

ТЕОРІЯ ТА ІСТОРІЯ СОЦІОЛОГІЇ

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CANADIAN SOCIOLOGY IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

The paper addresses questions concerning the place and role of Canadian sociology in the larger global context. In what ways can Canadian sociology complement global sociology? What challenges face Canadian sociology in universities today? The authors review trajectories and paradigms of Canadian sociology, its history, and recent developments. The institutional structures of Canadian sociology are observed in the framework of 'sociology as a scientific and academic discipline' (SaSAD). The article provides a brief historical account to the Anglo/French division in Canadian sociology, examines its relationship with the country's legacy and complex interplay between social movements, political parties and social science. The case of Canada helps to address principal questions concerning the place of sociology as a scientific and academic discipline in the contemporary university.

Key words: Social Science, Academic Discipline, Sociology in Canada, Global Sociology, Historical and Comparative Analysis

Introduction

The point of departure in our analysis is to look at sociology from two angles: 'sociology as a scientific and academic discipline' (SaSAD). The idea for this has two main purposes. First, it aims to question sociology as a scientific and academic field within the broader categorization of social sciences and the general 'map of knowledge' in the contemporary university [Sandstrom 2011]. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it seeks intellectual integrity and sovereignty for the discipline by promoting its own reflexive way forward. Doing this frees sociology from any necessary dependence upon or subordination to natural sciences or naturalistic thought.

The topic of SaSAD allows for the possibility that sociology is sometimes an 'academic' discipline without necessarily being 'scientific' and that at other times it is 'scientific' without being 'academic'. This paper thus probes into how sociology can be philosophical or worldview-oriented without being scientific and vice versa. It also raises the notion of 'scientific-technical' knowledge in contrast with 'philosophical-spiritual' knowledge and considers the possibility that sociology may include both pairs rather than being exclusively one-sided or ideologically imbalanced.

We construct our arguments by observing the case of Canadian sociology, its historical legacy and recent developments in the framework of SaSAD. The Canadian tradition of sociology is undergoing challenges to its identity due to changing socio-economic processes, political transformation, and cultural diversification. This leads us to ask how different national and local sociological traditions can be compared, measured and contrasted. What unique features of Canadian sociology can be shared for the benefit of others on the global stage? We approach these questions in terms of attempts at 'globalizing sociology.'

Finally, drawing on the idea of SaSAD, we address more general questions concerning the role of the university in society. The background for this study is the prospect of uniting knowledge into a totality that 'makes sense,' i.e. is comprehensible in the contemporary university. We view the modern fragmentation of academic thought through the division of scientific labor and the separation of specialized fields to be both a positive boon for scientific development and

a negative result of the modernization of education. The university is designed to offer a universe of knowledge and learning that can be unified in a diverse world. As the British philosopher and theologian J.H. Newman wrote, the university is "a place of teaching universal knowledge" [Newman, 1999: p. xvii]. The meaning of the word 'university' thus combines 'unity in diversity'. The particular position of sociology in today's university is thus a relevant topic of research, both by itself and for how it interacts with other fields.

We now focus on the development of sociology in Canada, seeking a synthesis of scientific sociology and practical or everyday sociology, on the one hand and between sociology as a taught and learned academic discipline, on the other. We promote two main hypotheses, with several supporting arguments made for each one. First: Teaching and doing sociology as a scientific and academic discipline aims at finding unity in diversity and seeking a balance between scientific-technical and philosophical-spiritual knowledge in society. Second: Sociology aspires to be scientific, but it is not 'purely' scientific when and where it overlaps with pressing social and political problems, which limit its claims to being truly scientific.

