

DISCIPLINARY MOSAIC: THE CASE OF CANADIAN SOCIOLOGY¹

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The absence of any dynamic quality to the Canadian political system could probably in a large measure be attributed to its separation from the world of higher learning. The association of the intellectuals with the bureaucracy of government is clear enough. However expert they may be, or however many insights they may have into the historical processes, however well they might uncover the evolution of Canadian self-government, they remain aloof and objective. The dynamic dialogue so essential to social change and development can come only from scholarly intellectuals. The intellectuals of the mass media world have no disciplined training, and are unlikely to provide the dialogue. Far from contributing to the dialogue, intellectuals of the higher learning have done their best to mute it.

John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965)

Thus wrote John Porter — the most famous of Canada's sociologists — bemoaning the absence of what, today, we would call public sociology. These words come, ironically enough, from a most successful venture in public sociology, although it was more than that. *The Vertical Mosaic*, winner of the American Sociological Association's award for the most outstanding book of 1965, laid bare the system of social, economic, and political inequality in Canada. Reminiscent of C. Wright Mills's, *The Power Elite*, it was not only exemplary professional sociology, but a critical sociology that insisted on the value foundations of any social science, even instigating policy research in the areas of education and equality of opportunity.

Practising what he preached, Porter became Canada's most distinguished public sociologist. Although over 600 pages in length, *The Vertical Mosaic* was read widely inside and outside academia, even as it accused the establishment intellectuals, whom he called the clerisy, of being conservative and aloof, hiding behind the walls of higher learning.

1. I first presented the argument of this paper at the meetings of the Canadian Sociological Association, Ottawa, May 26, 2009 and received many helpful suggestions. Thanks, in particular, to Neil McLaughlin and Rick Helmes-Hayes for all their comments, serious and ribald, verbal and written.

Indeed, the critique of fellow academics for their failure to engage public issues was as much responsible for the book's success as its relentless critique of inequality.

Porter aimed his attack especially at English-speaking Canada since, according to his estimation, French-speaking Canada had a much broader spectrum of engaged public intellectuals. That is also the import of Jean-Philippe Warren's essay which points to the 1960s and 1970s as a period of the confluence of professional and public engagement, propelled by nationalism. Today nationalism has subsided and sociology has retreated back into the academy, so that Marcel Fournier (2002:51) writes: "If Quebec is close to becoming an almost 'normal' society, the same seems to be true for its sociology."

The Vertical Mosaic, however, appeared before the volcanic eruption of nationalism in Quebec, and its tamer versions in the rest of Canada, and before the more general flourishing of the critical sociology of the late 1960s and 1970s that brought Marxism, feminism, and critical interdisciplinary studies into Canadian academia. Being a young discipline, staffed by young scholars — many of a politicized generation trained in the United States — Canadian sociology was especially susceptible to these radical currents. This issue of *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* assesses the state of public sociology 44 years after the publication of *The Vertical Mosaic*. It is part of a much broader, on-going debate about the directions of Canadian sociology, a debate that has parallels in many other countries.

In responding to the 10 papers on Canadian sociology I will develop the matrix that defines the division of sociological labour — professional, policy, public, and critical sociologies. Hitherto I have used this scheme descriptively to study the biography and specialization of individual sociologists and to trace the trajectory of their works. I have also used the division of sociological labour to map the sociological field at departmental, regional, national, and global levels, its patterns of internal domination and conflict as well as its change over time. Here, I will turn the matrix into a mosaic in order to understand the way external forces shape processes internal to the field of sociology and how sociology might, in turn, shape society. I will introduce the notion of disciplinary zones that mediate the mutual influence of environment and disciplinary field.

This special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* has led me down the path of theoretical elaboration for two reasons. First, unusual among the many debates about public sociology the papers here are, for the most part, self-consciously empirical and concrete in nature, detailing the specific character of Canadian sociology, and raising questions

about its dynamics. Second, as I shall argue, Canadian sociology is uniquely placed to develop a public sociology in synergy with advances in professional, policy, and critical sociologies, and in step with John Porter's appeal over 40 years ago. In cultivating its strengths Canadian sociology can and should become a major player in the international arena of sociology, and, thus, in the examination of the many pressing problems of human survival.

