distribution of facilities, distribution of rewards, ideology and beliefs. (Ibid: 137-150)

When Parsons leaves this structural level of analysis, and is talking in operational action terms, the concept of institutionalization carries the dominant meaning of "complementarity" of expectations in the interaction process. From this aspect, anomie would be the lack of complementarity of role expectations. This would deviate from the definition presented here, by asking not only that we be concerned with the role defined by others for ego but also ego's perception of this role. Parsons would be suggesting here a definition of anomie in terms of the dissimilarities between alters definition of ego's role and ego's perception of it. Instead, in this paper, anomie has been used to refer to the roles defined by others for an actor, and his ability to fulfill them.

From the previous discussion, the "failure" of role presentation would include:

(a) weakness in the institutionalization of a role, in various degrees from simple vagueness to obscurity;

(b) conflict, either within a defined role or between roles; in either case the incompatability of defined expectations results in no clear and appropriate defined role for the actor;

(c) inconsistency of defined role with the actual possibilities of realization provided by the social structure or the physical environment.

B - The model for application of the concept.

With this conclusion that the theoretical definition of anomie is most easily clarified in terms of the concept "role", it is now appropriate to suggest a method by which anomie can be empirically investigated. The following is offered as a model for research on anomie:

Step 1 -- What is the social system under analysis?

Social systems is defined, following Parsons (1951), as,

> "a social system consists in a plurality of individual actors interating with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors ...whose relations to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols".
> (Parsons 1951: 18)

The boundaries of the social system must be demarcated in terms of those individuals in interaction. At the concrete level of analysis the focus of the social system can be a community of socially interacting persons sharing common residence. For completeness, individuals external to the geographically defined community, but internal in reference to the system of interaction, must be subsumed within the boundaries of the social system. Howeverm from the model there is no suggestion that anomie can be analyzed only in a geographically situated community -- this is but one approach and the one chosen for later chapters of this paper. The social system for analysis can be one of an infinite number of possibilities, a nuclear family, the crew of a freighter, a nunnery, or the local of a labor union.

Step 2 -- Who are the acotrs of the social system?

This implies identification of the social positions, or ststuses, differentiated within the social system. This would include differentiation on basis criteria such as age, sex, race, and ethnicity, and also more complex

differentiation of the basis of skills or talents recognized as relevant to the social system.

Step 3 -- What action differentiated in terms of the social system are the actors involved in?

At the analytical level this could be discussed in terms of the requisites of systems maintenance. At the concrete level of a society, this involves recording all activity differentiated in terms of the social structure, which would be primarily all activity revolving around the institutions of the society, such as political, economic, religious, eductional, or military,

For complete analysis of the total situation of all members of the social system, the concern would be with the roles defined for all differentiated areas of action. On the other hand, in undertaking a study, we could take only the analysis of anomie in the failure of roles for economic action, or for political action, military action, etc.

Step 4 -- For ego in any designated social position within the social system, what alter(s) defines his role in relation to any designated action?

Potential role definers for action would include formally organized social units such as the school, the church, or the employer, and social units with which ego interacts that are not formally organized such as neighbours and friends.

Step 5 -- What are the roles in relation to specified action that are defined for ego by alter?

Given the designated areas of action to be analyzed, and knowing the alter defining the role of ego in reference to this action, the task is to discover these definitions. We want to know the actual defined role

expectations given to ego for his action.

Step 6 -- After the basic analysis of the first five steps, the question that can then be raised is, "Is there anomie in the social system under analysis?"

From step 5, the appropriate action defined for and expected from ego is known. Action (or non-action) is a result of ego in a social situation. Therefore, the criteria for an anomic social situation must yeild the prediction of non-action -- this is observable -- with non-action defined in terms of the expected action from ego. In other words, is ego performing the role, expected of him? If ego does not fulfill the expected role, it is appropriate to speak of the "failure" of the role, that is, of anomie. This will be a demonstration of the failure of the normative link between culture and action: within the social system the role definition of action are anomic.

Finally, from the analysis we could trace the source of anomie, or of the "failure" of roles in terms of the three factors previously discussed: a lack, to some degree, of definition; conflict within or between definitions; and the inaccessibility of the means for fulfillment.

The final question to be raised in this chapter is whether or not this revised definition of anomie can be evaluated any more positively than all the past definitions. I have attempted to present a definition of anomie that is clearly defined and a model for operationalizing the concept for empirical research--characteristics not common to other definitions. But basically the only test of this definition is its utility. Utility implies two aspects. First, is it possible by the definition to study a social system and be able to arrive at a conclusion about the appropriateness of applying the concept? Secondly, regardless of the fact that we can operat-

ionally apply the concept to a certain phenomenon, does this concept offer any explanatory or predictive power?

Part II of this paper will deal with these questions. A particular social system, the Canadian Indian Reservation, will be examined, through the model presented above, to show the means of applying the concept of anomie. Generated from this analysis will be a number of hypotheses suggesting the relationship of anomie to other observable phenomena, and thereby suggesting its utility for future research.

Chapter III

Part II

THE CANADIAN INDIAN RESERVATION: AN APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

Descriptive Framework

To illustrate the possibilities of utilizing the model that was set forth in the preceding chapter, we shall turn to the Canadian Indian population, and, in particular, to the Indians on reservations in the Manitoulin Island area.[10] This Indian population will be referred to as Ojibwa: the accuracy of this designation is questionable. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration officially recognizes the population as Ojibwa. The only anthropologist who has written of the area (Kinietz, 1947) addresses them as Chippewa. A recent historian (Myers, 1961) calls them Ottawa. The majority of the Indian population, if they were aware of their tribal origins, called themselves Ottawa. They did recognize that some on the island "talked different" and these were named Ojibwa or Potawatomi. From the history of the area (Appendix C), it is apparent that a mixing of Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi on Manitoulin is quite possible. Thus, with reservations, but, for simplicity, in this paper the official designation of Ojibwa has been adopted.

Manitoulin Island, situated in the north of Lake Huron, is approximately 100 miles in length, and from 2 to 40 miles wide. With more than 100 inland lakes, its total land area is estimated to be 1,588 square miles. (See map, Appendix D)

10. For description of research methodology, see Appendix B.

The largest town on Manitoulin is at the northern entrance to the island, Little Current, with a population of 1, 397 in 1951.[11] Halfway west across the length of the island is the only other town, Gore Bay, numbering a population of 752 in 1951. Villages and farming communities are scattered throughout the island, with the heaviest concentration in the north-east quarter.

Besides these non-Indian communities on Manitoulin Island, five tracts of land are legally established as Indian Reservations: Sheshegwaning at the north-west end of the island, West Bay on the north coast in the center of the island, Sucker Creek just west of Little Current and Shequiandah just east of it, and to the extreme east, on a large peninsula of land, the Manitoulin Island Reserve. (see map, Appendix D) The legal title to these lands is vested in the Crown, excepting Manitoulin Island Reserve which still remains unceded territory. Associated with each reserve a "band", a defined body of Indians "for whose use and benefit in common, (the) lands ... have been set apart." (The Indian Act, 1952, c.149, s.2.) The total Indian population in 1959 of the bands allocated land within the geographical boundaries of Manitoulin Island was 3254. (Census of Indians in Canada, 1959) However, the actual Indian population living on these reserves in 1959 was 2476: without applying for formal enfranchisement, 742 of the band members were living off the reservations.

The total population of Manitoulin Island, from the 1951 census was 11, 214; 2,246 or approximately 20% of this number were living on one of the five Indian reservations of the island. This population living on

11. All 1951 general population figures were obtained from the Nineth census of Canada, 1951. Specific Indian statistics were obtained from Census of Indians in Canada, 1959. (see Appendix D)

the five reserves is almost entirely members of the band and of Indian origin. Only a few cases are non-Indians found residing on the reserve: four priests, approximately seven nuns, and eleven school teachers, one store owner, and one tourist lodge operatorpplus an estimated five or six non-Indian women who married band-members. The non-reservation population is dominately of British origin (see Appendix D); it did include, in 1951, 204 persons of Indian origin. This number, 2.3 per cent of the total non-reservation population, is made up primarily of Indians living in the town of Little Current.

Data from the 1951 census (see Appendix D) illustrates the general socio-economin situation of the total population of Manitoulin Island. For the population not attending school, the mode for the number of years of schooling is between five and eight years; 52% of the population fall here, while 4.2% of the population have thirteen years of schooling or more.

Agriculture is the primary occupation (Appendix D); 31.4 per cent of the labour force is in farming; 40.5 per cent of the total Manitoulin population reside on farms. Small scale mixed-farming is the norm; the average farm value (including values of land, buildings, implements and machinery, and livestock) is $12, 854. (See Appendix D)

Information on the yearly earnings of the family head can be added to the above information. For the 923 families on Manitoulin Island, the modal figure (35.55%) for the earnings of the family head is in the $1,000 to $1,999 range. Another 27.19% of family heads earn less than $1,000 each. Altogether, therefore, about 63%, or 589 of the 923 family heads earn $2,000 or less per year.

The economic and educational levels are reflected in the general data on household dwellings and possessions. For example, of the 2,805 dwellings, the principal heating equipment is a hot air furnace for 455, and a stove for 2,304. Hot and cold water is available in 595 of these dwellings, cold water only in 260, and no running water in 1, 950. 2,255 of the 2,805 dwellings have no bath or shower facilities, 2,150 no toilet. Refrigeration is absent in 1,475 homes, washing machines absent in 1,105 and telephones in 1,310. (Further details, Appendix D.)

This census information suggests that the total Manitoulin Island population is primarily a rural agricultural population with a low socio-economic position. Inclusive in these statistics are those on the Indian population, so it is not possible to determine how much of this picture of the total population reflects the Indian socio-economic position.

The only material available from the census that allows the comparison of Indian with non-Indian on Manitoulin Island is in reference to farming (see Appendix D) We mentioned that 40.5 per cent of the total Manitoulin Island population live on farms; but 26.3 per cent of the reservation Indians and 73.7 per cent of the non-reservation population live on farms. These figures indicate that the high proportion of the population engaged in agriculture is that segment of the population not living on the reserves. The population living on the Indian Reserves is far less involved in farming.

We can consider too the farm calues for these two categories of the population: in relation to the average value of $12,854 for farms on Manitoulin Island, the 76 farms operated on the reserves have an average value of $5,083 while the 956 farms in operation off the reserves have a mean value of $20,624. This farm value is a total of the value of

land, buildings, machinery and livestock. The comparison on average value of livestock only, $1,134 and $9,038 respectively, for the reserve and non-reserve farmer, intensifies the difference in their scale of farming.

For example, on the Indian reserves, the average is 3 cattle, 0.2 sheep, and 3.4 swine per farm operator; for farm operators not on the Indian reservations, the average is 37.4 cattle, 29 sheep and 9 swine each. In field crops, the difference is less: for example, the average for the farmer on the reservation is 0.22 acres of potatoes, and for the farmer not on the reservation, it is 0.46 acres. We can conclude that farming on the reserve is carried on to a far lesser degree, and on a much smaller scale than farming in other parts of Manitoulin Island.

Against this brief descriptive background, let us show how the model for studying anomie (Chapter 2, pp.49-53) can be applied to the population of Manitoulin Island. The model was presented very generally; this allowed its application to any social system, for the analysis of the role defined for ego, occupying any social position, in reference to his performance of any activity (any or all). To demonstrate the application of this model, we will now take as the social system under analysis the Indian Reservation community, and discuss the role defined by alter for ego, occupying the social position of adult male Indian, in reference to his performance of economic activity. The analysis therefore will follow the six basic steps outlined in the model. In this chapter, we shall consider the first four steps; a description of the social system under analysis, a consideration of what is involved in the social position of ego as an adult male Indian, a discussion of ptential economic activity for ego, and a listing of the potential role definors for ego. In the following chapter the application of the model will be completed with a discussion of the roles de-

fined for ego's performance of economic activity and an analysis of his nonperformance suggesting anomie.

