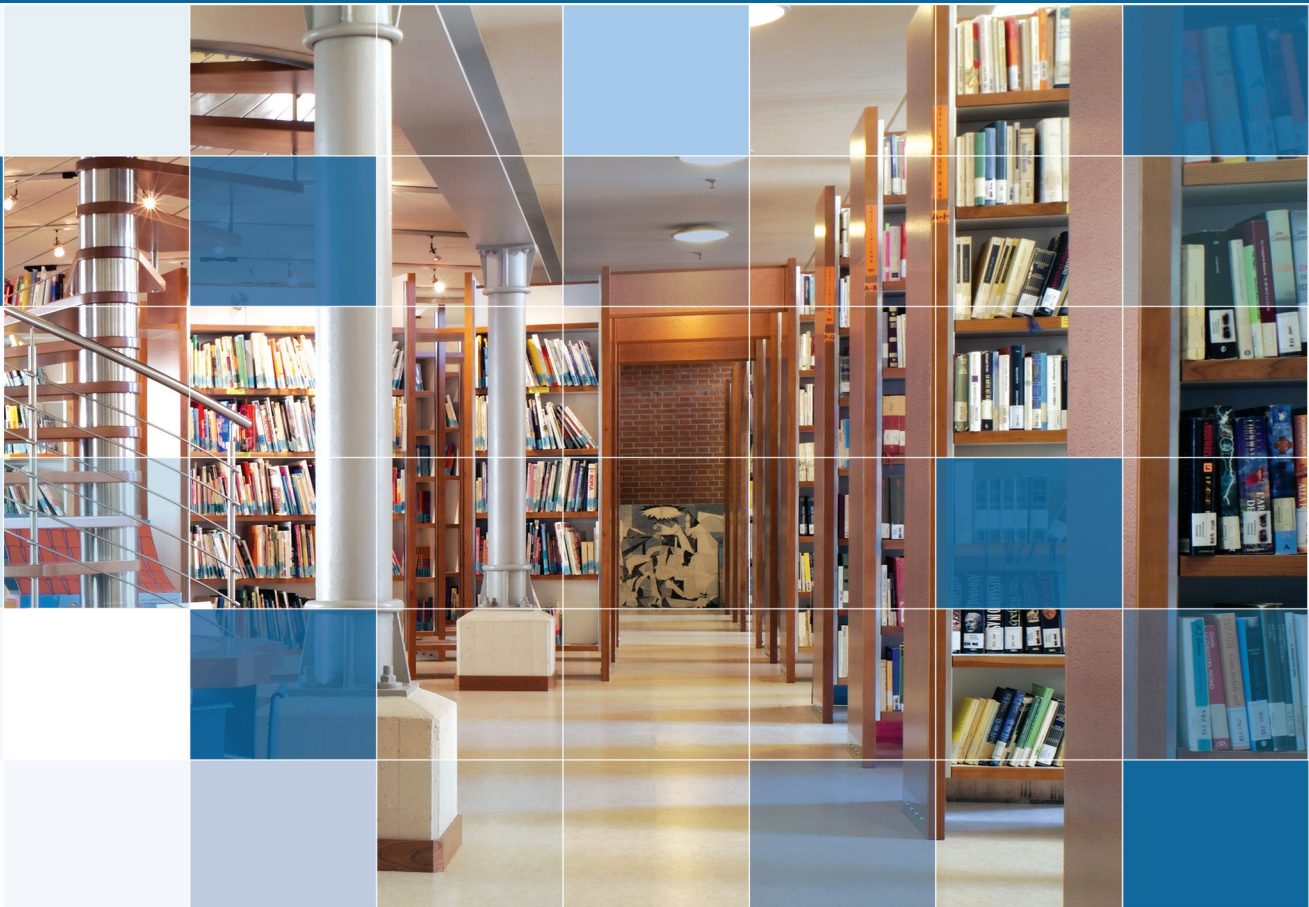


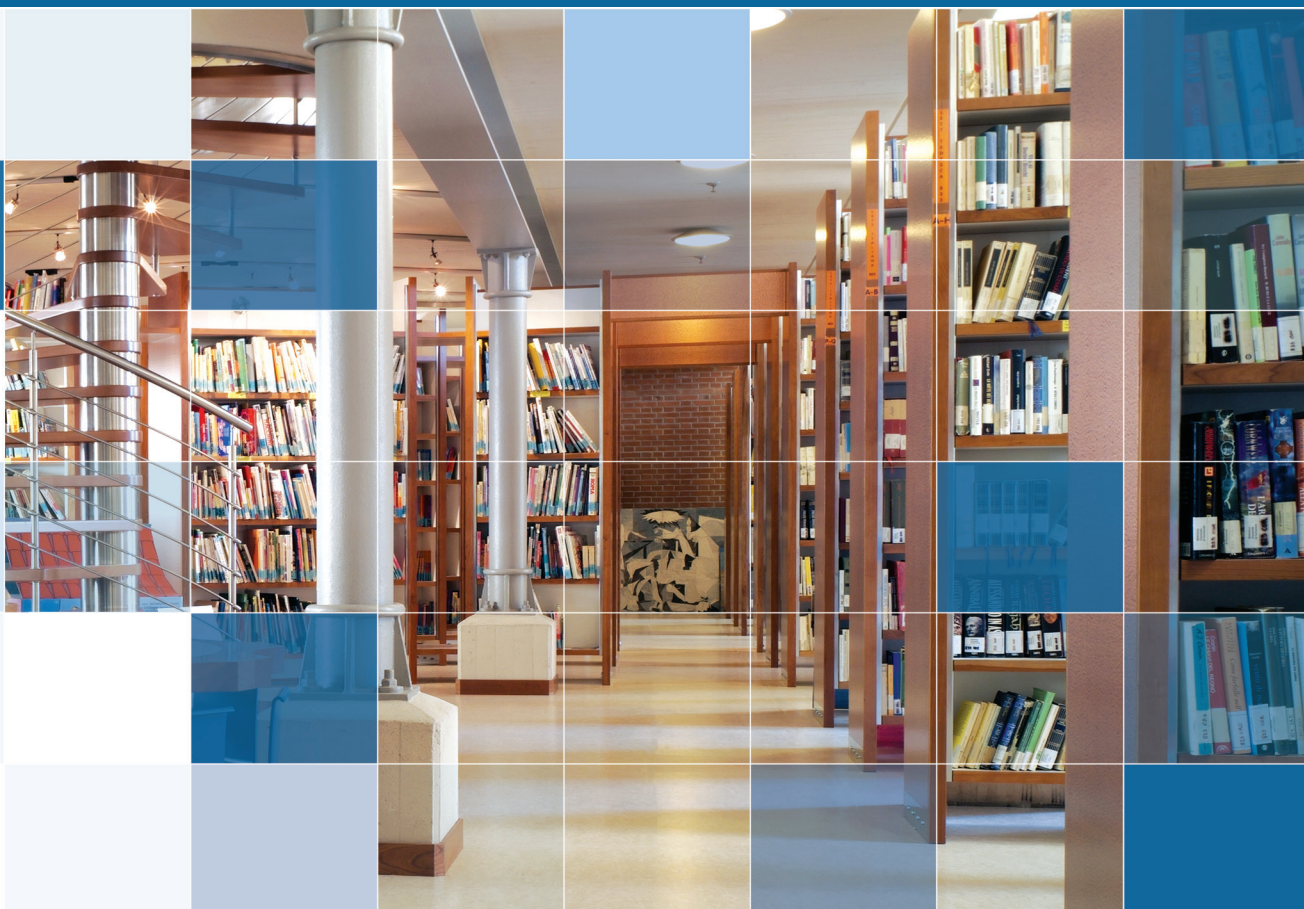
CANADIAN GRADUATE JOURNAL  
OF SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY



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**The Canadian Graduate Journal of Sociology and Criminology**  
**La revue canadienne des études supérieures en sociologie et criminologie**

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**Focus and Scope:**

CGJSC is a peer-reviewed graduate journal seeking original content and discussion by graduate students researching within the disciplines of sociology and criminology. The scope of CGJSC is purposefully broad in order to offer a diverse range of graduate students the opportunity to submit their research for publication. Examples of acceptable submissions that fall within the journal's scope are, but not limited to: **theory pieces, conceptual pieces, critical analyses, substantive explorations and book reviews**. Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methodologies are accepted. We aim to publish insightful and well-written empirical pieces that enrich the collective knowledge within the disciplines of sociology and criminology.

CGJSC welcomes submissions from graduate students involved in research outside of, but related to, the disciplines of sociology and criminology. All fields within the social sciences (ex: Political Science, History, Psychology, Religious Studies, Women's Studies, Labor Studies, Health Sciences, Economics, Anthropology) are encouraged to submit provided that they demonstrate a direct link to a sociological and/or criminological area of study.

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**Peer Review Process:**

Submissions selected for blind peer-review are distributed to at least two (2) graduate student or faculty reviewers within the same field of expertise. CGJSC uses a blind peer-review process where the identities of the submitting author as well as those of the peer-reviewers are unknown to each party. All efforts will be made by the managing editor(s) to keep the identities of the submitting author and peer-reviewers confidential.

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**Publication Frequency:**

CGJSC publishes semi-annually: once in the summer and again in early winter/spring.

**Open Access Policy:**

This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge.

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**Centre d'intérêt :**

La RCESSC est une revue scientifique évaluée par les pairs sollicitant des textes originaux et des discussions auprès des étudiants diplômés faisant des recherches dans les disciplines de la sociologie et de la criminologie. Le domaine couvert par la RCESSC est délibérément large afin d'offrir à une gamme diversifiée d'étudiants diplômés l'occasion de soumettre leurs recherches pour publication. Les exemples de soumissions acceptables relevant du domaine couvert par la revue comprennent, sans s'y limiter, les textes théoriques, les textes conceptuels, les analyses critiques, les explorations de fond et les comptes-rendus de livres. Des méthodologies qualitatives, quantitatives et mixtes sont acceptées. Nous cherchons à publier des textes empiriques pénétrants et bien écrits qui sauront enrichir le savoir collectif à l'intérieur des disciplines de la sociologie et de la criminologie.

La RCESSC sollicite des articles des étudiant(e)s des cycles supérieurs qui participent à des recherches dans diverses disciplines qui peuvent être reliées à la sociologie et à la criminologie. Tous les étudiant(e)s des cycles supérieurs appartenant à domaines pertinents aux sciences sociales, comme les sciences politiques, l'histoire, la psychologie, les études religieuses, les études des femmes, les études du travail, les sciences de la santé, l'économie, l'anthropologie, sont encouragés à proposer des articles qui établissent un lien direct à la sociologie et à la criminologie.

**Processus d'évaluation par les pairs:**

Les soumissions sélectionnées pour un examen aveugle par les pairs seront distribuées à au moins deux réviseurs étudiant(e)s des cycles supérieurs dans le même champ d'expertise. La RCESSC utilise un processus aveugle de révision par des pairs où les identités de l'auteur(e) et des réviseurs sont inconnu(e)s de chaque partie. Tous les efforts seront faits par le(s) éditeur(s) en chef pour conserver les identités de l'auteur(e) et des pairs confidentielles.

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**Périodicité**

La RCESSC publie semestriellement : une fois durant l'été et à nouveau au début de l'hiver/printemps.

**Politique d'accès libre:**

Cette revue fournit un libre accès immédiat à son contenu selon le principe que de rendre la recherche gratuitement accessible au public supporte un plus grand échange mondial de connaissance.

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## Editors' Note

David C. Hofmann, Carlie L. Leroux-Demir, and Noorin Manji  
*University of Waterloo, Department of Sociology and Legal Studies*

Since the publication of our first issue in October 2012, we received an overwhelming response to our last call for papers and saw immense growth in our readership. With these changes, we collectively decided to expand the CGJSC editorial team and hire a new group of talented and passionate staff members who have already contributed greatly to the journal. We would like to welcome to CGJSC our new assistant editors: Nick Athey, Erin Denton, Christina DeRoche, Julie Hagan, and Dikla Yogev; and, our new copyeditors: Jason Huang, Asheka Jackson, Eshan Jozaghi, Colin Scott, and Kim Seida! In addition to a growth in staff, CGJSC's website has also undergone some changes as the journal's readership continues to change and grow. Our new front-page website can be found at [www.cgjsc.ca](http://www.cgjsc.ca). Here you will find our updated masthead with information on our new staff, links to previous issues, updated media and photos from CGJSC events, and links to CGJSC's Online Journal System (OJS) site where authors can continue to submit their works. We are also pleased to announce that CGJSC will be partnering with the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS), for a special issue to be published in Fall 2013. Dr. Aurelie Campana, the Canada Research Chair on Terrorism and Conflicts has agreed to serve as guest editor and TSAS has generously donated \$500 to all the authors of accepted papers for this issue.

Once a year, we would like to take the time to sincerely thank our peer reviewers for their hard work and dedication. We would encourage you to consult the journal's masthead for a full list of all our reviewers who have helped over the last two issues (see: <http://www.cgjsc.ca/masthead/peer-reviewers>).

For our second issue, we have four highly interesting articles. Maureen Kihika's work, entitled "Ghosts and Shadows: A History of Racism in Canada" eloquently crafts the argument that the effects of institutionalized racism that has spanned several centuries, can still be felt by Afro-Canadians participating in the labour market today. Following Bakan's assertion that racist and hegemonic practices are heavily embedded in Canada's political structure, Kihika chronologically traces the consequences of neo-liberal policies, asserting that these policies, on the surface, appear to support the ideals of multiculturalism and inclusivity, but in reality, have only served to further propagate the capitalist and imperialist agendas of those in power. As a result, it is evidenced through official government statistics and past research, that Afro-Canadians continue to struggle economically, and are positioned within the lower rung of the, as Kihika notes, labor market hierarchy. With little earning power and few opportunities for stable employment, the author suggests that this particular racialized group continues to suffer the ill-consequences of age old structures of systemic oppression.

Nicole Etherington's piece, "Educational Trajectories and Health over the Life Course: A Role for the DSBN Academy?," focuses on the noted link between socioeconomic stratification and health inequality by specifically examining the implementation of the District School Board of Niagara (DSBN) Academy in the Niagara region of Ontario, Canada. Research has shown that though, on average, one in three people over the age of twenty-four in Ontario have a university education, within the Niagara region, the rate of post-secondary education is far lower, at just one in five people. The District School Board of Niagara created the DSBN Academy in 2011 in response to these low rates with the awareness that individuals who do not attend or graduate successfully from a post-secondary institution are more likely to experience both poor physical and mental health later in life. Etherington discusses the intended goals of the DSBN Academy to offer social and academic programs designed to encourage students to not only graduate high school, but also successfully pursue a post-secondary education as well. With an in-depth discussion of the cumulative advantages and disadvantages that occur in the realms of education and health, the author evaluates the impact of the DSBN Academy and concludes that the Academy has the potential to offer students resources to attain additional forms of capital as a way to counteract the impacts of initial capital on educational success, and therefore health outcomes later in life.

Konstantin Petoukhov's work, "Transforming the Legacy of Indian Residential Schools in Canada into a Public Issue: A Critical Analysis of Michael Burawoy's Public Sociology," interestingly uses Michael Burawoy's four types of sociology to frame the transformative process of 'private troubles' into 'public issues' within the context of Indian Residential Schools (IRS). Petoukhov begins by providing an initial discussion of the background and outcomes of IRS that have long reverberated in indigenous communities, though IRSs were all officially closed by 1996. Petoukhov focuses her analysis on evaluating Burawoy's four types of sociology— policy, critical, professional, and public – on their ability to identify the private troubles that have arisen from residential school experiences into issues of public concern and systemic origins. The author, in detail, explores each of Burawoy's four forms and ultimately concludes that they are inconsistent in their capacity to contribute to an understanding of the private troubles created by IRS as public issues.

Ehsan Jozaghi's piece, " 'The biggest mistake God ever made was to create junkies': Unsafe injection practices, health care discrimination and overdose deaths in Montreal, Canada" is centered on the issue of shared drug equipment by injection drug users (IDUs) in Montreal, Canada that has led to an increased prevalence of HIV and Hepatitis C (HCV) since 2003. Jozaghi's research is based on qualitative narratives produced through semi-structured interviews with IDUs that revealed their involvement in high-risk behaviors that increase exposure to HIV, HCV, and bacterial transmission for both drug users and for the general public. The author discusses that some of the cumulative factors contributing to the increased morbidity and mortality of Montreal IDUs, as well as risk for the general public include: using contaminated puddle water for injection, being forced to inject in unsanitary environments like public washrooms or alleys, discarding used needles in public spaces, and prejudice and harassment by police and hospital staff when seeking treatment. Jozaghi concludes with a recommendation that Montreal would greatly benefit from implementing a supervised injection facility, similar to other Canadian cities such as Vancouver.

Again we would like to extend a thank you to everyone who has contributed to the success of CGJSC, and to our readers and followers that have lent their support through readership and social networks. On behalf of CGJSC, please enjoy this exciting second issue!

### Note des rédacteur(ice)s

David C. Hofmann, Carlie L. Leroux-Demir, and Noorin Manji  
*University of Waterloo, Department of Sociology and Legal Studies*

Depuis la publication de notre premier numéro en Octobre 2012, notre dernier appel à communications a eu un retentissement exceptionnel et nous avons témoigné une énorme croissance dans notre lectorat. Avec ces changements, nous avons collectivement décidé d'élargir l'équipe éditoriale de la RCESSC et d'embaucher un nouveau groupe de membres du personnel talentueux et passionnés qui ont déjà grandement contribué à la revue. Nous souhaitons la bienvenue à nos nouveaux rédacteurs adjoints de la RCESSC : Nick Athey, Erin Denton, Christina Deroche, Julie Hagan, et Dikla Yogev; et, à nos nouveaux réviseurs : Sanou Boroma, Jason Huang, Asheka Jackson, Eshan Jozaghi, Colin Scott et Kim Seida ! En plus d'une croissance du personnel, le site de la RCESSC a également subi quelques modifications pour correspondre à l'évolution et la croissance du lectorat. Notre nouveau site Web se trouve à [www.cgjsc.ca](http://www.cgjsc.ca). Ici, vous trouverez notre bloc-générique mis à jour avec des renseignements sur notre nouveau personnel, des liens vers les numéros précédents, des médias et des photos d'événements de la RCESSC mis à jour, ainsi que des liens vers le site du Système de journaux en ligne (OJS) de la RCESSC où les auteurs peuvent continuer à soumettre leurs oeuvres. Nous sommes également heureux d'annoncer que la RCESSC sera en partenariat avec le Réseau canadien de recherche sur le terrorisme, la sécurité et la société (TSAS), pour un numéro spécial à paraître à l'automne 2013. Dr Aurélie Campana, la Chaire de recherche du Canada sur le terrorisme et les conflits, a accepté de siéger en tant que rédacteur en chef invité et le TSAS a généreusement fait don de 500 \$ à tous les auteurs des articles acceptés pour ce numéro.

Une fois par an, nous aimerions prendre le temps de remercier sincèrement le travail acharné et le dévouement de nos pairs examinateurs. Les bénévoles dévoués qui nous ont aidés à assurer la qualité de nos soumissions sont trop nombreux pour énumérer leurs noms ici. Cependant, nous vous invitons à consulter le bloc-générique du Journal (<http://www.cgjsc.ca/masthead/peer-reviewers>), où l'ensemble de nos examinateurs pour l'année écoulée ont été reconnus pour et leurs efforts et leur travail acharné.