A Brief History of Canadian Sociology

Of immediate interest in chronicling a brief history of Canadian sociology is the sometimes divergent and sometimes convergent, yet always respectively sovereign presences of two types of sociology in Canada: English sociology and French sociology. As former ISA Board Member Marcel Fournier explains: "French Canadians are distinct by their history, their traditions, and physical and moral character" [Fournier, 2002: p. 44]. Historical sociologist Harry Hiller expresses the situation thus: "Francophone sociology is not merely another language variant of Anglophone sociology" [Hiller, 1979: p. 139]. As a result of the overlapping sovereignties of French and English sociology in Canada, an analysis that involves more than one paradigm or single vision is required in order to give an appropriate and yet nevertheless only brief outline. We now present an overview of some features of Canadian sociology's uniqueness along with a few figures and institutions that define it.

The first School of Social Sciences, Economics and Politics (L'Ecole des Sciences Sociales, Economiques et Politiques) was opened at the University of Montreal (1920) within the Faculty of Philosophy. Drawing on the already existing tradition of French sociology, e.g. Henri Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, French-Canadians embraced the sociological tradition sooner than English-Canadians. In English-speaking Canada sociology was often first taught in an Economics Department [Curtis and Connor,

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1970: p. 3], while the first independent Department of Sociology in Canada opened at McGill University (Montreal) in 1925, under the directorship of Carl Dawson (1887-1964), who had been appointed the first professor of sociology there in 1922. Thus, 1925 is considered the birth date of sociology in Canada, within the university setting. Dawson was one of many early Canadian sociologists who were educated at the University of Chicago and who then brought their American training to bear on Canadian soil. Thus, a convergence of Canadian and American views was present at the founding of sociology in Canada, a tradition which has continued up to the present time.

We are reminded by those who maintain a strong connection between sociology and the social democratic tradition in Canada, that sociology began not in the metropolitan areas, but rather in industrial towns in response to working class conditions and the plight of everyday Canadians. "In a reflection of the larger Canadian canvas," write Curtis and Connor, "sociology was first taught in Nova Scotia but its establishment soon centred in Montreal and later Toronto, where it has remained although growing Western strength is now a force to be reckoned with" [1970: p. 4]. J.F. Tufts gave the first Canadian course in sociology at Acadia University in 1908, the same year that sociology was first taught in Russia. Later, in the same province, S.H. Prince's book *Catastrophe and Social Change* (1920) was a pioneering effort of sociological investigative analysis based on the Halifax disaster, 'the world's largest man-made accidental explosion,' and people's reactions to it. Thus, it was in trying to understand changes to the social democracy that Canada was adopting in the early 20th century, i.e. in contrast to America's liberal and then later neo-liberal democratic tradition, that sociology took its unique shape in Canada. The work of Colin McKay in Halifax, a non-academic, labour-style journalist-sociologist is a classic example of this approach [McKay, 1998: pp. 389-426].

It is worth noting that sociology was chosen as a relevant field of study by the person who would end up being voted "the greatest Canadian" of all-time in a 2004 national survey: the so-called 'father of universal healthcare,' Tommy Douglas (1904-1986). In 1933, Douglas graduated from McMaster University's MA program in Sociology, writing on *The Problems of the Subnormal Family*. Though in this document he would promote eugenic theories, Douglas would later oppose the use of eugenics for Canadian society while he held elected political office. The sociological knowledge acquired by Douglas enabled his adoption of principles that combined the 'social gospel' tradition in Canada with social activism and labour welfare policies, and with the founding of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) political party, which he led from 1942 to 1961, which later became the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's current official opposition party. Douglas' contribution of 'Medicare' or 'universal healthcare' to Canadian society is considered his most lasting achievement and the one on which his celebrated position in Canada is measured.

Douglas' applications of sociological training to the sphere of political economy, however, take us in another direction from ascertaining the scientificity of 'sociology' as an academic discipline. McGill University's first sociological chair, Carl Dawson, described sociology as "an objective and systematic study of collective behaviour" [1940: p. 154]. And as far as it is scientific in orientation, sociology is "a body of knowledge based on systematic research" [Ibid: p. 156]. What sociologists are looking for is "dependable abstract generalizations, which we call laws...to explain social change and the development of social institutions in

an orderly and predictable way" [Ibid: p. 160]. Dawson was one of the first Canadian sociologists to place a concerted focus on systematic research, without which he claimed that science, the teachers of science and students would stagnate. He greatly appreciated anthropology ("Perhaps closest to sociology in manner and matter is the sister science of cultural anthropology." – Dawson [1940: p. 161]), which he believed had achieved the most comprehensive understanding of society through its studies of more simple, rather than complex, societies. This explains in part why many departments of sociology in Canada were co-affiliated with anthropology, which will be discussed further below.