THE DISCIPLINARY FIELD AND ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

I start from the premise that fields are structures of domination in which players navigate trajectories by following rules in the pursuit of field-specific goals. The structure of the academic field is defined by its division of labour that derives from two questions: (1) Knowledge for Whom? (academic vs. extra-academic audience) and (2) Knowledge for What? (instrumental knowledge concerned with discovering new means and reflexive knowledge concerned with discussing ends)? I define *professional knowledge* as instrumental knowledge directed at academic peers, specifically to advance scientific research programs by solving puzzles (lacunae, anomalies, and contradictions) in which the foundations of those research programs are taken for granted. I define *policy knowledge* as instrumental knowledge geared to extra-academic clients. It tackles problems that are defined by clients whose interests and perspectives are taken as given. I define *critical knowledge* as the discussion among academics of the methodological, philosophical, and value foundations of research programs, extending to the discipline as whole and from there to the academy itself. Finally, I define *public knowledge* as the discussion of basic values and goals of society between academics and various publics.

Table 1: The Division of Sociological Labour

	<i>Academic Audience</i>	<i>Extra-academic Audience</i>
Instrumental Knowledge	PROFESSIONAL	POLICY
Reflexive Knowledge	CRITICAL	PUBLIC

My claim is that the analytical matrix above has universal validity, and can be profitably applied to the specialisms and trajectories of individual sociologists, to variations in collective sociologies (national, regional, etc.), as well as to works of sociology. To be sure the matrix and, indeed, the very notion of public sociology developed out of a nega-

tive reaction to the hyperprofessionalism in the US, as a misuse of resources and misdirection of intellectual energies in the US but also an inappropriate standard for other countries. On the positive side I was drawn to the very dynamic South African sociology that had been inspired by the struggles against apartheid. The matrix was also influenced by my experiences both in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia where policy sociology ruled the roost. I discovered critical sociology in the Marxism and feminism current in the United States in the 1970s, but also in the dissident sociology of socialist Hungary. I will not dwell on the genesis of the matrix, rooted in my experiences in these countries, but try to demonstrate the generalizability of the scheme through its application to the specific case of Canadian sociology. The proof is in the pudding, so let us begin eating.

National and Historical Variations

From the historical accounts of Rick Helmes-Hayes and Neil McLaughlin, here and elsewhere, we can view sociology in Canada, but outside Quebec, as the cumulative effect of three dialogues. Canadian sociology began in the 19th century as “social gospel” — a dialogue between a primitive professionalism and religiously inspired public sociology. With deepening professionalism in the 1930s and 1940s, sociology became increasingly dependent on state sponsorship and the central dialogue switched to one between professionalism and policy sociology, the latter influenced by Fabianism and other forms of ameliorative intervention. Arguably this dialogue, between professional and policy sociology, continued into the 1950s and 1960s, the era of “New Liberal Sociology,” as Rick Helmes-Hayes calls it. The 1960s and 1970s saw the rise of a third dialogue, this time between professional sociology and critical sociology — Marxism and feminism with the addition of a nationalist struggle against professionalism, coloured by the growing hegemony of US sociology. The dialogue continues but with the balance shifting back, to varying degrees, toward professional sociology along with the reassertion of policy sociology stimulated by state-funded research.

In Jean-Philippe Warren’s history of sociology in Quebec we discover a very different trajectory. Quebec sociology begins in the 19th century as its own positivistic religion, reminiscent of Comte and Durkheim, following the empiricist tradition of Le Play. This religion of sociology that developed outside the academy was followed by a doctrinal sociology, inspired by the teachings of the Catholic Church that took root in the university in the early part of the 20th century. While this subsequently led to a rejection of clerical sociology, what emerged was a radical, en-

gaged sociology — public sociology — that, at the same time, laid claim to objectivity and professionalism. Finally, the state itself began to deploy sociology to define and solve a complex of social problems. So the 1970s saw a rare confluence of public, policy, professional, and critical sociologies that have not been reproduced since. In understanding why Quebec sociology diverges from the rest of Canada, one has to appreciate the way Quebec was influenced, on the one hand, by French sociology and French intellectual life and, on the other hand, by its subjugation to English-speaking Canada. As Marcel Fournier (2001; 2002) has argued, an overt nationalism has been an abiding presence in Quebec sociology.

