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a reader

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Everyday Life: A Reader

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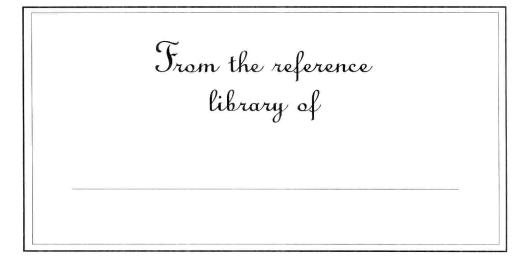
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EVERYDAY LIFE

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Preface

We were pleased when McGraw-Hill Ryerson asked us to prepare a brief edition Readings in Sociology: An Introduction. This prompted us to do some very interesting reading, far and wide, in Canadian sociology that we might otherwise have postponed. Also, we were pleased to prepare this volume because instructors had requested it. Given the many differences between this book and our earlier one, the new reader has been given a name of its own — Everyday Life: A Reader.

In preparing this book, we have made use of two years of informal feedback on the first edition, and much preliminary thinking about the changes we might make for instructors requesting a shorter volume. The result is quite a different book. The first edition was a representative and systematic portrayal of trends in studies in Canadian sociology. The new edition gives greater emphasis to recent, not classic, writing and is much more fast-paced reading, intended for introductory sociology students. As it turned out, different instructors using the first volume were divided in reporting that they preferred a textbook just like that one *or* that they preferred a book like the present one. The difference of opinion was rooted to a great extent in whether the course was one or two semesters in length. To their credit, McGraw-Hill Ryerson decided to provide both books in their offerings.

We have maintained the emphasis on variety and quality from the original reader in this edition, but we have reduced the size of the volume significantly. Also, we have set aside articles that introductory instructors found difficult for their first-year students, and introduced new topics and articles that deserve wider attention among these undergraduate students. Accordingly, the new reader is down to 27 articles from 71 in the other edition. And, among these articles in *Everyday Life* are many selections or excerpts not included in the earlier book — over 40% new material.

This new reader continues to cover most of the topics included in the earlier one. Five sections (on "social interaction and social organization," "political and economic organization," "education and the schools," "work and occupations," and "community and region") have been eliminated. However, we believe this new arrangement best reflects the use many instructors have been making of the earlier reader.

Each section of the book begins with a brief introduction intended to link that section with those that precede and follow it, and to integrate the excerpts contained in the section. As before, all the articles are closely edited for brevity and clarity. Also, a biographical sketch of the author(s) still precedes each piece.

For those who will acquire an appetite for further fare in Canadian sociology from reading the material in this volume, the biographical sketches show good places to begin additional reading. The same is true of the other biographical sketches and articles provided in *Readings in Sociology*.

We trust readers of *Everyday Life* will find this book a refreshing and exciting introduction to Canadian sociology. We hope you will receive as much enjoyment and yield from it as we did in putting it together.

Acknowledgements

We want to express our appreciation to several people who provided valuable assistance with this volume. First level thanks must go, of course, to the authors of the selections in this book — for producing the material, permitting its inclusion in this book, allowing our abridgement of their work (in many instances), and providing, on short notice, brief biographical sketches to accompany their contributions. Second, Al Wain, a freelance editor, skillfully shortened many of the selections to allow more items and authors to be included and to make for fast-paced reading. Third, Denise Baker and Lorraine Albrecht, at the University of Waterloo, gave much help with correspondence and manuscript preparation. Fourth, teaching colleagues at various universities and McGraw-Hill Ryerson's reviewers gave helpful suggestions for the contents of this volume. Fifth, Catherine O'Toole and Norma Christensen at McGraw-Hill Ryerson gave us strong support. Catherine O'Toole saw the merit of this brief edition and pressed for its preparation. Norma Christensen handled, with dispatch and grace, the onerous tasks of all correspondence around permissions requests.