S.D. Clark (1910-2003) is renowned as one of Canada's most distinguished sociologists. Writing on manufacturing, social development, churches, sects and movements of political protest in Canada, Clark was appointed to lead the first sociology department at the University of Toronto (UT) in 1963, which was a major breakthrough for sociology in Canada. Clark joined the university in 1938 in the department of political economy. Though sociology had been established with an honours programme at UT in 1933, courtesy of E.J. Urwick, it was Clark who raised the level of sociology to international standards. Clark was born in Alberta and had been educated in Canada (the University of Saskatchewan, McGill University and the University of Toronto) and England (London School of Economics). He was therefore unusual for his time in bringing a non-American approach to sociology, which is reflected in his focus on Canadian social history and political economy and on the urban poor in Canadian cities. Clark was elected president of the Royal Society of Canada, the Canadian Political Science Association and the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association.

Turning to the French-Canadian tradition, one towering figure remains to which all subsequent sociologists in Québecare beholden. Léon Gérin (1863-1951) earned a law degree from Laval University in 1884, but later turned his attention to analysing and observing Canadian society, including writings on the French colonisation of North America, Canadian society after the Conquest, French-Canadian rural life, economic interrelations and other topics. The Léon Gérin prize, established in 1977, for outstanding service in the human-social sciences, has been awarded to the top French-Canadian sociologists. As well, with the Innis-Gérin medal, the Royal Society of Canada recognizes Canadian contributions to social scientific thought. Gérin served in the federal government in Ottawa, including the House of Commons. He is perhaps most famous for writing the lament "Un Canadian Errant" ("The Lost Canadian") about the exile of the Patriots. Gérin focussed on agriculture, logging and mining as important core industries dealing with natural resources in Canada, which set the stage for Innis' staple theory, several years later. His writings were adopted into the Canadian sociological canon and serve as an important bridge between English – and French-Canadian perspectives.

Marcel Fournier captures the specificity of French-Canadian sociology, suggesting that, "Owing much to 'French genius', French Canadian Culture appeared to be of 'Christian inspiration' and the culture of a 'Christian nation'. Therefore, its main characteristics were spiritual, community, and qualitative. The real evil was America, with its utilitarianism and materialism". [Fournier, 2002: pp. 44-45]. These feelings expressed have continued throughout Canadian history up to the present time, with French-Canadian or Québécois people protecting and augmenting the French language in the face of imperialism through the English language and especially from the proliferation of American media and cultural products. We thus return to

the idea that French-Canadian sources for sociological thought differ considerably and yet oftentimes complement English-Canadian sources.

The Catholic Action Movement (CAM) supplemented a style of sociology suited to Catholicism in Québec. Much of Francophone sociology had taken its inspiration from the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which was dedicated to "The Rights and Duties of Capital and Labour," addressing the conditions of the working classes. Since the late 1930s (e.g. Georges-Henri Lévesque's opening of the first School of Social Science at Laval University in 1938) and especially from the 1960s onwards as a result of the Quiet Revolution, however, sociology in Québec has been continually secularized. A new nationalism and occasionally a 'sovereignist' movement in Québec have proliferated alongside of aims at modernizing the Québec province. The declaration of the Québécois as "a nation within a united Canada" (2006) by Prime Minister Stephen Harper testifies to the resilience and importance of nation-oriented thinking in Québec up to the present day.