Internal Divisions

Before we turn to the external influences that have shaped variations in the sociological field, let us consider its internal composition. Robert Brym and Reza Nakhaie use their survey of Canadian academics to create an empirical mapping of the distribution of academics among the four types (professional, policy, critical, and public) on the basis of their publications and their attitude to the public role of universities. The results suggest that the Social Sciences are more balanced than the Natural Sciences and the Humanities, but that within the Social Sciences sociology is more heavily weighted in the direction of its public moment. It's hard to know what to make of the results, however, since the only measure that discriminates critical and public academics from professional and policy academics is affirming that the university has "a major obligation to help society solve its problems." Clearly professional and policy academics are as likely as critical and public academics to support the university's involvement in solving society's problems! There is a call to establish suitable indicators for assigning academics to the different places in the disciplinary division of labour, and more broadly for a novel research program in the sociology of sociology.

Such a program might give an empirical foundation for the claims of other contributors. Scott Davies claims that there are two poles of Canadian sociology — professional-mainstream and critical — drifting apart in a state of mutual incomprehension and contempt. The articles by Goldberg and van den Berg on the one side and by Creese, McLaren, and Pulkingham on the other side seem to underscore Davies' analysis. Both articles attack my normative view of the discipline as a division of labour made up of interdependent knowledges but from opposite ends of the field — the one argues that Canadian sociology has been taken over by activists ("organic public sociologists"); the other embraces precisely that type of sociology — feminist organic public sociology — and is

hostile to the legitimacy I give to an independent professional sociology. In asserting their positions their strategies are quite typical. Professional sociology seeks to subordinate policy, public, and critical moments to itself just as the engaged public sociology seeks to combine policy, critical, and professional moments. The one denounces me as a dangerous radical, encouraging the reduction of sociology to movement activism; the other sees me as a Trojan Horse of an American division of sociological labour. Placed differently in the sociological field each attacks me for the opposite sins, so I become a punch bag for the sparring of oppositional forces.

There is an interesting asymmetry in this struggle. Creese, McLaren, and Pulkingham make a reasoned argument for the seamless connection among policy, public, critical, and professional practices, and the close collaborations among femocrats, academic feminists, and community activists. Moreover, they substantiate their argument with fascinating examples taken from their own research. Goldberg and van den Berg, on the other hand, defend professional sociology with invective and irreverence, supported by a selective (mis)reading of what I and others have written about public sociology. Nor do they examine any examples of the much calumniated movement activism they denounce. They fail to subject their own claims to the most elementary rules of evidence.

Why is it that some professional sociologists are so quick to abandon the professional ethos they claim to defend? How is it that those who call for value neutrality can be the most dogmatic and biased? As Weber once said, the most dangerous social scientists, usually economists, are those who hide their values behind a flamboyant veil of "value freedom." The paradox resolves itself if we see the contestants operating within a field of domination. Goldberg and van den Berg are the shock troops of professional sociology. In their hands professional norms are a tool to assert their domination within the field, denouncing others for not following the sacred norms that they themselves flout at will. They, thereby, give the false impression that professional sociology is but an empty shell.

Ironically, it turns out that those denounced as activists are often more attentive to scientific practice than their accusers. This is not just a product of their place in the field, it is also a function of their respective stakes in truth. For the professional sociologist there is not much at stake, hence the importance of that professional ethos, but the organic public sociologist has a vested interest in getting things right, since the costs of getting things wrong can be the end of the movement. To get things right they have to assert their autonomy from the movement and its ideologies. The organic public sociologist may adopt the principles of the movement, but only as a *starting point* of the investigation, an investigation that can carry them into a collision course with the movement.

To put it another way, the movement puts pressure on the organic public sociologist to become its servant, which may in turn lead the sociologist to retreat back into the academy, if that's an option. If they had been less interested in saving Canadian sociology from imaginary infidels, Goldberg and van den Berg might have examined how organic public sociologists cope with their contradictory connections to social movements — the simultaneous demand for ideology and the need for science.²

DISCIPLINARY MEDIATION OF EXTERNAL PRESSURES

The above discussion of organic public sociology suggests a way to think about the adaptation of a disciplinary field to external forces even as it shapes those forces. Each quadrant of knowledge, each sociological practice within the division of labour, faces both inwards toward the disciplinary core and outwards toward the academic and nonacademic world beyond. Accordingly, we can divide each quadrant into an inner and an outer zone with the latter more exposed to external pressures.

