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Elements of

Sociology

A Critical Canadian Introduction

▶ John Steckley ▶ Guy Kirby Letts

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Preface

Why Write a Sociology Text?

Why write a Canadian introductory sociology textbook when there are so many out there already? Our journey began with what we perceived as an inability among introductory texts on the Canadian market to give proper voice to Aboriginal and South Asian perspectives. We don't pretend we can claim to have corrected the deficiency. We have only begun a change, by incorporating more than ten authors from each group. We acknowledge that this is not enough, but we feel this marks a significant change from earlier Canadian sociology textbooks.

A Narrative Approach

At the same time, we realized that other voices needed to be heard as well. While we have touched on, and cited the work of, authors from a broad variety of groups, representing different ethnic backgrounds, cultures, and sexualities, we felt that the best way to make different voices heard was in narratives, which we have incorporated in each chapter. These feature a variety of perspectives informed by a variety of social locations: Black, Chinese, Italian, Lesbian, Muslim, Palestinian, and Portuguese. We strongly believe that the narratives constitute one of the most important features of this textbook.

An Inclusive Approach

The narrative approach is a fairly obvious way in which we think our textbook is a little different, but it's not the only way. We are fairly radical in our thinking and were tired of the dry, conservative bent of other textbooks, and their general failure to include much or anything about the heroes of our discipline, the ones who have inspired us: Dorothy Smith, Michel Foucault, Franz Fanon, Antonio Gramsci, Albert Memmi, and (apart from a perfunctory nod to his sociological imagination) C. Wright Mills. We decided to aim to be much more inclusive in covering theories and theorists. We have also made a point to acknowledge women and people of colour who have influenced and redirected the discipline.

Breaking Out of the Mould

Another problem affecting introductory sociology texts is the market imperative within the broader political economy of publishing itself. There is little interest in doing something different than what has already been done, and a repetition of the same becomes the predominant modus operandi. It wasn't until we began the publishing process that we realized how the conservative elements found within the market were a factor in what materialized as the final product. There is little tolerance for difference only because there is little appetite

for risk, which results in reproducing what is known to have worked before. We were fortunate that Oxford, constrained by its own market imperative and logic, has been as supportive as it has of this project.

Written by Canadians for Canadians

Then there is the Canadian nature of the textbook. The idea of a textbook being Canadian or expressing a Canadian perspective is rarely dealt with in any real way. In many respects, texts are considered Canadian when they use Canadian figures, Canadian data, and Canadian research; however, they may entirely overlook the history and emergence of sociology in this country. Canadian sociology, with its unique perspective, is quite different from the sociology found in Europe and the US. For instance, the focus of early Canadian sociology was on rural life and the resource economy, which speaks to a society that is not highly urbanized or industrialized. Moreover, the influence of the social gospel movement and social work orientates Canadian sociology, more than its counterparts elsewhere, around issues of social justice. Even today, we can still see this influence in the research that sociologists do in Canada.

We are confident that this is the most Canadian introductory sociology textbook on the market. It is not an adapted American textbook with Canadian extensions, nor is it a North American textbook co-written by American and Canadian authors. We designed this book, from the ground

up, as a text for Canadian students, to teach them about what we—Canadian sociologists—have done, are doing, have failed to do, and hope to do in the future.

Qualitative Methods—Not Just Questionnaires Anymore

While contemporary sociology still engages in foundational methods, there has been an expansion of qualitative methodological approaches that have been influenced by feminism, queer theory, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and cultural studies, many of which had been ghettoized into other disciplines, such as anthropology, comparative literature, and women's studies. And while none of these methods are new, they have not been part of the methodological lexicon in sociology. In order to represent contemporary sociology and the current methods being used in the discipline, we thought it necessary to expand our methods section by incorporating and reflecting some of these practices. Beyond a conventional discussion on both quantitative and qualitative methods we have included ethnographic research, case studies, and narratives, as well as content and discourse analysis, psychoanalysis, semiotics, and genealogy. The idea behind incorporating methods not found in most introductory sociology texts was to introduce students to concepts, ideas, and themes that will be recurring throughout their education. We hope, by presenting these methodological approaches, to inspire their imagination.

Contemporary Theory and Shifting the Canon

In terms of what is relevant within the discipline itself, it becomes necessary to stress what is current, what is being done, and who is being studied. The discipline generally and the theory specifically are exciting, yet we feel that this is not being conveyed to our students, who often see sociology as boring—and why wouldn't they. Sociological theory today has shifted immensely, with theoretical influences from queer theory, feminist psychoanalysis, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism, as well as people like Foucault, Lacan, Spivak,

and Said. Whether the exclusion of these influences and figures is the result of the status quo or the belief that they are too complex for our students to comprehend, it is a misrepresentation that in the end benefits no one, and one that we have tried to correct.

A Visual Approach

A casual flip through the pages of this text will reveal an abundance of photographs and other illustrations. The photos are not just pretty distractions to keep students looking at the book. They serve a purpose. We have chosen photos

In Our View

It takes a number of people to put together a book of this size and scope. First, I would like to thank the people at Oxford University Press who made major contributions to this project. David Stover I thank for suggesting (twice) that I write this book. Lisa Meschino, who signed us on and contributed greatly to the first steps on this path with her constant enthusiasm, should be acknowledged, as should Eric Sinkins, who, with amazing effort and diplomatic skill, got us to the finish line.