Pour notre deuxième numéro, nous avons quatre articles très intéressants. L'oeuvre de Maureen Kihika, intitulé « Fantômes et ombres : Une histoire du racisme au Canada », élabore éloquemment l'argument selon lequel les effets du racisme institutionnalisé, qui ont duré plusieurs siècles, se font encore sentir par les Afro-Canadiens qui participent au marché du travail d'aujourd'hui. Suite à l'affirmation de Bakan que les pratiques racistes et hégémoniques sont fortement ancrés dans la structure politique du Canada, Kihika retrace chronologiquement les conséquences des politiques néo-libérales du début du 16<sup>ème</sup> siècle, en affirmant que ces politiques, sur la surface, semblent soutenir les idéaux du multiculturalisme et de l'inclusivité, mais en réalité, n'ont servi qu'à propager davantage les programmes capitalistes et impérialistes de ceux au pouvoir. En conséquence, il est mis en évidence à l'aide de statistiques officielles et de recherches antérieures, que les Afro-Canadiens continuent à lutter économiquement et sont positionnés dans l'échelon inférieur de la hiérarchie du marché du travail, comme le note Kihika. Avec peu de capacité de gain et peu de possibilités d'emploi stable, l'auteur suggère que ce groupe racialisé en particulier continue à subir les conséquences néfastes de structures anciennes d'oppression systémique.

La pièce de Nicole Etherington, « Le cheminement scolaire et de la santé au cours de la vie : un rôle pour l'Académie DSBN ? », met l'accent sur le lien constaté entre la stratification socio-économique et les inégalités de santé en examinant en particulier la mise en oeuvre de l'Académie du District School Board of Niagara (DSBN) dans la région de Niagara, en Ontario, Canada. Les recherches ont montré que si, en moyenne, une personne sur trois âgés de plus de vingt-quatre ans en Ontario ont une formation universitaire, dans la région de Niagara, le taux de l'éducation post-secondaire est beaucoup plus faible, à seule une



personne sur cinq. Le District School Board of Niagara a créé l'Académie DSBN en 2011 pour répondre à ces faibles taux avec la prise de conscience que les personnes qui ne fréquentent pas ou n'obtiennent pas de diplôme d'une institution post-secondaire sont plus susceptibles d'éprouver à la fois une mauvaise santé physique et mentale plus tard dans la vie. Etherington aborde les objectifs attendus de l'Académie DSBN d'offrir des programmes sociaux et scolaires qui visent à encourager les étudiants à ne pas seulement obtenir un diplôme d'études secondaires, mais aussi à poursuivre avec succès une éducation post-secondaire. Avec une discussion approfondie des avantages et des désavantages cumulatifs qui se produisent dans les domaines de l'éducation et de la santé, l'auteur évalue l'impact de l'Académie DSBN et conclut que l'Académie a le potentiel d'offrir des ressources aux étudiants afin de trouver d'autres formes de capital comme moyen de contrecarrer les effets du capital initial sur la réussite scolaire, et donc les résultats de santé plus tard dans la vie.

L'oeuvre de Konstantin Petoukhov, « Transformer le legs des pensionnats indiens au Canada en affaire publique: une analyse critique de la sociologie publique de Michael Burawoy, » utilise de manière intéressante les quatre types de sociologie de Michael Burawoy pour encadrer le processus de transformation de « problèmes personnels » en « questions publique » dans le contexte des pensionnats indiens (IRS). Petoukhov commence en offrant une première discussion sur le fond et les résultats des IRS qui ont longtemps résonné dans les communautés autochtones, même si tous les IRS ont été officiellement fermés en 1996. Petoukhov concentre son analyse sur l'évaluation des quatre types de sociologie de Burawoy – politique, critique, professionnelle et publique – en ce qui concerne leur capacité à identifier les problèmes particuliers qui ont surgi de l'expérience des pensionnats indiens sur des questions d'intérêt public et des origines systémiques. L'auteur explore en détail chacune des quatre formes de Burawoy et conclut finalement qu'elles sont incompatibles en leur capacité à contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des problèmes privés créés par les IRS en tant que questions publiques.

La pièce d'Ehsan Jozaghi, « 'La plus grande erreur que Dieu ait commise a été de créer les junkies' : pratiques d'injection non sécuritaires, discrimination des soins de santé et décès par surdose à Montréal, Canada » est centrée sur la question des équipements de drogue partagés par les utilisateurs de drogues injectables (UDI) à Montréal, Canada, qui a conduit à une augmentation de la prévalence du VIH et de l'hépatite C (VHC) depuis 2003. La recherche de Jozaghi est basée sur des récits qualitatifs réalisés par des entretiens semi-structurés avec les UDI qui ont révélé leur implication dans les comportements à haut risque qui augmentent l'exposition au VIH, au VHC et à la transmission bactérienne à la fois pour les usagers de drogues et pour le grand public. L'auteur discute que certains des facteurs cumulatifs qui contribuent à l'augmentation de la morbidité et de la mortalité des UDI à Montréal, ainsi que le risque pour le grand public comprennent : l'utilisation de l'eau de flaque d'eau contaminée pour l'injection, la contrainte de devoir injecter dans des environnements insalubres comme les toilettes publiques ou les allées, le rejet des aiguilles usagées dans les espaces publics et les préjugés et le harcèlement par la police et le personnel de l'hôpital lorsqu'ils cherchent à obtenir un traitement. Jozaghi conclut avec la recommandation que Montréal bénéficierait grandement de la mise en oeuvre d'un centre d'injection supervisé, semblable à celle d'autres villes canadiennes comme Vancouver.

Encore une fois, nous tenons à adresser un grand merci à tous ceux et celles qui ont contribué à la réussite de la RCESSC, et à nos lecteurs et abonnés qui nous ont soutenus par l'entremise de lectorat et au sein des réseaux sociaux. Au nom de la RCESSC, profitez de ce deuxième numéro passionnant !

## Educational Trajectories and Health over the Life Course: A Role for the DSBN Academy?

Nicole Etherington

University of Western Ontario, Department of Sociology

*Research demonstrates that despite post-secondary expansion, there are still vast socioeconomic differences in educational attainment. Educational attainment can have a tremendous impact on the life course in terms of income, employment, and perhaps most significantly, health. Recognizing these issues, the Niagara region opened the DSBN Academy in September 2011. The DSBN Academy, the first school of its kind in Canada, offers social and academic programming designed to encourage its students to not only graduate from high school, but also, to become the first in their family to pursue post-secondary education. From a life course perspective, this paper assesses the relationship between education and health followed by an examination of the primary processes of cumulative advantage and disadvantage involved in producing variation in educational trajectories, which in turn impact health outcomes. I then evaluate the role of the DSBN Academy as a potential strategy to facilitate the completion of higher education by working-class students, and accordingly, to improve their health outcomes. Through analyzing the Academy, I argue that while the school has the potential to be a turning point in the lives of its students, it also risks committing a form of Bourdieu's symbolic violence. That is, it enforces middle-class ideals of education and good health as both desirable and indicators of success. Consequently, this paper raises a fundamental question in the study of social inequality, namely, how sociologists can work toward ameliorating inequality without perpetuating the symbolic violence we continually fight against.*

**Keywords:** sociology; sociology of education; life course; DSBN academy

*Les recherches démontrent que, malgré le développement de l'enseignement postsecondaire, il existe encore de grandes différences socio-économiques en matière de niveau d'études. Le niveau d'études peut avoir un impact énorme dans un parcours de vie en termes de revenus, d'emploi, et peut-être plus important encore, de santé. Conscient de ces enjeux, la région du Niagara a ouvert la DSBN Academy en septembre 2011. La DSBN Academy, la première école du genre au Canada, offre des programmes sociaux et des programmes d'études conçus pour encourager ses élèves à non seulement obtenir leur diplôme d'études secondaires, mais également à devenir les premiers de leur famille à poursuivre des études postsecondaires. Dans la perspective d'une trajectoire de vie, cette étude évalue la relation entre l'éducation et la santé suivie d'un examen des principaux processus des avantages et désavantages cumulatifs liés qui jouent un rôle dans la variation du parcours scolaire, ce qui à son tour a des impacts sur l'état de santé. J'ai ensuite évalué le rôle de la DSBN Academy; le fait de l'intégrer peut-être une stratégie possible pour faciliter l'achèvement de l'enseignement supérieur par les étudiants de la classe ouvrière et, par conséquent, améliorer leur état de santé. Mon analyse de l'Académie me permet de soutenir que, même si l'école peut représenter un tournant dans la vie de ses élèves, elle risque aussi de commettre une forme de violence symbolique telle que celle définie par Bourdieu. Autrement dit, cela favorise les idéaux de la classe moyenne en matière d'éducation et de bonne santé comme étant à la fois souhaitable et indicateurs de succès. Par conséquent, ce document soulève une question fondamentale dans l'étude des inégalités sociales, à savoir, comment les sociologues peuvent chercher à estomper l'inégalité sans perpétuer la violence symbolique contre laquelle nous continuons de nous battre.*

**Mots-clés:** sociologie; sociologie de l'éducation; parcours de vie; DSBN Academy

Research has long demonstrated the connection between socioeconomic stratification and health inequality (e.g. Phelan, Link & Tehranifar, 2010). This relationship has also been shown to begin in early life, with initial relative advantage influencing divergent health patterns across individuals or groups over time (O’Rand, 1996). Referred to as cumulative advantage and disadvantage (CAD), this perspective advances conceptions of health inequality through its attention to processes of accumulation and change over the life course (for a review, see Seabrook & Avison, 2012). Accordingly, the link between childhood conditions and adult health outcomes is made salient as the cumulative effects of advantage and disadvantage are found to produce differing health trajectories. The experience of childhood poverty, for example, has been linked to such negative health outcomes as cardiovascular disease, lung function, and chronic morbidity in later adult life (e.g. Svanes et al., 2010; Ferraro, 2011). This has largely been attributed to the roles of protective and risk factors, whereby those of higher socioeconomic status (SES) have greater access to resources, such as higher education, which enable them to avoid many sources of health adversity (e.g Hatch, 2005). Conversely, those individuals who do not graduate successfully from a post-secondary institution are more likely to experience deleterious effects in later life, including poor physical and mental health (O’Rand, 1996; Mirowsky & Ross, 2003).

Given that education is integral to one’s life opportunities, the District School Board of Niagara (DSBN) opened the DSBN Academy in September 2011. Indeed, disadvantaged students from poor and working-class homes are at a higher risk of dropping out from high school and not attending university or college (Knighton & Mirza, 2002). This is quite salient in the Niagara Region, where only one in five people over the age of twenty-four have a university education, compared to Ontario’s rate of one in three (Hammer, 2011). Furthermore, 5400 students in Niagara live in poverty (Hammer 2011). In an attempt to reduce these socioeconomic educational barriers, the DSBN Academy offers social and academic programming designed to encourage its students to not only graduate from high school, but also, to become the first in their family to pursue post-secondary education. Such strategies include: a single-track academic program, mandatory parental involvement, transportation, a school-wide focus on post-secondary preparation, mentoring opportunities, and a breakfast and lunch program (DSBN Academy, 2012). Ultimately, the Academy aims to provide disadvantaged students in Niagara with educational opportunities they may not have otherwise had. As a result, the school could serve as a pivotal turning point in the lives of Niagara’s disadvantaged students, affecting their educational trajectories, and subsequently producing positive health benefits.

Accordingly, this paper will theoretically evaluate the potential role of the DSBN Academy in affecting the health trajectories of its students by boosting their educational attainment. First, processes of cumulative advantage and disadvantage will be outlined with regard to health. Second, the ways in which CAD are manifested in the education system will be examined. Third, the consequences of educational variation for health outcomes will be outlined. Finally, the role of the DSBN Academy in reversing disadvantaged health trajectories through improving access to education will be assessed. It should be noted that the term “health” encompasses both physical and mental dimensions, and both are impacted by educational attainment. Ultimately, it will be determined that the Academy could be a crucial turning point for disadvantaged individuals if it can succeed in accomplishing its goals of increased post-secondary participation while respecting the working-class identities of its students.

### **Cumulative Advantage/Disadvantage and Health**

An individual’s social background has important implications for their life course outcomes. One way in which to conceptualize this link between early and late life, particularly in terms of health, is through processes of cumulative advantage and disadvantage. According to a CAD perspective, initial advantage or disadvantage is amplified or compounded over time to produce heterogeneity in life course trajectories (Willson et al., 2007). This means that advantages or disadvantages accumulate over time, and in so doing, produce health trajectories that diverge with age. For example, the rate of decline in functional capacity is accelerated for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and delayed for their initially advantaged counterparts (Kalache & Kickbusch, 1997). Consequently, the relationship between health and

socioeconomic status that begins in early life becomes magnified with age as a result of the effects of CAD (O'Rand, 1996). Those children from higher socioeconomic backgrounds have a greater opportunity to obtain access to resources and can avoid many sources of adversity (Hatch, 2005). As a result, they are far more likely to experience positive health outcomes. Conversely, exposure to economic and social deprivation in childhood accumulates over time and creates growing disadvantage in adulthood and later life. The health gap between advantaged and disadvantaged individuals, therefore, widens over time, with early socioeconomic circumstances playing a key role in the exacerbation of these inequalities.

Early childhood disadvantage in the form of low SES has been found to be a predictor of numerous poor adulthood health outcomes, including cardiovascular disease, stroke, respiratory disease, stomach cancer, high Body Mass Index (BMI), decreased lung function, depressive symptoms, chronic morbidity, and compromised dental health (Mirowsky, Ross & Reynolds, 2000; Black, Hayward & Crimmins, 2001; Poulton et al., 2002; Galobardes, Lynch & Smith, 2004; Mishra et al., 2004; Graham & Power, 2004; Packard et al., 2011). Children who grow up in disadvantaged conditions are also more likely to develop negative mental health outcomes (e.g. McLeod & Pavalko 2008) in addition to low birth weight, which is associated with obesity, diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease in later life (Ferraro, 2011). Early disadvantage is also associated with negative effects on the immune system, which increase the propensity to develop a number of chronic diseases in later life (Packard et al., 2011). Finally, the death rate for those adults who lived in poor socioeconomic conditions in childhood is double that of those from a high socioeconomic background (Kuh et al., 2006). In short, the cumulative effects of initial social position on negative health outcomes are apparent.

### **Cumulative Disadvantage in the Education System: Implications for Health**

The impact of CAD is further demonstrated by the tendency for middle- and upper-class children to enter adulthood not only in better health, but also, with higher educational attainment (Haas 2006). As a result, those with higher SES have far greater access to health-protective resources than children from poor and working-class homes (e.g. Smith, 2005). Simply put, initial disadvantage in the form of low socioeconomic background can be further exacerbated by barriers in the education system. These barriers can inhibit educational attainment, and can therefore have important implications for individuals' health trajectories. In this section, I will review some of the ways in which poor and working-class students are further disadvantaged by the education system and the implications this may have for health outcomes later in life.

#### *Symbolic Violence: Implications of Capital for Learned Effectiveness and Health*

Education is certainly a means of social and cultural capital in that it generates both formal and informal knowledge and skills that can directly affect the life course, especially with regard to health. One example of capital transmitted through the school system is learned effectiveness, or one's sense of personal control and effective agency (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). According to Mirowsky and Ross (2003: 26), "education gives people the resources to control and shape their own lives in a way that protects and fosters health". This is accomplished through the development of cognitive, communication, analytical, and problem-solving skills. These skills then enable individuals to become "more effective users of information," (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003, p. 53) and as individuals learn to solve problems through gathering and interpreting information, their sense of control over their own lives increases. Indeed, a higher sense of personal control has been reported amongst those with higher levels of education (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Accordingly, sense of control improves health outcomes largely because it promotes a healthy lifestyle. That is, those who feel that they are in control of their own lives tend to exercise more, drink moderately, avoid smoking, and are less likely to be overweight (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Furthermore, sense of control is quite significant in determining one's mental health, as it is related to flexible coping styles, resilience, and apt emotionality (Ross & VanWilligen, 1997).

Several additional studies provide empirical evidence that appears to support Mirowsky and Ross's (2003) argument concerning learned effectiveness in terms of individuals' abilities to exercise control over their health outcomes. In their study of individuals living with either HIV or diabetes, Goldman and Smith (2002) found that those with greater education were more likely to comply with complex treatment

regimens. It has also been found that the well-educated more readily use “new information and medical interventions, such as Pap smears and mammograms, developed to improve health” (Pampel 2009: 529). Additionally, Paeratakul et al. (2002) report that college graduates are 3.6 times as likely as high school graduates to indicate paying fair or a lot of attention to nutritional information. Finally, individuals with higher education appear to have less difficulty enduring short-term stress for long-term gain (Thoits, 2006). This means that the higher educated are more likely to quit smoking, reduce alcohol consumption, and eat healthy (Wu & Ross, 1995). Evidently, with a higher level of education comes a greater sense of learned effectiveness, which can serve as a form of capital that enhances health throughout the life course. This form of capital is particularly valuable given that once it is obtained, it is relatively inalienable. In other words, the skills acquired through education “inhere in the person” and are relatively long-lasting (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003:27).

Evidently, education can provide individuals with important forms of cultural capital that enhance their health outcomes in later life. Yet, the ability to successfully navigate educational institutions inherently depends upon one’s initial social and cultural capital, as acquired through family background. Consequently, the education system ensures the sustainability of the dominant class as these children possess the necessary “social and cultural cues” to negotiate their educational experience prior to entering school (Lamont & Lareau 1988: 155). Conversely, working-class children must acquire these same skills after entering school, and even if they do so, they cannot achieve the institutional familiarity of their middle-class peers. Thus, middle-class children obtain greater educational benefits than their working-class peers, and the school system legitimates this practice. In fact, the failure of working-class students to advance is attributed to individual inabilities rather than discrepancies in cultural resources (Lamont & Lareau 1988).

The embodiment of middle class culture by the school system and its subsequent tendency to impose these values onto working-class students is conceptualized as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, Passeron & Nice, 1990). Here, the education system views the cultural capital of the middle class as the only natural and proper form of capital, and takes for granted that all students have equal access to it. In making this assumption a particular cultural system becomes imposed on working-class students and can prevent them from advancing through the education system with the ease of their middle-class peers. Specifically, middle-class cultural capital can be found in the evaluative criteria of schools wherein the educational norms of the dominant class are imposed in a manner most favourable to its own children while those of the working class are excluded (Lareau & Weininger 2003). For example, the education system enforces institutionally sanctioned forms of language, while “de-legitimizing popular and subcultural vernaculars” (Halasz & Kaufman, 2008: 312). In other words, if a student wishes to succeed in an education system which privileges the dominant culture, he or she must learn how to “talk smart” (Kaufman, 2003: 489). Indeed, all forms of assessment, including exams, essays, and presentations, require a certain linguistic capital, which largely differs according to social class (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Nice 1990; Halasz & Kaufman 2008). Furthermore, public school curriculum tends to ignore children’s literacy practices that occur outside of school (Knobel & Lankshear, 2003; Luke & Luke, 2001; Marsh, 2006). That is, “the world of the classroom, where ‘polished’ language is used, contrasts with the world of the family” (Bourdieu et al., 1965: 9). As a result, the education system covertly distinguishes and differentiates between students in a manner that is “arbitrary, relative, and value-laden” (Grenfell, 2009: 443). The academic performance of students is then rewarded by virtue of their social background as it is mistaken for merit (Grenfell, 2009; Halasz & Kaufman, 2008). Working-class children can then come to see the success of their middle-class peers as a result of “natural” ability or hard work. In reality, however, these discrepancies in achievement are largely the result of differential access to resources rather than individual deficiencies.