This divides public sociology into an *organic* practice in close dialogical and unmediated contact with publics and a *traditional* form, holding itself at arm's length from publics, disseminating itself with the help of media — books, internet, television, films, op-eds, and so forth. Remaining at a distance from its publics, traditional public sociology can sustain a closer relation to the inner core of the discipline. Similarly, we can divide policy sociology into *sponsored* research, dictated by the client, and *advocacy* research, springing from the initiative of sociologists, seeking to promote particular policies. In professional sociology, we can distinguish between *formal* professionalization, the way disciplines are professionally regulated, insulating them from the outside, seeking to defend the autonomy of a *substantive* professionalization, which is concerned with the development of scientific research programs. Finally, critical sociology divides into an inner disciplinary critique that targets professional sociology, a critique often fuelled by an outer zone, made up of interdisciplinary studies. The result is the disciplinary mosaic below.

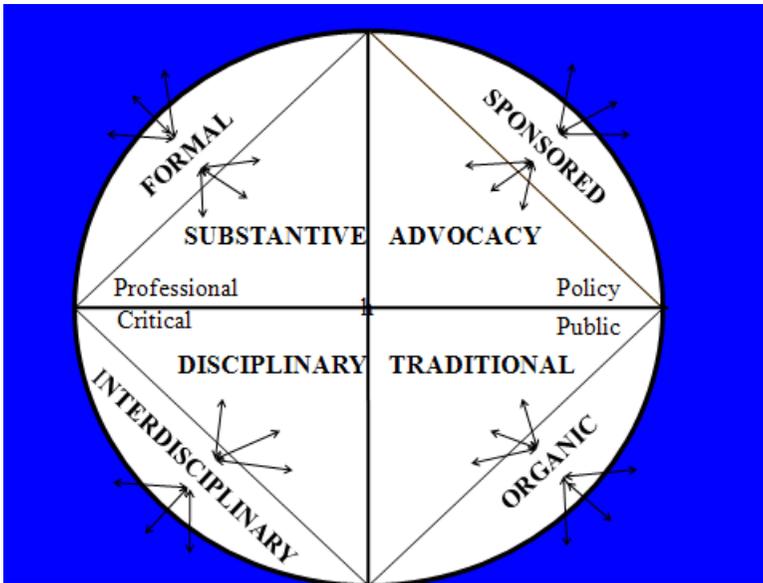
In the discussion that follows I focus on the tensions between the inner and outer zones of the four types of knowledge.

Public Sociology: Organic vs. Traditional

In the context of Canadian sociology, as Rick Helmes-Hayes writes, John Porter is the traditional public sociologist *par excellence*. His book,

2. I have examined this question in relation to the life and works of Harold Wolpe — South African sociologist and activist in the anti-apartheid struggles (Burawoy 2004).

Figure 1: The Disciplinary Mosaic



The Vertical Mosaic, was a classic of professional sociology, you might say of critical sociology, and a touchstone for public discussion about patterns of stratification in Canada, in particular the importance of inequality of opportunity. Trained as a journalist, he maintained a steady flow of interviews and editorials with the Canadian media. He was not organically connected to any public, although he later had close ties to the policy world. Others have followed in his footsteps as traditional public sociologists; his student, Wally Clement, wrote the widely read *The Canadian Corporate Elite*, although it did not have the impact of *The Vertical Mosaic*. Alex Mochnacki, Aaron Segart, and Neil McLaughlin's empirical analysis shows sociologists to be lagging behind political science in publishing popular books. In the area of op-eds, Lisa Kowalchuk and Neil McLaughlin show that journalists dominate with only 7.9% written by academics. Among academics, social scientists are disproportionately well represented, but, compared to economics and political science, sociology does very poorly.