I would also like to thank several of my colleagues at Humber. Les Takahashi, Jim Jackson, John Metcalfe, and Joey Noble all contributed to this work with their support and helpful ideas. Librarians Jennifer Rayment and Marlene

Beck worked major feats of magic to make obscure articles and books appear.

Closer to home, there is my good friend Bryan Cummins, who saw to it that my pub life at the Toby Jug kept me sane and on track in this project. My dogs, Egwene and Cosmo, proved, as always, to be useful distractions and sources of constant emotional support.

Then, finally, there is my wife, Angie. She supported me through the highs and lows of this project, when I was not the easiest person to live with. When the sands of my life shift, there is always a rock I can depend on.

John Steckley
February 2007

and have written captions that we hope will encourage students to adopt a sociological perspective. The same objective is served by the numerous critical-thinking questions scattered throughout the chapters.

At the same time, we are aware of the power of illustrations, and that they can unconsciously give messages the authors of a sociology book do not intend. For example, if you argue for inclusion and diversity while featuring pictures that predominantly portray blond-haired, blue-eyed White folks, then your words and your picture choices are clashing with each other. And if you include a picture of a Native person who is homeless, actively protesting the

high rate of homelessness in Canada, you can be serving conflicting purposes as well. Yes, the face of homelessness in Canada is often Aboriginal—history and systemic racism are major contributors to this problem—and you are being accurate in representing that. And it is good to show Aboriginal people taking an active role in fighting for a better position in Canadian society. However, if it is one of only a few pictures you show of Aboriginal people, then, like the Canadian media generally, you are merely reinforcing the stereotypes of Native people as being homeless (the vast majority are not) and as doing nothing but protest, rather than ‘getting jobs like normal people.’

In Our View

I have used numerous texts throughout my teaching career and have always been at odds with both the representation and the pedagogy that was being advocated. In many ways, the sociology that I read, that my colleagues do, and that I myself practise looks nothing like the sociology found in introductory textbooks. I often wondered why a discipline would represent itself to young adults as something conservative, parochial, and, well, boring, given that the discipline itself is liberating, dynamic, and exciting.

I would like to thank Oxford University Press for giving us the opportunity to attempt something different, new, and—I believe—exciting. I would like to thank Lisa Meschino, at Oxford, who believed in the value of what we were try-

ing to do and shared our enthusiasm, and, also at Oxford, Eric Sinkins, for his patience, creativity, and input. I would also like to thank my family, Angela Aujla, Anushka Luna, and Indigo West, for tolerating my always ‘present absence’. I would like to acknowledge all those who, both real and imagined, helped me formulate a particular perspective that has allowed me to think critically about sociology specifically and society in general, to which I am eternally grateful. And finally, I would like to acknowledge my students for whom I wrote this text, so we might better understand together this strange thing called life.

Guy Kirby Letts
February 2007

Written by
Canadians for
Canadians
Landmarks in
Canadian sociologi-
cal research are high-
lighted in *Canadian
Sociology in Action*
boxes.

Canadian Sociology in Action Early Studies in Canadian Social Stratification

Sociology in Canada began as the study of social stratification. We get an excellent survey of stratification by examining the work of three Canadian sociology pioneers: Herbert Brown Ames, Colin McKay, and James S. Woodsworth.

Herbert Brown Ames: A Businessman's Sociology

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the population of Montreal grew fourfold to over 270,000. With growth came social problems. This led Herbert Brown Ames (1863-1950) to engage in Canada's first comprehensive urban sociological study, designed to promote the construction of affordable housing for the working-class people of Montreal's west end.

Montreal-born Ames had inherited a prosperous business that would guarantee him a lifetime of financial stability. But he wanted more than to earn easy money; he wanted to improve the city of his birth. He became involved in politics at the municipal and federal levels, and he engaged in ambitious sociological research. In 1896, he and members of his research team went door-to-door to canvass the inhabitants of an area he called "the city below the hill." The study was very detailed for its time. His fascination for statistics sometimes overwhelms even the modern reader, and at the time of the study his approach was unique. He was possibly the first person in Canada to speak of family size not in round numbers but with decimals, saying the average size of families he studied was "4.90 people," 1.41 in each family working for wages and 1.68 living children under 16. He was keenly aware that this level of precision was key to achieving the most suitable remedy for the housing problem.

Should the time come when capital shall be ready to be invested in the erection of improved industrial dwellings, it is evident that for its intelligent expenditure, in this or that locality, definite knowledge must be in hand as to the personnel and composition of the average family of the section selected. The number and size of the rooms to be provided, in the improved dwelling for the average family, will depend not only upon the size of the family but also upon its composition, since the larger the proportion of the adult or school-child element the more the amount of space and air that will need to be allowed.