What is most necessary to establish in an overview of the Canadian sociological landscape is that French-Canadian sociology is a distinct and unique discourse from English-Canadian sociology. Curtis and Connor write of "the quantity of concern given to descriptive studies in English-speaking Canadian sociology in contrast to the holistic and greater methodological self-awareness of French Canadian sociologists" [1970: p.8]. The regional, cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, however, runs much deeper than we can discuss here, while it is noteworthy that anthropology, theology, rural studies and political economy are intertwined with sociological thought in Canada.

Neil McLaughlin and Antony J. Puddephatt point out: "Beginning with the work of Leonard Marsh and John Porter, there is a long standing Canadian tradition of policy oriented research that assists in shaping government action on health care, immigration, poverty, social security, and multiculturalism" [2007: p.14]. The Canadian sociological contribution thus inevitably involves both theoretical and practical offerings, which cover a range of issues, depending on the national, regional or local context on which they are being considered. Eastern Canadian, French-Canadian, Central Canadian and Western Canadian, as well as the often marginalised Northern Canadian contexts that are rarely addressed in the sociological literature, each hold respectively different and yet oftentimes complementary histories and traditions.

Sociology in Canada Today

Canadian sociology today can be characterized by hesitations, meditations and arguments with itself based upon its identity as a unique 'science.' This is logistically inevitable given that sociology as a discipline is most often located within Faculties of Arts at Canadian universities. Whether or not sociology is considered as a 'science' or an 'art' is a necessary discussion taken in the Canadian context.

An on-going debate has occurred since 2005 about what precisely constitutes the uniqueness of Canadian sociology. This argument was played out in the Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie (CJS) in response to a paper called "Canada's Impossible Science: Historical and Institutional Origins of the Coming Crisis in Anglo-Canadian Sociology" by Neil McLaughlin. Many responses to and criticisms of this paper were printed in CJS, with no single perspective or resolution winning the day. Thus, no clear new course for the future has been set in Canadian sociology, either in English or in French.

In Canada, the history of university departments of sociology are often intertwined with political science, economics, anthropology and more recently with

criminology. The professionalization of sociology in Canada reflects this inter-disciplinary cooperation in the founding of its earliest organization in the 1960s. The Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association formed in 1965, with the first major publication beginning in 1964 under the title the Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (CRSA). Canadian sociologist Robert Brym concludes, "There is some justification for viewing the period before 1960 as the prehistory of sociology in English Canada. Until 1961 there was not a single independent sociology department in the country aside from the McGill University department" [2005 [1989]: p. 8].

From the 1950s to the late 1970s, sociology in Canada experienced a boom phase. Harry Hiller writes that "While there were only 32 sociologists teaching in Canadian universities in 1956 (0.6 percent of all faculty members), there were 917 by 1977 (2.9 percent of the total)" [1982: p. 23], yet in 1971 Grayson and Magill report that only 34 percent of the sociologists in English Canada held Canadian citizenship [1981: p. 8]. Clearly then there is both an interdisciplinary and an inter-cultural component involved in Canadian sociology, which has influenced the development of the scientific and academic discipline. McLaughlin and Puddephatt confirm that "many Canadian sociology departments remain as sociology and anthropology departments" and that "social anthropology plays a strong role in the intellectual life of Canadian sociology" [2007: p. 5].

When it comes to the status of world sociology in welcoming or even in recognising Canadian sociology there is little doubt that it is definable partly by its dependence on and partly by its independence from American sociology ("to draw from the strengths of American sociology, while moving beyond some of its blindnesses and parochialisms." – [McLaughlin, 2005: p. 30]). As philosopher George Grant writes in the spirit of Canadian sovereignty, "Friendly to the U.S.A., we would still not be her satellite. By our world-wide interest, we would, as her chief neighbour, be pulling her out of continental isolation and towards effective commitments to a world order." [1998: p. 46]. In other words, though American sociology is more powerful in terms of numbers and institutions, in terms of top rated journals, publications and individual citations, in terms of international influence through representation at international sociological events, it is the soft power of Canadian sociologists to maintain Canada's sovereign voice and to express our unique cultural experiences and perspectives. This feature of Canadian sociology offers hope to other national traditions which have not often, for whatever reasons, spoken above the noisy American presence in the global sociological community.