If traditional public sociology is especially weak in Canada, what about organic public sociology — a public sociology of direct face-to-face connection to publics? Here, one might think of Dorothy Smith, the pioneering feminist who received her education at the LSE and then Berkeley, but who became a major figure in Canada. Sociology, as she had come to know it in the United States in the 1950s, was a false univer-

salism that projected the interests of men, or ruling men. Starting from the invisible work of women, she represented the distinctive, episodic, disjointed experience of microprocesses as dominated by macrostructures. From here she developed “institutional ethnography,” involving close collaboration between sociologist and the participants in a joint exploration of the links between everyday life and its wider social determinations. Her institutional ethnography, which she also calls a sociology for people, is widespread in service professions, such as nursing and social work, as a way of understanding the debilitating effects of routinization and rationalization. Like other forms of organically connected research, such as Labour Studies (e.g., McMaster University) or Social Justice Studies (University of Windsor), it is somewhat disconnected from sociology, whether critical or professional (see Baines 2008).

Loosely linked to the distinction between traditional and organic public sociology are divergent understandings of the relationship between sociological knowledge and lay knowledge. Anne Mesny tackles the issue directly in her essay. She considers four possibilities: in relation to lay knowledge, sociological knowledge can be considered superior, equivalent, complementary, or knowledge can circulate between publics and sociologists. Advocates of traditional public sociology, such as Pierre Bourdieu, insist on the superiority of academic knowledge and the inalterably deep falseness of common sense. Any close connection to publics is, therefore, dangerous. Advocates of organic public sociology, especially those who defend participatory action research, such as John Gaventa, Paulo Freire, or Dorothy Smith, take the obverse stance. They argue that sociological knowledge formulated in the academy is tainted by links to ruling elites or ruling classes whereas the common sense of subjugated populations harbours lasting truth.

My view is that two different and complementary truths qualify each other, one based on academic elaboration discovered through scientific practice and the other based on the good sense within people’s common sense, a good sense that is elaborated through dialogue. There is a place, therefore, for both traditional and organic public sociology, each accountable and a corrective to the other. If the challenge for organic public sociology is to resist dominating or being dominated by its interlocutors, the challenge for traditional public sociology is to find an audience that is both willing and able to understand its message. They need to work together!

Policy Sociology: Sponsorship vs. Advocacy

Just as public sociology can be divided into a type more accountable to the academic discipline and one more exposed to external pressures, so

we can make the same division within policy science. At one extreme we have client-driven policy sociology, in which the client defines the problem narrowly and unilaterally while the sociologist is expected to provide the solution, or the legitimation of a proposed solution. Often the research produced is never made public and is owned by the client, purchased from the producer. We may call this *contract* research. *Sponsored* research offers sociologist far greater autonomy to define the terms of research, and the nature of the problem, but it is still driven by the client's agenda. Here the links between policy and professional, and even between policy and critical sociology are far closer than in contract research. There is a third type of policy research which I will call *advocacy* research which is instigated by the sociologist who decides what issues are important for any policy agenda.

One of the peculiarities of Canadian social science, at least as compared to the United States, is the amount of sponsored or advocacy research. Creese, McLaren, and Pulkingham show how the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) promotes community-based research as a collaboration between academics and communities, or a form of organic public sociology, and, more broadly, links academics and communities to government departments. They give examples from their own government-funded research on the settlement patterns of immigrants, the employment rights of farm workers, and the consequences of welfare reform. They indicate how feminists in the university collaborated with femocrats in government. Policy research, shaped by and accountable to academics, is likely to be far more productive for all concerned than narrow instrumental contract research.

In their introduction, Rick Helmes-Hayes and Neil McLaughlin draw attention to the role of senior civil servants in charting the postwar managed economy and welfare state. Known as the Ottawa "mandarins" they designed the new liberal state. How can I fit them into my picture? They clearly worked in the policy world but managed to carve out an arena of autonomy within the state to ground their pioneering policies. This is not so novel, as Helmes-Hayes and McLaughlin imply, and parallel examples can be found even in the US state. The history of rural sociology in the US reveals the influence of sociologists within the US Department of Agriculture in formulating and executing New Deal projects such as the two described recently by Jess Gilbert (2009) — the creation of citizen committees to coordinate federal programs, and land redistribution to landless southern farmers including black share croppers and tenant farmers. One of the guiding forces behind these projects was Carl Taylor who was actually President of the American Sociological Society (as it was then) in 1946, while he was still working in the USDA. In

their book, *Sociology in Government*, Olaf Larson and Julie Zimmerman (2003) describe in detail the democratizing policy research conducted by the USDA Division of Farm Population and Rural Life during the Galpin-Taylor years (1919–1953). Here is a case of policy sociology operating outside the academy and spawning, as it turns out, a public sociology that engaged social scientists with rural populations — the sort of intersection of public and policy sociology that has long characterized the land grant college system in the United States.