To make a success of this work of improvement we can afford to allow no facts to be overlooked. (Ames 1972:30)

His plan was to have rid, inadequate housing, torn down, and then have business leaders finance construction of new housing. Ames led by example, remodeling the construction of model apartments for 24 families. Unfortunately, but predictably, others were reluctant to follow his lead.

With hindsight, we can argue that Ames was naive. We can be amazed by the powerful rhetoric he invoked to declare his determination to get rid of the 5,000 cottages he reckoned there were in the city ("that the petty pit is a danger to public health and morals needs no demonstration, and yet in 'the city below the hill' more than half the households are dependent entirely upon such accommodation" [Ames 1972:43]). But we must admire Ames for his concern for the lives of the working class and for his position, shared by many Canadian sociologists to follow him.

Colin McKay: A Worker's Sociology

New Scotland Colin McKay (1876-1939) was described by Ian McKay (an unrelated namesake) as "a working-class intellectual who exemplified a widespread enthusiasm for radical sociology in turn-of-the-century Canada," and who, drawing upon theories of Karl Marx and Herbert Spencer, developed his own critical understanding of capitalist development" (McKay 1998:390). McKay was a self-educated man who worked as a merchant seaman, editor, labour organizer, and journalist. At 24, he spent a short time in jail for "defaming the reputation of a cigar factory proprietor notorious for mistreating children [workers] and discriminating against trade unionists" (McKay 1998:401).

He was a prodigious writer, contributing at least 952 articles and letters to the editor to union publications such as the *Canadian Railway Employees Monthly*, the *Canadian Labourer*, *Eastern Labor News*, *Railway Journal*, *Coventry's Weekly*, *Le Monde Ouraire*, *Citizen and Country*, and *Western Clarion*. The scope of his work is revealed in a few selected titles: "Duty of the rich to the poverty-stricken: The philosophy of charity, showing it to be the interest of the rich and doing to help the weak" (*Montreal Herald*, 21 Jan. 1899). The small business man: How the capitalist system annihilates self-earned private property and reduces the small business man to the economic emergency of the worker" (*Eastern Labor News*, 8 June 1912). "The crime of low wages" (*Labor World / Le Monde Ouraire*, 19 April 1925). As part of a cigarette working-class press with considerable influence, Colin McKay

was widely acknowledged as one of Canadian labour's leading intellectuals. It seems very likely that McKay's writings, which in the 1890s were reaching thousands of working-class readers in at least four major journals, probably reached far more people than ever read the works of the contemporary academic sociologists in Canada. (McKay 1998:415)

Most Canadian sociologists today would be envious of such a large audience for their work. Ian McKay suggests that with the death of Colin McKay and the greater institutionalization for departmentalization of sociology, there was less as well as gain. The drive of the well-read, working-class radicals such as McKay and his peers is surely missed in the efforts of sociologists to make a difference in the social inequality of their country.

James S. Woodsworth: A Minister's Sociology

Canadian churches produced some of the first people engaged in sociological work in the name of the social gospel. The movement, which lasted in Canada from about the 1840s to the 1930s, developed as an attempt to apply the human welfare principles of Christianity to address the social, moral, and psychological issues brought on by the industrialization and uncontrolled capitalism in North America and Europe in the late nineteenth century. One of its great achievements in the country was the Social Service Council of Canada (1912), which, through churches, conducted the earliest sociological surveys of Canadian cities and, in 1914, sponsored the first national meeting in Canada to address social problems.

One of the most influential figures to come out of this tradition in Canada was James S. Woodsworth (1874-1962), a Methodist minister by training. His work among the impoverished immigrant communities of Winnipeg and Toronto inspired him to embrace the social gospel. In 1912 he conducted a church-sponsored survey on social conditions in Regina. After becoming disenchanted with the church, which he felt never went far enough in advocating for the poor, he resigned his position as minister and became a writer and later a politician, dedicated to the welfare of farmers, unim-

In Other Words

An Account of Systemic Racism
from a Black First-Year Nursing Student

Unfortunately, I regret to say that I have had my first clinical experience in the nursing profession and I feel I have already been subjected to systemic racism. Examples of this include disciplinary actions that are different from other student nurses such as when myself and a non-black student returned late from lunch. I was pulled aside and it was stated that the teacher felt sorry for the other student. When I asked why, it was implied that I control her into returning late against her will. Also, vague work approvals are given and no specific areas of improvement are suggested. Comments such as, "You seem like a very angry person," and "I have a hard time approaching you and

can only imagine how the residents feel" or "Any monkey can be trained to take a blood pressure" are an every day occurrence. There are many cases where my mistakes are far more noted and exaggerated than those of other students. When defending myself (as I feel I am performing equally well to everyone else), I am labelled as not being "self-aware" and not accepting feedback. Yet, when feedback is taken and changes are made, I am told I take things too literally. As a result, I am do my right.

It is sad to say that events like these are commonplace. As a result, promotions as well as workload may not be fairly distributed.

—Nadine Smith

Guan noted, among other things, how the mainstream media racialized SARS by portraying Asians as carriers of disease in a way that spread fear among non-Asian Canadians. Table 7.2 summarizes Leung and Guan's findings about the content of pictures featured with SARS articles in four national newspapers and periodicals (Leung and Guan 2004: 20).