A - The Social System Under Analysis

The reservation community will be used as the focus of the social system under analysis. The reservation is a geographically defined unit, that is, the tract of the land set apart by the Crown for the use of an Indian band. However, in the reserves under analysis, each geographical unit coincides with a small Indian community, or Indian social system. Thus, the reserve will be spoken of as the focus of the social system under analysis.

However, these reserve communities are, in no form, isolated and self-subsistent. The "plurality of individuals interacting with each other in a situation" will include many others, Indian and non-Indian, that are not residents of the reserve. (These will be described under the sections of of potential rol definers.)

B - Differentiated Social Positions Within the Social System

An analysis of the social positions within the reserve unit could be taken to any degree of detail. It appears to be more than a challenging task to discuss here only social positions delineated in terms of age, sex, and "Indian": There are simple possibilities of illustrating the model by discussing only the adult male Indian.

The definition of the sex and age statuses are obvious. But the third social position requires defining. The status "Indian" (which, in our case, is to be translated as only the Indian living on an Indian Reserve) is a social position ascribed to all our population under analysis. However, in ascribing this status, not all the ascribers are doing so on the same basis.

Legally, and as defined by "The Indian Act" the status Indian "means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian". Indian therefore refers to any persons, and the descendants of these persons, who by the government act of 1874 were "considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada". Indian is the legal status of one thus registered with the Government of Canada.

However, the informal definition of the status "Indian" operating at the reserve level of social interaction is not so well defined. There are three possible identifying features on which this status of an Indian could hinge; racial, cultural, or present-situational features.

The Canadian Indian could be seen a racial group - - genetically related to the Asiatic mongoloid. If the status of an Indian was defined according to race it would suggest certain distinctive physical features. Ascribed a distinct racial status the Indian might also be seen, by those with whom he interacts, as possessing distinctive mental capacities and personality traits.

This racial factor, per se, does not appear vital in the status ascription "Indian" in the Manitoulin Island area. On the one hand, both Indians and non-Indians recognize the high degree of interbreeding between their groups, particularly in past generations. On Manitoulin Island, with an Indian population of 2,450 no one was aware of any surviving 100% pure Indian. Of course, the absence of any group members of the "pure race" does not exempt race from being a social reality. But further evidence is illustrated by the fact that of all the typical stereotype references to the Manitoulin Indian, never were any concerned with physical

or hereditary characteristics. The Indian was not "colored", nor were any facial features emphasized as peculiar to him. Moreover, for today's Manitoulin Island Indian, with skin color lightened, and hair texture, facial, and body features so variable among them, through intermarriage with non-Indians, there is no longer clearly identifying racial elements that could assure group isolation of all the Indians from other Manitoulin Islanders. For example, on one Manitoulin Island Reserve with a population of 126; on of the band councillors was blonde and blue eyed, another family included a red headed father and 3 very blonde daughters. Yet all were defined as Indian. A case quoted later (p. 94) demonstrates the inability of a Manitoulin Island merchant to recognize one Indian band member. The Physical or biological features according to which the status Indian could be defined as race are being less and less identifiable.

Secondly, the status "Indian" could imply cultural definitions -- the view of the Canadian Indian as inheritor of an historical Indian culture. Family and political institutions, means of subsistence and technology, values and beliefs toward men, nature, and the supernatural, forms of dress and dancing, medicine and magic all bestow a unique culture, survival of which could designate for the Indian of today a distinctive social status.

Social position, based on this element, is of more significance in the ascription of the status "Indian". In history the Canadian Indian is frequently depicted as "the noble savage." In the Canadian folklore, school text books, and anthropological writings the aboriginal culture is emphasized. Indian in this context becomes defined romantically as the man of nature, living by drawing food and clothing from the natural resources.

The degree of Indian acculturation -- the replacement of their native culture by the "Canadian culture" -- has not yet been established by the social scientist, let alone the Canadian society at large. But

for the definition of the status Indian, the significant question is not how many distinctive patterns of behavior related to aboriginal culture survive today. Instead, when the image of the Indian as culturally distinct within an historical context is a real image to a segment of the population, it is a significant factor in defining the Indian's status. This cultural image does appear real only to that segment of the population interacting with the Manitoulin Island Indian that has had no direct contact previously with the Indian, To this group, the status Indian signifies to some extent the man of nature and the "noble-mistreated", and in this mythological context is distinguished from other Canadians. As we shall see later, it is primarily the tourist to Manitoulin Island for whom this definition of the Indian status is appropriate. It is exemplified in the large quantities of "Indian" souvenirs sold yearly on the Island, and in the local business operators using Indian symbols to attract the visitor to their establishments. It is illustrated too in the overwhelming proportion of tourists to Island non-Indians that attend the annual Pow-wow display of Indian dancing on one of the Island Reserves. Or it was demonstrated by the tourist, standing at the shore of a lake on the grounds of a large modern lodge, who turned to the author to say, "Oh to have been here at twilight, and seen the long line of canoes paddling home for the day, and heard the braves singing".

Those who are in direct communication and social interaction with the Manitoulin Island Indian do not define the Indian status in this cultural image. To them the ascription of the status "Indian has a somewhat more realistic basis, part of which can be summarized in the concept "wardship". This is a feature of social position applicable to members of no other racial or ethnic group in Canada; this is a feature evolving around the fact that

since 1871 the Canadian Indians have had a distinctive status as official wards of the Canadian government which assumes certain responsibilities and acknowledges certain obligations toward them. It would appear that today "wardship" is the primary basis of the status Indian.

Formally, "wardship" defines the situation of the Indian in Canadian society. It includes the designation of specific geographical areas for Indian residence, and administration and supervision of this area and its inhabitants. For this selected area, called the "reserve", economic, educational, medical, and social welfare resources are provided. Moreover, to the residents, specific exceptions in relation to the privileges and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship apply, such as tax exemptions, political restrictions, prohibitions in individual property transactions, and for some reserves, alcohol prohibition.

"Wardship" therefore differentiates the Indian community from any other Canadian community. Geographical segregation plus the formal community structure externally imposed by the Canadian government immediately dictates a distinctive identity. Through formal legal sanctions a distinctive social system has been established with a defined ecological base.

Secondly, the "wardship" implies a "guardian" requirement for the Indian group. If the Canadian government is and has been accepting the responsibility of providing food, clothing, houses, schools, and community administration for the Indian, this must be so because it is necessary. If the Indian is not allowed to mortgage his house, this is so because he cannot be trusted to repay his bills. If the Indian is prohibited from possessing intoxicants, this is so because he cannot hold his liquor. A child-like image of the Indian results: The Indian is seen as weak and incapable in relation to other non-Indians.

Thirdly, the persistence of the "ward" status of the Canadian Indian is associated with socio-economic factors -- a low standard of living reflected in housing, clothing, food and furniture, low educational achievement, and a rural, if not agricultural, residential area. This is not seen simply as a lower class situation; rather, because of the features mentioned above already operating to distinctively define this population, this latter aspect is merely added as a necessary correlate to the former.

From these three aspects involved in the concept of "wardship", the Indian group becomes defined foremost as different, secondly as less capable than other elements of Canadian society, and, thirdly, as lower class with the accompanying implications. Therefore, ascribing to ego the status of a reserve Indian, on this wardship basis, is to ascribe to him characteristics of these three aspects.

C - Activity to Be Performed On The Reserve

The activity most crucial for performance by at least one member of each household is the economic: economic activity is one category of action that is a requisite for the survival of a population. It can be, a priori, assumed that in a community some action will be directed at least toward the attainment of the biological requirements of life, such as nutrition and physical protection. Therefore, for the reserve community, we know that there must be some role definitions of action in reference to economic provision. On Manitoulin Island, the forms this activity can take are very limited. For the adult male casual employment is available in cutting pulpwood, in short-term farm labouring, in seasonal guiding for the fisherman and hunters, on road-improvement crews, and the odd labouring job around the towns. One man of the 87 adult males of the

three reserves held what could be termed a steady job -- the reserve school bus driver. None within this sample operated any form of independent business; of the total reserve population of Manitoulin Island of 2697, there are only seven such enterprises, all small stores, but all situated on reserves larger that the three in question.

Economic activity also includes collecting public assistance; family allowance, welfare relief, old age pension, mother's allowance, military service pension and pension for the blind, in that order, constitute a large percentage of the income of the reserve.

To this listing should be added supplementary economic activities: gardening, handicraft, production, hunting, fishing, gathering, and maple sugar harvesting, in that order, contribute to reserve subsistence. It is here that the adult female may be involved in economic activity: handicraft production is almost totally her task, while all the remainder of these activities she may share with the male. Otherwise, casual employment in cleaning, cooking or washing, and in two cases of the 67, women dress-making for the non-Indian neighbours were supplementary economic activities.

D - Role Definers For The Reserve Indian

For ego, any reserve Indian, a listing of all potential definers of roles in relation to the activities to be performed in the community will include non-Indian and Indian social units of both formal and informal organization that are located in the community and elsewhere, that interact with him.

Considering first the non-Indian formally organized social units, the list can begin with the government administration unit of the reserve, at present, this is the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship

and Immigration. For the three reserves under analysis, this implies contact with the one common local agency office usually through the superintendant, or his assistant. Communication between the reserve members and the Department of Indian Affairs is primarily through this agency. Formally arranged contacts between the band council and the agency officers are the dominant line of communication with the latter in attendance at the meetings of the former. But, for all reserve members, letters or visits to the agency office, or, quite commonly, flagging down the agency officer's car when it visits the reserve, allows them opportunities for voicing any of their problems.

Secondly, we shall note the educational institutions. Reserve A contains one school, taught by the Roman Catholic teacher, and with an enrollment of twenty-five students in 1960 from grades one to five inclusive. From grade six through to high school the students commute by a reserve operated school bus to a non-Indian high school in a town approximately forty miles distant. On Reserve B, there is no school; the Protestant primary grades attend a non-Indian village school, the Roman Catholic primary grades go into their church school in the nearby town, and high school students all travel to the non-Indian town high school. Reserve C has a reserve situated school for students to grade six, taught by an Anglican teacher. In 1960 enrollment here was eighteen. For schooling after the sixth grade the children enter the town high school -- the same high school attended by Reserve B.

The educational institution is therefore not a common factor to three reserves. Reserve A and C each have the resident school teacher, and a school teacher of the same religious denomination as the majority of the band members. This not only gives to Reserves A and C a potential role de-

finer in the form of the school teacher, that Reserve B lacks, but it also adds the possibility of strengthening the role definitions of the church for Reserves A and C.

The religious institutions themselves must be noted. Reserve A has two churches, a Roman Catholic and an Anglican, with the majority of the reserve members affiliated with the Roman Catholic (1959 Indian census states 123 to 23 respectively). Reserve B.likewise has these two denominations with the reserve members split almost equally between the two (1959 Indian census, 52 Anglican, 42 Roman Catholics). Reserve C has only an Anglican church representing 126 of the 140 band members. This is the only reserve in which there are some of the population affiliated with a denomination that does not have church facilities on the reserve; 8 of the reserve population are Roman Catholic who visit the nearby town or reserve B for church service. Also, 6 of the reserve population are affiliated with the United Church of Canada, and must visit the church in the nearby town.

The reserves share the common factor of having no resident priest or minister of their church. All three reserves have the same Roman Catholic priest, a priest who is defined as a priest for the Indian reserves and who resides on another Island reserve. For any Protestant denomination, the Indian church shares a minister with the non-Indian town churches.