Spaces within the US state for such a sociological presence have long since closed down. Neoliberalism saw the Anglo-American state banishing the very conception of “society,” so that sociology, at best, turned into programmatic evaluation as it did in the United Kingdom under Thatcher. The era of T.H. Marshall, Michael Young, and especially Richard Titmuss, Brian Abel-Smith, and Peter Townsend, who shaped the debates around and the policies of the emerging British welfare state, has long since passed. Canada is exceptional, more akin to Nordic welfare states, where policy sociology continues to be influential. It remains open whether neoliberalism will instigate a political reaction more friendly to sociology, and whether and where the distinctive type of Canadian state-sponsored policy research will become more common.

Professional Sociology: Formal vs. Substantive

At the heart of the disciplinary division of labour is professional sociology whose development depends on its relative autonomy. At the core of professional sociology lie multiple and intersecting research programs that advance sociological knowledge through careful empirical studies grounded in theoretical frameworks. Research programs develop by self-conscious formulation of anomalies and contradictions which are then the object of passionate but disciplined interrogation. Professional sociology also involves disseminating and teaching sociology to successive generations of sociologists.

To support this basic core, professional sociologists have organized modes of collective self-regulation, defending academic freedom and autonomy, modes of collective evaluation that we call peer review. There is a bureaucratic apparatus, which I call *formal* professionalism, protecting the integrity of research and teaching that I refer to as *substantive* professionalism. The danger is that formal rationality, far from protecting substantive rationality, begins to undermine it. To put it more concretely, we find ourselves driven by criteria of evaluation and standardization rather than by the abiding issues sociological research raises. We often see this in the way we admit students, train students, hire faculty and promote

them. The almighty CV becomes all important, together with the number of publications, the ratings for teaching, the citations counts.

Today, universities are awash with newfangled auditing schemes, often imposed by governments, driven by artificially exaggerated competition. There are now multiple ranking and rating systems — international as well as national — to discipline universities, administrators, and academics alike. In as much as these rating systems are based on or biased toward peer-reviewed articles, they discount critical, public, and sometimes even policy sociologies. Hyperprofessionalization, the accentuation of formal professionalization, draws professional sociology away from its life-blood connection to the world it describes and engages, as well as from its critical foundations. Insofar as academic output is bench marked to publications in international journals, this intensifies the hegemony of the English language, and dangerously impoverishes sociology.

This is bad enough within northern countries, but it is devastating for southern academics who must publish articles in the North, and obtain letters of recommendation from northern scientists. It is not simply that formal professionalization does not recognize public, policy, and critical sociologies, but that social research is increasingly driven by concepts, questions, and frameworks developed in the United States or the United Kingdom. Academics have willingly submitted to this policing, seduced by the material and symbolic rewards of playing a game that subjects everyone to homogenizing effects. To be sure, academics have managed to secure different degrees of control over their rating systems. Brazilian academics exercise far more control over their system than South Africans. In the UK, the infamous Research Assessment Exercise has given academics the rope to hang themselves. Every four years they refine their system of evaluation, extending the time spent gaming it rather than producing good research or effective teaching. Formal rationality imprisons and distorts substantive rationality.

Formal professionalization does not always go unchallenged. Here again Canada offers an interesting counterexample — the Canadianization movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s launched a hostile attack on the Americanization of academic life. The Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA) linked up with broader movements to reverse the preference for US-trained faculty, and US-influenced research and teaching. Jeffrey Cormier (2004) describes how the ruling oligarchy within the CSAA was challenged by a young and politicized rank and file, creators of the Canadianization network of sociologists and anthropologists. From being an enclave within the association the network became a major player, shaping the policy of the CSAA,

in departments and at the level of provincial and federal governments. Here we have a case of an association constituting itself as a public, becoming an effective (as it turned out) political actor in its own right. When conditions are propitious — in this case a broader Canadian nationalism — governance through formal or procedural rationality can be overturned, leading to substantive transformation. We should bear this in mind as state after state subjects its universities to surveillance, evaluation, and standardization, drawing sociology away from the worlds that give it meaning and inspiration.