For a uniquely Canadian contribution to global sociology, we may consider the Canadianization movement that took place from the late 1960s until the 1990s. Robin Mathews and James Steele edited a book in 1969 called *The Struggle for Canadian Universities*, following a petition signed at the University of Carleton, calling for all administrators and two-thirds of university faculty to be Canadian citizens [Hiller, 1979: p. 127]. The movement that followed traces its roots, though not exclusively, to George Grant's *Lament for a Nation: the Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (1965), in which Grant questioned the future sovereignty of Canada in the face of United States' hegemony over North American affairs. Grant's insightful critique of Canadian domestic policy and self-governance combined with the rapid growth of sociology in Canada in the 1960s to inspire a new nationalism that propelled sociology to new heights of achievement (For example, writes Hiller, "only 2 doctorates were awarded in Canada in 1960-61 but by 1971-72, there were 31 awarded." [1979: p. 130].

Likewise, "the size of the university sociological community increas[ed] from 61 in 1960-61 to 917 in 1976 – 77" [Ibid: p. 131]) in the academic sphere [Hiller, 1979: p. 129]. The Canadianization movement was a sociological project in so far as it generated momentum in the higher education system to hire and retain Canadian scholars in Canada. Rather than succumb to a 'brain drain', the Canadianization movement sought to reverse such a process by stipulating regulations on hiring Canadian content to fill positions at Canadian universities.

In addition, the fledgling Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association threw its support behind the movement, as a way of balancing the deficit of Canadian sociologists in Canadian universities discussed above. The 1970 CSAA meeting, for example, was titled "The Future of Sociology in Canada". Along with the question of personnel, however, the Canadianization movement also addressed the disciplinary content of creating and maintaining a specifically Canadian sociological perspective [Hiller, 1979: p. 125]. This project is still ongoing, though the movement has officially ended with the end of requirements to 'hire Canadian' in 2003.

What has resulted from this movement is an on-going discussion of identity, sovereignty and uniqueness, which highlights both the English-Canadian and French-Canadian sociological traditions. According to Hiller, "the [Canadianization] movement encourages a Canadian contribution to global sociology" [1979: p. 126]. Hiller notes several features that distinguish Canadian sociology on the global stage: independence from the American sociological tradition, the offering of macro-sociological perspectives, and most importantly for this thesis, "a philosophical debate regarding the nature and role of sociology as science [1979: p. 144].

One example of a prolific visiting scholar is Dorothy Smith (b. 1926), who came to Canada in 1967 from her native England via the U.S.A. and wrote major works during her time in Toronto. The *Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (1987) is a particularly significant contribution to the sociological tradition in the sense of encouraging sociologists to listen to the perspectives of marginalised voices, in order to attain more objective accounts of human society. Her work in institutional ethnography and 'standpoint theory' are contributions that were perhaps too radical or peripheral for the mainstream American sociological tradition, but which fit well with Canadian perspectives and supplements its participation on the global stage.

Canadian Sociologies – Institutional Structures

Canadian sociology has been predominantly built within the university tradition. The institutional structure of sociology in Canada has occurred within mainly public higher education systems. Some universities are geared mainly toward scientific research and procuring research grants, while others are more focussed on teaching and receiving funding through student tuitions. Sociologists also perform professional research in think tanks and government agencies, nevertheless, the majority of sociological research is performed in the context of university settings, albeit it with collaborations and cooperative projects growing in the private sphere and with non-university public institutions.

There are several positive aspects to the institutional structure of English-Canadian Sociology, as McLaughlin points out: "1) the institutional flatness of Canadian higher education, 2) Canada's historical colonial relationship to Great Britain and residual anti-Americanism in our culture, 3) the dynamics of Canadian political culture and state/societal relations, particularly during the period of

sociology's founding. Each of these factors is specific to Canada as a whole, of course, but, in my view, they have particular consequences for sociology that is not the case for other Canadian disciplines. The strength of left-nationalism in Canadian sociology, our theoretical/methodological diversity and our particularly 'open' disciplinary culture are central to understanding how the social structure of higher education in Canada shapes sociology's disciplinary fate." [2005: p. 9].