Beyond these "big three", the reserve population also has the possibilities of receiving role definition from the legal-juridical institutions, the medical, the social welfare, and the political institutions. For these three reserves, this means,in concrete terms, first of all, the possibilities of interaction with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, and, if convicted, Magistrates Court. No representatives of these organizations reside on any of the reserves. Moreover, there is a variable of non-equal distance between the reserves and the headquarters of

the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or the Ontario Provincial Police, which would appear to some degree relevant to the contact between reserve members and these social units. It is apparent that communication and interaction is to some degree a factor of this physical distance, since typical modes of contact are through the cruiser patrolling the reserve, the telephone request, or more commonly than those two, attracting the attention of the officer through behavior in the nearby towns.

The national political institution became a meaningful unit with this past 1962 election and the first opportunity of voting for these reserve members. This meant contact with the local representatives of all three parties, the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and the New Democratic.

In the area of economic institutions, interaction of the reserve population is involved both with formally and informally organized contacts. This would include from the indian perspective both production and consumption contacts; the pulpwood and tree planting companies, the tourist lodge and the farmer fall into the productioncategory, while all the retailing establishments belong to the consumption category.

The only formally organized Indian social unit on the reserves are the local political institutions. In each of the three reserves under study, this "council of the band" as it is called, is comprised of a chief and two councillors selected by an election of all band members who had reached the age of twenty-one. These three officers are, by regulation of The Indian Act (1952), members of the band and residents of the reserve. Their term in office is for two years, but nothing prevents renomination and re-election. (Except when the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration declares a person holding office ineligible for continuing in that office or re-election to that office during a defined period for reasons of being convicted of an

indictable offence or of not executing this office in accordance with The Indian Act).

External to the reserve but a formally organized Indian unit is the Union of OntarioIndians. This means for the Chief of each reserve an annual formal contact with other reserve chiefs of Ontario. Moreover, one side effect of this organization is an increase in inter-reserve between the band councils on Manitoulin Island, as they discuss and plan for the "Union" meeting.

Informally organized social units of either Indian or non-Indian composition may also act as potential role definers for the reserve Indian. The non-Indian neighbours of the reserve are of the most important social units in this respect. For the three reserves under discussion, these neighbours differ. For reserve A, the nearest non-Indian neighbours are approximately six miles from the reserve and are comprised of farmers, a couple of merchants, and two tourist camp operators and their seasonal slientele. Reserve B. Borders directly on a non-Indian village of farmers, a few merchants, and seven tourist lodges and their seasonal clientele. Reserve C is bordered on either side by non-Indian farmers and lies within three miles of the non-Indian town population. Depending on which of these varieties of non-Indian neighbours are near the reserve, interaction from the Indian's perspective, may be directed primarily from his position either as patron or as clientele; in either case, interaction revolves around economic activity. Interaction with the non-Indian neighbour at the informal social level is almost unknown in these three reserves.

The informal Indian organizations within the reserve that could operate as role definers are ego's household members, ego's kin, and ego's community members. These latter two divisions of the reserve population are, in reality, not that distinct from each other. On reserve A, there

was no household that was not related through one spouse or both, to another household in the reserve. The mean kin connections to other households on the reserve for each household was 2.44. Moreover, in over 60% of the households, both spouses were natives of the reserve - - but with no recognized immediate kinship tie between them. On reserves Band C a similiar pattern appears to hold; the data for computing exactly a mean kin connection is not available. If kinship charts were obtained that recorded back two or three generations, it is predictable that the actual degree of inter-reserve kinship ties would be very high. Indian informants of ten suggested that; "We're all related around here, some way or another" was a typical response to questions about kin. Therefore, for ego, the operation of his kinship group on the reserve in defining his action is synonomous with that of his community members.

Also included in the informal Indian social units are those external to the reserve, such as visiting friends of other reserves or of Indians living off the reserve or enfranchised. Most of this visiting pattern hinges around kinship connections. Kin living off the reserve seem to retain contact through at least annual visits.

CHAPTER IV

ROLES FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: AN EXAMPLE OF ANOMIE ON THE INDIAN RESERVATION

In Chapter III we described the various social units that have the potential for prescribing the role of ego in the performance of economic activity. There are at lease three aspects to this role. First, does ego have an economic role at all, that is, is it defined that the adult male reserve Indian should perform in economic activity? Should he work? Secondly, why should ego perform economic activity, that is, what are the results and rewards that offer the incentive to work? Thirdly, by what particular means should ego fulfill the expectation that he perform economic activity, that is, what work should he do? Each of these three aspects of the economic role of the adult male reserve Indian will be considered. If it can be shown that for ego the defined expectations for his action in relation to these three aspects of economic performance are either,

(1) lacking,

(2) conflicting, or

(3) inappropriate to the accessible means to fulfillment

to the degree that action in accordance with a defined role of economic performance is impossible, we can conclude that for ego the economic situation is an anomic one.

A - THE ROLE DEFINED FOR EGO IN ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

Is it defined that the adult male reserve Indian be active in economic production?

As a requisite for the existence of their societies, both the traditional Ojibwa culture and the non-Indian culture contained definitions that the members of their societies employ themselves in some way in economic activity. In both cases, unless he was excused on the basis of some particular characteristic (sickness, for example), the adult male was expected to contribute to the subsistence of himself and specified others. Each man carried this responsibility for himself and family, and for he and them only. (This non co-operative pattern is typical of the total activity range of the Ojibwa). (Barnouw, 1952: 16 F.f.). The adult Ojibwa male, in pre-European contact times, would have been expected to supply, through hunting and fishing, food and the clothing material for his family. Western society contains a similar expectation of their adult male population -- although fulfillment by different means. In the culture of both societies the age and sex status of the adult male dictated that he be active in economic production. In both cultures the adult male was presented with a work role.

If we look at the male adult Indian on the three Manitoulin Island reservations, we can find a variety of social units that present this same expectation to him -- the role of employing himself actively in economic production.

All the non-Indian social units that interact with the reserve population dictate directly to ego the role that he should be working. From the Western tradition, they present to ego the standard on which a man's dignity rests -- his independant provision for himself and his defined dependants.

The church, for example, would operate as one definer of this expectation of ego. (There are none who are not affiliated with a church in these three reserves). (See appendix D.) The church defines work as good, idleness as bad, Clergyman X remarked about a certain family on

Reserve A,

> "You would be better off living with them. They are one notch above all the rest,...(he) always keeps himself in a job and she gets a good garden in every year"

The remark demonstrates his evaluation of the reserve population in terms of t their economic performance, and indicates his definition that they should be performing an economic role.

Urging reserve members to work and to accept any recognized economic opportunities was a common task of all the clergy in the area. A comment of Clergyman Y suggests that he considered himself as a definer for the Indian of this work role; "You have to keep jogging them (Indians on the reservation) ...after Easter, Sunday after Sunday, I mentioned their gardens". The same clergyman mentioned his "talk to" three reserve men in which he tried to persuade them to go back to a tree-planting job they had all just quit. Another clergyman was very concerned with encouraging handicraft production.

The school reinforces this definition, and has the opportunity of presenting it to every Indian child from the age of seven to sixteen. Western values and norms are brought to the children through the agency of the church-affiliated teacher. This would include the evaluation of work and economic productivity as primary to the "respectable" adult. The English language, considered a basic tool for potential achievement of work opportunities, is insisted on in the school. (One Indian told the story of his receipt of a "strapping" for speaking his native tongue on the school grounds).

A similar definition emerges from the social agencies: The Children's Aid may penalize the family by removing the children when the male adult is not employed in economic activity. Moreover, both the Children's Aid and the Social Welfare worker with Indian Affairs attemp to encourage

employment and to assist in placement in an employee position.

The local Indian Affairs agency strengthens this definition that ego be a worker, primarily by providing various opportunities for him to fulfill it. For example, a tractor and machinery have been provided for the Manitoulin Island reserves, and on Reserve A in 1961. Any reserve road work is given to the reserve members. Requests for government tree-planters are channelled down to the reserve. In the summer of 1961 plans had been finalized for establishing a tourist park on Reserve C. Also in the lines of provision of opportunities to work, the Indian Affairs Branch offers financial assistance to those who wish to further their education past the elementary. In 1960, the Economic Development Division of The Indian Affairs Branch was established; its operations included an employment placement programme to select high school students from the reserve and steer them into steady jobs, the management of fur, fish, wildlife resources on the reserve, and the promotion of agriculture on the reserve.

The particular type of work role these various social units define for ego is an aspect to be discussed later. Here the analysis has been concerned with the factor of whether or not ego is given <u>any</u> work role. One certainly can conclude that there is a definition that ego, the adult male Indian on the reserve, participate in economically productive action. From either the traditional culture or from the Western culture, the adult male Indian is ascribed a work role -- a role that expects him to perform action that results in the provision of subsistence for himself and his specified dependants.

But between the two cultures there are significant differences in the complex of additional factors that surround this performance of a work role. In the pre-European situation, the Indian worked to obtain directly

the products of subsistence. For the male adult the quest for food was the main activity: his occupations were hunting and fishing. A second product of hunting was material for clothing. The adult female completed the activities essential for economic survival, she supplemented the food supply in the gathering of berries and roots; she collected the bark and boughs and constructed the teepee; and she converted the hides into clothing. (Kinietz, 1947: 43-68).

In contemporary Western culture the rewards of an actor's work role are rarely direct products for his own consumption. Rather a multitude of non-essential-to-subsistence items are defined as part of a standard of living that should be the goal of economic action. This standard of living has no clearly defined ceiling as does subsistence level: When there was food for today, and no means or need of preserving any, it was quite obvious that work was over for the day. But in performing the work role for the achievement of the valued goals of the standard of living the "day's work is never done". Many of these "standard of living items" are only obtainable in the "earning" not "making". Money becomes an essential product of work activity. This means the forms of economic action must change too: it now becomes necessary for ego to offer his products or services to a market that refunds him with money -- and to offer products and services that the market demands. In the industrial setting of this market, these demands include everything from the possession of specific skills and training, to the performance of the work activity in a designated place during regular defined hours. Therefore, to the basic role ascribed to the male adult Reserve Indian that he perform in economic activity, that is, provides himself and his dependants a means of subsistence there are added other aspects: the work role must provide some cash return for purchasing power; the amount of cash return necessary is virtually un-

limited; to obtain the cash certain required services or products must be offered to others; to participate with others in the market exchange certain demands of the others must be fulfilled.

THE PERFORMANCE OF THIS ROLE BY EGO

If we look at the adult male Indian on the three reserves under analysis, do we find him performing his role of being economically involved in activity that provides for subsistence? To determine the answer to this question, information is required as to the cost of living of ego and his defined dependants, and the contribution made by ego to this cost through his activity. Complete data is not available here: from the data to be presented we can demonstrate that ego does not fulfill this work role adequately for subsistence, but we cannot establish just how far he fails in his performance.

For example, if ego were fulfilling the work role adequately, he would, by his activity, be providing shelter for himself and his dependants. Instead on reserve A, B, and C, we have respectively 5, of 18, 4 of 15, and 8 of 20 dwelling units that were constructed through expenditures of the Indians Affairs Branch and the band funds in question. In all cases, there was at least one adult male in the household.

Secondly, if ego were fulfilling the work role adequately, he would be providing the general means of subsistence, food, clothing, etc. for himself and his dependants. Family allowances and Old Age pensions are automatic contributions to these means for subsistence. Besides these, applications can be made for welfare assistance. (See AppendixD) During a 12 month period, June 1961 to July 1962, the members of Reserve A drew a total of $6214. welfare.[12]

12. Since June 1961, this welfare assistance has been supervised directly by the local band. 50% of the assistance is drawn from band funds: 50% is contributed by provincial welfare.

This assistance was given monthly to an average of 7.6 of the 18 households. (Range, 4 to 14 households). Monthly, the average welfare drawn by the population was $517. (Range, $263. to $842.) In summary, an average of 42% of the households of Reserve A were drawing an average amount of $69. each per month.

Similiar information is available for Reserve C. Here, for the same time period, a total of $2623. welfare was drawn. An average of 5.9 of the 20 households of the reserve monthly drew this assistance. The average monthly amount of welfare given on the reserve was $218. This signifies that an average of 29.5% of the reserve households were averaging $37. each per month in welfare.