As was the case with our earlier volume, *Readings in Sociology* with McGraw-Hill Ryerson, the present project proved to be very difficult because of the many excellent pieces of work and many exceptional scholars who could not be included. The length requirements for this volume were very reasonable on the grounds of manageable reading, but they made for hard constraints on the number of selections that could be offered. Indeed even the two books, this one and *Readings in Sociology*, do not have enough space to allow us to capture the full richness of current Canadian sociology.

We again applaud this wealth of Canadian research. We dedicate this volume to our colleagues in Canadian sociology who have given us so many avenues of understanding everyday social life in Canada.

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SECTION ONE

What Is Sociology?

his section contains articles about the nature of sociology and, in this way, sets the stage for the rest of the book. In this introduction, we define and describe sociology. The first article in the section distinguishes between sociology and other social sciences; while the second article discusses three of sociology's classic concerns.

Sociology is the science that produces theories about social relations. To sociologists, the word "science" means much the same as it does to physicists or biologists. Science makes and tests theories about the real world. A science of social relations is more complex than other sciences, because people are more complicated than atoms and amoebae. Still, all sciences have the same goals.

For sociologists, just as for physicists, theories are tentative explanations of the world we can see and measure. We base predictions of future events on such theories. Then, we judge each theory against competing theories to see how well they predict the future. We also use theories to explain social life in the present and the past. A science tests its theories over and over to improve and even discard them in favour of better ones.

Social relations are relationships between people that are somehow binding. The subject matter of sociology is the social bond that connects individuals in groups and societies. In turn, societies are collections of social relations. A society includes all the understandings (for example, values and rules) that its members share, all the bonds that are based on these understandings, and all the organizations (from friendships and families up through businesses and governments) that grow out of these bonds.

Drawing the boundaries of a society is no easy matter. Many social relationships cross international borders, like the one between Canada and the United States. Some researchers even wonder whether Canada and the United States, which are distinct nation-states, are really distinct societies. For similar reasons, others wonder whether the two are distinct economies. Trade and the flows of capital and migrants tie these two countries together. Yet the idea of a "Canadian society" still has value. It

helps us understand why life is different in Halifax and Boston, Toronto and Buffalo, Winnipeg and Minneapolis, Vancouver and Seattle.

Sociological theories have certain common characteristics. Good theories are tentative, thorough, and economical. They are tentative because disproof is always a possibility: indeed, scientists seek to disprove, not prove, theories. They are thorough because scientists want to explain as much of reality as they can with a single theory. Yet they are also economical — other things being equal, we seek to explain as much as we can with as few assumptions as possible.

Theories should also be true or "valid," as far as we can tell. Like other humans, sociologists can be blind to what is true and false. Personal interests and biases may mislead them. Agreed-upon methods of discovering, testing, and communicating their findings reduce the risk of error due to such bias.

Sociological theories should not be circular or true-by-definition. A theory that "satisfied workers are happy with their jobs" is circular if all that we mean by "satisfied" is "happy with their jobs." A circular theory, though true, has no value to science because it can never be proved false and adds nothing to our stock of knowledge.

We can test a theory that is *not* circular for validity. Scientists, including sociologists, never prove a theory absolutely right; they only prove contending theories less right. We consider the theory that best survives many attempts at disproof, and shows itself most thorough and economical, to be the most valid, *for the time being*.

All sociological theories, like all of science's theories, must be tested against the world we can observe and measure. Some of Einstein's theories in physics had to wait for decades until sensitive enough equipment could test their mathematically derived predictions. Likewise, sociological theories may not be immediately testable. Some, like Marx's (for example, 1967) theories about the coming of communism to industrial societies, predict future events. Marxists might argue that conclusive data are not available yet: we cannot judge yet whether these theories are valid. Others might say that Marx's theories have been judged and found wanting.

Whatever the difficulties, a sociologist must always seek validation for his/her theories. Every theorist must sooner or later appeal to the evidence that our senses offer for support. Reason must prevail over intuition, emotion, and good intention. None but the court of empirical evidence will decide a theory's fate in the long run.