Leung and Guan found that photographs accompanying stories about SARS tended to feature Asians, particularly Asians wearing masks to reduce the spread of the disease. The researchers noted that the exaggerated use of frightening words and unreasonable parallels drawn between SARS and the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-19 (in which at least 20 million people died over an 18-month period) were also part of media fear mongering. SARS had a devastating economic impact on parts of Canada where the outbreak was prevalent, notably Toronto and, in particular,

its various Chinatowns. Commentaries were quick to note that many of the patients suddenly avoiding Chinese businesses, communities and restaurants were themselves Chinese; as though the fact somehow justified similar acts of discrimination on the part of non-Asian Canadians. But whether the economic losses can be attributed mostly to a drop in Chinese Canadians patronage or to decreased patronage by non-Chinese Canadians has no bearing on the fact that the loss of business occurred, and it did so because the disease was racialized to the point where many Canadians, of all ethnic backgrounds, temporarily changed their purchasing habits as a precaution against contracting the virus in communities where it was thought to be prevalent.

Throughout their report, Leung and Guan make the effect of fear of the transmission, large and small, on individuals of Asian ancestry. In the following narrative, one student tells her story.

Table 7.2 >>> Photographic treatment of SARS in the national media, 2003

NEWSPAPER/MAGAZINE	NUMBER OF PICTURES	SHOWING PEOPLE	SHOWING ASIANS	SHOWING ASIANS WITH MASKS
National Post	120	95 (80.2%)	65 (54.2%)	40 (33.3%)
Globe and Mail	116	88 (75.7%)	57 (48.7%)	31 (26.7%)
Maclean's	27	17 (63.2%)	9 (32.9%)	6 (22.2%)
Time Canada	17	15 (88.2%)	6 (40.0%)	6 (35.3%)

SARS Outbreak

China admits wider spread of SARS

At least double expected amount of people infected with SARS in China, officials say. First cases found in Guangdong province and Hubei.



BEIJING (AP) — China's health officials said Sunday that the number of people infected with the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) virus in the country has risen to at least 1,000, double the number previously reported. The officials said the virus was found in Guangdong province and Hubei province, both of which are in central China. The officials said the virus was found in Guangdong province and Hubei province, both of which are in central China. The officials said the virus was found in Guangdong province and Hubei province, both of which are in central China.

A Visual Approach
Boxes, tables, and illustrations
engage the student reader.

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Sociology in Action

Culture as an Agent of Socialization

David Eklund is an American sociologist who specializes in investigating some of the negative effects of the ways children growing up in the last 25 years or so have been socialized. In his best-known work, *The Hurried Child: Growing Up Too Fast, Too Soon* (1993, 1998, and 2001), he discusses the effects of the stress on children whose lives have been over-programmed by their parents, with little free time for spontaneous play. He calls this the **hurried child syndrome**. In 2003, he wrote an insightful article, "Technology's Impact," in which he discussed the effects of technology on child growth and development. Addressing the question "What is it like growing up in a high-tech world, and how does that differ from growing up at an earlier time?" Eklund offers the following response, in which he expresses his concern about how the modern child's contact with new technology is creating a **generation gap** (a significant cultural and social difference) compared with an equally significant lack of understanding between generations:

Part of the answer lies in the fact that the digital youth has a greater facility with technology than their parents and other adults. As a result, there is a greater disconnect between parents and children.



Does technology change social relations and the ways in which children experience everyday life? (Photo © Angèle Angé, 2016)

With reference again to the hurried child syndrome, Eklund in this article also expresses his concern about how children's sense of time has changed. Digital communication enables us to do more, faster, giving us a false feeling that we can accomplish much more than before. We extend this to our children, putting pressure on them to take part in more after-school activities, play more organized sports, do more homework, and learn languages and other academic subjects at an earlier age. This, Eklund feels, adds to the stress and guilt that children feel. We could argue, as well, that this pressure contributes to the sometimes crippling apprehension that post-secondary students live about deadlines and their career—"I'm 21 and I don't know what I want to be."

Eklund goes on to talk about how technology is changing the traditional culture of children's toys that may affect personal autonomy and creativity:

[The] traditional culture of childhood is fast disappearing. In the past two decades alone, according to several studies, children have lost 12 hours of free time a week, and eight of those lost hours were once spent in unstructured play and outdoor games. In part that is a function of the digital culture, which provides so many adult-created toys, games and amusements. Game boys and other electronic games are so addictive they displace children from enjoying the traditional games. Yet spontaneous play allows children to use their imaginations, make and break rules, and socialize with each other to a greater extent than when they play digital games. While research shows that video games may improve visual motor coordination and dexterity, there is no evidence that it improves higher-level intellectual functioning. Digital children have fewer opportunities to nurture their autonomy and creativity than engaged in free play. (Eklund 2003)

Parents reading this are nodding their head, kids are shaking their heads. Can this be considered, at least in part, like Foucault's discussion of media violence as an attack of one generation, growing older and losing power, on the habits of a younger generation?

Issues of Socialization

In what follows, we will look at two issues of socialization, both involving adolescents, and both involving a complex combination of agents of socialization.