If statistics showing actual earned income were available, it would be possible to see exactly to what extent ego is depending on welfare assistance. An estimate by Kinietz (1947: 65) for five reserves, of which two were in Manitoulin, one north of Manitoulin, and two in Michigan, suggested that in an earlier period (1937) approximately 75% of village income was derived from governmental assistance.

Regardless of exactly how much subsistence depends on external assistance, it can be concluded just from this data that ego is not fulfilling adequately the role defined for him in ralation to economic activity: his performance in economic activity is not adequate to provide for subsistence. This work role is very articulately prescribed to him by all the organized non-Indian social units with which he interacts. In a less direct fashion, it is ascribed to him by others of the non-Indian population: the status of an adult male implies in the Western value system the role of economic productivity. And, as well, the traditional definitions of their native culture support these Western expectations; the adult Indian male has economic responsibilities to fulfill by action. Yet, ego is not realizing this role. We

may ask "Why is he not?".

ANOMIE: ANANALYSIS OF EGO'S FAILURE TO FULFILLTHIS ROLE

One answer to the question as to why ego is not performing the work role lies with the potential means for ego to fulfillthis role.

Is it possible for adult male Indian to use the traditional means to fulfill this role? Today, on the Manitoulin Island Reservations, hunting and fishing are in no way a primary occupation for the adult male. This means of subsistence is not physically impossible: Manitoulin Island is such a large scale tourist attraction (Appendix C) because of its bountiful potential for fishermen and hunters. But unless members from Reserve B and C were willing to travel some distance from the reserve (approx. 15-20 miles), their only animal for hunting would be the rabbit. Reserve A is in a different location where deer and bear could be relatively easy to obtain. For all three reservations, a lake and fishing possibilities lie no more than two miles from any dwelling. Yet, from my general experience in the area, I would estimate that no more than ten meals a month, and, likely for the average of the population, a maximum of four or five meals a month are based on meat and fish obtained by the household member's hunting and fishing. And the majority of these cases are the products of the teenage boy's sport not the adult male's work.

There are several factors influencing the man's performance of his economic role through this traditional defined means. The homemade technical means for hunting and fishing have been forgotten, and purchase of boats, guns, etc. require economic capital that ego does not have. This neglect of the traditional means is itself imbedded in another factor that accounts for the neglect of the activity.

Contact with Western society has given the reserve Indian a definition

that economic activity should yield more than food of nature and clothing of skins. For example, seven television sets appear on reserve A, four on reserve B, and eight on reserve C. Maney not flora and fauna is the focus of work activity. Hunting and fishing could be a secondary activity at the most: with the standard of Western society cash producing activity becomes primary.

Cash producing activity, from the resources of Manitoulin Island could take the form of offering one's services for employment among the non-Indian enterprises, or producing marketable products for sale. If either of these means are chosen, a further conflict with fulfilling hunting and fishing activity is added: going into the woods for three of four days may mean missing an opportunity to "pick Up" a job, or neglecting the care of and possible sale from the home production.

Along with the presentation to ego of the definitions that his work activity should be directed to the achievement, by cash, of many items of the Western standard of living, there is also a definition of fishing and hunting within the context of the tourist induetry. It is the tourist or outsider who is interested in these activitios and for "sport". And the Indian cannot identify with the tourist. In fact, the tourist is the subject of jokes over all the reserves.

We see, therefore, a variety of conflicting expectations presented to ego that prevents him from fulfilling the work role within the traditional means. He has an alternative then to perform his role within the economic means of Western definition, ,but this too is not fulfilled. Here we consider what appears to be the primary factor in his failure to perform, the inaccessibility of the means to do so,

Near reserve A and reserve C one possibility for performing a cash-producing role is by seeking employment with the local farmers. Tet, typical of the farm operators was this definition of the Indian employee offered by

one farmer;

> "not even though it is cheaper, or never
> hire them unless we are really stuck...
> so lazy that since the baby bonus came in...
> they just live off it and don't do another
> thing except drink that wine till their
> eyes are in their cheeks ..."

The status Indian implies to these potential employers that ego is not as capable as the non-Indian. Considering the fact that the majority of the farmers on Manitoulin Island operate small scale mixed farms (See Appendix C); and the problem of competition between the local Indian and the non-Indian population for the few opportunities that are available, this definition of the Indian worker limits his chance in the competition to gain farm employment. The Indian in search of farm labour realizes this definition. Only in a few casesswere the Indian-farmer personal social contacts close enough to allow the employer-employee relationship. For example, one man left the reserve where he was living with his wife's family and returned to the reserve of his birthplace at the haying season. His reason was, "They allkknow me around here because I played hockey with their sons...they know I work ... Over ther, they won't even give you a chance",

Around the reserves, potential opportunities for employment were providedbby the tourist lodges. Opportunities are not numerous, but the Indian on the basis of this status, did have a slightly stronger chance of gaining employment with the tourist establishment than with the farmer. There are two factors operating to allow this. For the owner of the resort, it is "good for business" to have an Indian among his staff as an attraction for those tourists who defined the Indian within a cultural context of fishing and hunting. Secondly, the majority of the non-Indian population on Manitoulin Island are, or were, on farms, so they not only first seek labour within this occupation, but also, in many cases, shun employment guiding at

tourist establishments because of the association of Indians with the job.

Still, the actual rate of employment remains low. Around Reserve A there were only two small tourist establishments (total guest capacity, eight a and ten persons), and these approximately four miles from the reservation. Neither of them employed anyone from the reserve, but this was a case simply of not requiring any assistance. Reserve C was in a similar situation: the nearest tourist establishments were three miles away in the town and the competition of non-Indian did not give the reserve an opportunity. But, surrounding reserve B, within a one-mile radius, were six resort establishments, with an average guest capacity of 33.7 persons. Five of these six provided fishing facilities for their guests. Two of these five had no opportunities for Indian employment because of their own kin involvementin the business. The other three all hired help during the summer, but one of this number definitely refused to employ anyone of the status Indian. When asked if he had Indian or white guides, his response was:

> "Oh, white guides, The Indians are always drunk ... money doesn't mean anything to them. They just work till they've got ten bucks to buy their gin ... no, I guess they drink wine .. and their groceries and they then don't show up the next day ..."

The other two establishments both hired Indians for guides in fishing, but both owners suggested that the non-Indian guide was more responsible. Both commented that the Indian was a good worker once he "caught on", but the common complaint was voiced by one owner as,

> "It just isn't worth training them .. they work about two weeks and then they disappear.. off they go and get drunk .. they have a little cash, they don't want any more. Just no good .. They sober up and come back .. That's no good ... You need them all the time".

This definition that the status Indian implied that the employee would be undependable due to his drinking parties was spontaneously voiced

by sixteen of the twenty-one resort owners living within a seven mile radius of the three reserves, but with varying degrees of intensity. Three of the twenty-one defined the Indian employee in this way but were c completely acceptant of it. However, in all three cases, the employee was the Indian female: greater tolerance for the Indian female seems to correlate with the lower economic productivity expected from the female. As one proprietor stated,

> "I have an Indian working for me now .. very good. But you see, they just live from day to day. They get a hold of a few dollars and they buy a lot of food and liquor and then they gorge themselves. You see they never think of tomorrow .. isn't here just now .. went Friday night and hasn't come back yet. (This was Monday afternoon). As long as I can keep her here with me, everything is fine".

Farming and the tourist industry are two of the main activities of Manitoulin Island, but employment for ego within either is very limited. With any local non-Indian enterprise the same result emerges: The social units that require employees define the member of the reserve as an Indian employee and therefore not a good employee. This means that in an area where industrial development is lacking, and job opportunities scarce, the reserve Indian cannot compete successfully. The result is the lack of opportunities to fulfill the work role.

This problem of the low availability of job opportunities is intersified further by the lack of steady employment opportunities for the reserve Indian. It was mentioned earlier that only one of the adult males of these three reserves had a predictably continuous opportunity of being economically productive. The expectation defined for the adult male of our society that he be economically productive assumes that this, for him, will be "good" .. that there are certain rewards attainable through fulfillment

of this role. Only one of these rewards is the ability to securely plan for the future and pland for the achievement of other culturally valued goals.

However, the assumption cannot be made that the rewards from a predictably steady opportunity of being economically productive are similiar to the rewards from any economically productive opportunities regardless of how irregularly they arise and how short-lived their existence is. The Manitoulin reserve Indian, with rare, exception, falls into the latter situation. The institutions of Canadian society define for him certain achievements through his economic labours, yet his opportunities to fulfill this economic role definition are so scant and discontinuous that he cannot predict future achievement of these goals. This suggests the hypothesis that the anomic situation in reference to the economic role is a contribution to anomic situations in other roles, since so many defined expectations hinge on the economic means of fulfillment. A conversation with an Indian of reserve B clearly reflects such a situation. He was speaking of the "hard times" of the past winter when work was very scarce. "Iknow everyone calls us lazy drunken Indians" he said. "They say we only work until we can get enough money for booze .. and maybe they are right ... but when you get the money, you know you can buy some food and some beer and have a good time. And you might as well 'cause you never know when you can do it again".

In other words, the incentive to work that is defined by the culture does not apply to the reserve Indian. This incentive is based on the achieveing and planning for achievement of the culturally valued items of a standard of living. If the attainment of these rewards are made unpredictable by the absence of predictable means to obtain them, the fulfillment of economically productive activity has only "short range" goals. The short-term goals, such as the one outstanding in the employers image of the Indian-- the drinking party -- are quickly fulfilled, and the reason for continuing the

performance of the work role subsides. This non-regularity of ego's work performance strengthens the employer's definition of himas a poor employee and opportunities for employment decrease. A vicious circle is created with the two factors perpetually working on one-another.

, It is not only the lack of steady employment that conflicts with the defined rewards that should be the products of economic performance. Part of the "wardship" statusof the reserve Indian is that legally he is property-less, except among fellow Indians. In a society which values individual control over and use of property, a capitalistic society if we may term it that, the reserve Indian within this society can be socialized to these values but is prevented from acting in respect to them. This was particularly obvious to those reserve inhabitants who were aware of the Indian Act stipulation that "the real and personal property of an Indian or a band situation on a reserve is not subject to charge, pledge, mortgage, attachment, levy, seizure, distress or execution in favour or at the instance of any person other than an Indian". The story of one man will illustrate. He told of how he and his wife had wanted to buy new asphalt siding and window and door screens for their home. He obtained a contract for pulpwood, and immediately ordered his desired materials delivered to his home under a usual charge account. The following day, the company returned and carried away their supplies with the comment that they had not realized before that he was Indian. The man in question commented "What is the sense of us Indians working then? ... Everyone thinks we're too lazy to work and they just laugh at a man who makes his plans. No one trusts you to work... I just said to my wife here that we'd go into town and buy some beer ... I'm finishing my pulpwood and we are having a good party every Saturday..."

For ego, in a situation of very low economic status, the possibilities of obtaining capital to fulfill any desired goals are made virtually impossible by this section of the Indian Act. A recourse through informal loans is likely to be extremely limited; the status of Indian with its unreliable connotations plus the appraisal of his normal income would cause potential lenders to refuse.

In summary, we can note that it is essential for a society that an adequate proportion of its members should be performing activity that provides for their physical subsistence. Therefore, it is natural that within both the traditional Ojibwa culture and the Western society that came into contact with it, the adult male was expected to fulfill a work role. We have seen that the same role is ascribed to ego, the adult male Indian on the reservation today.