While McLaughlin doesn't highlight in depth the differences between the French – and English-Canadian systems of sociology in Canada, he does an excellent job of outlining what particular uniqueness Canadian sociology as a whole offers to the global sociological landscape. By emphasizing the institutional flatness of Canadian higher education and the trend of sociologists leaning politically toward left-nationalism, McLaughlin shows how sociology in Canada represents what he calls 'optimal marginality' ("Canada enjoys a particular position of 'optimal marginality,' in that it is both close to the intellectual energy, cultural capital and resources of America, yet maintains a certain distance from American political, cultural and intellectual orthodoxy." – [McLaughlin and Puddephatt, 2007: 7]) to the American and European systems. Optimal marginality basically means that Canadian sociology maintains its own independent viewpoints because it does not acquiesce to the predominant sociological traditions in America and Europe.

The 'open' disciplinary culture that McLaughlin refers to is not only an awareness and readiness to consider or to embrace national traditions outside of one's own. It is also a recognition of the softness of Canadian sociology's core, which as a benefit welcomes 'outsiders' from cultural studies, criminology, anthropology and political economy who add to the diversity of sociology's scope. On the negative side, Canada's soft sociological core represents a weaker professional dimension than France's, Germany's, Britain's or America's (the Big Four), though this need not necessarily be seen as a liability if it is recognized that Canadian sociologists are academically aware of and astute in the global sociological canon.

The main topic this raises is whether or not academic sociology is the alpha and omega of what it means to be a sociologist or to practice sociology. The existence of think tanks, polling agencies and non-government organisations in Canada (which does not have a national Academy of Science) guarantees that some research and development in the field will be undertaken by individuals and groups outside of the academic community. Nevertheless, the statistics show that professional sociology still begins and ends in the universities in Canada and that if one wants to be trained as a sociologist at an international standard then one is best to follow the curriculum and training of the university higher education system.

The great sociological 'triad' taught in Canadian universities is that of Race (or Ethnicity), Class and Gender (or Sex). Yet 'class' in particular has been called into question as sociologists confront new ways to investigate social associations, organizations and relationships. 'Network' is a more contemporary term than 'class' and has contributed to a variety of new investigations, analyses and approaches that are more consistent with the electronic-information age than the term 'class.' What we see in this transition from one set of categories to another is a fundamental reconfiguration of values, in the sense that quantitative or empirical markers are no longer afforded the sole priority in academic sociological discourse. As Comte himself said, "every application of Mathematics to Social Science is, and will remain necessarily impracticable" [1974 [1822]: p. 169]. What is required is a balance of

empirical or mathematical, historical-comparative and theoretical or anthropological approaches to social events.

This approach enables a defeat of the hierarchical approach to social organisation that was reminiscent of 20th century sociology and which is still evident in the field today. Such a move identifies a global geography of sociology that opens the field to recognize that all knowledge is 'situated' and comes 'from somewhere,' thus allowing human-social scientists and scholars to identify biases and discriminations in strategies based on the location of sources. The idea also uncovers any hegemonies of thought that are currently present in universities that pressure sovereign states with conformity to a single global-national system of sociological education.

Canadians in Position to Speak Globally

In terms of its content and ideas, Canadian sociology is in a unique position on the global stage partly due to its relationship with the U.S.A. and partly due to its sensitivity to neo-Marxism, post-neo-liberal, conservative and social democratic ideas which are present in many countries around the world. It does not accept the simplistic view that America won World War II and the Cold War and that liberal or neoliberal capitalistic democracy is the only inevitable 'end of history,' as the historian Francis Fukuyama (1992) suggested. One way of describing the Canadian sociological landscape is to say that it has embraced a paradigm of 'post-prefix-ism,' i.e. that it is post-colonial, post-structural, post-industrial and post-modern, thus Canadian sociology accepts a variety of views, methods, theories and values. McLaughlin and Puddephatt write that: "Sociologists in English Canada, with their links to both the American and British sociological traditions, combined with Québec's links to sociology in France and Continental Europe, represent a sociological community that is literally in the global cross-roads of two-way traffic between the discipline in the United States, Europe, and the world." [2007: p. 8].