What do you think?

How do you think the social location of a teacher might affect a student's socialization? Give some examples. How do you think this might differ for male and female students?

Male Readers

Traditionally, boys do better in mathematics and the sciences, girls do better in writing and reading. Sociologists and educators today recognize that this is partly a result of socialization: boys have always been encouraged more in the former area of study, girls in the latter. In fact,

Coverage of Canada's First Nations

Issues that have affected and continue to affect Canada's Aboriginal communities are given thorough and detailed coverage.

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For Starters

Resocializing the Mi'kmaq: Two Native Narratives

'I Lost My Talk': Mi'kmaq Poet Rita Joe

I lost my talk.
The talk you took away
When I was a little girl
At Shubenacadie school.
You watched it away:
I speak like you
I think like you
I sound like you
The scowled felled, stole my word.

Two ways I talk,
Both ways I say:
Your way is more powerful.
So gently I offer my hand and ask,
Let me find my talk.
So I can teach you about me.
—Rita Joe

Shubenacadie school was a residential school in Nova Scotia, where Mi'kmaq suffered abuse at the hands of its staff, whose goal was to resocialize students by beating their traditional culture out of them, literally if necessary. The abuse is illustrated graphically in the next section, another evocative, anthropologist Isabelle Knockwood, who tells the following story of a little Mi'kmaq girl caught speaking in her native language:

The nun came up from behind her and yanking her around and began beating her up. . . . then the foster punched her cheeks and her lips were drawn tight across her teeth and her eyes were wide with terror. . . . Then the nun picked the little girl down off the floor by the ears or hair and the girl stood on her tiptoes with her feet dangling in the air. The nun was yelling, "You bad, bad girl." Then she lay on one hand and continued slapping her in the mouth until her nose bled. (Knockwood 1992:97)



The Shubenacadie Residential School. (Photo © Sherry of Charity, Halifax, Contemporary Archives image #10738)

Introduction

Socialization is an area of sociological study that brings the discipline close to psychology. The intersection of sociology and psychology is evidenced in the chapter by the fact that a good number of the socialization theorists are psychologists. Socialization is a learning process, one that involves development or changes in the individual's sense of self. This applies both in the first socialization that a child receives, generally known as **primary socialization**, and in socialization that occurs later in life, such as in sometimes known as **secondary socialization**.

Determinism

Any discussion of socialization needs to address the issue of determinism versus free will, and biological determinism versus social determinism. When we speak of **determinism**, we are talking about the degree to which an individual's behaviour, attitudes, and other "personal" characteristics are determined or caused by a specific factor. There are "hard" and "soft" versions of determinism, the former claiming that we are in essence programmed by our biology or our culture, the latter leaving some room for free will and the exercise of agency in one's life. Agency involves personal choice above and beyond the call of nature or nurture.

Biological Determinism

Biological determinism (representing "nature" in the old "nature vs. nurture" debate) states that the greater part of what we are is determined by our roughly 26,000 genes. Biological determinism has become a popular subject of discussion and debate in the mainstream media, owing in large part to the first human genetic research generally and, in particular, the **Human Genome Project**, which involves a painstaking sort of the number of genes we have and investigation into what each of these genes actually codes for.

Certain abilities seem to fall into the "natural" category. We observe some people being "naturally good" (or "naturally bad") at sports, music, art, and so on. However, we have to be very careful in making even tentative statements about biological determinism. A notorious research study into the XY males that began in 1962 provides a cautionary tale. Males are genetically XY in their chromosomes, females XX. The first studies were done by looking at the population of hospitals for dangerous, violent, or criminal patients with emotional/ intellectual problems, first in England, then in the United States and Australia. A certain percentage of the men were found to be XY, and the "criminal gene" was hastily declared. The problem was that the researchers had neglected to study non-criminals. When the study was extended to the general population, they discovered that roughly the same percentage (about one in 1,000) were XY. There remained some well-documented associations of XY males with above-average height, with a tendency to have acne, and with somewhat more impulsive and antisocial behaviour and (rightly) lower intelligence, but it is impossible to conclude that XY males are genetically determined criminals.

Softer terms of biological determinism focus on predispositions (the shyness, for aggressiveness, etc.) that people have. These findings lead to a stronger foundation than the "no bias found the gene for _____" hard determinism that sometimes makes the news. What we are concerned with is complex, a mixture, even too dense a genetic mixture, for one gene to be an absolute determinant of behaviour or personality.

Social or Cultural Determinism: Behaviourism

Behaviourism is a school of thought or psychology that takes a strong cultural determinist position. It emphasizes the causative power of learning in the development of behaviour. For the behaviourist, social environment is not about everything, while nature and free will count for very little. One cautionary statement

In Other Words

Fasting

'They Mos, come join us for lunch.'
'I can't guys, I'm fasting.'
'Fasting, what's that?'