Yet ego is not fulfilling this role. This meets the criteria of an anomic situation (p): ego is not acting in reference to his expected role behavioe in this designated area of economically productive action. If ego is not fulfilling the expected role, we speak of the "failure" of the role to regulate his action, that is, of anomie. From our analysis, "the failure" of the role is evident. If ego were to fulfill this through the traditionally defined Ojibwa means, the "failure" of the role includes; 1. a conflict of the consumption patterns associated with this means of production with the consumption patterns defined for ego by present day society. The latter requires a cash economy that the former does not provide. 2. a conflict of the definition of these activities as appropriate means for subsistence with the definition of these activities as appropriate only to the recreational activity of the non-Indian tourist. If ego were to fulfill this work role through the defined means of the Western society that surrounds his community, the "failure" of the role includes the inaccessibility

of means to fulfillment because of

(a) The limited employment opportunities available in the area

(b) the difficulties in competing for these opportunities because of the status Indian -- a status that to the potential employment unit signifies a worker less reliable than one of non-Indian status

(c) the limited steady employment available in the area for ego that would allow him any predictable future attainment of culturally defined goals

(d) the limited access to capital.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

A. The Canadian Indian Reservation

We concluded from the analysis of three Indian reservations in Manitoulin Island, that the application of the concept of anomie was an appropriate description of the social situation of the adult male Indian in reference to his role of economic producer. The application of the concept of anomie implies, by definition, that the adult male Indian is not fulfilling the work role defined for him, and that he cannot do so because of the failure of definers to present definitions that are capable of realization.

The same type of analysis could be undertaken for any activities of the reserve population. For example, we could ask, "Who is defining the role for action of the Indian in respect to political activity?" "What roles are thereby presented to ego?" "Does he fulfill a political role?" "If not, is it defined that he should do so, but is unable to because of anomic factors?"

The same type of analysis could also be undertaken considering the roles of reserve members in different social positions in the community. For example, a second part to Chapter V could have been the analysis of the economic role of the adult female on the reserve.

Using the anomie model, therefore, we could approach a complete description of the Indian community. We could use it to analyze the role of ego in reference to any (or all) differentiated activity, and we could use it to consider any actor within any social position within the social

system.

Now that we have a model for analyzing a social situation to determine the appropriateness of designating it anomic, the very important question is the utility of the concept. What hypotheses can be generated suggesting the importance of anomie as a variable in predicting social action or social conditions?

First, we could consider hypotheses concerning variables that are significant to the degress of anomie present in the social system. For the Indian community, an important variable in the production of anomie is the contact ego has with potential role definers. How much contact does ego have? The degree of physical and social isolation of the reservation from other Indian and non-Indian communities is one primary factor affecting the possibilities of contact with potential role definers. With whom does ego have contact? The social composition of reservation neighbours, or the presence or absence of certain non-Indian organizations will affect what role definitions are presented to ego. Moreover, the number of different social contacts ego has can contribute to the presentation of conflicting role definitions.

In other words, the total social environment of the reservation Indian is an important variable in the roles defined as appropriate for ego, and therefore in the degree of anomie resulting. For examples, a specific hypothesis that would follow would be that the roles presented to ego for his performance of a specified activity would vary in clarity of definition and absence of conflict depending on whether his reserve bordered on a farming community, a tourist area, or a town. Depending on these physical neighbours, the degree of anomie would vary. Similiarily, differences could be predicted between the reservation with one dominant

religion (Reserve A) and the reservation with two or more religions (Reserve B and C), or, between the reservations with educational facilities on their reserve and the reservations that transports their pupils to outside non-Indian communities. Such differences effect the amount and kind of contact with potential role definers, and therefore, it is predicted, effect the degree of anomie present in the social situation.

The physical location of a reserve is also important in reference to the possibilities of access to means for fulfillment of a role. As the data in Chapter V illustrates, none of the reserves under analysis had any real access to employment near the reserve. On the other hand, if there was an example of a reserve, in which it was not only defined that an adult male perform activities productive to subsistence, but also, in which steady employment was easily available, the absence of anomie in the economic role definitions would be predicted. (Such a situation is hypothetical: unless an example such as the Iroquois "steel workers" is considered, the literature describes no present reservation setting in which steady employment is easily available).

A second series of hypotheses could concern the responses to anomie. By designating the social situation anomic, we are saying that normative directions for action cannot be realized by ego. This leaves ego in a situation in which it is impossible to act in accordance with one clearly specified role. The question for further research is: "What is the responce of ego in an anomic situation?"

On this question, it is predicatable that the response of ego in an anomic situation will be directed and limited by the socio-cultural conditions of his environment. For example, let us consider the anomie in the expectations for the adult male Indian in respect to work and sub-

sistence activity. It is possible to predict what could and could not be probable responses in the Manitoulin Island Reserves, knowing the conditions on the reservations.

What Merton called innovation, the response of the male Indian to fulfill his economic role by other than the defined means will not be highly probable. To do so is dependant on the prerequisite that there are other rewarding means available. Isolation within a reserve setting provides very few such means. Breaking, entry and theft was reported twice during the past year from Reserve C -- the only reserve that is near a town. Stealing from woodpiles and gardens within the reserve was continually recurring -- but there are not that many from which to steal. Neither of these means would provide a substitute for action defined within the work role.

Another possible response is that of leaving the reservation situation completely and fulfilling the work role by means offered in a new area. This is a more common response, but one available to only a certain segment of the reservation population; those speaking the English language, those who have some training, skill, or education, and typicallly those who have kin or friend connections exterior to the reserve. In 1959, the percentage of band members living off the reserve for Reserve A was 19%, Reserve B, 27%, and Reserve C, 33%. Added to this, are those who leave the reserve formally and apply for enfranchisement. Within the last ten years, Reserve A, B, C, respectively have had 14, 9, and 7 of their band members enfranchised.

Retreatism is a third possible response, a withdrawal from active fulfillment of the role. For example, on Manitoulin, if a garden was planted, it might never be tended. The tree planting project might need more

men, but some will not "bother". This response, withdrawing from action towards subsistence, is made possible in the reserve situation by the security of goverment assistance. This seems to be the most common response, as welfare figures illustrate. (Reserve A, 42% and Reserve C, 29.5% households per month). Moreover, this response of withdrawal is the response that would be predicted as most common among the reservation population: to respond by the other two forms is restricted, by either the available means for innovation or the possession of special circumstances for allowing movement from the reserve.

Many secondary hypotheses could be generated from these inital general hypotheses. For example, if the reserve social situation in respect to economic action, is anomic, any one of these three responses is possible -- theft, movement off the reserve, or, dependency on welfare assistance. Knowing the conditions of the reserve, would allow a prediction of which response is more likely. Consider just the following variables; physical nearness of a town, average education of population, proportion of population speaking English, and proportion of the population having kin living off the reserve. These variables are each important in teams of the available means to respond, to the situation. For example, when the reserve social situation in respect to economic action is anomic.
(a) given the means, (such as nearness to town) a high rate of those forms of deviance that involve material gain (i.e. theft, prostitution, income tax evasion, counterfeiting, black marketing, etc.) will correlate with a low level of education and/or a low percentage of kin living off the reserve and/or a low proportion of the population speaking English.
(b) a high rate of enfranchisement and residence off the reserve will correlate with a high level of education and/or a high percentage of kin

living off the reserve and/or a high percentage of the population English speaking.

(c) a high rate of government assistance will be correlated with a low level of education and/or a low percentage of kin living off the reserve and/or a low proportion of the population English speaking and no given accessibility to deviant means of material gain. From the three Manitoulin Island Reserves, there is some data to suggest support of these hypotheses.

Reserve C is the only reserve within a four mile radius from a town. The other two reserves are more than thirteen miles from a town. This is a significant distance for a population in which there are few cars. It means going into town is much more common for members of Reserve C. Town is where theft is possible.

The interest in school is reflected by figures on average attendance. For the population now in early adulthood, all three reserves had for their schooling period a school on the reserve. Average attendance figures are available for the period 1932-1936 inclusive: for Reserves A, B and C respectively, these are 16.5, 13 and 9.6.

Applying this information to hypotheses (1), (2) and (3), we would expect Reserve C with the lowest school attendance and the nearest means to town, to be involved more than the other two reserves in deviant means of material gain. The figures for theft and public violence, (non-separable), during the months of April, July and October over the period from 1955-1960 inclusive, are for Reserves A, B and C respectively 0, 0 and 9.

Secondly, we would expect Reserve A with the highest interest in schooling, on the basis of our attendence indices to respond most to permanent movement from the reserve situation. The enfranchisement figures for the period 1952-1962, for Reserves A, B and C are respectively 14, 9

and 7.

Granted this data is very scanty but it is suggestive of the hypotheses. Here only three relations have been hypothesized; that between anomie and theft, anomie and welfare assistance, and anomie and movement from the reservation. A more thorough investigation might show the utility of the concept "anomie" in explaining various other social aspects of the Indian reservation.

B. Support From The Literature For These Hypothesizes

The recent studies concerned with the psychological investigations of the model Ojibwa personality are relevant to these hypotheses. In this literature (particularly Hallowell, and Caudill, 1949) the characteristics of the model Ojibwa personality are seen as:

(a) atomism, that is, self dependence, self reliance, introversion;

(b) stoicism, that is, emotional restraint and inhibition emotional control and patience;

(c) repression of imaginative life, an incapacity for change, an acute observation of detail accompanied by an uncreative approach to a problem, a lack of ambition;

(d) anxiety, apprehensiveness, and suspiciousness.

Early missionary and explorer reports emphasized these as the dominant characteristics of the Ojibwa personality. Using a Rorschbach technique, Hallowell discovers the same characteristics prevalent among the Saulteaux of Berens River and the Ojibwa at Lac du Flambeau, North Wisconsin. Caudill gets similar results with the children at Lac du

Flambeau using TAT methods.

The question then arises as to how we can account for this distinctive Ojibwa personality that appears from early contact times through all stages of acculturation.

Hallowell and Caudill provide one answer: a distinct Ojibwa personality exists that has remained constant through time. Hallowell's evidence points to "a persistent care of psychological characteristics sufficient to indentify an Ojibwa personality constellation aboriginal in origin that is clearly discernible..." (Hallowell, 1955: 363)

Barnouw attempts to explain the origins of this personality structure through reference to the early economy based on hunting and fishing. Scarcity of the means in the economy required distribution of the population, and individual self-reliance. Adding to this the inherent suspiciousness of the Ojibwa, and his mistrust of others, leaders do not emerge and the social structure remains as atomistic and non-cooperative today as it did in the past. The personality structure of the past persists in accordance with the common social structure.

Friedl (1956) adds another theory; the personality complex is a result of incessant change both during aboriginal culture and during acculturation.

But a feature of this analysis of modern Ojibwa personality is that very little attention is paid to the present situation of Ojibwa life. These personality tests are given to modern reservation Indians; to their results they apply historical-cultural explanations. The sociology of contemporary Indian life has been neglected.

Particularly within a framework of expected relationships between personality, social structure and culture (G. H. Mead, 1937), the historical-

cultural or psychological continuity theories seem inadquate. The present reservation experiences of the Ojibwa would predictably affect personality if we assume a sociological framework.

This interpretation of the Ojibwa personality is suggested by Friedl, and argued in detail by Boggs (1958). Boggs questions how it can be that psychological adaptive mechanisms would remain constant when the social environment to which adaptation is made has undergone change. To probe this question, he studied the parent-child relationship at two different levels of acculturation; and Ojibwa reserve in Manitoba where population was 90% Indian, the economy was based on hunting and fishing, second cousin marriage was preferred, and the cradle board still in use; and an Ojibwa reserve in Wisconsin where the population was 60% Indiana, the economy was based on unpredictable means of subsistence such as tourist lodge and town employment, and where nothing resembling cross-cousin marriage or cradle board usage appeared. His findings showed that the more acculturated the family, the less the parent-child interaction. This lessened interaction correlated with greater passivity of the children to parental proposals and greater parental indifference and lack of emotional commitment to the children.