The forms of capital, or resources, to which individuals have access as they interact in the social world are shaped by their habitus. Bourdieu (1979: vii) describes the habitus as “a system of durable, transposable dispositions which functions as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices”. This means individuals’ social locations provide them with certain dispositions toward the world. Individuals internalize the culture of the group to which they belong, and this acts as a basis for all subsequent behaviour. The impact of the habitus on socialization practices is made tangible in Lareau’s (2003) observational study of twelve working- and middle-class families. Depending on whether families

were middle- or working-class, parents engaged in one of two strategies. Middle-class parents engaged in “concerted cultivation,” which focuses on developing children’s talents, opinions, and skills, typically through a variety of organized activities. Capital is then passed on from parent to child. Conversely, working-class and poor parents engaged in “the accomplishment of natural growth.” The natural growth approach places value on providing for children’s basic needs and offering support. Concerted cultivation is not viewed as an essential parental responsibility. Rather, the steps to get children through the day are given more importance.

These approaches result in differential types of “social competence” being transmitted to children (Lareau, 2003: 6). Middle-class children develop important life and basic job skills through organized activities. They are also encouraged to reason and use language effectively, fostering a large vocabulary and wide-ranging knowledge. Accordingly, middle-class children feel comfortable interacting with professionals and within institutions, including the education system. Their social skills and extracurricular involvement also tend to be “viewed more positively by society” (Lareau, 2003: 241). Indeed, the dominant middle-class culture tends to be valued by the school system (Halasz & Kaufman, 2008). Conversely, the experiences of working-class and poor children are “not equally valued in institutional worlds” (Lareau, 2003: 241). These children experience an ever-present sense of financial and institutional constraint. They do not learn to reason or negotiate in the same way that middle-class children do, and do not develop the same verbal skills, inhibiting their formal interactions. Children are also not afforded the same extracurricular opportunities as their middle-class peers, limiting the socially valued skills they can develop. This is largely due to the fact that daily tasks cause greater strain on a families’ resources among the poorer working-class.

Lareau (2003) also reports that teachers from schools in both working-class and middle-class neighborhoods advocated concerted cultivation, demonstrating the premium placed on middle-class values. Lareau’s findings can be interpreted as evidence supporting Bourdieu’s (1974) contention that the school system exhibits a middle-class habitus while committing symbolic violence against working-class students. After all, students with the habitus of the dominant class are more likely to succeed in the education system as they possess certain attributes that their working-class counterparts do not (Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Confidence, charisma, and eloquent speech, for instance, are traits developed through a middle-class habitus that translate into academic rewards (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Nice, 1990; Lareau, 2003; Halasz & Kaufman, 2008). In fact, the way one looks, sits, stands, speaks, and so forth, can have important implications in terms of his or her interactions with teachers in the classroom, and ultimately, his or her life outcomes as determined by educational attainment (Toshalis, 2010).

Based on the situation described above, it is not surprising that low-income and working-class youth are more likely to drop out of high school and less likely to pursue post-secondary education (Lambert et al., 2004). When an individual does not have the cultural capital favoured by the school system and does not feel that his or her experiences are valued or recognized in this environment, feelings of not belonging and low ability can result. This, of course, has significant implications for health throughout the life course. Indeed, children who lack the necessary capital to succeed in the education system are less likely to accrue the additional capital higher education has to offer in terms of learned effectiveness and its corresponding health benefits. Symbolic violence is therefore one source of variation in the divergent educational and health outcomes of poor and working-class individuals as compared to middle- and upper-class individuals.

### *Streaming and Tracking: Post-Secondary Paths and Health Resources*

In addition to symbolic violence, students from initially disadvantaged backgrounds also face processes of streaming and tracking in elementary and high school, which can severely restrict their ability to pursue higher education and obtain the health resources associated with it. As Hilmert and Jacob (2010) point out, an individual’s final educational attainment is the result of a series of steps taken and decisions made throughout his or her academic career. Therefore, it is one of these early courses of action that can have the greatest impact on a student’s life, rather than simply the final step. That is, the educational qualification a

student ultimately receives at the end of their academic life is due to selective processes over the course of the time spent in the education system.

A child's family background plays a critical role in his or her educational success. Indeed, parental educational attainment has been shown to be the most important predictor of university participation (Knighton & Mirza, 2002). Of course, family background also determines how much and which kinds of capital are passed on to children, which again influences their ability to be successful in the education system (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Nice, 1990; Lareau, 2003; Lehmann, 2008). Implicated in these findings are the barriers faced by poor and working-class children in the education system, which are most significant in the early years, with only the brightest progressing to higher levels (Hilmert & Jacob, 2010). Most lower class students, on the other hand, become trapped by the tracking system.

Tracking is defined as "the process whereby students are divided into categories so that they can be assigned in groups to various kinds of classes" (Oakes, 2005: 3). Simply put, students are identified as "fast" or "slow" learners, and placed into classes based on this ascribed ability. Proponents of this process argue that placing students with similar abilities into groups facilitates easier instruction as teachers can hone in on particular needs (Oakes, 2005). In fact, educators tend to "believe that students learn better in groups with others like themselves" (Oakes, 2005: 4). Despite these good intentions, however, tracking processes are laden with class inequality, as the majority of students in high-track classes are not only white, but also, from a middle-class background. Conversely, lower tracks are comprised mainly of low-income/working-class students (Oakes, 2005).

Depending upon which track a student is placed in, curriculum content and quality of instruction can be quite different. In Oakes's (2005) major study of 300 tracked math and English classes in 25 American high schools, several important discrepancies were revealed. Students in high-track English classes were exposed to "high-status" knowledge in the form of great classic and modern works of literature, numerous expository writing assignments, thematic analyses, and advanced vocabulary. Lower-track students, however, read young adult fiction in their English classes, which are short and of low difficulty. Furthermore, they were taught basic reading skills via workbooks and kits. Similarly, low-track math classes focused on "basic computational skills and arithmetic facts" in comparison to the mathematical ideas and concepts taught in the higher-tracks (Oakes, 2005: 77). Thus, higher-track students were taught critical thinking and problem-solving skills, or the foundations of learned effectiveness, whereas lower-track students were expected only to perform simple memorization and comprehension tasks.

These differences in expectations and curriculum are even found in elementary school, as demonstrated by Anyon's (1980) study, where working-class students and affluent students received remarkably different educational experiences. Even in kindergarten, informal streaming and tracking can begin. In Rist's (1977) ethnography on student labeling in an American kindergarten class, it took merely eight days for the teacher to develop permanent seating assignments based on presumed variations in academic ability. These seating arrangements reflected students' socioeconomic differences, with working-class students grouped together and middle-class students grouped together. Factoring into these distinctions were such things as the way a child was dressed, with poor dress associated with academic incapability and neatness in dress equated with an increased ability to learn. Rist (1977) followed these students from kindergarten to the second grade, and found that labels given in kindergarten had become self-fulfilling prophecies, eventually affecting students' placements into higher or lower tracks. Indeed, differential expectations on the part of teachers can significantly impact student learning.

When asked about their expectations for lower-track students, teachers emphasized conformity; for example, getting along with others, punctuality, working quietly, and following classroom rules (Oakes, 2005). From higher-track students, however, teachers expected independent work, creativity, critical thinking, self-direction, and active participation. In addition, teachers were found to be more enthusiastic and effective (clear and task-oriented) in higher-track classes (Oakes, 2005). Teachers also spent more class time giving instruction in higher-track classes and there was a greater average expected homework time than in lower-track classes. Not surprisingly, students in higher tracks reported more positive attitudes about themselves and higher aspirations than those in lower tracks (Oakes, 2005).

Even if students in lower tracks have higher aspirations, they also have restricted mobility to higher tracks because of all the topics omitted from their curriculum (Oakes, 2005). This is a prime example of how selection processes in early education determine life outcomes. If a student is streamed into a low track and cannot switch into a higher track, their options for post-secondary attainment are quite limited. Processes of CAD are evident here, as the initial advantage of being in a higher track (or disadvantage of being in a lower track) creates a series of successive advantages or disadvantages. With social class being a particularly relevant variable in determining a student's placement into a given track, it appears that structural inequality is built into the school system. In addition, the argument can be made that this is an extension of the symbolic violence perpetuated against poor and working-class students. This, then, has implications for health throughout the life course, as individuals of low-income or working-class backgrounds are selected out of higher education by virtue of what happens in elementary and high school. This means that a much lower number of poor and working-class youth go on to post-secondary education than their middle- and upper-class counterparts.

If an individual's ability to pursue post-secondary education is restricted, he or she is not only prevented from acquiring additional cultural capital, but also, is prevented from turning such capital into monetary profit, amongst other things (Lamont & Lareau 1998). Indeed, higher education is associated with greater income, another resource positively related to health (e.g. Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). In addition, those with higher levels of education are less likely to be unemployed and more likely to work full-time (Wu & Ross, 1995). Highly educated individuals also tend to acquire more fulfilling work in terms of autonomy and creativity, and have less exposure to physical, chemical or biological hazards in their work environment (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Once again, these conditions are associated with better mental and physical health. Therefore, higher education provides numerous advantages in the labour market, which in turn affect health outcomes.

Higher education is also related to one's social-psychological resources (Wu & Ross, 1995). While psychological resources in terms of learned effectiveness have already been discussed, what is important here is the fact that those with a higher education tend to have higher levels of social support. Indeed, the well-educated report more supportive relationships and are more likely to be married, both of which enhance health (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Thus, the additional resources permitted by educational attainment in the forms of employment and income, as well as social support, can be viewed as complements to learned effectiveness. Together, all of these dimensions can shape health outcomes. Importantly, each is determined by an individual's level of educational success, which can be inhibited by the processes of streaming and tracking and symbolic violence. Consequently, educational institutions can serve as a system of class reproduction in which middle-class children are the most likely to succeed, and thus, to acquire the knowledge, skills, and additional resources that can be used to protect against physical and mental health decline throughout the course of their lives. Meanwhile, working-class children are more likely to experience cumulative disadvantage in that their initially worse-off social position is amplified by educational exclusion.

### **Higher Education, Better Health**

Given the additional skills and resources that can be acquired through educational attainment, it is not surprising that education bears a strong relationship to health, nor that its absence can produce negative health consequences. In fact, of all socioeconomic indicators, education has consistently been demonstrated as "the most important predictor of health and mortality" (Ferraro, 2011: 469). In the United States, education has been found to be more important than both income/wealth and occupation in explaining the relationship between socioeconomic status and health (Mirowsky & Ross, 2005). Even when income levels are controlled for, education retains its predictive power in that individuals with less education have poorer health outcomes than those with greater education at the same income level (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003). Therefore, individuals with greater educational attainment generally have better health and live longer than those who have a high school education or less (Wu & Ross, 1995; Deaton & Paxton, 1999; Mirowsky & Ross, 2003; Culter et al., 2008; Cutler & Lieras-Muney, 2008; Elo 2009). For example, Meara et al. (2008)



report that the life expectancy of those who have attended at least some college is approximately seven years higher than that of those who have completed high school or less. Thus, mortality rates tend to be lower for individuals who have completed more schooling.

Beyond its association with a lower mortality risk, education is also strongly correlated with higher levels of physical functioning and self-reported health, lower levels of morbidity and disability, lower rates of infectious and chronic diseases, and a later onset for chronic disease (Wu & Ross, 1995; Crimmins, Hayward, & Seeman, 2001; Lynch 2003; Smith 2007). Furthermore, figures reported by Rock et al. (2007) demonstrate that the incidence of smoking in the United States is much lower for those with an undergraduate degree at 9.6 percent in comparison to those with less education at 35.4 percent. In addition, individuals with higher educational attainment who do smoke are more likely to quit than their less educated counterparts (Wray et al. 1998). Those with higher education are also less likely to have experienced one or more psychiatric conditions in the past year (Mirowsky & Ross, 2003; Thoits, 2005). Furthermore, when individuals of low and high social status experience the same mental health disorders, it is those who have greater educational attainment that are more likely to consult with a practitioner and seek some form of treatment (e.g. Thoits, 2005). Thus, even where class may not be enough to spare individuals from a particular condition, it can facilitate likelihood of treatment, and thus mediate severity. This can be viewed as an example of learned effectiveness in practice. Finally, higher educational attainment is positively associated with physical activity, which undoubtedly impacts many health outcomes, such as risk of cardiovascular disease, high blood pressure, and osteoporosis (Ford et al., 1991; Sandvik et al., 1993). It is therefore evident that the association between education and health is quite striking, and is largely attributable to the operation of capital acquired through its attainment.

It is clear that childhood circumstances have important implications for adult health outcomes, particularly through shaping one's educational experience. Specifically, childhood disadvantage decreases the likelihood of high educational attainment and therefore increases the likelihood of a negative health trajectory. On the other hand, childhood advantage facilitates educational attainment and the maintenance of positive health outcomes. This is not to say, however, that these processes are inevitable or incapable of alteration as cumulative disadvantage can be reversible under selected conditions. Specifically, the acquisition of particular resources can mediate the effects of early disadvantage on health. Education, for example, can operate as "a means for escaping previous disadvantage" (O'Rand 2009: 133). Indeed, Mirowsky and Ross (2003) report that educational attainment can largely improve the health outcomes of those disadvantaged individuals who are able to obtain it. Therefore, one's experience in the education system can be a significant turning point, changing the trajectory of one's life course (Laub & Sampson, 1993; O'Rand, 2009). This, then, necessitates a strategy to increase access to and facilitate the completion of both high school and university or college by poor and working-class students.

### **The DSBN Academy: A Turning Point?**

The DSBN Academy opened in September 2011 with 124 students. To attract students, 3000 application forms were distributed to elementary schools throughout the Niagara region and information sessions were conducted. All students whose parents did not have a post-secondary education could then apply. Importantly, the Academy can be viewed as an alternative to a mainstream school system in which students from poor and working-class backgrounds are largely disenfranchised. Indeed, the school's mandate centres on supporting and empowering students to attend and graduate not just from high school, but also from college or university (DSBN Academy, 2012). Accordingly, the Academy could be a key turning point for poor and working-class children as education, as reviewed above, has been proven to reduce the risk of unfavourable health outcomes (e.g. Howe & Covell, 2011).

In order to provide its students with increased educational opportunities, the Academy is built upon several "strategies for success", including a single-track academic program. This means that students are not streamed into lower and higher tracks, but rather, are schooled in a singular track that would enable them to attend either university or college upon graduation. Consequently, many of the problems revealed previously with regard to streaming and tracking may be avoided, reducing the likelihood of a student being

labeled based on their class situation instead of their abilities. Even though the Academy does not begin until grade six, informal streaming done by the child's former school prior to this could still be corrected by virtue of the fact that there is only one track for them to be placed in at the Academy. In this way, the labeling process that begins as early as kindergarten could be broken as it would not necessarily entail placement into a low track. Furthermore, the curriculum and quality of teaching would be consistent rather than as divergent as it is between higher and lower tracks in traditional schooling systems. Theoretically, students attending DSBN Academy would not be selected out of higher education, by virtue of placement in a lower track, in the manner they might be in a mainstream public school. The single-track strategy, then, appears to be quite promising in its potential to alter the life course of disadvantaged students through facilitating their ability to enter post-secondary institutions and convert their education into other forms of capital.

In addition to a single-track curriculum, the DSBN Academy also features strategies of mandatory parental involvement, after school programs, transportation, a school-wide focus on post-secondary preparation, mentoring opportunities, and a breakfast and lunch program (DSBN Academy, 2012). Each of these components is associated with higher academic achievement, increased attendance, fewer disciplinary problems, and an increased likelihood of graduation (e.g. Desforges & Abouchar 2003; Jeynes, 2007; Grotz & Grutzmacher, 2009; Grothaus & Cole, 2010; Grant & Ray, 2010; United States Government Accountability Office, 2010). Once again, the possibility of increasing educational attainment, and accordingly, improving health outcomes in later life for poor and working-class individuals is apparent. Furthermore, the Academy recognizes that students who face barriers to post-secondary education have a variety of needs, and thus takes a comprehensive approach that focuses on the whole student, rather than any singular aspect. As a result, the Academy may be able to legitimate the experiences of poor and working-class students in a way that the mainstream school system fails to do as a result of practices which institutionalize middle-class culture. Therefore, students who have grown up in an environment with limited social and cultural capital may not be as disadvantaged within the walls of the DSBN Academy. In other words, students' initial forms of capital may not impact their ability to proceed through the education system in the same way that it would in mainstream public schools, enabling them to acquire such skills as learned effectiveness, and in turn, improve their own health trajectories.

Essentially, the DSBN Academy advocates "achievement through opportunity," (DSBN Academy, 2012) and its design appears to offer students just that. That being said, the school is not without its weaknesses. The school has been criticized for increasing the segregation of students in the public school system and for possibly increasing the label and stigma associated with being a "disadvantaged" student (Beech, 2011; Bolichowski, 2011; Blizzard, 2011). Furthermore, critics have charged that such a school diverts resources from mainstream public schools, and also implies mainstream schools are performing inadequately. General concerns can also be raised regarding the challenges these students face when they come to university, including financial constraints (Berger, Motte, & Parkin, 2007), feelings of not fitting in (Lehmann, 2008), and leaving university earlier than those students whose parents did go to university (Walpole, 2003; Lehmann, 2008).

Another issue of concern is that the Academy might encourage students to go to university who might be much happier in an apprenticeship and ultimately doing manual or blue-collar work (e.g. Lehmann, 2005). In this way, the school may be perpetuating a form of symbolic violence of its own in that it is adhering to a middle-class ideal of education, and ultimately, employment. Given the emphasis on post-secondary attainment, largely in the form of university (see DSBN Academy, 2012), it appears that the school could be encouraging working-class children to aspire to a middle-class standard of education. Its pedagogical strategies appear to be less about modifying the mainstream curriculum and more about changing the school climate. For example, one school board member states, "That's why DSBN Academy is here. We need to try something to make sure kids are going on to post-secondary education" (Bolichowski, 2011). In order to ensure this outcome, "[academy students] learn how to look for work, manage debt, find and apply for scholarships, and put cash away for the future" (Bolichowski, 2011). With an emphasis on post-secondary attainment, it appears that the school is focused on shaping its students in a particular manner. Indeed, "the curriculum is the same as at other schools in the DSBN, but [the principal]

says the difference is in the extra efforts staff take to mold the students into young adults” (Gray, 2011). This is reminiscent of the concerted cultivation parenting approach revealed by Lareau (2003). Once more, middle-class ideals are perceptible. The school even goes so far as to alter students’ appearances. As the principal notes, “We have high expectations in academics and attitudes, they come dressed for success” (Gray, 2011). Thus, students seem to be conditioned into a middle-class way of being.

Such a focus can overlook the significance of class differences through imposing middle-class standards of dress, working hard, accumulating wealth, and obtaining a university education. Essentially, the Academy aims to supplement the cultural capital (see Bourdieu, 2006) of its students through cultivating them into “responsible” young adults. Whether the students succeed or fail in this process is made their sole responsibility, as echoed by the school’s creed which the students recite every day (see DSBN Academy, 2012). As a result, the Academy risks individualizing responsibility for success and failure while downplaying the role of social structure. This type of message may further exacerbate the situation of working-class students in the education system. The fact remains that while many people may view a limited education as a form of adversity, not every individual agrees, and many may not want this for themselves. The pedagogy of the DSBN Academy, then, must also be evaluated in terms of the agency it offers students, and whether or not teachers and administrators are aware of this middle-class bias. That said, increased educational attainment can certainly improve health outcomes and working-class individuals may wish for the opportunity to alter their own trajectories in this way.