Two other aspects of sociological theories need mentioning. First, sociological theories should help us understand everyday life. Historically, sociologists have always paid special attention to the public problems of their times. Much work has been done by "middle range" researchers moving back and forth between theory and an active concern with current events.

We call sociology that directly influences the way some portion of society functions *applied sociology*. Many North American universities now teach applied sociology, because the application of sociological knowledge plays an ever larger part in sociologists' professional work. Every year more graduate sociologists take jobs outside universities and apply their knowledge to decision-making in government and corporate organizations and interest groups.

Sociologists apply their knowledge in a wide variety of ways. For example, political polling — one type of applied sociology — analyzes the popular support for particular candidates or policies. By understanding the results of polls, political parties can modify their positions and the way they present these positions to the public.

Another type of applied sociology — market research — analyzes consumer preferences and public perceptions of different products. With such information, manufacturers and advertisers decide which new products to introduce. They learn how to change old products, and how to focus their advertising to maximize sales.

Sociologists also earry out a wide variety of *policy research*. Policy research aims at determining the need for new policies and likely public reactions to these policies. One kind of policy research, social impact assessment, tries to anticipate the ways a policy will change society if put into practice. Another type of applied sociology, evaluation research, assesses whether a new policy is achieving what policy-makers hoped it would.

The main activity of sociologists is not knowledge application, however; it is theory-making. Without good theory, applied sociology can never achieve the results we desire. To this end, sociological theory must give us back more than we already know. By connecting previously unconnected facts, a good theory yields insights no one anticipated. It leads us *beyond* the obvious to the unexpected, the paradoxical and contradictory. The more sociology succeeds in making non-obvious predictions, the more mature a science sociology has become.

The essence of sociology is its "classical tradition." In his paper in this section, Robert Brym shows that the classic concerns that motivated sociology's founding figures include questions like: (1) "What is the relationship between the individual and society?" (2) "Are the most important determinants of social behaviour cultural or economic?" and (3) "What are the bases of social inequality?" Like all good questions, these ones allow

many answers. Over the course of time, sociologists from different schools of thought have answered the central questions of sociology in many ways. Yet, the classic questions emerge time and again, demanding new answers. Today, they remain as fresh and challenging as they were a century ago.

Sociology is not only the asking and answering of these classic questions: it is also what living people who call themselves "sociologists" do. In fact, the discipline has developed differently in different countries. In some places (as in the USA), sociology has been more influenced by social psychology; in others, by anthropology (as in Great Britain); and in other places still, by philosophy (as in Germany). In Canada, all of these disciplines have influenced the development of sociology.

As well, history and political economy have shaped the development of Canadian sociology. In English-speaking Canada, sociology's connection with history and political economy began with the work of political economist Harold Innis (see, for example, Innis, 1923; 1930; 1940) and his protégés, especially S.D. Clark (see, for example, Clark, 1962; 1966; 1976) at the University of Toronto. Yet other schools have drawn on other influences, At McGill University, Carl Dawson and Everett Hughes taught the "Chicago School's" ecological approach, which focused on the geographic dispersion and interaction of competing groups (see, for example, Hughes, 1943). This approach linked Canadian sociology with mainstream American work.

The British socialist tradition made itself felt in work by Leonard Marsh (see, for example, 1940) in the 1930s and 1940s. Later work by John Porter (see, for example 1965) in the 1950s-1970s set the enduring character of Carleton University's "school" of sociology. It set the groundwork for Marxist-oriented sociology as practised today by Wallace Clement, a student of John Porter's (see, for example, Clement, 1975; 1977), and many others.

Despite historical, national, and regional variation, sociology is distinguishable from the other social sciences (e.g., psychology, anthropology, political science, and economics); from the more speculative or deductive disciplines (e.g., philosophy); and the less systematic inductive fields (e.g., journalism and social work).