Boggs explained this through the concept of "self-role", "the organized sentiments a person has about what he is and does ... Children are ordinarily responded to as part of the self ... parents love, encourage, discipline, or repress their children because children reflect what the self is or aspires to be, or what it should not be". (Ibid: 55)

The lack of intensive interaction and emotional committment to their children suggests the lack of a self-role in the parents. So, from his study, the more acculturated the Indian group, the more lacking the self-

role of the Indians. The self-role is itself the result of the expectations and definitions presented by others. In his words,

> a self role must originate in a culture which is a fairly well organized, for expectations and evaluation are found only where some practices are institutionalized, and they are reconcilable only when activities are not in mutual conflict. (Ibid: 55)

Through this approach, Boggs has suggested that the passivity, and emotional inhibition that have been designated characteristics of the Ojibwa personality are psychological responses created in the child by his parents social response to him. The parental response itself originates in the reservation situation of "social disorganization" that does not enable the adult to have a defined self-role.

Boggs' interpretation, which can be applied as well to the findings of Hallowell and Caudill, is very suggestive to the analysis of this paper. The Ojibwa personality, as measured with present-day reserve Indians, can be interpreted in terms of Bogg's analysis, as a response to anomie -- his description of the lack of institutional or reconcilable expectations can be interpreted through the concept anomie. From this comparsions of a high degree of anomie, and the Ojibwa personality response, is predicted in the more acculturated settings. His study is significant to this present paper because it suggest that:

1) anomie is an appropriate description of some reservations;

2) there is a psychological response of the Indian to the anomie situation;

3) the most common psychological response of the Indian to the anomic situation would be one of retreatism from action.

This latter point supports the hypothesis arrived at earlier in this chapter (p.), namely that, given the socio-cultural conditions

of the reservation, the most likely response to the anomic situation would be one of withdrawal.

C - Anthropology and Anomie

The concept of anomie has been herein applied to the Canadian Indian Reservation, but with the stipulation that this is but one example from the list of an conceivable social system. In other words, a concept and model have been presented for the analysis of situations in which roles are not appropriately defined, regardless of the specific groups involved. This implies, for example, the possibilities of a comparative study of "the responses to anomie" within the social systems of the Indian reservation, the prison community, and the army. In respect to the Canadian Indian therefore, this model for study presented here, is concerned with analyzing the Indian reservation is the same conceptual framework as any social system, and not dictating any specific historical awareness of the indigenous origins of the population.

This approach and the problems of anomie closely approximates the anthropological concern with acculturation. Acculturation describes a particular process of change: it has been repeatly suggested here that anomie is associated with change. Acculturation corners the change of a culture as it comes in contact with and adopts another culture. Here it was assumed that those who are the role definers for ego are very important determiners of what roles, in relation to any activity, are defined for him. If some (or all) of the role definers represent a "Culture" foreign to ego, then we are describing a situation similiar to that of acculturation.

However, an analysis and explanation of social phenomena in the present reservation setting would differ between these two approaches.

In the analysis of Chapter V, an acculturation model would have voiced the problem in terms of the adaptation of the Ojibwa Indian culture to the Western culture, or, if in terms of the members of the two societies, of the Indian learning Western culture with the accompanying loss of his traditional culture. Explanation of the social situation of the present reserve community would be in terms of the retention of elements of the old culture and the degree of learning of elements of the new.

However, the analysis here suggests that such a model is not complete. It could be possible for a reservation Indian to be "acculturated" in terms of lanuage, values, and norms, and yet still not be able to fulfill the roles defined as appropriate for him. For example, economic opportunities may not be available and access to the means of fulfilling the role definitions is lacking.

The response of ego in such a situation may predictably be action that is not approved of by the society into which he is acculturating. His actions will not reflect the acculturation. Nor might they be explainable through the traditional culture. Thus, in using the anomie model we may explain or predict certain social phenomena on the Indian reservation that is a response to anomie, and not a product of either the old or new culture but of the process of change per se. This, for example, is how the Indian dependence on social welfare has been analyzed. It has not been explained in terms of either the cultural patterns of the traditional Ojibwa culture or of learned Western culture. Rather, the analysis has been brought to the concrete level of the action system of the Indian and to the anomie in this system in which there is the failure of any appropriate role expectations from any source, traditional or Western. This approach it is suggested, (but has not been proven), will have more

utility in explaining and predicting the social phenomena on the Indian Reservation of today.

D - Sociology and Anomie

Finally, there is the question of the general significance of the concept to sociology. From the present usage of anomie reflected in the literature its significance would indeed be questionable. However, with the demonstration of the confusion and imprecision of the present usage (Chapter I), and with the following attempt to present one revised clarified definition (Chapter II), it is now suggested that the concept of anomie can be useful to sociology. To show that the revised concept can be operationalized for empirical research, that it is now clearly defined, and differentiated from other phenomena often confused with it, it was applied in an analysis of the Canadian Indian Reservation. And to demonstrate the possible explanatory and predictive power of the concept, certain hypotheses relating anomie to other phenomena on the Indian Reservation were presented.

Since the model for studing anomie is applicable to any social system, many of the same kinds of hypotheses could be generated for any social system. Future exploration could consider two basic questions: "What are the general variables that produce anomie?" and "What are the general responses or social conditions resulting from a situation of anomie?" It is only now possible to raise hypotheses and consider a "theory of anomie" after the concept itself has been precisely and empirically defined.

In this regard, it seems quite possible that some of the present research in certain areas of sociology could be interpreted through the concept of anomie. For example, responses to minority group status, discrimination, or the marginal man situation all seems very adaptable to the

anomie interpretation. With each of these concepts, there is the implication of actors being in a social situation where clearly defined accessible roles are lacking. The recent discussions of status crystallization likewise suggests the appropriateness of a similiar explanation through the concept of anomie. With the concept of role being accepted as a basic tool of present sociology, this question of inadequate role definition (anomie), would appear to be a very promising problem-area for future research.

Appendix "A"

Empirical Measures of Anomie

The work of Dr. Les Srole (1951) has become the most recognized attempt to put anomie "to the test of fact". Working on a research project to test the effectiveness of a car-card advertisement for tolerance, he decided, as a "filler" for his questionnaire, to toss in items that would attempt to consider ethnocentric attitude formation itself. So he included the authoritarian personality factor of Adorno, using the F test. Also, on what he terms a "shot-in-the-dark hypothesis", he questioned whether majority-minority attitudes might not be conditioned by other "generalized sociological situational factors such as social disfunction, disorganization, group alienation, demoralization, or anomie". (Ibid:710) On theoretical grounds, he evolved five components which he felt, as internalized subjective measures, would reflect the condition of social anomie.

Srole's problem was the relationship of anomie, authoritarism and ethnocentrism. His results can be briefly summarized thus: both anomie and authoritarianism were substantially related to prejudice; when authoritarianism was held constant, anomie was still significantly related to prejudice; if anomie was held constant, authoritarianism was no longer correlated to prejudice. He can thus conclude that the anomic state is a prime factor in the formation of majority-minority patterns. At the same time he poses a need for revision of Adorno's association of prejudice with authoritarianism.

A replication of this study by Roberts and Rokeach (1956) reaffirms the position of Adorno. For their results, both anomie and author-

itarianism correlated with ethnocentrism, yet authoritarianism did so much more highly. That is, for their study, authoritarianism superceded the significance of anomie as a factor relevant to ethnocentrism.

For this paper, more essential than the findings of Srole or Roberts and Rokeach is the methodology involved in their measure of anomie. Let us examine first the basis of these studies -- the components of anomie itself in Srole's measure.

He included five components of one item each (Ibid: 710-712):

1. A measure of the individual's perception of the indifference of "Unresponsiveness" of the political leaders to his lot.

> There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

2. A measure of the individual's perception of the social order as basically unpredictable and without order, so the individual can achieve little by planning.

> Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

3. A measure of the individual's "loss of faith in the doctrine of progress as applied to self", that is, individual goals are receding farther and farther from realization.

> In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

4. A measure of the individual's sense of the futility and meaninglessness of life accompanied by a deflation of meaning of internalized group value and norms.

> Its hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

5. A measure of the individual's perception of personal relationships as no longer supportive or predictable, that is, that associates

cannot be dependent upon for social and psychological support.

These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

First, it can be noted that this scale is subjective, and concerned with the indicidual's perception of his situation. Srole himself recently emphasized this and thereupon declared that his scale should be termed the "anomia" scale to distinguish it from Durkheim's concept that referred, not to personality, but to a state of the social order. "Anomia" is then the "meaninglessness" of Powell or the "anomic-man" of Reisman.

Is it valid now to assume that this "anomia scale" as a measure of a subjective state is reflective of an objective anomic social state? It does not seem sound to assume that a high anomia score for an individual is equitable to a normless situation for the individual. It is true that an anomic situation can be, and indeed must be, reflected in individual consciousness. However, from the components of the anomic scale, can we assume the reverse? That is, do these anomia components necessarily reflect an anomic situation? I think not. The same argument holds as was directed against Reisman and MacIver. Psychological and physiological factors could be responsible for forcing the individual to be dispairing, discouraged or pessimistic enough to receive a high anomia score. The anomic situation in this case is not necessarily being tapped by the anomia scale.

Even if we could assume that the anomia scale did reflect an anomic situation, one can question how theoretically sound the indices are. Components (2) and (4) are the only ones bordering on a Durkheimian definition of anomie, namely, measuring individual's perception of social order and individual's degree of meaningful internalization of group norms and

values. These two components are suggestive of Durkheim's insistence that the individual must be regulated. Component (1), the individual's perception of leadership, is almost a measure of charismatic power of the political leaders. It is possible that patriotic loyalty to the nation's government and to the offices therein would give a common bond of solidarity even though the party or officials presently in power could be viewed as indifferent to the "problems of the average man". It would seem that numerous other factors, then, could direct a response of agreement to this component, other than an underfined anomic situation.

Likewise, components (3) and (5) can be mistrusted. These appear very "culture-bound". Faith in the doctrine of progress, that is, achievement at the individual level, may never be a dominant value at certain cultural or subcultural levels. Those who were very present-orientated might not understand this component. Component (5), testing faith in personal relationships, if applied to modern urban society where impersonality and mistrust are defined as part of the social system might measure the opposite of anomie: he who trusted all others would be the unintegrated individual in terms of the system.

Furthermore, work done by Rosenberg (1960) suggests a contradiction in the inclusion in the same scale or components (3) and (5), achievement orientation and faith in people. These two variables Rosenberg found inversely related. That is, those who agreed with Srole that a person does not know "whom he can count on" (and thereby be coded anomic) would, from Rosenberg's findings, tend to disagree that "the lot of the average man is getting worse" and thereby be coded unanomic).

Examination of the scale could bring further criticism. The fact that only one item was allowed per component is itself a criticism that weakens the scale validity. Study of each item itself in relation to the

component it supposedly taps, can easily cause suspicion of the reliability of the items. For example, one would expect community leaders and those acting involved in political activity, to respond very differently to item one, the perception of political leaders, than would lower class non-political participants. The responses to this item may have realistic bases. As Dean (1959) observed, "political alienation is...a reaction to perceived relative inability to influence or to control one's social destiny". Therefore, in relation to a realistic appraisal of the social structure, Srole could have expected higher lower class rejection of the responsiveness of community leadership than from the upper classes.

Still further criticism could be levied against the items: the grammatical construction itself which appears to reflect lower middle class way of speech; or the usage of the phrase "the average man" which could prejudice upper class respondents" scores. However, more than adequate criticism has been summarized to raise doubts as to the validity of the anomia scale of Sroles. With these various limitations and inadequancies of his "Anomie Measure", we can grant to Srole only the positive contribution of furnishing a beginning toward a standardized measure of anomie -- at least, that is, a measure of anomie as subjectively experienced.