In spite of its potential downfalls, then, the DSBN Academy could still be a turning point in the life paths of disadvantaged children until the mainstream system makes significant changes. If successful, the DSBN Academy model could also be adopted by mainstream schools in order to increase the life chances of all students. Research demonstrates that the life course trajectories for children from low socioeconomic backgrounds are generally unfavourable in terms of education and health. Thus, if the DSBN Academy can provide interested students with additional years of education, this could be quite beneficial. After all, Culter and Lleras-Muney (2006) report that even just an extra four years of schooling lowers mortality, reduces the risk of heart disease and diabetes, and lowers the probability of an individual reporting fair or poor health. Of course, the Academy must take caution to ensure that it offers students a chance to compete in the education system – and to acquire the resulting health benefits – without forcing them into the competition.

## **Conclusion**

The association between education and health is quite clear. Indeed, higher education is positively related to better health, with individuals experiencing lower mortality and less chronic and infectious disease. The well-educated also engage in more health-enhancing behaviours, and are less likely to participate in health-averse behaviours. Specifically, education can result in the development of learned effectiveness as well as the attainment of other resources such as income and social support. In both instances, education acts as a form of capital that ultimately enhances health. Indeed, those with a higher education are at a distinct advantage when it comes to health. Who becomes highly educated, however, is a very selective process that begins in early childhood. If one occupies an initially advantaged position in terms of class and capital, these advantages are likely to continue to accumulate over time, leading to favourable results in later life. Conversely, a child from a poor or working-class background is likely to encounter many barriers to higher education, and in turn, poorer health, as his or her relative disadvantage becomes exaggerated. Simply put, initial disadvantage at the outset determines the capital with which an individual begins school, and therefore, the capital he or she can gain through the education system in terms of learned effectiveness and additional resources. At the same time, an individual who is initially advantaged is more likely to have this position sustained as they successfully navigate the education system and obtain all that it has to offer.

This reality gives merit to the DSBN Academy, as it can offer a way to counter processes of cumulative disadvantage. Instead of limiting the potential to develop learned effectiveness and acquire other resources to those students in higher tracks (and of higher SES), the DSBN Academy can open the door for additional capital attainment through lessening the degree to which initial capital matters in educational

success. That being said, the school is not without its limitations and may only be a short-term solution. More empirical and longitudinal research is certainly needed on the school itself, given that it is only in its first year of operation. Future research should concentrate on the Academy's success rate in terms of the post-secondary completion of its students. Students' perceptions surrounding the choices provided to them by the Academy and the impact of the Academy on their identities should also be evaluated. In addition, students' learned effectiveness could be measured at the time of entry to the Academy and again upon graduation from it, followed by measurement at the time of university or college completion. Finally, students' health trajectories could be modeled over time and compared to those of their parents. These are just a few suggestions, and there is certainly room for a great deal of future research surrounding the Academy and its implications for educational attainment and health.

As of right now, the DSBN Academy does bring attention to the fact that poor and working-class students face significant challenges in the education system. These challenges can have important implications for the life outcomes of these children, particularly in terms of health. Of course, it should be acknowledged that good health and higher education may not be desirable for everyone. The task for the Academy then lies in how the experiences of working-class students can be institutionally validated while at the same time not transformed into a middle-class habitus. This is not to say that all working-class students will feel this way or that some do not wish to further their education and align themselves with middle-class values. Rather, it is to point out that educational initiatives must be careful to avoid homogenizing working-class students as well as paternalistically prescribing which path they "should" follow. Indeed, any educational strategy geared toward these students must take this into consideration. The DSBN Academy certainly points toward the complexities of ameliorating inequality without perpetuating symbolic violence. The primary theoretical contribution of this paper, then, is that the education system can both reduce the effects of childhood disadvantage on health, but also, can simultaneously reproduce existing classed discourses surrounding what it means to be successful. The challenge, then, is how to effectively accomplish the former while reducing the effects of the latter.

It should also be noted here that education is only one piece of the puzzle. Clearly, changes must take place within all sectors of society if the life chances of disadvantaged individuals are to be improved. Nevertheless, the widening of social class inequalities in health in recent decades cannot be ignored. Education plays a key role in reducing such disparities, warranting further consideration of alternative strategies such as the DSBN Academy. The fact remains that any public health policy aimed at improving the health outcomes of disadvantaged groups must address the inequalities that emerge in early life, especially through the education system, if these trajectories are to be prevented from continuing into adulthood.

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## **‘The biggest mistake God ever made was to create junkies’: Unsafe injection practices, health care discrimination and overdose deaths in Montreal, Canada**

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*Despite the existence of prevention programmes in Montreal, Canada, injection drug users (IDUs) continue to share their injection drug equipment. This practice has led to an increase in the incidences of HIV and Hepatitis C (HCV) among IDUs since 2003. The present study was conducted to explore factors contributing to the increased risks of this morbidity. Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted as drug users were actively involved in their routine activities. The participants’ narratives indicate that IDUs in Montreal are involved in risky injection behaviour that increases HIV, HCV and bacterial transmission. Moreover, IDUs in Montreal are at an increased risk of overdose and death when they are forced to inject in public washrooms or alleys. In addition, many IDUs have placed the general public at risk by discarding their used needles in public parks, sidewalks and public washrooms. Furthermore, many IDUs in Montreal have faced discrimination and are refused treatment by the health care system. Micro-environmental factors, such as a paucity of safe injection sites, inaccessibility of injection equipment and discrimination all seem to be contributing factors in recent increases in HIV and HCV in Montreal.*

**Keywords:** supervised injection facility; harm reduction; drug policy

*Malgré les programmes de prévention qui existent à Montréal, Canada, les utilisateurs de drogues injectables (UDI) continuent de partager leurs seringues. Cette pratique a mené à une augmentation de l’incidence du virus de l’immunodéficience humaine (VIH) et du virus de l’hépatite C (VHC) parmi les UDI depuis 2003. La présente étude a été menée afin d’examiner les facteurs qui contribuent à l’augmentation des risques de cette morbidité. Des entretiens qualitatifs semi-directifs ont été réalisés pendant que les utilisateurs faisaient usage de drogues. Les commentaires recueillis auprès des participants ont confirmé que les UDI de Montréal adoptent des comportements d’injection qui augmentent les risques de contracter le VIH et le VHC en plus de faciliter la transmission de bactéries. De plus, le risque de surdose et de mort est plus élevé chez les UDI de Montréal lorsqu’ils sont forcés de s’injecter des drogues dans des toilettes publiques ou dans des ruelles. En outre, de nombreux UDI compromettent la sécurité du public en jetant leurs seringues dans les parcs publics, sur les trottoirs ou dans les toilettes publiques. Par ailleurs, de nombreux UDI de Montréal ont été victimes de discrimination et se sont vus refuser l’accès à des traitements par le système de santé publique. Des facteurs micro-environnementaux, tels que la rareté de sites d’injection supervisés, l’inaccessibilité aux seringues et la discrimination, s’avèrent tous des facteurs qui semblent contribuer à l’augmentation récente de l’incidence du VIH et du VHC à Montréal.*

**Mots-clés:** site d’injection supervisé; réduction des préjudices; politique en matière de drogues

## Introduction

The illegal drug trade continues to fuel crime, gang violence and drug addiction. Annually, it is estimated that between 155 and 250 million people worldwide use illegal substances (International Centre for Science in Drug Policy, 2010). In Canada alone, it is estimated that there are more than 125,000 injection drug users (IDUs), who are affected by poverty, homelessness and mental illness (Fischer et al., 2006; Kerr et al., 2003). Illegal drug injection in Canada has been associated with extensive harms to both the user and taxpayers. In fact, Canada's cost of illegal drugs was approximately \$8.2 billion dollars whereas the cost of illegal drug injection was estimated to be \$1.4 billion per year (Rehm et al., 2006; Wall et al., 2000).

IDUs are at an elevated risk of morbidity (i.e. infectious diseases including human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and hepatitis C (HCV)) (Wall et al., 2000). In Canada, for example, the annual incidence and prevalence rate of HIV transmission related to IDUs have been estimated between 20 percent (Roy et al., 2012). HCV rate are even higher, estimated to be around 60 percent (Roy et al., 2012). In addition to the spread of infectious diseases, drug overdose resulting in death is a huge problem in Canada. For example, from 2002 to 2003, it was estimated that 958 people died of a drug overdose (Popova, Patra, Mohapatra, Fischer & Rehm, 2009).

The situation has been particularly problematic in Montreal, Canada, where IDUs continue to share their injection drug equipment despite Montreal's liberal needle exchange program (NEP), that does not limit the number of syringes that can be obtained and the availability of low cost syringes through pharmacies (De et al., 2009; Green, Hankins, Palmer, Boivin & Platt, 2004). According to Morissette et al. (2007), Montreal has 11 NEPs, 11 community health centres, two methadone clinics and 150 pharmacies that distribute approximately 800,000 syringes. Despite these services, recent data from Montreal indicates rising incidence of HIV and HCV among IDUs since 2003 (Bruneau, Daniel, Kestens, Zang & G n reux, 2008). Furthermore, Montreal is experiencing a drug overdose epidemic of up to 70 documented deaths per year (Jozaghi, 2012b).

As a result of this growing epidemic, the present study was conducted to explore factors contributing to increased risks of morbidity and mortality in Montreal. The current research aim to critically examine and identify themes in the lives, stories and circumstances of the most marginalized IDUs (e.g., homeless, HIV and HCV). It is hypothesised that ethnographic immersion, such as the current study, would allow for reporting of far more risky practices than the public health literature routinely reports (Bourgois, 1998). This qualitative research study draws on a small sample of participants; it does not claim to do the work of large quantitative studies in which representativeness and generalizability are defined (Jozaghi, 2012a). Nevertheless, themes are identified and recognized as meaningful, whether or not they apply in all cases. In fact, according to Small (2009), "there is a place for a small interview study to make a meaningful contribution to knowledge ... [since] rare situations are often precisely what the researcher wants" (p. 18). In effect, the purpose of this qualitative study is to understand each individual case and participants' perspectives, not to generalize the findings (Burawoy et al., 2000).

## Methods

The current study was conducted in the city of Montreal, which has a land base of 500 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 1.8 million residents (Genereux, Bruneau & Daniel, 2010). The Island of Montreal is the largest city in the province of Quebec and the second largest city in Canada (de Bibiana et al., 2011). Montreal is divided into 27 boroughs; the Ville-Marie borough and the Sainte-Marie

neighbourhood are the most active injection drug use areas in the city. It is not surprising that these areas also have the highest levels of socioeconomic disadvantage and crime (Genereux et al., 2010; Montigny, Moudon, Leigh, & Kim, 2011). A 2001 study estimated Montreal's IDU population to be between 4,300 and 12,500 individuals (Archibald et al., 2001; Green et al., 2004).

Beginning in February 2012, individuals living in Montreal who had injected illicit drugs in the previous month were recruited to participate in the study. This study was approved by Simon Fraser University's Research Ethics Board. Participants were eligible to partake in the study if they had injected illicit drugs at least once in the previous month, were 19 years of age or older and provided informed oral consent. Oral consent was provided by the participants to demonstrate that they have voluntarily participated in the research. Compensation of ten dollars was provided to each participant. Participants involved in drug use can reveal sensitive information about their criminal lifestyles and HIV or HCV status during interviews. Therefore, in order to protect the confidentiality of participants, all names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

In order to explore IDU perspectives, the study drew upon data from semi-structured qualitative interviews. Key informants/gatekeepers were used to help achieve the desired sampling techniques; in this case, purposive and snowball sampling. Key informants were peer IDUs who volunteered at the needle exchange depots in Montreal. As a result, they were familiar with many of the homeless clients in different parts of the city. Three peer IDUs were chosen to facilitate the selection process. The key informants also had local knowledge and subsequent references to friends and acquaintances that were extremely effective in ensuring some variation within the sample (see Table 1).

As Esterberg (2002) explains, chain referral may be the only way to recruit interviewees for "hidden" populations or groups of people who engage in stigmatizing behaviour. In the current study, more than 70 percent of the sample was homeless and contributed enormously to some of the key issues identified in this paper. For example, the homeless participants were able to address issues related to public injection, sharing and discarded syringes. IDUs who were homeless also addressed issues related to accessibility of clean syringes and risk of overdose (compared to those who choose to inject at home). A total of 18 IDUs were approached and all 18 agreed to be interviewed. All participants were interviewed once. The participants were recruited off the street in areas where IDUs are known to congregate. Two participants were recruited from a social housing unit, and the remaining sample was comprised of people who visited Spectre de rue (needle depot) located in the Sainte-Marie neighbourhood and Cactus (needle depot) on Rue Sainte-Catherine. This selection process allowed for some variation within a small sample because participants represented different geographical areas of Montreal.

The open-ended, semi-structured interviews were facilitated through the use of an interview guide. The interview guide was used to encourage discussion about life as an IDU, the impact of not having a safe place to inject given the nature of the behaviour involved, and to elicit suggestions related to the ways in which the risky behaviour could be reduced. The questions were chosen based on previous work that has been done in the realm of harm reduction research. All participants seemed genuinely interested in the interview and shared their unique experiences and individual examples that shaped the direction of the interview. In all of the interviews conducted, topics came out of natural conversations and as suggested by Berg (2009), deviations were explored as they arose. This resulted in several unexpected discussions, such as intentional overdose referred to as 'hot cap' by participants.

**Table 1.***Characteristics of the sample of IDUs in Montreal*

		n	%
<b>Age</b>			
	20-30	6	33.3
	31-40	2	11.1
	41-50	5	27.8
	51-60	5	27.8
<b>Gender</b>			
	Male	16	88.9
	Female	2	11.1
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
	Caucasian	15	83.3
	Black	1	5.6
	First Nation	2	11.1
<b>Resides in Montreal</b>			
	Yes	12	66.7
	No	6	33.3
<b>Number of injection per day (X)</b>			
	$x \leq 2$	5	27.8
	$2 < x \leq 5$	5	27.8
	$x > 5$	8	44.4
<b>Years of injection (Y)</b>			
	$Y \leq 5$	5	27.8
	$5 < Y \leq 10$	4	22.2
	$Y > 10$	9	50
<b>Medical Condition</b>			
	Nil	6	33.3
	HIV & HCV	7	38.9
	HCV	5	27.8

**Table 1. Continued**

		n	%
<b>Drug of choice</b>			
	Cocaine	9	50
	Cocaine and Heroin	5	27.8
	Heroin	2	11.1
	Other	2	11.1
<b>High school Education</b>			
	Yes	7	38.9
	No	11	61.1
<b>Criminal Record</b>			
	Yes	14	77.8
	No	4	22.2
<b>Unemployed</b>			
	Yes	18	100
	No	0	0
<b>Sex trade in the last 6 months</b>			
	Yes	3	16.7
	No	15	83.3
<b>Money/drugs for sex in the last 6 months</b>			
	Yes	9	50
	No	9	50
<b>Relationship Status</b>			
	Single/divorce	16	88.9
	Married/common Law	2	11.1
<b>Mother Tongue</b>			
	French	16	88.9
	English	2	11.1
<b>Principal Dwelling place</b>			
	Private residence or other`s house	5	27.8
	Street	13	72.2

The interview process involved four thematic dimensions: (1) experience on the street; (2) injection behaviour; (3) overdose risk (4) drug use culture; followed by an open discussion about anything raised during the interview. Their responses were audio recorded and were later transcribed verbatim. To reduce distortion of the data due to social desirability of responses, interviews were conducted in a conversational format as drug users were actively involved in their routine activities.

The qualitative data were reviewed and all text segments were subsequently subjected to a thematic analysis using NVivo 9 software. A “tree” node was created for general themes resulting from an inductive search. A “free” node was deductive or emergent and came from general observations, which resulted in more specific categories. Free nodes were created after tree nodes

were searched. Silverman & Marvasti (2008) caution against the tendency for coding schemes to become “powerful conceptual grid[s] from which it is difficult to escape” (p.225). Therefore, each time a theme was referenced, the software gave it a number and percentage. A word frequency query was also completed to view the most frequently used words. This organization and analysis of the data allowed for the most dominant themes to be identified.

Interviews were listened to several times before importing and transcribing them into the NVivo 9 software. To ensure reliability and reduce any bias, two different researchers conducted the coding in two different ways. The initial coding method involved the first coder identifying themes without computer software. For example, the transcripts were printed to visually look for common words and themes with highlighters. The themes identified by the first coder were later compared to the themes identified by the second coder using NVivo 9.

## **Findings**

### *Risky behaviour*

The most frequent narrative offered by participants in this study was the tendency to share needles. In fact, some of the participants reported contracting HIV/HCV through sharing needles. For example, according to Mike:

I have Aids ... I got it through sharing drugs. I remember, I was hanging around the shooting galleries in Montreal and at one point in time, I remember I walked into a room—this was the last week of my crazy consumption—I found one syringe on the ground, I picked it up, looked at it for a bit, it had a little bit still left inside, but it was crooked. I fixed it and did my hit without any regard if it had HIV or any sickness in it what so ever. I had reached a point of my life that I didn't care anymore.

According to Stein, Dubyak, Herman, and Anderson (2007), to reduce physical discomfort, IDUs will sometimes use drug residue from other users' equipment with a disregard of the users' HCV/HIV status. In effect, sharing behaviours within the IDU population is an established factor that has led to substantially higher risks of HIV infection, even if practiced relatively infrequently (Des Jarlais & Semaan, 2002).

Some of the participants indicated that craving for drugs, especially cocaine or as they called it 'jonesing', forces some users to use other persons' needles. As Alberto explains:

Usually you don't think about the risk of HIV when you're high. Before you're high you think about the risk, but when I am high I don't care. I just say, you have one hot for me, and he just took it out of his arm, OK, Put it in me. So you just want that next fix without even thinking about HIV. That's how most junkies get Hep C or HIV.

Previous research in the realm of IDUs has also reported on 'jonesing' (Shannon et al., 2007). In the case of cocaine injection, jonesing behaviour may be partially attributed to “cocaine's short half-life reflecting the desire to inject often in order to continuously feel the effects of the drug” (Rachlis et al., 2010, p. 1385). Furthermore, the majority of participants believe that the risky behaviour described above is mainly attributed to a lack of clean needles in Montreal. Given that the two needle

depots in downtown Montreal (e.g., Cactus and Spectre de rue) have limited operating hours, this inconvenience forces many addicts to borrow or rely on used syringes. Jason describes this scenario:

The most time you see people share is before 4, because after 4 o'clock you got Cactus on Sainte-Catherine that gives free needles, but other than that, you have to buy them in pharmacies for a buck for a package [contains four needles and condoms]. Other than that people share, like on the day time they don't give a shit. Like if they're sick, they just use somebody else's rig ... I've even seen people pick up rigs on the floor and do their hit. And this is 2012 and I still see that. I've never seen that in Vancouver because there is so many exchange over there, but here I still see people picking up rigs on the floor.

Indeed, people in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES) are less likely than people in Montreal to report frequent syringe borrowing because the needle depot operating in Vancouver's DTES is one of the largest in North America (Strathdee et al., 1997). High risk IDUs in Montreal, according to Jason, prefer the first available needle to the first available clean needle provided at the nearby needle depot a few kilometres down the alley. Many participants, report that some addicts will use their friend's injection kit despite their knowledge of the person's HIV status:

I had people ask me for my needles and everybody knows that I am HIV positive. And I always tell everybody. So they know. If I turn my back people always try to steal my hit ... but people just don't care.

Sharing non-injection equipment, such as spoons or cookers described above, places many addicts at high risk of HIV or HCV infection. In addition, many participants report observing other risky behaviours, such as using puddle water for injection. As Michael suggests:

I have seen people take their water from the street, they take their cotton [filter] and take the water from the ground. Its filthy, It's horrible ... I know people that have got meningitis after using puddle water in Montreal.