Canadian sociology is keenly capable of listening to voices outside of the dominant sociological paradigms that nevertheless still make important contributions to human knowledge. As an 'immigrant nation,' Canada is less likely to discriminate racially against persons who constitute a minority in society since it welcomes people from diverse parts of the world, rich and poor. In this sense it seeks to accept an integrative and synthesis-oriented approach in a similar way to the Russian tradition's philosophical-spiritual holism. One example of this is John Porter's celebrated text on *The Vertical Mosaic: an Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (1965).

John Porter (1921-1979) was born in Vancouver, Canada and studied at the London School of Economics, there taking an interest in England's class structure. In one sense Porter's mosaic Canadian sociology is a greater expression of a national dream than the stereotypical 'American dream,' which is arguably predominantly an economic one. The premise of Porter's work lies in 'equality of opportunity' or reducing barriers of access to power, while at the same time recognizing the contributions of elites ("Canada is probably not unlike other western industrial nations in relying heavily on its elite groups to make major decisions and to determine the shape and direction of its development. The nineteenth-century notion of a liberal citizen-participating democracy is obviously not a satisfactory model by which to examine the processes of decision-making in either the economic or the political contexts If power and decision-making must always rest with elite groups, there can at least be open recruitment from all classes into the elite." – Porter [1965: p. 558]). It is an alternative perspective on the individual and social sources of 'power' in comparison to C.W. Mills' *The*

Power Elite, with Porter placing the focus on a 'mosaic' rather than on a 'melting pot' approach to domestic inter-cultural relations. Porter's work laid the foundation for Canada's 'multiculturalism' perspective, which was enshrined in Canadian public policy in 1971 and then in the Multiculturalism Act of 1988. Porter's empirical work also contributed the Pineo-Porter index of socio-economic status, which aims at measuring socio-economic characteristics while maintaining focus on Canada's elite in economic, political and ideological realms.

More recently, McLaughlin notes the peculiarities Canadian sociology has via its close links to the largest sociological tradition in the world, while at the same time Canada retains a certain distance, sociologically and intellectually from the cultural and sociological assumptions of Americans. "Canadian sociology," notes McLaughlin, "at times, has a left-wing, activist oriented, polemical tone and can be rather intolerant of political conservatism or even liberalism" [2005: p. 20]. On the other hand, sociology in Canada has not produced many public representatives for itself in comparison to the public figures of French, German, British and American sociology. [Ibid: p. 23]. So perhaps it could be said that Canadian sociology is missing the opportunity to showcase its strengths on domestic affairs and international relevance, which in turn lowers its contribution to global sociology. The idea is that before one can speak a unique voice to the world they must first understand them-self and the uniqueness of their own history and traditions.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted some of the key features of Canadian sociology as one voice in the 'global village' [McLuhan, 1962]. An additional major contribution Canadian social science has made to global sociology more generally is that of 'staples theory' or the 'staples approach,' attributed to William A. Mackintosh (1923) and later elaborated by Harold Innis (1930). The staples approach is based on a 'staple,' which is a natural (or social) resource in great abundance on a given national territory or (in capitalist language), a 'commodity' that dominates a nation's production and exports. Furs, fish, timber, wheat and flour are or have been considered Canada's main staples, with natural gas, oil reserves and fresh water also increasing in importance in today's era.