Meirs and Bell (1959) combined this scale of Srole's with the theory of Merton to present "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals". If Merton argued that anomie in a society results from the lack of access to means for achievement of life goals, they postulated that anomie would be determined by the individual's position in the social structure as determined by factors of socio-economic status including occupation, education and income, age, and religious

preference. The resulting correlation of the "Anomia Score" with the "Life Chances Score" was very high. This allowed them to conclude that anomia results when an individual is powerless to achieve life goals, both the goals and the obstacles preventing their achievement being rooted in the culture.

Results from Meier D.L. and Bell W.
"Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals"

Life Chances Scores range from 0 - 7 inclusive. A score of 7 indicates a better-than-average chance at achieving life goals because the respondent concerned is at the "good" end on all young characteristics concerned; that is, young, Protestant, identifying with the middle or upper classes, of high education and income, etc. A score of zero indicates a lack of all these valued social structural characteristics.

Life Chances Score	Percentage with High Anomia Score	Total Number
7	10%	40
6	9%	130
5	28%	166
4	38%	174
3	43%	119
2	60%	42
1	83%	6
0	100%	2

It is difficult to relate this type of anomia research back to Durkheim's concept of anomie. Meirs and Bell know that those respondants respondants possessing the least number of those structural characteristics which could faciliate opportunity in the system, are those who receive the highest anomic score. However, this could mean either that their position has made them pessimistic, or it could signify that they have a realistic estimate of their position. It is very difficult, however, to see any social structural anomie involved in this study. The correlation of life chances with anomia may only suggest that the components of Srole's scale have an upper class bias. But these studies do not indicate whether there is any lack of regulation or conflict of definition in the situations in which those who score high on anomia are involved. Research like that of Meirs and Bell give us the correlation of an individual's position in the

social structure with his attitudes, as tapped by the "anomia scale". But this research does not appear relevant to the Durkheim definition of anomie.

The only objective measurement of anomie has been suggested by Bernard Lander (1954). While studying juvenile delinquency rates in Baltimore he found from the censustracts he used, eight variables that correlated with delinquency rates. Through factor analysis he reducted these to two clusters of variables, one of which he designated as "the anomic factor". This "anomic factor" was composed of two variables -- home ownership and non-white ratio.

His explanation for calling the high negative correlation of home ownership with delinquency an anomic factor had its basis in the middle class norm of house ownership. Owning a house is a step towards middle class respectability, and therefore, it could be assumed home owners would be church goers, participants in political activity, etc. Although Lander himself does not state so, the suggestion seems to be that home ownership will mean middle class, and middle class will mean more regulated and defined behavior for the members involved. In a Durkheimian sense, we might hypothesize that the middle class norms are a stronger regulative power over its members than are those of the other classes.

Secondly, the correlation between non-white population and delinquency was termed anomic. The findings was that as the proportions of the racial populations involved in an area neared equality (50%-50%), the deviance rate rose. This Lander explains in terms of value conflict and general instability. If we again apply a Durkheimian interpretation, it could be hypothesized that in a situation where two racial groups coexist, if one group holds a heavy population majority it would be able to define

and regulate the situation. But, as the population of the two groups approach equal numbers, neither will be in the power position to define the situation. The result is a lack of regulative authority and hence, anomie.

Although Lander was concerned primarily with deviance, and only used the anomic concept for explanatory purposes, he does present two objective indices for studying anomie. Also it has been shown that these two factors of home ownership and proportions of racial population coexisting can be interpreted meaningful within the Durkheim definition of anomie. Lander thus offers a basis for exploring further indices for an operational definition of anomie.

Appendix "B"

Research Methods

The research on which this discussion is based was conducted on Manitoulin Island, during a four month period (June - September) in 1961, while employed for the National Museum of Canada. It was supplemented by a return visit to the area for approximately three weeks in the summer of 1962.

Primarily, the standard anthropological method of participant observation was used throughout the study. This involved living on each reservation for a period of time (3 weeks at the minimum), and informally becoming acquainted with the population. In each reservation, every household was visited several times, while, at least, two households of every reserve were selected for far more frequent visiting. Through this visiting a great deal of informal interviewing was accomplished. Also for every household, a census was compiled, to include number of persons in the household; their kinship connections to each other and to others on the reserve; a economic sketch including general consumption patterns in household furnishings, meals, clothing, etc., and general production patterns in labor force of the area, in gardening, fishing, hunting, etc.; and religious, political, and eductional characteristics of the household members. This data was later cross-checked, in part, with a band membership list, including sex, age, and religious information, obtained from The Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

Besides the Indian population, contact was established with a variety of non-Indian agencies in the area. From many of these the local

office of Indian Affairs Branch, Children's Aid Society, Ontario Provincial Police, priests and ministers, school teachers, doctors, and social welfare workers, material concerning the Indian, and material concerning their definitions of the Indian were obtained. In this report, a sample of the non-Indian neighbours around each reservation were visited to determine employer and other social contacts with the Indian: this included visiting of all resorts within a seven-mile radius of each reserve, all stores, and approximately one-third of the farm families within a three-mile radius of each reserve.

Finally, certain statistics were obtained from "The Census of Canada", "The Census of Indians in Canada", the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the local band councils of the reservations.

Appendix "C"

Ethnographic Description

A. Historical Summary[1]

The first historical contact with natives of Manitoulin Island reportedly was established by Samuel Sieur de Champlain in July 1615. Leaving the settlement at the present site of the city of Ottawa for a trip westward, Champlain and his party followed the Ottawa and Mattawa Rivers to enter Lake Nipissing and the French River. Coming to the mouth of the French River, they met three hundred Indians picking blueberries. They learned from these Indians that they were not residents of the area but came from Manitoulin Island, and were members of the Odawa (Ottawa) tribe. (Odawa is derived from "adahwe" meaning "to trade".)

From that time until 1648 there are suggested, but unverified, reports of other explores and missionaries visiting the area; Jean Nicolet, Rather Nimont, Louis Radision, de la Salle, Lord Selkirk, and others. However, the first authenticated record of a white man's visit to Manitoulin Isalnd was in 1648, when Rev. Fr. Joseph Antoine Poncet, a French missionary, arrived seeking converts.

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1. There is no written history of the Manitoulin Island. The present summary was obtained verbally from two residents of the area and from articles published in the weekly paper "The Manitoulin Expositor." (Myers, 1961, 1962). Grateful acknowledgements are attributed to Charles G. Guigon, editor "The Manitoulin Expositor"; Father O'Flaherty, West Bay Mission; and Frank Myers, author of the newspaper articles.

The arrival of the Iroquois soon after forced to a halt missionary efforts. For generations, the Iroquois of the Niagara had been at continuous war with the Hurons, defeated again and again, eventually retreated until they arrived on Manitoulin in 1652, Iroquois war parties began arriving on the island, and both Hurons and Ottawa's fled.

It was at this time the fleeing Ottawas scattered and settled with other tribes. Some settled amongst the Pottawatomies in Michigan, others became neighbours of the Sioiee on the Missippi plains, while a few others settled north of Manitoulin.

On June 14, 1671, Nicholas Perrot claimed the lands around Sault St. Marie, including Manitoulin Island, for King Louis XIV, and offered the Ottawas protection of French arms if they returned to Manitoulin. After remaining about 10 years, the Ottawas again moved to Michigan.

From approximately 1700 to 1825 the history of Manitoulin Island is a mystery. Nearly all the Indians had gone elsewhere, but the reasons for their migration is unknown. There is a legend that "evil spirits" brought troubles and sickness to the area, and to drive out these evil spirits the natives set fire to the woods. The fire swept across the island, destroying everything.

Documented history begins again after the Anglo-American war of 1812. Many of the Indians living in Michigan had supported the British. After the war, they sought new lands, and many began moving back to Ontario settleing along Georgian Bay. Meanwhile, European settlers had begun moving into the area. With increased immigration and clearing of land, the fish and game of the Indian's economy were disturbed. The Indians appealed to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor of upper Canada, who decided to set aside a tract of land for the Indians. His successor Sir John Colborne,

decided on Manitoulin Island after persuading the Ottawas there to sign an agreement to allow any other Indians he might send, to live on the Island. Indians from Michigan and Chippawas from the shores of Lake Superior, Ojibwa, and a few from Wisconsin, Potowatomies accepted the offer of a home in Manitoulin Island.

Here is where, in the history of Manitoulin Island, the identity of the Indian residents becomes confused. After the various contacts and migrations of the Ottawas, that itself may suggest some inter-tribal mingling, their lands are opened to any neighbouring Indians. Myers quotes various examplies of correspondence from missionaries and Indian Affairs Department officers that mention the large numbers of Chippawas and Ojibwa, and the smaller numbers of Huron and Potawatomie that moved into the area with the Ottawa.

Because of this intermingling of tribal origins on Manitoulin, and because of the relative absence of historical material for this period, it is extremely difficult to present any ethnographic description of the Indians of Manitoulin Island. About the only cultural characteristics they held in common was their affiliation with the Alhnquin language.

Economically, the major resources of all the tribes were in hunting and fishing, supplemented by gathering wild berries and maize growing. But, early on Manitoulin Island, the Indian was encouraged to turn to other means of subsistence. Trading of furs, fish, and maple sugar with the Hudson Bay Company in return for flour, corn, and salt pork suggests an early Indian dependency on the white trader for food. (In fact, Governor Simpson noted that the Hudson's Bay Company on Manitoulin was unique in that it was the only Hudson's Bay post where provisions were an article of trade.)

By the 1840's, farming also was being encouraged, To promote a permanent farming settlement, the government built log cabins for the Indians, replacing the bark wigwam. Anglican and Roman Catholic priests in the area tended garden plots and tried teaching the techniques of farming to the Indians. Ploughs, harrows and a team of livestock were provided by the government in 1838. By 1857, a report on the progress of the Manitoulin Indians, gives the following statistics (Myers 1962):

	Houses	Barns	Stables	Outhouses
Total Manitoulin Island	246	3	44	42
Reserve A.	18	0	8	0
Reserve B.	1	0	0	0
Reserve C.	4	0	2	0

Around this time, the increasing immigrant population to nearby areas, and the attractiveness of the rich, productive Manitoulin lands, led to certain pressures against the previous 1836 agreement to set aside the total island as an Indian reservation. In 1860, two goverment representatives were sent out to "sell" the Indians on evacuating their holdings. The mission failed. Two years later, another attempt was made. The Indians living on what is now known as "The Manitoulin Island Enceded Indian Reservation" both supported by the Jesuit priests, were steadfast in their refusal to accept this offer, and, as the name suggests persisted in their refusal to date. The other Indian leaders, "converted by means of kegs of rum and financial promises" signed the treaty re-ceding all lands east of the peninsula (The Manitoulin Island Unceded Indian Reservation) back to the government. As a result the Indian population

were segregated to certain small areas (See map, Appendix "D") and the greator part of the island was opened to white settlers.

It is on this historical base that the present Manitoulin Island population can be described. In Appendix "D", the available census statistics describing this present population are presented.