Ringertz et al. (2000) also report the high prevalence of meningitis among the IDU population (p. 1574). In addition, according to Lurie, Gorsky, Jones and Shomphe (1998) and Lloyd-Smith et al. (2008), unhygienic injections as described above are a risk factor for cellulitis, subcutaneous abscesses, endocarditis, and soft-tissue infections. Therefore, having a supervised injection facility (SIF) would help reduce risky behaviours. As Stoltz et al.'s (2007) study has demonstrated, "more consistent SIF use is associated with positive changes in injecting practices, including less reusing of syringes, use of sterile water, [and] cooking/filtering [of] drugs" (p. 35).

### *Overdose*

The majority of participants indicated that they have either experienced an overdose or have witnessed an overdose. In the case of Alex, the overdose experience is a recent one:

Once a week there is an overdose, I overdosed quite a few times in one of these washrooms and there is nobody there to help you ... you basically slowly die without anybody noticing you.

Similarly, participants indicated that they have lost friends as a result of an overdose. Since the majority of IDUs are injecting drugs in secluded areas, such as bathrooms or behind dumpsters, no one is usually present to provide assistance to a user who has been overdosed. And, in most cases, an overdose in Montreal leads to death. IDUs do not have the knowledge or expertise to help someone in an overdose situation. Furthermore, IDUs do not have access to a cell phone or a public phone to call 911. For example, according to Mike:

OD risk and dying as a result in back alleys, washrooms and metro stations is the reality in Montreal. There is nobody to help you ... It's scary ... With the smack [heroin] don't let them sleep because if they sleep, they never going to wake up ... and I have lost a few friends to overdose and I hear about OD death in Montreal quite often ... beginning of last summer, I lost my best friend James to overdose.

Participants attributed overdose to the fear of police and risk of arrest. In effect, according to Michael, if addicts had a safe place to inject, they would have time to do a smaller dose that could ultimately prevent overdose death:

They do too much dope because they don't have a safe place to put their dope, so they do all their dope, y'know they don't want to have all their dope on them because the cops are busting and they end up ODing and dying as a result ...

I've seen one person who had a needle sticking out of his arm for three days stock in a back doorway of business sleeping outside and people where going by for three days without stopping to know whether he was OK or not. And It was by chance that I noticed that he was there and I pushed the person to see if he was OK and he was White as a sheet of a paper. He was dead with needle still stock in his arm and people left him there like he was a garbage bag.

Stoltz et al.'s (2007) study reported that opening a SIF results in fewer rushed injections. Marshall et al.'s (2011) study showed that overdose mortality was reduced after the opening of InSite in Vancouver. Overdose reductions are most notable in the vicinity of the facility with over a 35 percent reduction within 500 meters of InSite (Marshall et al., 2011). Moreover, people who overdose are at a greater risk of being victims of theft. For instance, according to Gary, overdose has been used as a method by some dealers to prey on the vulnerable IDU population by selling heroin to coke users to force an overdose:

They call it a hot cap, what they do is they're coke addict, but they sell them two points of smack [heroin], OD them, and take their welfare cheque out of their pocket. I know few people that have been murdered for few hundred welfare cheque. And when the police find them, they think that Oh it's just another junkie who ODeD.

Situations like the ones previously described demonstrate the need for a supervised injection location where trained staff and nurses would be available to assist overdose patients and to help reduce deaths associated with overdose. As Kerr et al. (2007) suggest, "SIFs can address many of the micro-environmental factors that drive overdose risk and limit individual ability to employ overdose prevention practices" (p. 37).



### *Landscape*

According to the IDUs participating in this study, public injection is a huge problem in Montreal. Participants indicated that they are forced to inject in public places because no other places are available to use. In fact, some of them, like Ruby, are ashamed that they have to inject under the watchful eyes of public:

Everybody injects outside in Montreal. Between Papineau and Saint-Laurent and Rene-Levesque and Sherbrooke it's the place for junkies to shoot because there are back streets everywhere. But ... we don't do it to cause trouble; we do it because we have no other safe place to go ... The biggest mistake God ever made was to create junkies.

Further, many of the participants indicated that they are forced to inject in public during extremely cold winters in Montreal. In the cold, according to Michael, many users freeze to death because they simply do not have a safe place to inject:

I know people that do their dope, fall sleep outside and they froze to death. Like I found one of my friend in a snow bank like that. So he did his hit of heroin he nodes, fall sleep, he froze to death. I am not fucking kidding. He literally froze to death. And it wasn't even the winter time. And this happens frequently in Montreal.

Many addicts, who are not willing to brace the cold, rely on metro stations and public washrooms to inject. However, injecting drugs in public washrooms can lead to rushed injection that may result in overdose. In addition, public injection can lead to police arrest. For instance, as Sam describes:

When you are in the washroom, you constantly worry if you're taking too long, people may be knocking on the door telling you to hurry up, you might even do a bigger wack. You might even miss. There is a chance of overdose too. You get paranoid ... I worry about getting caught. Like some of these people don't take no for an answer, they start banging on the door yelling, ... and they open the door and they see you off course with a needle sticking out of your arm and they all get scared and freak out, Ahhhhh and they go catch security, and then you get arrested.

Injecting in public, according to Stoltz et al. (2007), is a complex behaviour that increases environmental risk factors, such as rushed injections and the lack of sterile equipment and water. As a result, public injection has been shown to "increase risk for abscesses, syringe sharing, overdose, HCV infection and vein damage" (Stoltz et al., 2007, p. 38). Moreover, results demonstrate that "public injecting locations comprise a large network of alleyways, which are often unsanitary and constrain efforts to inject in a hygienic fashion" (Small, Rhodes, Wood, & Kerr, 2007, p. 27). In fact, as James suggested earlier, many addicts due to fear of being hassled by the police and business owners, are preoccupied with "hurrying and worrying" when injecting in public, leading to increased risk of overdose (Small et al., 2007). Furthermore, based on participants' narratives like Michael, people who inject in public are putting families and pedestrians at risk by leaving their discarded injectable equipment in public places such as parks and sidewalks:

It's disgusting, I see a lot people leaving their rigs behind every time they do a hit. They do their hit and they get all tweaked out, start looking around, start digging at something else and they forget about their shit and leave their stuff. And this is high risk because there are kids everywhere, people walking by. Who knows when a family is going to get out of their car and their toddler wonders off and falls on a needle.

Consequently, opening a SIF in Montreal would be beneficial since, according to Wood et al.'s (2004) study, the opening of the SIF "was independently associated with improvements in several measures of public order, including reduced public injection drug use and public syringe disposal" (p. 731). In addition, the opening of a SIF, according to Stoltz et al. (2007), would attract users who would otherwise be injecting in public spaces, such as parks or washrooms (p. 38).

### *Violence/discrimination*

The previous discussion has outlined the daily risks of being an IDU in Montreal, such as the risk of overdose, HIV/ HCV risk behaviour, public injection and the risks of discarded syringes. However, there are several other problems associated with being an IDU. Many of the participants reported being mistreated or denied medical attention in hospitals due to their addiction problem. As Gary explains:

Saint-Luc hospital, they just red flag you, they won't even treat you ... I had a stomach full of blood. Plus I was covered in blood and blood was dripping from my back, they still refused to treat me there ... just because I am an IV addict.

In addition to the mistreatment experienced in hospitals, which seems to be the daily reality of street life for many IDUs, police harassment is another factor in their daily lives. For instance, according to Alex:

Animals get more respect than us ... we are hassled all the time by police ... they give us tickets all the time just for standing somewhere, they call it loitering, blocking passage, it's like a hundred something a ticket. There is a guy that has eighty, [or] ninety thousand dollars in tickets.

Two studies from Russia and Ukraine (countries with one of the most severe epidemic of HIV/AIDS in Europe) demonstrated that police practices directly violated health and human rights. Arbitrary police practices also indirectly reproduce the social suffering of the most marginalized IDUs (Mimiaga et al., 2010; Sarang, Rhodes, Sheon & Page, 2010). Moreover, as James reports, police are very violent toward IDUs because of their drug using behaviour:

In Quebec it's really bad to be an IV user because the police ... [are] really violent towards addicts ... They're really aggressive ... and if the police catch you doing drugs in public places, they will hit you with their baton on the syringe to take it out of your control! It's really painful and then you get a ticket [interviewer: ticket for what?] For having consumed illicit drugs in public. I constantly worry about getting caught.

Kerr, Small and Wood (2005) and Small, Kerr, Charette, Schechter, and Spittal (2006a) report that many IDUs who are forced to inject in public, rush their injections during periods of escalated police activity, a practice that further increases risk of abscesses, vascular damage and infection (p. 85). A number of studies also suggest that police activity is associated with limited access to clean syringes, accidental syringe sharing, and low access to needle exchanges, all of which impact the level of discarded syringes in the community (Small et al., 2006; Aitken, Moore, Higgs, Kelsall, & Kerger, 2002; Calsyn, Saxon, Freeman, & Whittaker, 1991).

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

This study initially set out to examine factors that are contributing to the increased risks of morbidity and mortality in Montreal. The qualitative methods employed in this study, despite focusing on fewer cases, has produced a wealth of detailed information through careful description of events in the lives of IDUs. In fact, the findings reveal that the practice of sharing or borrowing needles is very common in Montreal. However, this practice has placed addicts at an increased risk of contracting HIV or HCV, thereby contributing to the recent increases in morbidity. Furthermore, many addicts are involved in risky injection behaviours, such as using puddle water for injection which increases the risk for meningitis, cellulitis, subcutaneous abscesses, endocarditis, and the occurrence of soft-tissue infections. Moreover, addicts in Montreal are at an increased risk of mortality when they are forced to inject in public washrooms or alleys. Many injection drug users are placing the public at risk by discarding their used needles in public parks, sidewalks and public washrooms.

IDUs are also facing discrimination in many hospitals in Montreal. IDUs in Montreal are also facing police brutality and harassment when they are involved in public injection. Increased police activity in Montreal and mistreatment of IDUs amplify the risks of engaging in public injections and rushed injections—a practice that further increases the risk of abscesses, vascular damage, infection and overdose (Small, 2006). Consequently, having a SIF in Montreal would help reduce risky behaviour since, according to Stoltz et al.'s (2007) study, “more consistent SIF use is associated with positive changes in injecting practices, including less reusing of syringes, use of sterile water, [and] cooking/filtering [of] drugs” (p. 35). Kerr et al. (2007) also note that a possible SIF in Montreal “can address many of the micro-environmental factors that drive overdose risk and limit individual ability to employ overdose prevention practices” (p. 37). According to Wood et al.'s (2004) study, the opening of a SIF in Montreal could also improve public order, reduce public injection drug use and improve public syringe disposal. This prediction is based on the same results observed after opening North America's first SIF. Additionally, the opening of a SIF, according to Stoltz et al. (2007), would be attracting users who would otherwise be injecting in public spaces such as parks or washrooms.

Vancouver was the first North American city to open its doors to a SIF. On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2011 the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of InSite remaining open (Andresen & Jozaghi, 2012). The experience of North America's first SIF convinced all the nine justices at the bench that such a service could help avert the spread of infectious diseases, such as HIV, and assist the entry of IDUs into detoxification programs and prevent overdose deaths (Jozaghi, 2012b). More importantly, the ruling included provisions for future expansions of similar SIFs in Canada.

Buoyed by the recent Supreme Court's ruling regarding InSite and seen as a way to reduce community cost and public health and fiscal impacts of injection drug use, the Quebec government has shown interest in opening up SIFs in Montreal (Andresen & Jozaghi, 2012). According to Quebec's Health and Social Services Minister, Yves Bolduc, SIFs “will offer services that will monitor the health of drug addicts and encourage them to seek detoxification and rehabilitation”

(Jozaghi, 2012b, p. 1). Health officials in Montreal have proposed three SIFs in the city in addition to a mobile SIF for hard to reach populations (Jozaghi, 2012b). Success of this program, according to Jozaghi (2012b), depends on locating SIFs in areas where drug users live and in settings that currently deal with high rates of public drug use, such as Cactus and Spectre de rue (existing NEP locations) that are located in the central and oldest part of Montreal and have the highest levels of socioeconomic disadvantage.

In summary, micro-environmental factors such as the lack of safe places to inject, inaccessibility of injection equipment and police discrimination seem to be among the most common contributing factors in the recent increases of HIV and HCV in Montreal. The increase in morbidity rates in Montreal has taken place despite Montreal's long lasting NEPs. The result in Montreal is very similar to Vancouver's HIV and HCV epidemic rates during the late 1990s and early 2000s; increases in the aforesaid infectious diseases in Vancouver convinced the provincial and the federal governments to try to implement North America's first and Only SIF. As a result, similar to Vancouver, there is a need to open a SIF in Montreal to reduce the recent increases in HIV and HCV rates within the IDU population. Implementing a SIF should be based on the goals of preventing infectious diseases, improving care and safety by reducing risky behaviours, and preventing drug overdose deaths, violence, public injection, and discarded syringes in public. The willingness to use a SIF in this study highlights an important opportunity to connect with a known high-risk drug user population.

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## Ghosts and Shadows: A History of Racism in Canada

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*A history of racism reinforces discrimination and exploitation of racialized immigrants in general and African-Canadians in particular. My paper contends that historically institutionalized structures are the ideological fulcrum from which ongoing socio-economic inequalities derive and retain their legitimacy. Specifically, I argue that the historically institutionalized system of slavery and ensuing systemic structures of racial discrimination negatively influence the incorporation of racialized immigrants into the Canadian labour market. A historically racially segmented labour market continues to uphold colour coded social and economic hierarchies. Although Canada's point system ensures that immigrants are primarily selected on the basis of their skills and qualifications, many professionally trained and experienced racialized immigrants endure perpetual socio-economic constraints, characterized primarily by low-end, precarious forms of employment. While not intended to serve as an exhaustive chronology, this essay draws on three historical periods of Black migration and experience in Canada: the first spans early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth-century, the second dates from the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, and the third extends from mid-twentieth century to the present. The following historical timeline traces the prevalence and enduring nature of systemic structures and substantiates Abigail Bakan's (2008) suggestion that both "racism and a culture of hegemonic whiteness were and remain endemic to the Canadian state" (p. 6).*

**Keywords:** Black history in Canada; systemic structures; labour market segmentation; racial discrimination

*Une histoire du racisme appuie le constat de la discrimination et de l'exploitation d'immigrants appartenant à des groupes raciaux en général et de Canadiens africains en particulier. Mon essai soutient que les structures historiquement institutionnalisées constituent le point de départ des inégalités socioéconomiques actuelles et prolongent leur légitimité. Plus précisément, je prétends que le système d'esclavage historiquement institutionnalisé et les structures systémiques de discrimination raciale qui en ont découlé ont nui à l'intégration sur le marché du travail canadien des immigrants appartenant à des groupes raciaux. Un marché du travail depuis toujours segmenté racialement renforce encore la hiérarchie économique et sociale fondée sur la couleur. Même si le système de points d'appréciation canadien fait en sorte que les immigrants sont choisis essentiellement sur la base de leur formation et de leurs compétences, de nombreux immigrants membres de groupes raciaux disposant d'une formation et d'une expérience professionnelles subissent de perpétuelles restrictions socioéconomiques, comme des emplois bas de gamme ou précaires. Cet essai ne prétend pas être une chronologie exhaustive, mais il décrit trois périodes historiques de la migration des Noirs et de leur expérience au Canada : la première époque s'étend du début du XVIe siècle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, la deuxième du XIXe siècle au milieu du XXe siècle et la troisième, du milieu du XXe siècle à maintenant. Cette chronologie témoigne de la prévalence et de la persistance des structures systémiques et appuie la suggestion d'Abigail Bakan (2008) selon laquelle « le racisme et une culture dominante blanche ont été et demeurent endémiques dans l'État canadien » (p. 6) [traduction libre].*

**Mots-clés :** Histoire des Noirs au Canada; structures systémiques; segmentation du marché du travail; discrimination raciale



## Introduction

...just as the battle against slavery was being won by abolitionists, the war against racism was being lost. The Negro was legally freed by the Emancipation Act of 1833, but in the British mind he was still mentally, morally and physically a slave (Stepan, as cited in Alexander & Glaze, 1996, p. 37).

This paper argues that the socio-economic marginalization of Black African immigrants in Canada can be attributed to the pervasiveness of historically prejudicial racial constructed categories. I employ an anti-racist theoretical framework to illustrate how the peripheral socio-economic locations occupied by Black people have long been shaped by the intersection of complex racialized, classed and gendered processes. This historical analysis is inspired by the prolific writings of authors such as Clairmont & Magill (1970), Tulloch (1975), Walker (1980), and Winks (1971; 1997) From this canon, narratives of African-Canadian experiences provide an invaluable opportunity to reflect on a people whose history, while mostly forgotten, lingers on as a significant determinant of individual prospects and social mobility. This essay is also motivated by the more recent literary work and critical scholarship of social science writers such as Abdi (2005), Bakan (2008), Cooper (2006), Creese (2011), Galabuzi (2006), Mensah (2010) and Tettey & Puplampu (2006) who persistently call attention to the growing social exclusion of racialized groups in Canada.

Findings in this analysis indicate that the structure of slavery, the legacy of racism, and the current processes of labour market de-regulation, reinforce deteriorating socio-economic circumstances for many racialized people. In other words, this essay attempts to establish a link between the old problems of imperialism and the emerging realities of racialized poverty, which I argue, continue to be shaped by neoliberal policies that increasingly normalize racialized labour markets in industries such as the service sector. Specifically, global neoliberal economic re-structuring practices, enshrined in privatization and deregulation policies within the areas of social reproductive provisioning such as child and elderly care, reveal intensified processes of racialization and feminization. This can be exemplified through state institutions such as Canada's federally enacted Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) – an immigration policy – which solicits racialized immigrant women for exploitative reproductive service work, whereby racialized foreign women provide the 'arduous labour of love' as care-takers and housekeepers in middle class Canadian homes and other home-care facilities. Given that the LCP immigration program is validated on the premise that these low status occupations are considered impossible to fill without foreign workers, the role of institutionalized state practices in providing and subsidizing the labour of immigrant women thereby reinforcing its devaluation is significantly worth mentioning.

It is hoped that this research will add to voices that have sought to tell of the history of Blacks in Canada that has largely been suppressed (see Compton, 2010; Cooper, 2006; Nelson, 2002; and, Winks, 1971) and in so doing, recuperate the agency of blackness. Throughout the following discussion, the concepts of 'racialized immigrants' and 'visible minorities' are used interchangeably to refer to those populations that were officially recognized as such, as defined in the Royal Commission Report on Equality and Employment in 1984 which led to the Employment Equity Act of 1986.

## Historical Background of Blacks in Canada

In *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, Robin Winks (1971) sets out to tell the story of Blacks—as settlers and transients—which, as he notes, has never been told in any satisfactory manner. Although Blacks, owing to slavery, were among the first non-indigenous residents of Canada, settling before the middle of the seventeenth-century, Winks points out that Canadian historians have generally not recognized the Black experience or how this is significant for the past and present. At best, such partial accounts distort collective consciousness, as they overstate certain histories (e.g. Canada's role as a place of refuge for formerly enslaved Africans), while making invisible the organized resilience of racialized Blacks. At worst, this misrepresentation completely obscures the active role of racialized people in the construction of the

Canadian state and disparages the agency demonstrated in their sustained political and social resistance against oppression.