In Innis' terms, the importance of staples provides a way of understanding Canadian society and connects with his later work on communication theory and media studies, which led to McLuhan's monumental work on human extension and the global village. The Canadian 'hinterland,' i.e. the peripheral, resource-rich, rural areas, has served the 'heartland,' or core, industrial, urban areas. This view suggests that diversifying the economy built around staples production, consumption and increasing labour efficiency combined with technological achievement are the ultimate goals of a sustainable nation. Such a position takes a deterministic approach that presumes "the staple in itself is the basis of prosperity" [Mackintosh, 1923: 12], whereas the way that staples are acquired, innovated, used, traded and/or negotiated, in domestic and geo-political terms is also of utmost importance.

The Canadian sociological tradition in this paper reflects its geographical specificity as much as it does its social-cultural and ethnic environment. The institutional structure of Canadian sociology (both French and English) displays historical links with other global traditions, including its aspirations to achieve sovereign national priorities and the desire to collaborate with respective partners in the international sociological landscape. Teaching and doing sociology as a scientific and academic discipline in Canada presents multiple challenges in terms

of identity, limits and boundaries of the field. To contribute to this self-understanding was part of the goal of this paper.

The most important message of this paper is that of communication and finding one's national, regional or local voice to contribute on the global sociological stage. This paper is therefore conceived as the first in a series of papers that we would like to develop with Canadian, Russian and other post-Soviet voices and traditions in the global context. It does not claim to present the broadest current state of affairs in Canadian sociology, but rather to provide historical background and thus contribute to a clearer role for Canadian scholarship in the field. This is meant as a study that will enable international comparisons with various national sociological traditions concerning the place and role of sociology as a scientific and academic discipline in the global village.

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СОЦІОЛОГІЯ В КАНАДІ ЯК НАУКОВА ТА АКАДЕМІЧНА ДИСЦИПЛІНА

Стаття пропонує результати історико – порівняльного аналізу розвитку соціології в Канаді і розглядає питання про місце і роль канадської соціології в глобальному соціальному пізнанні. Мета дослідження полягає в тому, щоб показати основні контури канадської соціології в глобальній порівняльній перспективі. Проаналізовано інституціональні структури, історію і сучасний стан канадської соціології як науки та академічної дисципліни (SaSAD). У статті досліджується історичний контекст виникнення канадської соціології під впливом англійської та французької традицій, вплив на її розвиток таких факторів, як історична спадщина, соціальні рухи і політична динаміка. Результати дозволяють по-новому поглянути на принципові питання про місце соціології в структурі сучасного університету, її обмеженнях і перспективи як науки, а також сформулювати низку критичних спостережень щодо домінуючих поглядів на соціальну науку та її місце в суспільстві. Така перспектива відкриває можливість для більш адекватної формулювання традиційних питань соціології знання та історії соціології.

Ключові слова: соціальна наука, академічна дисципліна, соціологія в Канаді, глобальна соціологія, історико – порівняльний аналіз

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СОЦИОЛОГИЯ В КАНАДЕ КАК НАУЧНАЯ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКАЯ ДИСЦИПЛИНА

Статья предлагает результаты историко-сравнительного анализа развития социологии в Канаде и рассматривает вопрос о месте и роли канадской социологии в глобальном социальном познании. Цель исследования состоит в том, чтобы показать основные контуры канадской социологии в глобальной сравнительной перспективе. Проанализировано институциональные структуры, историю и актуальное состояние канадской социологии как науки и академической дисциплины (SaSAD). В статье исследуется исторический контекст возникновения канадской социологии под влиянием английской и французской традиций, влияние на ее развитие таких факторов, как историческое наследие, социальные движения и политическая динамика. Результаты позволяют по-новому взглянуть на принципиальные вопросы о месте социологии в структуре современного университета, ее ограничениях и перспективах как науки, а также сформулировать ряд критических наблюдений относительно доминирующих взглядов на социальную науку и ее место в обществе. Такая перспектива открывает возможность для более адекватной формулировки традиционных вопросов социологии знания и истории социологии.

Ключевые слова: социальная наука, академическая дисциплина, социология в Канаде, глобальная социология, историко-сравнительный анализ