An article by Kenneth Westhues in this section helps us see the defining features by comparing sociology with other disciplines. Of course, fields of study making up the humanities and social sciences can never be entirely distinct. They all study human behaviour and must, therefore, often talk about the same things. Yet, as Westhues shows, they do this differently using (often) different language, rules of proof, and different kinds of data to support their arguments.

As well, the various disciplines have somewhat different purposes. Some pay more attention to theorizing, others to describing, prescribing, or even taking action. By comparison, sociology has always inclined towards theorizing about *social structure* with the help of data. ("Social structure" is the regular patterning of relations among individuals and groups.) This inclination is clear enough so that sociologists around the world can readily understand one another and make use of one another's findings. There is probably more similar thinking among the world's sociologists than there is between the sociologists and economists, or sociologists and psychologists, or sociologists and anthropologists, of any given country.

Nonetheless, social theorizing always reflects a particular time and place in history. Sociological theories must take appropriate notice of such influences as geography, economy, political struggle, and demographic change. Differences in sociological approach inevitably arise out of genuine social differences between Canada and the USA, for example.

As well, differences in sociological theorizing reflect differences in the outlook and background of the theorists. Much as we might wish social science to be free of subjectivity, our biases are likely to intrude nonetheless. For example, work by male researchers has tended to vary quite considerably from work by female researchers, in terms of the questions asked and hypotheses tested.

Is there a more general problem here? If gender biases intrude when the researchers belong to one sex (typically, male) rather than another, will racial biases intrude if most research is done by white people? And will the monopolization of research by college-educated middle class people cause class biases in the research as well?

These are very important questions. On the one hand, all research tells us something about the researcher — his or her biases, background and associations, for example. On the other hand, researchers have struggled with these questions for many decades and are still doing so. They have made some headway by being aware of the potential problem of bias and trying to guard against it. You will want to remain alert to possible researcher biases as you read the articles in this book.

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Sociology Compared to Other Fields

Kenneth Westhues

KENNETH WESTHUES, Professor of Sociology at the University of Waterloo, specializes in the sociology of religion, social movements, and sociological theory. His publications include Society's Shadow: Studies in the Sociology of Countercultures (1972): Village in Crisis, with Peter Sinclair (1974); First Sociology (1982); and "Defensiveness and social structure: The ideology of separate school trustees" (1983). Professor Westhues has served as Department Chairman at the University of Waterloo and was recently awarded the Distinguished Teacher Award there; he has also taught as a Visiting Professor at Fordham University and Memorial University of Newfoundland. He has served as associate editor of the Canadian Journal of Sociology, Review of Religious Research, and Sociological Analysis.

HOLISM

In universities that abound with diseiplines we need to distinguish sociology from the rest. Five characteristics are relevant for this purpose, the first of which is sociology's goal of providing holistic social analyses. In the writings of nearly all the founders of the field there is an unmistakable attempt to understand social life as a whole. Marx, for instance, had no intention of writing simply about the economy. He stressed it only because for him it was the basis of political, religious, and all other dimensions of the whole, the society, which ever remained his fundamental concern. When Durkheim wrote about suicide, or Weber about bureaucraev, it was not as specialists in these areas but in order to shed light on the social order in general. An emphasis on the whole, an attempt to

integrate knowledge about social life, is almost the hallmark of the discipline.

The lesson of the founders has not been lost on their descendants in the present day. Major contemporary sociologists like Peter Berger at Boston College, Amitai Etzioni at George Washington University, the late Talcott Parsons (1903-1979) at Harvard, or the late John Porter (1921–1979) at Carleton, among many others, have aspired to write holistic analyses of the societies confronting them. The sociology curriculum continues to be wide open, with almost no subjeet matter excluded in principle. A glance through a few university calendars reveals courses regularly taught in the sociology of art, bureaucracy, conflict, death, education, family, gangs, housing, ideology, Jews, knowledge, law, music,