Justifiably, the lack of a plantation economy may facilitate a misreading of Canada as a race-neutral space, supporting the sociocultural myth that the country was a place of refuge for enslaved Blacks coming from America and subsequently from Jamaica. That being said, although the practice of slavery in Canada was not as extensive as that in the United States or in the Caribbean, it was not, as those who have attempted to dismiss it claim, any 'milder' or 'easier' for those affected. Certainly, because agriculture has historically been of secondary economic importance due to the country's geographical positioning and unsuitable climatic conditions, the extent of slavery in Canada does not warrant the image of a huge cotton or sugar plantation worked by hundreds of slaves, drenched in blood and sweat as they endured constant whipping from the slave-drivers (Cooper, 2006). Nevertheless, Canada was a society that exploited the labour of formerly enslaved Africans.

Slavery was, Cooper explains, a legal and acceptable institution in both French and English Canada and was practiced extensively from 1628 to 1833. In New France, modern day Quebec, and later in British Canada for example, slaves were the property of a variety of individuals and corporations such as the Catholic Church, the nobility, lawyers, government officials, farmers, business people, soldiers and merchants. Among other responsibilities, it is commonly known that slaves worked in the farmland, as domestics, fixing women's hair, milking cows, and feeding chickens (Cooper, 2006). Enslaved Black women were also used as breeders to increase the slave population. While Aboriginal people, Africans, and their descendants were enslaved, Blacks were considered sturdier and appeared better able to withstand the physical demands of slavery: their average age of death was 25.2 years, compared to 17.7 years for Aboriginals (Cooper, 2006).

As French colonists settled and expanded their colonizing ventures in Canada, more Black slaves were brought in as the available labour force could not meet the demands created by the burgeoning economy (Abdi, 2005). This labour infusion was critical for the economic well-being of places such as Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic Provinces, namely New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Specifically, Black slaves were considered integral for the construction and building of major trading centers such as Halifax, which ironically became a leading center for the public auction of enslaved Blacks. Indeed, at this time, the sale of slaves was a feature of life in Canada, with the value of the slave property dependent on physical health, special aptitudes, age, sex, and other factors (Cooper, 2006).

Olivier Le Jeune, the first recorded Black slave – a nine year old boy from Madagascar – was, for example, sold for 50 livres in 1628. Marie-Joseph Angélique, the twenty-nine year old Portuguese-born Black slave woman who was tortured and hanged in 1734 had been sold for a barrel of gunpowder. Advertisements such as one depicting a certain Mr. Prenties who wanted to sell a Negro woman, who had with her a mixed race - or as was commonly referred to in those days 'mulatto' - child of 9 months old, is believed to have brought in a good price of up to 30 to 50 livres (*Quebec Gazette* February 23, 1769, as cited in Cooper, 2006). It is worth noting that the price of this slave woman with a child was higher because children born to slave-women, like their mothers, automatically became the property of the slaveholder. Also, the fact that this Black woman had with her a mixed-race child tells of a possible sexually abusive affair between a slave woman and her slave owner. As these examples unequivocally illustrate, presumptions that seek to portray Canada as a benevolent 'protector' of suffering Black 'slaves' from the United States and elsewhere are misplaced and deeply patronizing.

The widespread neglect of Black history produces, reproduces, and perpetuates stereotypical characterizations of Black people as invisible, dependent, and unskilled. For example, older Black women embodying the 'black mammy' stereotype, based on the service work that they are structurally confined to, are considered fitting for the unskilled labour of providing 'care' for others as maids or domestic service workers. Stereotyped as lazy, incompetent, aggressive and criminals, Black men on the other hand are considered unemployable social misfits. Disregarding the history of Black Canadian experience serves to facilitate racism under the guise of 'anti-racism' for which "the outcome can only be further efforts to marginalize people from participation in political, social, and cultural concerns that affect the entire society" (Saney, 1998, p. 78). Although race is now widely perceived to be a socially constructed and changing set

of social relations, it remains a Canadian-made reality and is often drawn upon to apportion rewards and privileges in social and economic status. For instance, non-racialized populations continue to be overrepresented in the primary labour market where they occupy secure professionalized positions and enjoy increased monetary and status rewards. Race-ism, the systemic and structural processes through which certain populations are marginalized, excluded, and disadvantaged based on physical categorizations and socially constructed ideologies, while scientifically unfounded 'feels,' in Bakan's (2008) words, to be 'meaningful,' thus sustaining the status quo. Race and racism therefore provide a coherent and institutionally supported systemization of who is imagined as part of a collective citizenry and who is excluded.

### **First Historical Period**

The first historical period of slavery spanned the early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. During this time, the first wave of Blacks comprised of servants, slaves, and indentured labourers, arrived in Canada. Although Olivier Le Jeune, the young boy from Mozambique, is believed to have been the first African to have been transported directly from Africa and sold as a slave in New France, the arrival of Matthew Da Costa in Nova Scotia in 1606 is considered to be the root of Black history in Canada (James, Este, Bernard, Benjamin, Lloyd & Turner, 2010). From the end of the seventeenth through to the eighteenth century, acute labour shortages prompted the importation of Blacks in significant numbers (Abdi, 2005; Mensah, 2010). The prosperity of the New England colonies was, for example, historically attributed to the prevalence of Black slave labour which in turn led to the demand for increased importation of enslaved labour.

Notably, although slavery had been abolished in France in the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, Jean Talon – the first administrative official of New France – persuaded King Louis XIV to permit the continued importation of Black slaves. As a result, the slave system was given full legal backing in New France, modern-day Quebec, and by 1709, nearly all respectable members of society depended on the labour of chattel slaves. As legal reinforcement, the New France militia was used to assist slave owners in retrieving runaway slaves, thus bringing the power of the state to bear in the enforcement of servitude. Slavery continued in Quebec even after the 1759 conquest that brought the region under British control. The 47<sup>th</sup> article of capitulation, signed after the fall of Montreal in 1760, not only guaranteed the widespread continuation of this oppressive system in British Quebec but also in other parts of the colony such as in the Maritime Provinces (Boyko, 1998; Cooper, 2006; James et al., 2010).

Although the first group of enslaved Blacks arrived to Canada in significant numbers in the 1750s, around the beginning of the American Revolution, their numbers are believed to have increased with the arrival of White Loyalists who were accompanied by their slaves. Similarly, there was also a wave of Black Loyalists who ran away from their masters to fight on the side of the British during the American War of Independence in exchange for the promise of land and wages (James et al., 2010). With the hope that their fighting would be instrumental in the delivery of their own freedom and the ultimate abolition of slavery, Blacks served as soldiers, general labourers, spies, entertainers, and domestic workers.

In the end, the promises of treatment equal to that of their White military comrades that were made to Black Loyalists in exchange for their services and sacrifices never materialized. Rather, Black slaves who had risked their lives and those of their families to escape horrifying cruelty in the American South were seen as people that could be easily manipulated and treated like stray animals neither to be returned to their owners in the South, nor welcomed as genuinely free and equal citizens in the North. For example, the British pledge of one-hundred-acre land grants to Blacks in places like Halifax, Nova Scotia, resulted in much smaller acreages filled with scrub and other non-arable margins rejected by White settlers (Alexander & Glaze, 1996; Galabuzi, 2006). Despite the pledge, about 60 percent of formerly enslaved and freed Blacks that had been promised full citizenship rights in Canada received no land whatsoever (Lampkin, 1985).

In comparison, White Loyalists were not only granted their preferential choices of land location but were also awarded land ranging from 15 to 150 acres (Boyko, 1998). Evidently, the privileging of land

grants was influenced by the prejudicial power of race rooted in and normalized throughout history. The discrimination of Blacks was not isolated to land but extended elsewhere such as in the proposal to surrender Black Loyalists as ransom for British prisoners held by Americans (Mensah, 2010). Black people were never welcomed as genuinely free and equal citizens in Canada but were viewed as legal property and easily disposable commodities. While the exclusion of Blacks was overt and standard practice in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, salient exclusionary practices in social, economic, and political spheres exist to date and continue to reinforce the historical marginalization of Black people in Canada.

Embedded in historically hegemonic ideologies, perceptions that historically portray Blacks as cheap and an expendable labour force perpetuate oppressive stereotypes and can further foster internalized racism which can be as destructive, if not more, as external forms of racial oppression. As James Walker's *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience* (1985) surmises, "... traditions established in slavery have resulted in a prescribed economic position for blacks ... as reflected in their social status ... fixed to the lowest level of the hierarchy" (cited in Alexander & Glaze, 1996, p. 34). Today, it is troubling that many African-Canadians are either unemployed or underemployed. Quintessentially, while almost all Africans in Canada can speak either one or both of Canada's official languages and are reported to be more likely to have university degrees (19% compared with 15% of the overall adult population), they are nonetheless more likely to be unemployed (Statistics Canada, 2001).

## Second Historical Period

From the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the second significant wave of Blacks entered Canada through the Underground Railroad. While no official data are available on the number of Black fugitives crossing into Canada, the Underground Railroad is declared a highly effective means by which many fugitive slaves reached British North America. Although enslaved Africans running from the American South were known to fight their oppressors by 'rebellious,' the Underground Railroad was an important means by which Blacks, as central agents of their own freedom struggle, resisted oppression (Bakan, 2008). The North Star, Bakan writes, remained the sole reference on the unwritten maps that fugitive slaves followed on their entire journey from the south to the north. In solidarity and camaraderie, abolitionists – free men and women, Black and White alike – risked their lives to stand beside fugitive slaves seeking refuge on British colonial soil. The assisted entry into Canada of fugitive slaves has been credited to organizations such as the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Quakers, and the American Baptist Free Mission Society (Abdi, 2005). On an individual level, Harriet Tubman, the woman dubbed 'Black Moses' was instrumental in arranging for the movement of people and is known to have provided accommodation to some of the refugees in St. Catharines, Ontario (Abdi, 2005; Boyko, 1998; Mensah, 2010). Other individuals included Alexander Ross, a White doctor from Ontario, who under the guise of studying birds, often travelled to the southern plantations to help slaves plan their escape by providing provisions and information on secret routes (Alexander & Glaze, 1996).

Additional instrumental 'conductors' of the Underground Railroad included Calvin Fairbanks who was imprisoned for freeing 1,300 slaves; Frederick Douglass, considered one of Black America's most influential abolitionists; Levi Coffin and William Still, the 'presidents' of the Underground Railroad. Other notable abolitionists included but were not limited to: Mary Shad, the first Black woman on the North American continent to found and edit a weekly newspaper, *The Provincial Freeman*, that called for slaves to escape to Canada, and John Brown, the White abolitionist who was tried for treason and hanged and has since remained a martyred symbol of the heroic fight against slavery (Bakan, 2008).

The Underground Railroad has therefore since been considered a defining moment in the making of Canada. It has given Canada a proud but nonetheless disingenuous reputation as a nation whose origin and early history is consistent with modern philosophical ideals of inclusivity and multiculturalism. However, in her analysis of the role of the Underground Railroad in the making of the Canadian state, Abigail Bakan pertinently challenges the widely-held but factually-inconsistent view of Canada as an anti-racist, anti-imperialist space. By disputing the morality of slavery, Bakan clarifies, Canadian ruling classes' opposition to the encroachment of US capitalism appears as less an altruistic motivation and more a means to "secure

a defined market for a specifically Canadian capitalist and imperialist accumulation project” ( 2008, p. 6). Simply put, enslaved fugitives were only considered safe in British North American colonies as a result of Canada’s strategic political and economic advancements, intended to secure a defined market for a capitalist and imperialist project. It was not, as common discourse stipulates, the outcome of Canada’s anti-racist and anti-imperialist stance. As such, Canada’s appearance as a place of refuge for runaway slaves was the product of politico-economic considerations that were intended to advance the country as a capitalist competitor. The industrial ruling class in British North American colonies tactfully and paradoxically used colonialism and anti-colonialism as contesting strategies by which they could expand and broaden their capitalist reach.

Transitioning from an empire-based monopoly trade and slave plantation labour concentrated in the Americas, British colonialism moved to a more productive and competitive phase of industrial capitalism premised on the concept of ‘free’ waged labour. The exploitation of waged labour was alluringly more profitable for imperialist industrial capital. Consequently, the British North America that was to be the ‘promised land’ of liberated slaves instead became a disputed space of classed and racialized interests. Canada’s transformation from a place that had vowed freedom and liberty for all, to a contested space organized around race and class ideologies made presumptive claims about the country’s opposition to racism and slavery as an institution both ironic and insincere. Although there was some physical freedom that accompanied the slaves’ escape to Canada, their full socio-economic and political rights did not materialize. Far from enjoying the rights and freedoms of a ‘promised land,’ emancipated slaves in Canada experienced discrimination which purportedly progressively worsened until there were widespread complaints of prejudicial experiences by the Blacks in Canada as had been for those in the United States. For example, Blacks faced segregated schools, restaurants, and theatres in Canada, as in the United States. Moreover, many Canadian counties made it illegal for Black people to run for office, sit in juries, purchase land or own business licenses. Hence, despite civil freedom in Canada, most refugees discovered upon arrival that they had exchanged one kind of insecurity for another. Owing to racism, poverty, and the notion of ‘freedom promised but not fulfilled,’ many Blacks returned to the US after the American Civil War and the Lincoln Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 (Bakan, 2008 and Mensah, 2010).

Of the former slaves who stayed, many settled in central and eastern Canada, especially Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, while some from the western US settled in the Prairie provinces and British Columbia. Not surprisingly, many of these provinces retained sociocultural and political acceptance of dehumanizing acts against Blacks. In particular, the Prairie governments, business establishments, and ordinary citizens were doing all they could to frustrate the existing Black communities and to prevent the influx of additional Blacks into the region. A case in point was Bruce Walker, the Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg, who admitted that the Canadian government was “doing all in its power through a policy of persuasion, to bar Blacks from Canada upon the broad ground of being undesirables” (Winks, 1997, p. 311). In a similar vein, efforts to frustrate and prevent the entry of Blacks into Canada evidenced through the resolutions passed by Boards of Trade in almost all Prairie towns and cities, essentially demanding the curtailment of Black immigration between 1901 and 1911 are noteworthy (Boyko, 1998). While some resolutions called for strict segregation, others went as far as demanding the immediate deportation of Blacks. The height of intolerance towards Blacks was particularly demonstrable when Blacks were all together banned from the Edmonton City Council in 1911 (Boyko, 1998). Given these harsh realities, any implicit suggestions to sanitize the suffering of Black experience in Canada (vis-à-vis the United States) are distasteful, as they minimize the human indignities of slavery, and fail to acknowledge that Black experiences in Canada included legalized segregation.

### **Third Historical Period**

The third wave of Black migration to Canada began from the mid-1960s and continues to the present. Until the 1960s, the Canadian government, determined to maintain an imagined White community preferred ‘desirable’ White immigrants, specifically those from Western Europe and the United States. Meanwhile, access was barred through exclusionary immigration policies for those considered ‘less desirable’ and

'undesirable'. The conventional wisdom in pre-1960s Canada was that Blacks in particular were physically, mentally, and morally inferior to Whites that their influx would potentially create social, cultural and political economic tensions between the races (Mensah, 2010). Furthermore, owing to similar racist concerns that characterized pre-World War II immigration policy, Black people were considered as both lacking the potential to assimilate into a fast-paced, competitive, capitalist society and were viewed to be woefully unsuited for Canada's climatic conditions (James et al., 2010; Satzewich & Liodakis, 2007).

The need to recruit skilled workers for the Canadian labour market, and to also address historically embarrassing episodes in the treatment of Black and other 'less desirables' led Canadian immigration, through the introduction of the point system in 1967, to purportedly treat and admit equally skilled professionals. Using the point system, prospective immigrants, irrespective of country of origin, race, or ethnic background, are evaluated on the basis of variables such as age, education, and occupational demands. To this end, the 2006 Census estimated that 5,068,100 individuals belonged to a visible minority group, a figure which accounted for 16.2% of Canada's total population, up from 13.4% in 2001 and 11.2% in 1996. According to recent Census estimates, nearly 1 in 5 Canadians are foreign born – the highest proportion since 1931 – with 200,000 to 300,000 new immigrants arriving in Canada yearly (Statistics Canada, 2008, p. 5). From these, South Asians were the largest visible minority group while Chinese and Blacks, respectively, counted as the second and third largest visible minority groups.

Within the ethno-cultural diversity in Canada, the Black population is representative of a relatively small but rising population. The rising growth is evidenced by records indicating that while the number of Blacks in 1961 was noted at 32,100 (0.2 % of the population), it grew to 34,400 in 1971, later increasing to 239,500 (1%) in 1981. By 1991, Blacks were numbered at 504,300 (1.9%) and 10 years later, their number was recorded to have risen up to 662,200 (2.2%) (Statistics Canada, 2001). Overall, during the 1970s, Black Canadians accounted for 5.8% of all immigrants (Opoku-Dapaar, 2006, p. 69 as cited in Creese, 2011, p. 20). This statistic climbed to 10.6% of all newcomers in the period from 2001 to 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007, p. 11).

Despite their growing numbers, however, Blacks immigrants in Canada are increasingly marginalized in terms of job opportunities, income, and occupational status. In particular, the number of Blacks in more secure forms of employment such as that within the primary labour market, where labour is defined as central to the formal economy (e.g. professionalized managerial work), is unrepresentative of the overall Black population. Rather, Blacks are overrepresented in the types of employment that are considered peripheral to the formal economy (e.g. care-related service occupations that are often characterized by little legislative protections and exploitative conditions). For example, only 7% of employed African-Canadians held management positions, compared with 10% of the overall labour force (Statistics Canada, 2001, p. 14). Black African immigrant labour force participants tend to be overrepresented in lower paying, contractual and 'flexibilized' work, generally categorized within the service sector. The occupations in this segment feature health care, manufacturing, and sales. As of 2001, statistics enumerated that 7% of all employed African-Canadians worked in the health sector, whereas this was the case for only 5% of all Canadian employees. At the same time, 10% of workers of African origin, versus 8% of the total Canadian workforce were employed in manufacturing jobs, while 26% of African workers compared with 24% of the overall workforce worked in sales or service jobs (Statistics Canada, 2001, p. 14).

Incomes of employed Africans were also reported to be considerably lower than those of the rest of the population. In 2000 for instance, African immigrants 15 years and over were assessed as having had an average income just under \$24,000, about \$6,000 less than the national figure. As a result of the relatively large proportion of low income earners among Africans, 39% had incomes considered to be below the official low-income cut-offs compared with 16% of the overall Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2001). While migration remains a reflection of global diversity, these statistics alarmingly indicate that in Canada, one's national and racial(ized) background continues to affect social mobility and quality of life.

Galabuzi (2006) suggests that neo-liberal economic restructuring practices have intensified processes of racialization, feminization, and sexism in the labour markets. As he argues, changes in liberal welfare economic markets have potentially led to increased economic, social, and political inequality of vulnerable men, women, and children. In Arat-Koc's (2006) and Calliste's (2000) discussions on social reproductive

work for example, economic restructuring processes have created further differences between women as (predominantly white) middle-class women in the West buy and constantly depend on the backbreaking work of immigrant women who (as previously mentioned in this essay), migrate as domestics and care-takers. Such patterns of economic restructuring reinforce the increase particularly of racialized women in gendered spaces. Thus, global economic restructuring has not only encouraged the informalization of economies and 'precarious work,' but has also "exacerbated previous fissures of racial inequality based on systemic discrimination" (Galabuzi, 2006, p. 10). Consequently, although legal racism and forced exclusion has been neutralized, African-Canadians continue to face systemic and institutional discrimination that is subtle in form, but constraining in effect (Laryea & Hayfron, 2006).