Appendix "D"

Census Date for Manitoulin Island.[1]

POPULATION OF MANITOULIN ISLAND
(Census, 1951, Vol. I, Table 18)

Year	Total Population	Population on Indian Reserves	Population Not on Reserve
1901	11,828	---	---
1911	11,324	2,108	9,216
1921	10,468	2,120	8,348
1931	10,734	2,220	8,514
1941	10,841	1,960	8,881
1951	11,214	2,246	8,968

MANITOULIN ISLAND LABOUR FORCE
14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

(Census 1951, Vol. IV, Table, 10)

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
All	3,083	639	3,722
Agriculture	1,135	33	1,168
Forestry and Logging	315	6	321
Proprietary and Managers[2]	237	54	291
Professional	74	96	170
Mine and Quarry	103	2	105
Fish and Trap	95	5	100
Clerical	40	55	95

1. All information pages 110-121 , is adapted from the Nineth Census of Canada, 1951, Ottawa.

2. This includes approximately 120 managers and proprietors of tourist establishments. (Phamplet "Where to Stay In Ontario Vacation Area 24", Department of Travel and Publicity, 1960)

THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE MANITOULIN ISLAND POPULATION

(Census, 1951, Vo. I, Table 34)

Country	Number	Country	Number
British Isles	7,690	Scandinavia	26
Indian	2,450	Russia	24
French	515	Other European	36
Netherlands	246	Chinese	9
Germany	121	Japanese	9
Ukraine	27	Other Asiatic	1
		Not Stated	46
	TOTAL	11,214	

THE MOTHER TONGUE OF THE MANITOULIN ISLAND POPULATION

(Census, 1951, Vol. I, Table 56)

Mother Tongue	Number	Mother Tongue	Number
English	8,701	German	6
Indian	2,314	Russian	6
French	111	Finnish	5
Ukrainian	24	Italian	3
Dutch	11	Polish	3
Scandinavian	11	Other	13
Gaelic	6		

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE MANITOULIN ISLAND POPULATION

(Census 1951, Vol. I, Table 40)

Religion	Number
United	4,971
Roman Catholic	3,300
Anglican	1,404
Presbyterian	284
Baptist	266
Mormon	240
Mennonite	194
Church of Christ's Disciples	165
Pentecostal	74
Evangelical	59
Lutheran	28
Salvation Army	18
Greek Orthodox	12
Christian Science	9
Ukrainian Catholic	8
Adventist	6
Jewish	2
Confucian and Buddhist	1
Other	174
TOTAL	11,214

EDUCATION OF THE MANITOULIN ISLAND POPULATION

(Census 1951, Vol. I, Table 60)

Population Total		11,214
Population 5 years and over		9,803
Total Population Attending School		2,395
1 - 4 years of school	1,157	
5 - 8 years	940	
9 - 12 years	262	
13 + years	36	
Total Population NOT Attending School		7,408
No years of school	616	
1 - 4 years	990	
5 - 8 years	3,868	
9 - 12 years	1,620	
13 + years	314	

RETAIL STORES ON MANITOULIN ISLAND

(Census 1951, Vol. VII, Table 4)

No. of Stores	Sales	Stocks	Paid Employees Min.	Max.	Payroll
147	$58,193,000	$11,752,000	$208	$278	$3,435,000

THE TYPE OF RETAIL STORES, THEIR QUANTITY AND THEIR SALES

(Census 1951, Vol. VII, Table 4)

	Number	Sales
Total Stores	147	58,193,000
Food and beverage	46	15,778,000
Grocery	22	8,330,000
General Merchandise	40	16,886,000
Automotive	28	14,294,000
Motor vehicle dealers	4	---
garages	5	953,000
filling stations	15	2,996,000
Apparel and accessories	3	---
Building material and hardware	10	4,175,000
Furniture	2	---
Drug and Health	5	1,959,000
Second Hand	13	2,331,000

FAMILIES

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 128)

	Total Persons		Average Number of Persons in family	Maintain own household	Family by number of persons in labor forces		
					0	1	2
Manitoulin	2,512	9,919	3.9	2,372	320	1,536	656
Rural	2,171	8,692	4.0	2,049	290	1,287	594
Farm	1,027	4,151	4.0	964	86	640	301
Non-farm	1,444	4,541	4.0	1,085	204	647	293
Urban	341	1,227	3.6	323	30	249	62

HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 4)

	Total	1	2-3	4-5	6-9	10+	Average
Manitoulin	2,806	269	1,100	815	557	65	4.0
Rural	2,436	243	932	698	501	62	4.0
Farm	1,066	55	404	332	245	30	4.3
Non-farm	1,370	188	528	336	256	32	3.8
Urban	370	26	168	117	56	3	3.7

EARNINGS OF THE FAMILY HEAD

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 128)

	Total Families	Under 1,000	1,000 1,999	2,000 2,499	2,500 2,999	3,000 3,999	4,000 5,999	6,000+
Manitoulin	923	251	338	159	55	42	15	4
Rural	700	227	263	94	28	25	9	3
Farm	144	49	67	8	2	-	-	-
non-farm	556	178	196	86	26	25	9	3
Urban	223	24	75	65	27	17	6	1

DWELLINGS BY PRINCIPAL EXTERIOR

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 17)

	Manitoulin	Ontario
total	2,805	1,181,125
wood	1,660	339,630
brick	---	553,630
siding	710	146,710
stucco	160	84,295
stone	---	22,270
other	155	34,590

DWELLINGS BY NUMBER OF ROOMS

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 13)

Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
2,805	--	315	215	340	425	445	400	305	145	155

Average: 5.6

DWELLINGS BY PRINCIPAL HEATING EQUIPMENT

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 21)

Total	Furnace			Stove	Other
	Total	Steam	Hot Air		
2805	455	---	410	2,340	--

DWELLINGS BY PRINCIPAL FUEL

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 25)

Total	Coal	Coke	Wood	Oil	Gas
2,805	205	---	2,380	215	--

DWELLINGS BY PLUMBING FACILITIES

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 33)

	Water Supply			Bathtub or Shower		Toilet		
Total	hot & cold	cold	none	own	none	flush	chemical	other
2,805	595	260	1,950	535	2,255	550	--	2,150

DWELLINGS BY LIGHTING FACILITIES

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 37)

Total	Electricity	Gas
2,805	1,755	995

DWELLINGS BY REFRIGERATION FACILITIES

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 37)

Total	Mechanical	Ice Box	None
2,805	945	355	1,475

DWELLINGS BY COOKING FACILITIES

(Census, 1951, Vol. 111, Table 37)

Total	Electricity	Gas	Wood or Coal	Oil
2,805	325	-	2,420	--

HOUSEHOLDS WITH LIVING CONVENIENCES

(Census, 1951, Vol.111, Table 41)

	Manitoulin	Ontario
Total	2,805	1,181,125
Washing Machine	1,700	927,390
Vacuum	820	648,035
Telephone	1,495	864,580
Radio	2,370	1,098,480
Car	1,335	640,135
None	285	35,100

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM POPULATION

(Census, 1951, Vol. VI, Table 29)

Percentage of population	Total Manitoulin Island	On Reservations	Not on Reservations
-on farm	40.4	26.3	73.7
-are farm operators	8.5	3.4	13.6

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM VALUES

(Census, 1951, Vol. VI, Table 30)

The Average Value per farm operator	Total Manitoulin Island	On Reservations	Not on Reservations
of total farms	$12,854	$5,083	$20,625
of lands and buildings	5,443	2,676	8,210
of implements and machinery	2,324	1,273	3,375
of livestock	5,085	1,134	9,038

TOTAL FIELD CROPS ON MANITOULIN ISLAND

(Census, 1951, Vol. VI, Table 17)

Crops	Number of Acres	Number of Farmers
wheat	693	151
oats	6,595	569
barley	813	154
mixed grains	8,134	477
rye	9	4
flax	43	6
corn (shelled)	13	9
buckwheat	123	40
peas	88	48
beans	12	2
hay	35,554	950
corn (ensilage)	476	153
potatoes	332	779
turnips	44	101

LIVESTOCK ON MANITOULIN ISLAND

(Census, 1951, Vol. VI, Table 21)

horses	1,902	hens and chickens	53,949
cattle	19,323	turkeys	19,313
swine	5,965	geese	2,039
sheep	14,022	bee hives	456
goats	21	ducks	168

DISTRIBUTION OF LIVESTOCK AND FIELD CROPS

(Census, 1951, Vol. VI, Table 31)

	Total on Manitoulin Island	Total on Reservations
horses	1,902	162
cattle	19,323	248
sheep	14,022	16
swine	5,965	255
hens	53,949	16
potatoes, acres	322	53
other field roots	44	10
wheat	693	51
barley	813	130
oats	6,595	455
rye	9	-
flax	43	-
hay	8,370	89
fodder	35,554	1,543

INDIAN BAND MEMBERSHIP, MANITOULIN ISLAND[3]

(Census, 1959, p. 12)

	Total Population	Percentage Living on Reservation	Percentage Living off Reservation
Reserve A	146	81	19
Reserve B	94	73	27
Reserve C	140	67	33
Total Island Bands	2,167	76	22

(2% not stated)

ENFRANCHISEMENTS, 1952-1962.[4]

	Total
Reserve A	14
Reserve B	9
Reserce C	7

3. The following statistics, pp. 122-124 unless otherwise noted, were obtained from Census of Indians in Canada, 1924-1959

4. This material was made available through the Manitowaning office, Dept. of Indian Affairs.

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF RESERVES A, B, AND C WITHIN THE THREE AGE GROUPS, UNDER 16 YEARS, 16 to 20 YEARS, AND OVER 21 YEARS FOR EVERY FIFTH YEAR BETWEEN 1924 and 1959.

(Census, 1924-1959)

	Reserve A			Reserve B			Reserve C		
Year	0-15	16-20	21 +	0-15	16-20	21 +	0-15	16-20	21 +
1924	36	8	57	39	8	53	37	8	55
1929	27	15	58	32	15	54	28	39	58
1934	27	8	65	31	8	61	35	12	54
1939	39	5	57	26	14	60	45	8	48
1944	45	6	49	28	11	62	45	10	45
1949	45	12	56	27	11	62	54	9	37
1954	39	14	47	25	6	68	45	17	38
1959	33	8	55	42	13	45	52	10	38

Reserve C. shows a continual tendency for a higher proportion of the population under age 15.

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF RESERVES A, B, C, AFFILIATED WITH ANY CHURCH, FOR EVERY FIFTH YEAR BETWEEN 1924 and 1959.

(Census, 1924-1959)

	Reserve A.			Reserve B		Reserve C			
	*R. C.	Ang.	Un.	R. C.	Ang.	R. C.	Ang.	Un.	Other
1924	12	88	-	74	26	40	60	-	-
1929	18	82	-	78	23	44	56	-	-
1934	17	83	-	81	19	37	63	-	-
1939	22	78	-	81	19	50	50	-	-
1944	20	72	9	84	16	51	44	1	4
1949	26	65	9	86	14	62	35	1	2
1954	20	71	9	89	11	46	54	-	-
1959	6	90	4	84	16	40	55	-	-

* R. C. -- Roman Catholic
Ang. -- Anglican
Un. -- United Church of Canada

In the three reserves none was recorded in the category of aboriginal beliefs.

Reserve Indians Convicted on Offenses of Liquor, Highway, and Public Violence (Including Theft). From 1951-1960 inclusive, Totaled for the Months of January, April, July and October only.

	Liquor Reserves			Highways Reserves			Public Violence Reserves			Total Reserves		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1951	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1952	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1953	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
1954	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
1955	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	6
1956	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2
1957	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	2	0
1958	1	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	4	5
1959	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	5
1960	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	3
10 year Total	4	6	9	3	3	6	2	0	9	9	9	24

5. This information was withdrawn from the weekly newspaper The Manitoulin Expositor, from Reports of Magistrates Court.

Relief Grants to Reserves A, and C,[6]

for period June '61 - May '62 inclusive

	Total Payments		Number of Families Involved	
	Reserve A	Reserve C	Reserve A	Reserve C
June '61	$263.50	$ 77.00	4	2
July '61	288.50	50.00	4	1
August '61	316.25	85.00	6	2
Sept. '61	412.00	145.00	6	5
Oct. '61	427.00	300.00	6	6
Nov. '61	434.90	275.00	7	13
Dec. '61	817.00	210.00	10	11
Jan. '62	773.50	———	9	-
Feb. '62	607.50	140.00	8	4
Mar. '62	466.50	301.00	7	8
Apr. '62	842.50	525.00	14	11
May '62	564.50	515.00	9	8
Year Total	$6,214.55	$2,623.00		
Average Monthly	517.88	218.58	Av. No. of families 7.6	5.9
Mean/Family/Month	69.04	37.05		

6. The above information was kindly releases by the secretaries of bands A and C, through the permission and cooperation of the respective band councils.

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