Critical Sociology: Interdisciplinary vs. Disciplinary

Just as policy and public sociology blur into one another, so the Canadianization movement was as much critical sociology as professional sociology. The movement launched a critique of the foundations, assumptions, and methodologies of scientific research and teaching programs. Serious research tackling the puzzles of our paradigms requires that we take for granted — as unquestioned — assumptions about the world and the methodologies through which we know it. One cannot be a good scientist and simultaneously question the assumptions upon which one's science rests, any more than one can simultaneously play chess and question its rules. It is for this reason that sustained critique comes from another quarter, from those who specialize in critique.

When I think of critical sociology, I think of those who made their mark by criticizing the foundations of sociology. In the United States these would have to include such figures as Robert Lynd, Pitirim Sorokin, C. Wright Mills, and Alvin Gouldner, although each of these won their spurs by excellent scientific work, early in their careers. The existence of such alienated iconoclasts reflects the overweening power of a professional sociology that calls forth its systematic critique. In my list of critical sociologists I would also have to include such feminists as Dorothy Smith and Patricia Hill Collins. Here we are moving into the second zone of critical sociology that is influenced by other disciplines. So much of feminist theory, Marxism, critical race theory, and postcolonial theory has its roots in disciplines outside sociology. The most sustained criticisms of my four-fold sociological division of labour have come not only from professionals fearing delegitimation but also from those who attack my disciplinary chauvinism, my underestimation of interdisciplinary studies that grew up in response to broader social movements — feminist, civil rights, anticolonial.

The infusion of ideas from women's studies, ethnic studies, African-American studies have interrogated sociology's universalistic claims,

and revealed the partiality of its perspectives. They have provincialized dominant northern sociology. Thus, Raewyn Connell's *Southern Theory* (2008) first seeks to show the arbitrariness of the sociological canon, and then the narrowness of contemporary exemplars of northern sociology (Coleman, Giddens, and Bourdieu), before resurrecting a wide range of thinkers from different parts of the South — Africa, Latin America, Middle East, and Asia. Most of these thinkers can hardly be identified as sociologists, even as their work may reveal the limitations of sociology. If hers is a radical decentring of so-called northern theory, others, such as Farid Alatas (2006), are more cautious, showing how restoring marginalized thinkers, such as Ibn Khaldun, can enrich and be enriched by northern sociology. Subaltern studies, another favorite of critical sociology, largely made up of historians from India, underline the limitations of northern theory while still recognizing its necessity. Edward Said, also an inspiration within the outer zone of critical sociology, makes similar claims, restoring Western theory to its context with a view to rescuing its moments of universality.

At the extreme, the interdisciplinarity of feminism, ethnic studies, or postcolonial studies can become an excuse for the dogmatic dismissal of sociology. Relatively weak institutionalization and short history makes Canadian and British sociology vulnerable to such assaults. Here sociology is in danger of being pushed aside or absorbed by such new fields as cultural studies and media studies, influenced by the humanities. Where sociology has deeper roots, its critique has sometimes assumed an aggressive attack on its professionalism, dismissing it as a worthless and irrelevant endeavour. Here we can find C. Wright Mills or more recently Ben Agger's (2007) intemperate reduction of professional sociology to its pathologies, in Agger's case painting public and policy sociology with the same brush as professional sociology.

The assault on sociology can also be driven by a more Olympian perspective in which sociology is dismissed along with the other social sciences as an anachronism of the 19th century with a view to dissolving them into a single historical science. Immanuel Wallerstein's (1996) singular social science will turn out not to be the historical science he desires but the discipline of economics, whose domination of the social sciences is largely unquestioned, as allied social sciences, such as political science, try to become a branch of economics. From its inception sociology has been antithetical to the foundations of economics, so that the dictatorship of economics would mean the end of sociology. Wallerstein's project is the inverse of the Parsonsian project that in the era of sociology's ascendance sought to make it the dominant social science by absorbing economics, political science, anthropology, and psychology!

In seeking such disciplinary imperialism Parsonsian sociology lost its critical moment and became the avatar of modernization theory and the celebration of American society. As Alvin Gouldner (1970) showed, the downfall of Parsonsian theory was inevitable.