## Conclusion

As this paper argues, the historic development of Canadian capitalist economy and society laid the foundation for the policies of slavery and labour market processes that encourage the persistence of highly deleterious terms of socio-economic incorporation of Blacks, as well as other racialized immigrants. Fundamentally, the historical structures of racial discrimination influence the incorporation of racialized immigrants into the Canadian labour market, leading to a labour market hierarchy that is stratified along colour codes (Porter, 1965). In earlier periods of immigration, despite their qualifications, potential immigrants who were considered 'less desirable' could only work within other people's households, or as manual laborers in fields, factories and transportation industries.

Specifically, during the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, at the time of their first historical migration to Canada for instance, Blacks in places such as Quebec and Nova Scotia were limited to working as soldiers, general labourers, spies, entertainers, and domestic workers. Following this, in the period between nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, when the second significant wave of Blacks entered Canada through the Underground Railroad, increased reports on exploitation and prejudice experienced by Blacks persisted, despite the perception that these fugitives were entering the 'promised land'. In this period, many Canadian counties and cities such as Winnipeg made it illegal for Black people to run for office, sit in juries, purchase land or own business licenses. While immigration policy reforms during the third wave of Black migration to Canada, beginning from the mid-1960s to the present, are considered more tolerant through their facilitation of larger numbers of racialized immigrants, Blacks in Canada continue to be marginalized in terms of job opportunities, income, and occupational status. Specifically, the numbers of Blacks in more secure forms of employment remains minimal and unrepresentative of the overall Black population. Instead, Blacks continue to be overrepresented in the types of employment that are considered peripheral to the formal economy (e.g. care-related service occupations that are often characterized by little legislative protections and exploitative conditions).

In the present time, Blacks, along with other racialized immigrants, mostly selected on the basis of their skills and qualifications, are positioned at a level within the social structure that "'peripheralizes' them and constrains their capacity for structural transformation" (Tettey & Puplampu, 2006, p. 14). Often, they end up in sectors with largely casualized employment and low-end jobs. Indeed, as John Porter aptly affirmed, "the Canadian terrain is still, overall, rife with situations where ethnic and racial considerations determine employment and the concomitant advancements that result from it" (Cited in Abdi 2005, p. 56). The persistence of racial biases and discrimination as experienced by Blacks in Canada highlights the enduring influence of an institutionalized system of slavery and systemic racism. Although absolute slavery is arguably no longer practiced in Canada, the effects of institutionalized racism where Blacks are perceived as an incompetent, inferior, and exploitable labour force lingers on in subtle, but not any less meaningful ways. Recognizing the persistence of historically institutionalized systems of slavery and racism, and acknowledging the Black experience, are crucial starting points in fostering a meaningful post-racial society.

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## Transforming the Legacy of Indian Residential Schools in Canada into a Public Issue: A Critical Analysis of Michael Burawoy's Public Sociology

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*The Canadian government designed Indian residential school (IRS) system to assimilate Indigenous children into European settler society by dispossessing them of their cultures, languages and traditions. By severing the children's ties to families and communities, and thus integrating them into Euro-Canadian society, the Crown sought to gain control of Indigenous lands (Miller, 2000). In the schools, which were run by church officials, many children died of neglect and diseases and often faced various other injustices perpetrated by staff, including physical, emotional, cultural, and sexual abuse. (Milloy, 1999). Although the last school was closed in 1996, IRS left behind a devastating legacy characterized by sexual and physical abuse in Indigenous communities, substance abuse, loss of Indigenous languages, over-representation of Indigenous people in correctional facilities, and others. Until recently, these were considered to be private issues. However, the growing body of evidence demonstrates that IRS were responsible for the negative impacts and the government and churches were compelled to recognize the damage done. This article explores Michael Burawoy's (2005) four types of sociology (policy, critical, professional, and public) and assesses the relative contributions of each type in the process of transforming "private troubles" of the IRS legacy into "public issues." The main thesis of the article is that each type of sociology, with varying degrees of success, promotes the recognition of the injustices inflicted by IRS. The article concludes that Burawoy's sociology possesses its strengths and weaknesses in identifying private troubles as public issues.*

**Keywords:** sociology; public sociology; residential schools; aboriginal.

*Le gouvernement canadien a conçu des pensionnats autochtones (PA) pour assimiler les enfants indigènes dans la société des colons européens en les dépossédant de leurs cultures, langues et traditions. En rompant les liens de l'enfant avec ses familles et communautés, et donc en les intégrant dans la société euro-canadienne, la Couronne a tenté de prendre le contrôle des terres autochtones (Miller, 2000). Dans les écoles, qui ont été dirigées par les responsables de l'église, plusieurs enfants sont morts suite à des négligences et des maladies et ont souvent fait face à diverses injustices commises par le personnel, y compris des abus physiques, émotionnels, culturels, et sexuels. (Milloy, 1999). Bien que la dernière école ait été fermée en 1996, les PA ont laissé derrière eux un héritage dévastateur caractérisé par des abus physiques et sexuels dans les communautés autochtones, la toxicomanie, la perte des langues autochtones, la surreprésentation des peuples autochtones dans les établissements correctionnels et autres. Jusqu'à récemment, ces conséquences ont été considérées comme des questions privées. Toutefois, un nombre croissant de preuves démontre que les PA ont été responsables de ces impacts négatifs et le gouvernement et les églises ont été obligées de reconnaître les dommages causés. Cet article explore les quatre types de sociologie (2005) de Michael Burawoy (académique, critique, experte et publique) et évalue les contributions relatives de chaque type dans le processus de transformation des « problèmes personnels » de l'héritage des PA en « questions d'intérêt public. » La thèse principale de l'article est que chaque type de sociologie, avec divers degrés de succès, encourage la reconnaissance des injustices infligées par les PA. L'article conclut que la sociologie de Burawoy possède ses forces et ses faiblesses dans l'identification des problèmes personnels comme des problèmes publics.*

**Mots-clés:** sociologie, la sociologie publique; pensionnats; autochtones.

Recent scholarship on reparations for the legacy of Indian residential schools (IRS) has focused on assessing the mechanisms of redress and their potential to repair the harm done. The goal of this paper is to adopt a critical approach that examines the role of public sociology in the process through which “private troubles” arising from IRS injustices attained public and political dimensions, which compelled the recognition of IRS experiences. In doing so, I pose the question, “How has the legacy of IRS, (which is characterized by increased rates of violence in Indigenous communities, substance abuse, suicide, and many other dysfunctions) come to be viewed as the result of IRS?” To answer this question, I will employ Michael Burawoy’s four types of sociology: public, professional, policy, and critical. Through these four types I will consider their relative strengths and weaknesses (or “legitimacies” and “pathologies, as Burawoy calls them) and the contributions of each type of sociology to the process of “publicization” of the residential school legacy. According to Burawoy, each type of sociology has a public face, and can be considered to contribute “at least potentially ... to the transformation of private troubles into public issues” (O’Connor, 2006, p. 8).

## **Background**

The Canadian government established the IRS system in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the goal of assimilating Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian society. The schools were designed to function as “total institutions” and sought to isolate the children from the influence of their families and home communities (DeGagné, 2001). IRS were run by the churches (Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, and Presbyterian) and sought to strip away the children’s cultural identities, including the languages, customs, and traditions. One of the goals of IRS was to proselytize the children, teach them English or French, and to provide them with basic skills that would allow them to function successfully in a settler society (Miller, 1996). In IRS, the children encountered various types of abuse, including physical, sexual, cultural, and psychological. The horrific living conditions in the schools caused many children to die of neglect and diseases (Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003; Haig-Brown, 1988).

Although the last residential school closed its doors in 1996, the IRS system left behind an appalling legacy, which includes “increased violence, increased suicide rates, increased substance abuse, and increased family disintegration” in Indigenous communities across Canada (Smith, 2009, p. 30; Grant, 1996). Many Indigenous languages, customs, and traditions became extinct as a result of IRS. Recognizing the impact of IRS, many survivors launched civil suits against the Canadian government and churches to seek redress for the legacy of IRS and the abuse and neglect that took place in residential schools (Smith, 2007). Faced with an overwhelming number of lawsuits that threatened to bankrupt the government and churches, the accused parties offered apologies that sought to acknowledge the impact of IRS. However, the apologies failed to satisfy survivors’ needs for justice due to the perceived lack of sincerity and acknowledgement of the harm done (O’Connor, 2000; Younging et al., 2009).

In response to the apparent failure of these apologies to bring an end to the lawsuits against the federal government, various mechanisms of redress have been established. These include an Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) process and the 2006 *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement* (IRSSA). The latter consisted of a three-pronged approach: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), commemoration initiatives, and compensation payments for survivors. Although the complicity of the government and churches in IRS injustices has been thoroughly documented (through the reports released by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) and affirmed by successful lawsuits brought forward by IRS survivors) it is important to examine the processes through which the legacy of IRS ceased to be viewed as a problem of individual survivors and began to be considered a systemic, public, and political issue.

## **Making the Private Public**

According to Pamela O'Connor (2000), for many decades, the legacy of IRS has been categorized as what Pat O'Connor (2006) calls "private troubles" (p. 6). That is, the negative consequences of IRS were not considered products of the residential school experiment, but instead viewed as isolated, individualized cases of abnormalities among former IRS students (Stout & Kipling, 2003). For example, family dysfunction, higher-than-national crime rates and instances of sexual abuse in Indigenous communities, and increased suicide rates among former IRS students have historically been attributed to individual survivors, and not as the outcomes of residential schooling (Hodzic, 2011). The transformation of these "private troubles" into "public issues" began once the connection between IRS experiences and their legacy was made abundantly clear by the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) Report. The report covered "a vast range of issues," including the evidence of the damage done by the residential school system, and provided recommendations to the federal government on how to rebuild the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (United Nations, 2009, p. 4). Although many of the report's recommendations were never implemented, it prompted a paradigm shift that consisted of lifting the blame from the victims of residential schooling and fostering an understanding of the IRS legacy as the product of the colonial project, thereby transforming the IRS legacy into a public issue (IRS TRC, 2008).

Before interrogating the process of recognition of the legacy of IRS as a public issue and problematizing it as a private trouble, one must begin by reviewing the reasons why it has historically been considered a private trouble. O'Connor (2006) argues that the issue of power constitutes the foundation for a process in which certain private troubles, and not others, tend to become public issues. In her analysis of patriarchy in Irish society, she suggests that societal relations between men and women become ingrained in a hierarchy. This "bias, [which] is taken for granted ... is seen as natural and inevitable," and produces and reproduces gender inequality (p. 7). In her view, this effectively precludes certain private troubles from taking on the public face.

A similar argument can be applied to the issue of the legacy of residential schooling. More precisely, one could argue that the perceived superiority of European cultures and Eurocentrism have long been used by the Canadian government as a mechanism to justify the oppression of the less powerful Indigenous Nations. Socially, economically, and politically disadvantaged, Canada's Indigenous peoples have historically been unable to challenge the unequal power relations that exist between them and the settler government (Episkenew, 2009). However, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century has seen a power shift in favour of Indigenous peoples that ensures that the residential school legacy will no longer remain masked as private troubles. Policy sociology provides a partial account of this shift by considering the factors that contributed to the publicization of the IRS experience.

## **Policy Sociology**

Burawoy's (2005) policy sociology is "sociology in the service of a goal defined by a client" who is typically located outside academia (p. 9). Policy sociology's focus can be broad or issue-specific, and its legitimacy lies in its ability to solve clients' problems effectively. Its pathology, on the other hand, is its servility to the client's will. The clients of policy sociology are represented by a diverse range of groups and may include interest/lobby groups, government organizations, or private individuals. As Burawoy points out, policy sociology's clients may possess specific defining membership characteristics or be intentionally inclusive. To exercise its problem solving ability, policy sociology employs instrumental knowledge; that is, it draws on an existing body of knowledge within sociology to come up with solutions. For example, according to Baker et al. (2004), policy sociology can have an impact on government policy by providing solutions or recommendations, as well as serve as a "vital tool for keeping the state publically accountable" (p. 170). Jonathan Turner (2005), a strong advocate of policy sociology, believes that it is its ability to be employed as a tool for "social engineering" that makes it the single most influential type of sociology (p. 39).

In the process of the “publicization” of the legacy of residential schools, policy sociology’s contribution can be considered in terms of its potential to raise awareness and demonstrate the systemic nature of problems that survivors, their families, and communities are currently facing. Arguably, the two distinct publics that are the key stakeholders in this struggle are IRS survivors and the Assembly of First Nations (Canadian Bar Association, 2005). The broader goal that guides the actions of these publics (clients) is to hold the Canadian government and churches accountable for the implementation and maintenance of the residential school system (Assembly of First Nations, 2004). To achieve this goal, the stakeholders rely on the expertise supplied not only by policy sociologists, but also legal scholars, criminologists, Native studies researchers, and political scientists engage with these policies. The ultimate goal is to put pressure on the federal government and to compel it to recognize and adequately respond to the legacy of residential schools. By working together in an interdisciplinary manner or within their respective disciplines, the objective of the scholars is to advance the interests of their clients. In order for its strategies to be effective, policy sociology must possess a clear goal and purpose, and in the case of IRS, to ensure that survivors and their communities are on the path to healing, peace, and justice.

One of the ways in which policy sociology can serve its publics in the context of the residential schools is by providing the evidence that substantiates the claims that IRS have had a profound detrimental impact on the lives of survivors, their families, and communities. Monchalin (2009), for example, argues that the damage done by the residential schools is apparent in intergenerational problems that are reflected in the “high rates of both victimization and offending” among Indigenous populations (p. 1; see also Grant, 1996). As well, assimilationist practices of the Canadian government led to higher-than-national rates of arrests, convictions, and imprisonment of Indigenous peoples (LaPrairie, 1999). Furthermore, by depriving Indigenous peoples of their languages, customs, and traditions, the schools have contributed to “cultural marginality,” which often resulted in shorter-than-national life-span among Indigenous peoples, increased rates of alienation on reserves, and high suicide rates (Waldram, 2009). Cindy Blackstock (2008), in turn, argues that in addition to family dysfunction that resulted in “higher rates of incidence of physical and emotional harm,” the current rates of Indigenous children in care of child and family services are much higher than those of non-Indigenous children (p. 167).

The evidence of IRS abuse and neglect is also striking. John Milloy (1999), for example, argues that the death rates among residential school students were as high as 69 percent, and around 42 percent of children died shortly after “being sent home when they became critically ill” (Smith, 2009, p. 9). Furthermore, the evidence indicates that many children were physically, sexually, and psychologically abused in residential schools and the majority of perpetrators were church officials and school staff (Miller, 1996). Milloy (1999) notes that the rates of sexual abuse were such “that eight out of ten girls under eight years of age were victims of sexual abuse, and five out of ten boys were also sexually abused” (p. 298). In her paper, Andrea Smith (2009) observes that IRS students, who later become parents, encounter serious difficulties in transmitting traditional Indigenous values and knowledge to their children.

In addition to supplying evidence, the pragmatic nature of policy sociology also necessitates a search for solutions that would address the clients’ problems. In the context of residential schools, scholars such as Pamela O’Connor (2000) and Alfred Taiaiake (2009) argue that in order to begin to address the legacy of IRS, the government must provide reparations to residential school survivors. Criminal justice scholars such as Elizabeth Kiss (2000) point out that in the cases of human rights violations, formal admissions of responsibility such as an apology and acknowledgements of the harm done may play a therapeutic role for victims. Similarly, traditional justice expert Martha Minow (1998) adds that an apology could serve as one of the critical steps that “officials can take to promote reconciliation and healing in the context of political and interpersonal violence” (p. 114). On the other hand, restorative justice scholars such as Strang and Braithwaite (2001) caution that other types of reparations, namely monetary compensation, must be coupled with an apology in order to demonstrate that the apology is not simply “empty words” or “lip-service.” While there may be a multiplicity of possible strategies that seek to begin to provide redress for the IRS legacy, they all carry the same goal, which is to ensure that the government is held accountable for its actions.

Overall, policy sociology appears to be an effective mechanism that influenced the process of recognition and publicization of the residential school legacy, which in turn helped to remove the negative stigma from former students for the difficulties they are currently facing in their lives. By utilizing the indisputable evidence of the abuse that took place in residential schools, Indigenous political groups, such as the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), were able to demonstrate the harm done by the Federal government and churches. The indigenous political groups were also able to compel these parties to provide reparations for the residential school experience (Castellano et al., 2008). However, it is important not to forget the impact of Indigenous grassroots organizations on the process of recognition of the IRS legacy.

Indigenous non-government organizations such as the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) and 1000 Conversations played a role in raising awareness of and lobbying for the impact of IRS injustices (NWAC, 2011). In addition, First Nation Child and Family Caring Society (FNCFCFS) regularly publishes reports and journal articles that demonstrate the ways in which the legacy of IRS is producing negative consequences for Indigenous children, families, and communities (FNCFCFS, 2012). Policy sociologists have been able to draw on the evidence produced by these organizations to promote the recognition of the IRS legacy. On the other hand, controversial movements such as Hidden from History and International Tribunal into Crimes of Church and State (ITCCS) have been widely criticized by Indigenous peoples, leaders, and academics across Canada for misrepresenting the IRS legacy and for equating it with the Holocaust (Diamond, 2011; Annett, 2010).

Although policy sociology often provides solutions to clients' problems by providing and justifying potential solutions, its ability to produce meaningful societal change is limited by its dependence on the clients' agendas (O'Connor, 2006). More specifically, it lacks reflexive knowledge, which Burawoy (2005) defines as "[the knowledge that] is concerned with a dialogue [between academics and publics] about ends" (p. 11). In the case of the residential school legacy, the problems defined by the public (the AFN, survivor groups, etc.) were narrow in scope in that it sought to redress *only* the consequences of residential schooling. The limited objectives of this agenda leave untouched the broader colonial forces that gave rise to the residential school system. Thus, by focusing only on the residential school experiences, policy sociology effectively ignores the systemic nature of harms that colonialism produced and continues to produce. This selectivity narrows the discussion of harms and inequalities that Indigenous peoples suffer in the areas of health care, politics, child welfare, education, and others (Alfred, 2009). This inherent pathology of public sociology could lead to what Gregg Olsen (2002) refers to as non-decision making that signifies the creation of boundaries around the debate by selectively introducing some issues, while leaving others out of consideration.

A second, and related, challenge that policy sociology faces is concerned with its lack of normative valence (Burawoy, 2005). That is, policy sociology is unable to determine and assess the direction of agendas that its clients put forth and to ensure that the clients' goals have, in fact, been achieved. In other words, policy sociology does not have an evaluative function that would allow it to conduct a normative appraisal of the clients' objectives nor does it ensure that the end result is, in fact, desirable for the clients (Brym & Nakhaie, 2009). For example, policy sociology is unable to measure how effectively the legacy of residential schools is addressed through the solutions that policy sociology proposes. The provision of an apology to IRS survivors, the implementations of the IRSSA, and the establishment of the TRC may all be goals of the clients of policy sociology. However, the question that it may be unable to answer is, will these mechanisms adequately address the legacy of IRS?

Despite its apparent limitations, policy sociology appears to make a significant contribution to the transformation of private troubles arising from the legacy of residential schools into public issues. Now the question becomes, in what ways does professional sociology promote the recognition of the IRS legacy as a public issue?

### **Professional Sociology**

According to Burawoy (2005), professional sociology informs sociological approaches by supplying "true and tested methods, accumulated bodies of knowledge, orienting questions, and conceptual frameworks"

(p. 10). Professional sociology consists of “well established ... multiple intersecting research programs” and constitutes *sine qua non* of policy sociology by “providing [it with] both legitimacy and expertise” (Burawoy, 2005, p. 10). Its research programs generate empirical, scientifically-derived knowledge and invest it with a puzzle-solving ability. The main audience of professional sociology is the academic community, which includes students (O’Connor, 2006). The public faces of professional sociology appear when academic knowledge produced by professional sociology is disseminated by scholars and made accessible to the public. Like policy sociology, professional sociology produces instrumental knowledge, and its pathology is self-referentiality (Brym & Nakhaie, 2009).