This passage, as awkward as it may sound, is quite normal and may be heard every year, asked by anyone and almost everyone. It bothers me to consider that the average person doesn't know what fasting for Muslims is. Fasting is an Islamic tradition practiced for centuries, where a Muslim is subjected to no food or drink from sunrise to sunset. This is done to remind Muslims where we come from, to early people, to remind us that we started with nothing. It teaches us to value what we have and to value our gracious religion. There is fasting in almost every religion, yet the people who know the basic tenets of fasting don't know what type of fasting Muslims commit to. Many people I have spoken to were shocked to hear that during Ramadan (fasting month) you cannot

only eat, but also drink. Many people thought that water or gum was allowed in any fasting, but it isn't for the Muslim type of fasting. It surprises me when 26 per cent of the earth's population is Muslim, but non-Muslims don't know what our Eid is. Eid is a celebration. We have two main celebrations. One Eid comes after the last day of Ramadan and the second after the day of pilgrimage. Eid is as holy to Muslims as Christmas and Easter are to Christians.

When someone asks me what fasting is for Muslims, I reply with such fatigue from saying it over and over that I simply reply, 'Well, we (Muslims) basically can't eat or drink anything when the sun is up.' I know that my reply may offend many Muslims since I have not included any significance or talked about the reward given for performing the fast. I simply gave a quick answer because I got that question asked every year, by anyone and almost everyone! —Mehmet Akbulut

We are all aware of the longstanding struggles involving Palestinians in the Middle East, but we hear considerably less about Palestinians living in Canada. In the narrative on page 47 we hear the voice of a young Canadian of Palestinian background. If you wanted a more detailed picture of what it's like to be a young Muslim or Palestinian living in Canada, you could gather more of these narratives and tie them together through a process known as *triangulation*, which involves the use of at least three narratives, theoretical perspectives, or investigations to examine the same phenomenon.

No matter what your political stance is, listening to the political opinions of those whose

opinions you don't share can be uncomfortable at best. For the person who holds views that are outside the political mainstream, expressing those views can be a very isolating and difficult experience. It's important to recognize that writing down a view you think may be unpopular requires courage. At the same time, recording and publishing the narratives of peoples whose political positions you don't agree with doesn't mean you accept what they say as 'right.' But whether you're expressing what you think is an unpopular view or recording a view you don't agree with, making such views known is an important step in generating understanding among others who might not agree with the position.

In Other Words

Palestinian by Culture, Canadian by Birth

My name is Nadine and I am Canadian born, but Palestinian by culture. My father was born in Palestine and my mother was born in Egypt to Palestinian refugees. Nowadays, being a Palestinian or of Palestinian origin is quite difficult, especially when you're living in a so-called multicultural nation. I guess it's not as hard for me as it has been for my parents because I am Canadian born and my parents came to Canada knowing little about the country or what would be ahead. However, the difficult aspect in my life was that I grew up in a one-cultured town (Woodbridge, in southern Ontario, an Indian-Canadian town) which was extremely difficult for my brothers and I to fit in. As far as I am concerned, I have never been able to have any close relationship with anyone. Why? I guess that children needed a common ground in order to establish a relationship, and not possessing the same culture as those around me made my assimilation even more difficult. Within homogeneous groups one can be easily singled out and that happened to me. Furthermore, as I grew up it became harder for me to engage in any real relationship with boys or girls because my culture became stronger for me and as well for them, which made us even grow farther apart. Maybe it was because I didn't speak or dress like them, or because I was darker than them, it didn't matter, basically I was just different.

Entering college, it was a bit easier for me to make acquaintances, though I realized how uneducated and ignorant people could really be. It was particularly difficult for me after the events of 9/11 because, automatically, the Arab world would get blamed for it and most people, ignorant as they are, believed everything that the media's propaganda has been telling them. I was in college at that time and explaining to people my point of view was tremendously challenging. Media biasness had its toll on the majority of those around me. Furthermore getting into debates with individuals about what's occurring in Palestine and my views as a Palestinian was almost impossible. Right now my oppressed and displaced people who have been legitimately resisting occupation since 1948 are the bad guys. Maybe in a couple of years it will be another group, but for me now it's hard because I'm still singled out by my friends and the media. Maybe it would be a little bit easier if individuals would become open minded about what goes on in the world. Then people could understand who we are and who I am. Knowledge is responsibility and to most, responsibility is a heavy burden to take. It's pretty sad what's going on in the 21st century that people like me, Canadian born, have difficulties growing up because of who they are and where they're from! —Nadine Dahab

What do you think?

What differences in the research findings may show up if triangulation is used with the two narratives?

Qualitative Methods

Discussion of research methods covers ethnographic research, case studies, and narratives, as well as content and discourse analysis, psychoanalysis, semiotics, and genealogy, in order to expose students to concepts, ideas, and themes that will recur throughout their education.

A Narrative Approach

First-person narratives give voice to a variety of perspectives informed by a variety of social locations: Black, Chinese, Italian, Lesbian, Muslim, Palestinian, and Portuguese.

Alternative Qualitative Research Methods

Psychoanalysis as Theory and Method
When we think of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), we generally think of psychology and the theory of psychoanalysis. You will recall from Chapter 1 the difference between psychology and sociology: psychology focuses on the individual, while sociology generally deals with larger aspects of society. Psychoanalysis, though, despite being psychological and highly theoretical, has become a useful research tool for sociologists.