An altogether different approach to interdisciplinarity and critical theory can be found in Erik Wright's Real Utopias project. Here the meaning of critique lies in the exploration of alternatives to capitalism, alternatives that can be found in embryo within the interstices of contemporary societies, alternatives that embody principles of egalitarianism, community, and deepening democracy. Wright brings together social scientists from multiple disciplines to discuss and debate such institutional proposals as universal income grants, gender egalitarianism, associational democracy, market socialism, cooperatives, and empowered participatory governance. One of his case studies is the social economy of Quebec, the interesting state-sponsored development of cooperative forms of welfare, such as childcare and elderly care. In each instance he interrogates the organizing principle of the utopian experiment, examines it for its internal contradictions and the conditions of its broader diffusion.

As he writes in his magnum opus, *Envisioning Real Utopias*, the task is to restore the social in socialism, to think through in what ways society can subordinate market and state to principles of justice and democracy. This is a project of critical sociology, in so far as sociology can be defined as studying the world from the standpoint of civil society, which includes studying market or state from the standpoint of its consequences for and its preconditions in society. Wright's critique of sociology lies in its failure to problematize capitalism, sociology's endorsement of capitalism as given, natural, and eternal. In this example, drawing on different disciplines is a necessary part of a strictly critical sociology that attempts to build a scientific research program around real alternatives to capitalism. As with any critical sociology its effects are not confined to rebuilding professional sociology. The discovery and understanding of real utopias proceeds as an unmediated dialogue between sociologist and practitioner, each learning from the other. Moreover, real utopias can infuse public discussions with alternatives as well as broaden the horizons of policy advocacy.

ADVANCING THE RESEARCH PROGRAM OF PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY

I have dwelt on the challenges posed by Canadian sociology in order to elaborate my earlier formulations of the disciplinary division of labour, dividing each type of knowledge into two zones. The integrity of a disci-

pline calls for a dialogue among inner zones: traditional public sociology, advocacy policy research, substantive professional sociology, and disciplinary critical sociology. The outer zones mediate pressures on our discipline from without at the same time as they become the conduit for influencing that world beyond.

Formal professionalization can become the vehicle of colonization by states and dominant sociologies but it can also be a mode of resisting and subverting such domination. Sponsored policy research can create new domains for sociological investigation, help the development of new techniques, but it can also turn sociology into an instrument of power. Organic public sociology can bring new vistas to the people it engages as well as to sociology *qua* science, but, when it loses its independence, it can succumb to the ideology of its interlocutors. Interdisciplinary critique can generate new challenges to the claims of science but it can also abandon science altogether, subverting the project of sociology. Constituting the discipline as a mosaic of inner and outer zones takes us beyond the description of its division of labour to understanding how it is shaped by the environment it influences.

It is the insistent empirical character of the foregoing papers that laid the basis for theoretical advances which in turn raise a myriad of new questions: the dilemmas of organic public sociology, the nature of advocacy policy research and its relation to sponsored research, the dynamic interaction between formal and substantive professional sociologies, the potentiality of interdisciplinary studies for developing a cogent critical sociology, and so on. The disciplinary mosaic should shed light on the peculiarities of Canadian sociology, such as the institutional flatness, emphasized by Neil McLaughlin (2005), that handicaps professionalism but facilitates strong public sociology, an organic public sociology accountable to local and provincial publics. The disciplinary mosaic allows us to better grasp the colonizing influences and counterinfluences of foreign sociologies, both US and European, and also the pressures of provincial and federal states and markets.

Finally, the disciplinary mosaic allows us to portray the global significance of Canadian sociology. Canadian sociology faces East and West, reflected in studies of immigrants from Asia and Europe. Canadian sociology can lend a balanced insight into the virtues and defects of hegemonic sociologies of the US and Europe. Canadian sociology can reflect on the experiments in multiculturalism, and on the treatment of indigenous communities. It has, after all, its own settler colonialism with which to contend. Canada has also a long history as pioneer in international security and human rights that could be reflected in new directions of research. Canadian sociology can draw on experiences in

bilingual education and research. In so many ways Canadian sociology has a lot to teach and learn from other countries, poor and rich, and not just the United States, France, and United Kingdom. It has the resources, and the global positioning to play a major role in the development of a truly international mosaic, growing up from the ground rather than imposed from above, built through lateral collaboration rather than vertical hegemony.

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