Although the knowledge generated by professional sociology is intended mainly for the academic audience, it has sometimes been employed by groups outside academia to achieve their objectives. For example, Indigenous justice and self-determination movements in Canada have been making use of various sociological theories and methods (including power resource theories, critical theories, and stratification theories, as well as qualitative/quantitative research methods) to politicize their goals (Delgado, 2001). These include claims to Indigenous sovereignty, opposition to systemic discrimination, and the impetus for establishing culturally appropriate justice systems in Indigenous communities (Iverson et al., 2000). Here, we can see the overlap between the public faces of professional and policy sociologies (although it should be noted that the knowledge produced by policy sociology is “concrete [as] required by policy clients,”) whereas professional sociology’s knowledge is meant to develop research programs within the discipline (Burawoy, 2005, p. 16).

Given its potential to promote the legitimacy of sociology, professional sociology has been slow to respond to the paradigm shift around the discourse of the legacy of residential schools. Let us consider the case of the Canadian Sociological Association (CSA), which has been producing the Canadian Review of Sociology (CRS) since 1964 that publishes academic articles which discuss contemporary issues in Canadian society. Among the publications are articles that address the problems that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples are facing. These often include income and educational inequalities, contemporary political struggles, health and well-being outcomes among Indigenous populations, and others (Dyck, 1997; Bischooping & Fingerhut, 1996). However, the CRS has attracted only a small number of articles analyzing the legacy of IRS and its connection to the systemic nature of harms that survivors and their communities are experiencing as the result of residential schooling. Thus, the journal has not significantly contributed to the identification of the IRS legacy as a public issue. The CSA has also published the second edition of its reader, *Reading Sociology: Canadian Perspectives* (2011), which include some chapters that discuss Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but none of its content directly addresses the legacy of residential schooling.

In addition to the CSA publications, it is also important to examine the research programs within professional sociology and their focus on the IRS legacy. Theories of internal colonialism inform professional sociological approach and identify the cultural sites at which colonization had a negative impact on the lives of Indigenous peoples (Gartrell, 1986). They locate the IRS system as one of the mechanisms that was established to oppress and subjugate Indigenous Nations in Canada (Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003). The theory posits that the IRS system was remarkably successful at dispossessing Indigenous children of their cultures, values, and traditions, and producing communities stricken by poverty, crime, and spiritual emptiness. Thus, the internal colonialism approach situates systemic issues as one of the root causes of the dire situation that Indigenous peoples find themselves in the post-IRS era.

In addition to building theoretical frameworks, professional sociology demonstrates reflexivity by identifying the academic research programs within sociology that have historically led to the marginalization and colonization of Indigenous research. In their work, Wilson (2008), Kovach (2009), and Brown and Strega (2005) discuss the contexts in which Indigenous peoples have predominantly been subjects of academic research rather than active participants. They suggest that the methodologies that have traditionally been used to study Indigenous issues have been characterized by positivist approaches and qualitative/quantitative dichotomies, as opposed to traditional Indigenous knowledge systems. Brown and Strega (2005) argue that this type of research, or any type of mainstream sociological research, fails to incorporate the anti-colonial elements that are required to challenge the basis of oppression upon which

Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations have been built in the past. Brown and Strega (2005) go on to point out that much of the current research involving Indigenous peoples is characterized by methodological hierarchies that make minimal contribution to stimulating the debates around the hegemonic nature of mainstream social research, while “quantitative research [in social sciences]...continues to be the gold standard for social science research” (p. 8).

Shawn Wilson (2008) offers a contrasting, yet complementary insight into traditional research methodologies in professional sociology. He argues that historically, research involving Indigenous peoples sought to examine only those issues that it saw relevant to its ideologies, as opposed to being guided by the moral and ethical principles. He calls for more participation of Indigenous researchers in studying the issues relevant to Indigenous populations. However, by making a case for greater participation of Indigenous researchers, Wilson assumes that Indigenous researchers would conduct research that is drastically different from that carried out by non-Indigenous scholars. What he does not take into account is that much of Indigenous knowledge has been transformed in the process of colonization. As Kovach (2009) argues, for example, there have been various attempts within academic institutions to compartmentalize Indigenous research into the qualitative research category. Additionally, Indigenous researchers are forced to conduct their studies within broader frameworks of mainstream theories, knowledge, and methodologies. To step outside of these frameworks is to risk losing legitimacy and as Wilson (2008) puts it, “Indigenous peoples are held down by [Western] research and the dominant view of knowledge and the world is upheld” (p. 17). Although the “new wave” of Indigenous research has increased its academic presence since the 1970s, it reached a decolonizing phase beginning in the early 1990s.

Indigenous knowledge and research methodologies have been met with resistance and obstacles in Canadian academic institutions for various reasons. First, there seems to be general confusion within academia with regard to implementation strategies and the introduction of an Indigenous research paradigm into the existing (Western) research programs (Kovach, 2009). To overcome this challenge, Canadian academic institutions would be required to begin to recognize and accept Indigenous research programs as legitimate modes of knowing and knowledge production. Secondly, Western academia would need to be reflexive and acknowledge the “historical influence of Indigenous-settler relations on educational policy” (Kovach, 2009, p. 157). To date, academic institutions in Canada have been somewhat resistant to change the existing educational order and incorporate Indigenous research paradigms alongside mainstream research programs.

In Canada, professional sociology, and its research programs in the context of the transformation of the IRS legacy into public issues are weak. While the interest in emerging Indigenous research and knowledge production is growing, it is too soon to ascertain whether they will receive the necessary recognition and acceptance from mainstream educational institutions in order to be deemed legitimate. Professional sociology’s pathology of self-referentiality plays a significant role in keeping its focus mainstream and resisting the introduction of new research programs. It often fails to challenge the taken-for-granted validity of theories and methods that it supplies and their applicability to studying the residential school legacy. In contrast, critical sociology attempts to introduce change into the existing research programs and to produce alternative ways of conducting research.

### **Critical Sociology**

Critical sociology performs an innovative and dynamic function within the discipline by interrogating the existing values of professional sociology and by “promoting new research programs built on alternative foundations” (Burawoy, 2005, p. 10). The main goals of critical sociology are to compel mainstream/traditional sociologists to re-examine and re-think social problems by applying creative sociological perspectives, which are markedly different from those supplied by professional sociology, and to foster a debate between and within the existing research programs. As a corollary, the audience of critical sociology is primarily academic, although Burawoy (2005) argues that in some cases, it engages with and even serves the public. Burawoy (2005) also suggests that critical sociology is the conscience of professional sociology, while its legitimacy is its moral vision. Normative valence drives it to create “what



can crudely be described as a ‘better world’” (O’Connor, 2006, p. 11). Critical sociology generates reflexive knowledge that is achieved through a dialogue between intellectuals within sociology and to a lesser extent, between intellectuals and the public. Burawoy (2005), however, identifies critical sociology’s pathology as dogmatism.

In the context of the residential school legacy, critical sociology attempts to establish new research programs by posing questions such as, “What are the inadequacies of current research programs in sociology that consider the legacy of IRS?” and “How can these programs be revised to become more responsive to the research needs of Indigenous peoples?” Being acutely aware of the systemic factors that are responsible for the subordination of Indigenous Nations throughout colonization, critical sociology seeks to transform professional sociology’s current research programs (Battiste & Henderson, 2009). Critical sociology problematizes the existing mainstream/traditional research programs by exposing the settler values and ideologies that form their foundations. For example, critical sociology attempts to introduce Indigenous concepts of “healing,” “justice,” and “peace” into Indigenous research projects (Smith, 1999). The implementation of these elements may initially prove difficult for Western research programs to accept, conceptualize, operationalize, and evaluate. Thus, there is a need for critical sociology to continue to interrogate values, traditions, and principles on which Western research is currently premised. In her work advocating decolonization in Indigenous research, Kovach (2009) notes that to date “there has been little systemic shift in the ideology of knowledge production” (p. 28). For Smith (1999) and Kovach (2009), decolonizing methodologies is a critical step in the process of challenging Euro-Canadian hegemony that has historically guided the research in the area of residential schools.

One of the tools available to critical sociologists for the study of the legacy of IRS is critical race theory (CRT). Among the questions that CRT poses are those related to “interpret[ation], prioritiz[ation], and own[ership of] research products and research” that is conducted to study issues related to Indigenous populations (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 7). Critical sociology scholars point out that decolonization of Indigenous research represents one of the ways in which Indigenous peoples and their communities may be empowered to overcome the continuing Western/settler subordination and subjugation. By examining the current Indigenous research programs through the lens of critical sociology and CRT in particular, it is apparent that they have traditionally been established predominantly on Western “classification, representation, and evaluation” (Smith, 1999, p. 43). More specifically, this type of research can be described as uni-cultural or uni-traditional and driven by European values, thereby instilling an imperialistic/colonial bias that would serve as an obstacle to the transformation of private troubles into public issues. Critical sociology argues that by employing these research methodologies and theories, traditional sociologists as researchers run the risk of conceptualizing the legacy of IRS through a Eurocentric lens. For example, Smith (1999) argues that even the definitions of individuals and society, as well as time and space, are conceptualized in Indigenous cultures differently from how they are defined in Euro-Canadian society.

By applying reflexive knowledge, critical sociologists are able to generate new research programs that are based on alternative conceptual and theoretical frameworks. Indigenous healing programs represent some of the models that have recently been gaining momentum within Western research programs seeking to address the legacy of the residential schools. Although certain aspects of the healing programs (many of which are offered by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation) have been developed through negotiations with Health Canada, they are often considered to be inspired by Indigenous justice and healing traditions and seeks to promote the recognition of the harm done by residential schools to individuals and communities (Brasfield, 2001). They are also considered by many Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars as potential sources for decolonization, transformation, and socio-political change (Castellano et al., 2008). Although the main goal of critical sociology is to promote a debate within the discipline, it helped to stimulate the extra-academic discussion of the social causes of the damage done to Indigenous peoples and their communities.

While critical sociology has also contributed to the changes in the scholars’ perceptions of the depth and seriousness of the consequences of the IRS legacy, its public faces are apparent in its attempts to foster the notions of moral responsibility and ethical obligations in the process of redressing the residential school

experiences. For example, researchers such as MacKenzie (2009) argue that ethical principles of recognition, acknowledgement, and reparation of the harm done should guide Canadian government's actions. William Mussell (2008), on the other hand, points out that by addressing the legacy of IRS, the government has the obligation to support Indigenous Nations in transition to greater self-determination, which would contribute to decolonization of Indigenous political, social, cultural, and economic processes. In other words, the government would need to recognize the forces within the broader colonial project (such as Euro-centrism and perceived inferiority of Indigenous peoples) that led up to the establishment of the IRS system. Mussell goes on to point out that decolonization will help foster a renewed relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government that is based on peaceful co-existence and mutual recognition (p. 338).

The work of critical Native Studies scholars has also influenced Indian residential school resistance, healing, and reconciliation movement in Canada. For example, Chrisjohn and Young (1997) expose the inadequacy of considering residential school trauma in isolation from other injustices that Indigenous peoples continue to suffer. Chrisjohn and Young (1997) refer to the demarcation of residential school trauma from the broader colonial context as individualizing, personal and internal and argue that it should be labeled "genocide, institutional racism, and economic oppression" (p. 62). By applying these labels to residential school experiences, Chrisjohn and Young (1997) are able to reframe the politics of residential schooling. This reframing, in turn, helped to solidify Indigenous rights movements, to which residential schools and Indigenous health, education, and politics were an integral part. Alternative methodologies move beyond "methodological individualism" and position the resolution of the residential school experiences as a crucial step in rebuilding the relationship between Canada and its Indigenous peoples (Chrisjohn & Young, 1997, p. 58). Organizations such as the AHF and associations such as the Indian Residential School Survivor Society (IRSSS), for example, recognize the importance of adopting a holistic approach to healing residential school trauma. The final section of this paper examines public sociology, its engagement with non-academic audience, and its ability to transform private troubles arising from the legacy of IRS into public issues.

## **Public Sociology**

Burawoy's (2005) public sociology consists of two types: organic and traditional. Traditional public sociologists do not engage directly with the public and choose to address issues of public importance in indirect ways, which include writing "in the opinion pages of our national newspapers" (p. 7). Because traditional public sociology's methods of engagement generate little interaction between academic and non-academic groups, publics such as social movements, or in the case of IRS, Indigenous groups, escape the focus of traditional public sociologists. Organic sociologists, on the other hand, constitute the majority of public sociologists and work closely and directly with thick and visible publics. As Burawoy (2005) notes, these often include counter-publics such as "labor movements, neighborhood associations, communities of faith, immigrant rights groups, [and] human rights organizations" (p. 8). Organic public sociology's *raison d'être* can be contrasted with those of critical and professional sociologies. More specifically, whereas a dialogue informs the relationship between organic public sociologists and publics, a top-down approach characterizes the relationship between professional/critical sociologists and publics. What unites organic and traditional public sociologies is their ability to "make visible the invisible [and] to make the private public ... as part of our sociological life" (Burawoy, 2005, p. 8).

Recent academic research on the legacy of IRS focuses on examining the relationship between the harms of residential schools and criminalization of the IRS legacy. In her work, Canadian sociologist Carol LaPrairie (1999) conducted research on settler-Indigenous relations, Indigenous peoples in corrections, and the legacy of the residential schools. Within the dichotomy of public sociology, LaPrairie (1999) can be classified as an organic public sociologist in her earlier work because she directly engages with a Indigenous communities, and her research has been influential in producing social change, particularly in the area of criminal justice and Indigenous peoples, and has been adopted by the Indigenous justice movement (Dickson-Gilmore & LaPrairie, 2005). Later in her career, LaPrairie (1999) shifted her focus to addressing

correctional policy issues and working for the government, as well as advocating the restorative justice approach to address crime. As a traditional public criminologist, much of her work is built on a thesis that because of its transformative potential, the restorative justice paradigm is able to address the wrongs that the horrific legacy of residential schools has gives rise to. By considering Indigenous and restorative justice approaches as tools for dealing with the legacy of colonialism and residential schools, LaPrairie's (1998, 1999) research has been instrumental in promoting the recognition that restorative justice is a viable alternative to criminal justice for combating systemic issues, such as Indigenous over-representation in correctional institutions. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation's *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools* (2008), for example, builds on LaPrairie's (1999) ideas that help to frame the legacy of IRS as a systemic issue.

Canadian scholar Marianne O. Nielsen (1994), an organic public sociologist/criminologist, has been influential in the area of promoting culturally appropriate justice models in Canada, problematizing the applicability of Western justice to the crime committed by Indigenous peoples, and recognizing the present-day issues that Indigenous peoples are facing as results of colonial legacies. Much like La Prairie, Nielsen works with what Burawoy (2005) calls "thick, visible public," such as Indigenous social justice groups, political activists, and grass root organizations (Nielsen & Gould, 2007). Although Nielsen is a criminologist by training, some of her work has been influential in the area of political sociology. For example, her contributions to the recognition of the IRS legacy as a public issue include the impetus for decolonization of Indigenous self-determination in relation to political and justice processes. Nielsen's (1994) and Nielsen's and Zion's (2005) research also focuses on the ability of Indigenous peoples to advance their interest with regard to establishing culturally appropriate mechanisms to holistically address the legacy of IRS. Nielsen (1994) builds on the work of Native studies scholars such as Monture-Angus (1999) and traditional public criminologists Philip Stenning and Julian Roberts (2001), who argue that Indigenous crime in Canada is by and large the product of IRS and systemic discrimination. Similarly, Nielsen (1994) suggests that a successful resolution of the legacy of IRS is connected to reframing crime as a public issue and requires establishing justice processes that would recognize historical origins and causes of Indigenous crime. More specifically, Nielsen and Robyn (2003) point out that such processes would take into account the loss of Indigenous languages and cultures, aggressive religious indoctrination, physical abuse, and the resulting "tremendous community and family disorganization" (p. 37).

Organic public sociologists such as Deb Sider (2005) have partnered with community grassroots organizations Sioux Lookout Anti-Racism Committee and Nishnawbe-Gamik Friendship Centre to politicize the IRS legacy by drawing connections between present day disadvantages that Indigenous peoples and their communities are facing and the injustices that took place in IRS. For instance, Sider's analysis demonstrates how Indigenous homelessness, language loss, and negative health outcomes are directly linked to the IRS legacy. Also, public sociology has been influenced by Indigenous scholars and activists such as Alfred Taiaiake and Jeff Corntassel (2005). The work of these scholars helped to situate the legacy of IRS as part of a broader range of injustices that Indigenous peoples are encountering and made contributions to Indigenous justice movements that were aimed at decolonizing Canada and empowering Indigenous peoples. Similarly, non-Indigenous scholars like Peter Kulchisky (2010), have begun social movements (such as Defenders of the land and Indigenous peoples solidarity movement) to demonstrate the nature of systemic harms that Indigenous peoples are facing, many of which stem from the IRS era.

Upon examining the work of public sociologists and criminologists in the process of transforming the legacy of IRS into a public issue, it is apparent that the majority of their contributions cannot be easily categorized in the realm of either traditional or organic public sociology. This finding runs contrary to Burawoy's (2005) argument that the "bulk of public sociology is indeed of an organic kind" (p. 7). The contributions of organic public sociology with regard to the transformation of the legacy of residential schools are limited in Canada. Although there has been a significant amount of research done by traditional public sociologists in his area, there has been a lack of direct interaction and engagement between academics and publics (Indigenous activist groups, former IRS students, and communities affected by residential schooling). Thus, public sociology has overall made a less significant impact on the framing of the legacy of IRS as a public issue than it otherwise could have. However, public sociology has succeeded,

to a certain degree, in promoting the recognition of residential schools as a product of colonialism, structural disadvantages, and systemic discrimination.

## Conclusion

This paper examined the public faces of each of the four types of Burawoy's (2005) sociology and their ability to transform private troubles arising from the residential school experience into a systemic issue of public concern. The analysis of policy, professional, critical, and public sociologies reveals inconsistencies across all four types in their contribution to the identification of the IRS legacy as a public issue. Policy sociology seems to have made the most meaningful and profound contribution to the framing of the IRS legacy as an issue that stems from the abuse and neglect students faced in residential schools. Critical sociology, in turn, stimulated the debate within the discipline and articulated the need for alternative research programs that would recognize the public face of the IRS legacy. Professional sociology and its legitimacy of "true and tested methods, accumulated bodies of knowledge, orienting questions, and conceptual frameworks" helped to ensure the sustained resistance to framing the IRS legacy as a private issue within and outside academia (Burawoy, 2005, p. 10). Lastly, traditional public sociology has been more prominent than organic public sociology in promoting the recognition of the public nature of IRS experiences. In addition to sociology's contributions, it is apparent that academics from other disciplines – namely law, history, Native studies, and anthropology also played an active role in framing the IRS legacy as a product of systemic forces.

Overall, Burawoy's (2005) model provides a useful framework for examining the process of transformation of private troubles into public issues. An evaluation of the relative strengths and weaknesses of each type of sociology allows one to examine the limitations, advantages, idiosyncrasies, and significance of this approach in promoting social change, whether it is by fostering a debate within sociology or creating partnership between academics and non-academic publics. Finally, this paper confirms Burawoy's (2005) thesis that each type of sociology has a public face and the impetus to "defend the interests of humanity" (p. 24).

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