What makes the work of Freud and contemporary neo-Freudian psychoanalysis interesting to sociologists is its potential universality. Freud believed that childhood developmental stages (the oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital stages) and the formation of self (consuming self, ego, and superego) were culturally universal concepts. And, while they focus on the individual, they also consider the individual's relationship to society. Sociologists, rather than looking at the individual, use psychoanalytic categories and concepts to examine society at a cultural level (Chasin 1996).

As an example of how psychoanalysis can be used to examine broader social and cultural institutions, we will turn our attention to architecture. For Freud, much that is crucial aspects of psychoanalysis are concerned with areas of human life that are often manifested in art, literature, and religion (1909:11), and architecture is no different. Using psychoanalysis as a methodological tool, we can examine various buildings within a larger cultural context. For instance, Toronto's CN tower is often viewed as a phallic symbol—the conscious or unconscious representation of a penis. In Freudian terms, phallic symbols represent not just sex but patriarchy—the domination of society by men, and the exclusion of women from positions of power. The question arises: why would a symbol representing the masculine pride of Toronto also symbolize the subordination of women? In this example, psychoanalysis is used to 'read' the underlying symbol found in cultural institutions. In this respect,

it is similar to semiotics or, as we will see, discourse analysis, though it is much more specific. Early feminists dismissed Freud's theories because of their lack of penis envy, the supposed desire among women to have a penis, which Freud felt accounted for certain aspects of female behavior. But in the late 1950s and 1960s, there was a re-evaluation of psychoanalysis, which investigated the theory and turned it into a method that could be used for feminist research. Among those leading the movement was Nancy Chodorow, who has been using feminist psychoanalysis in sociological research on gender, sexuality, and the family for thirty years. In *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978), her pioneering study of psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender, she wrote that Freud's accounts of the



Known as the centre for finance and trade, erects a monument to its own greatness. Why do you think this has been identified as a symbol of male hegemony? (TheGlobePhoto)

psychological deconstruction of bourgeois marriage, gender differentiation, and child-rearing practices remain unsurpassed, and both psychoanalysis and feminism since Freud have deepened and extended her critique (1978:40).

Among others who have made noteworthy use of psychoanalysis in sociology research are members of the Frankfurt School of social philosophy. Affiliates of the Frankfurt School, which began in the 1920s, applied the work of Nietzsche, Marx, and Freud to their analyses. They were generally critical of fascism, communism, and capitalism as systems that produce social domination. Principal figures of the Frankfurt School include Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse.

In *One-Dimensional Man* (1964), Marcuse used a psychoanalytic approach to argue that at a cultural level, society had institutionalized elements of the id (which drives us to pursue pleasure in order to satisfy instinctual desires); these elements, he believed, had come to displace the

superego (our conscience, reflecting social standards learned from parents) and the ego (which controls the id's pleasure-seeking activities in order to meet the demands of civilized society). As a result, contradictory messages are brought together—progress and exploitation, attraction and draggery, freedom and oppression—and male 'neurosis' produces what Marcuse called the happy consciousness. For Marcuse, the happy consciousness subordinates human freedom, promotes aggressive and material social activity, and lays the political foundation for new forms of fascism (1964:76–9). Here, fascism is not simply a political ideology but an ideology that links erotic pleasure and violence.

We will discuss psychoanalysis and its applications in sociology further in Chapter 4.

Content Analysis


Content analysis involves studying a set of cultural artifacts or events by systematically coding them and then interpreting the



Marcuse might have argued that video games like *Doom* and *Conan* Tugz Tugz are the ultimate and institutionalized desire for violence, encouraging us to take part in the domination of our own consciousness. (by Inaguchi)

Chapter nine Race and Ethnicity: Life of Inequality
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Daniel C. Hill:
First Black Canadian Sociologist
The face of sociology in Canada has been almost exclusively a White face: Finding a South Asian, Black, East Asian, or Aboriginal sociologist who has had an impact is not easy. Daniel C. Hill (1923–2003) is an exception. Although he was not born in Canada, he is considered the first Black Canadian sociologist. He studied sociology at the University of Toronto, receiving his MA in 1951 and his PhD in 1960. His primary writings include his doctoral dissertation, *Negrees in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group* (1960), and *The Freedom Struggle: Blacks in Early Canada* (1981). But it is mainly in applied work that Hill's sociology is expressed. He was a researcher for the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1953–6), executive secretary of the North York Social Planning Council (1956–60), and assistant director of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation (1960). In 1962, Hill became the first full-time director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and ten years later, he became Ontario Human Rights Commissioner. He founded his own human rights consulting firm in 1973, working at various times for the Metropolitan Police Service, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the government of British Columbia. From 1981 to 1989, he served as Ontario Ombudsman.



Daniel C. Hill, O.C., O.Ont., Ph.D., LL.D., received the Order of Canada from Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, 3 February 2000. (Photo by Sgt. Louise Woodall)

fielding complaints from people concerning their treatment by provincial government agencies. In 1999 he was made a Member of the Order of Canada.

What do you think?

1. Why is it more likely that a Black Canadian sociologist would get involved in human rights work than a White Canadian sociologist would?
2. How could you determine whether Hill served as a token (i.e., as a Black person hired merely so that the commission he was involved with could point to him as proof of their commitment to addressing the concerns of the Black community) or as a meaningfully employed member of the social commission he was on?

Questions for Critical Review and Discussion

1. Discuss the extent to which race, ethnicity, and gender are social constructs.
2. Explain what is meant by a White person being 'invisible' in Canada.
3. How is institutional, or systemic, racism different from other forms of discrimination?
4. What groups have been discriminated against by voting laws in Canada?
5. How did the Quiet Revolution change the social position of Francophones in Quebec?
6. How were Ukrainians mineralized during World War I? What effect do you think that had on their participation in Canadian society for the period that immediately followed?

Suggested Readings

Anderson, Kay J. (1991). *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP.

Barnet, H. (1993). *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

Callahan, Angus & George J. Seligson, eds. (2000). *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Goldberg, David Theo (1993). *Racial Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Isacks, Jeff (1992). *Black Lads: Race and Representation, Transition Between the Lines*.

Phet, David N. (2008). *We Were Not the Sentinels: A Mi'kmaq Perspective on the Collision between European and Native American Civilizations*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Suggested Websites

Canadian Race Relations Foundation.
<http://www.crrf.ca>

The Adirondack Project.
<http://www.canada.metropolis.net>

Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with the Native Peoples.
<http://www.caism.ca/eng/ndp/ndp.htm>

Department of Heritage and Multiculturalism.
<http://www.pc.gc.ca/mult/html/english.html>

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is true that the culture defines deviance—that deviance is essentially a social or cultural construct—but it is important to remember, as we mentioned earlier in this chapter, that there is seldom total or even near total agreement within a culture as to what is deviant. In other words, deviance, like other elements in a culture, can be contested, meaning that not everyone agrees.

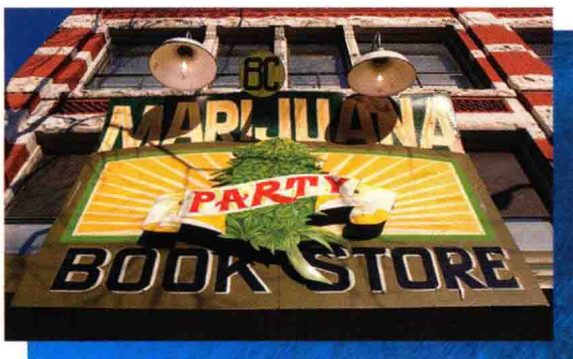
When deviance is contested in any given area, we have a situation known as **conflict deviance**. Conflict deviance is a disagreement among groups over whether or not something is deviant. The legality of marijuana is a good example. Possession of marijuana is against the law, and is therefore deviant, yet results of a 2002 survey conducted by the Canadian Community Health Survey suggest that three million people aged 15 and older use marijuana or hashish at least once a year, which goes a long way towards normalizing the practice. The constant debate over whether possession of small amounts of marijuana, for medicinal

or even recreation use, should be legalized is proof that marijuana use, though deviant, is a focal point for conflict deviance.

Social Construction versus Essentialism

One of the reasons deviance is contested has to do with the differing viewpoints of social constructionism and essentialism. **Social constructionism** puts forward the idea that elements of social life—including deviance, as well as gender, race, and other elements—are not natural but are established or created by society or culture. **Essentialism**, on the other hand, argues that there is something 'natural', 'true', 'universal', and therefore 'objectively determined' about these elements of social life.

When we look at any given social element, we can see that each of these two viewpoints is applicable to some degree. Alcoholism, for



The Marijuana Party Book Store in Vancouver. The political party runs on a single platform which campaigns to legalize marijuana. If marijuana becomes legalized does it cease to be deviant? (Photo © M.J. Milloy, 2006)

Thought-Provoking Pedagogy

Carefully chosen photographs, critical-thinking questions, and end-of-chapter review questions encourage students to adopt a sociological perspective and see the sociology in everyday life. The same objective is served by the numerous critical-thinking questions scattered throughout the chapters.

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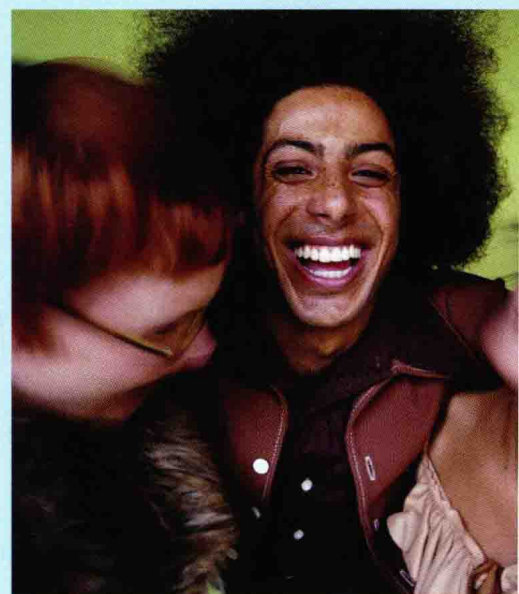
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