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A Letter From the Founders

Dear Readers,

It is with great pride that we present the first volume of *The Society: Sociology & Criminology Undergraduate Review*, a subdivision of the UTM Sociology & Criminology Society. “The Society” aims to aggregate and showcase the exceptional scholarly contributions of sociology and criminology undergraduate students at the University of Toronto, Mississauga. The journal is run by a team of student managers, editors, and authors, and is largely supported by faculty members Professor Baker and Professor Innocente.

We decided not to limit the journal to a single theme this year, instead selecting a range of styles and topics to represent the multiplex and critical nature of Sociology. We are deeply impressed with the submissions that we received and encourage you all to submit a piece of work for review for the second volume. The quality of the submissions we received this year indicates that there are many academic contributions, and contributors, deserving of recognition, and we wholeheartedly support the recognition of leading scholars in our UTM community.

We would like to take a moment to show gratitude to everyone who contributed to the journal in one way or another:

We would like to thank the Office of the Dean for supporting our mission to showcase and recognize leading scholarship in the UTM community by awarding the UTM Sociology & Criminology Society \$1,000 to bring the journal to fruition as part of the Dean’s Academic Society Initiative Prize.

We would like to thank the Department of Sociology for their financial support towards the journal’s scholarship prize to be awarded to the author with the most remarkable published article.

Thank you Professor Innocente and Professor Baker for your guidance and mentorship in establishing the journal and your time spent serving as faculty editors to the journal.

Thank you to our exceptional team of editors who were asked to meet short deadlines without comprising the quality of their suggestions to allow us to meet our ambitious goal of founding and publishing a journal in such a short period of time.

We would also like to thank everyone who submitted a piece of work for review for our journal. The quantity and quality of submissions exceeded our expectations this year and certainly made publishing the first volume of the journal this year all the more challenging!

Thank you to our published authors for your critical contributions, intellectual insights, and extraordinary efforts. The work you put in to create such outstanding articles is noted, appreciated, and admired.

Lastly, we would like to thank you for showing your support for student scholarship by picking up a copy of this journal and enlightening yourself with the contributions to academia your peers have to offer.

We present you the first volume of *The Society: Sociology and Criminology Undergraduate Review*!

Fariha Karimzadah
Editor-in-Chief

Janelle Douthwright
Academic Director



I did not know I was black until the age of 18.

by Iyarusalem Biftu

Below is a recount of my life as a student migrating from a politically blue, predominantly-White dominated culture to the multicultural- or rather, racialized space- of Toronto, Ontario. It is a sad recount, one that doesn't tie up nicely at the end. However, it is an honest recount of my move, my search for identity, and the double-consciousness that came with my race; that is, being Black at home versus in a new environment.

I did not know I was Black until the age of 18.

Let me explain. Growing up, I did not grow up with awareness that I was Black. For a majority of my life, I lived in the suburbs. My parents emigrated from Africa when I was one and I have been a proud Canadian ever since. While I understood my parents and I were born in Africa, I did not readily identify as African. As far as I was concerned, if I couldn't remember, it didn't count. I loved Ethiopian traditions with an estranged affection: more than my delight for Southeast Asian cuisine, but less than my excitement over Christmas Eve presents unwrapping. I grew up like every other middle-class kid in the suburbs: I walked to my elementary school, packed a sandwich for lunch every day, hated timetables, and itched for recess to come. I played at the park after school, watched Saturday cartoons with my family, and went back to school shopping. My friends and I shared the same taste in music: in elementary, we were occupied with EVERYTHING N-Sync. The first of us in the group to get a Walkman was royalty for a day. When I had a crush on Brandon, the Caucasian boy from our junior high basketball team, my friends, both Caucasian and not, giggled with me as we replayed different interactions I had with him. In an effort to impress him, I went as far as joining the girls' basketball team though I was not very good. As I walked on stage to deliver the valedictory speech for

my graduating class, I smiled at all the shining faces that cheered me on, and as I proclaimed my allegiance my high school mascot, everyone raised their hands to join me, proudly. Just like everyone else in the room, I was a member of the school. I was an intellect. I was Canadian.

I will never forget the day I drove through Toronto for the first time, on the way to Mississauga. There was incredible diversity. This was the epitome of the world in a city. One distinct memory I have is passing through certain neighbourhoods, amazed at how different communities were to one another. At one end you had the financial district, which looked a lot like my hometown's downtown: predominately Caucasian men in suits walking and having serious conversations on the sidewalks, the occasional female making her way back to the office. On the other end was my aunt's neighbourhood near Gerrard and Parliament, where families lived in small apartments provided by the government. I stayed in this neighbourhood. I knew there were neighbourhoods like this in my hometown, but those communities were more hidden and certainly not found in the city's core. I had even less exposure to them in my suburban home. There were so many Black people. Ethiopians, Black-Canadians, Somalis, and Africans were all represented in the run down playground behind my aunt's apartment complex. In retrospect, this community was a classic example of what Razak (2002) understands as a race occupying an entire space, unintentionally claiming it as their own. The occasional little, white boy timidly came to join in the game of grounders. This community was more crowded, dirty and scary than the financial district. I couldn't believe that just a few kilometers dramatically changed the landscape of Toronto. At this point, I was amazed by this more than I was angered. Toronto was so unique, so different, so multicultural. This was what Canada was about, a space of different cultures living out their lives in different conditions.

From the moment I stepped onto residence to start the university experience, I was told that I come from redneck country: super white and super racist. On one of my first days on residence, I met a girl during orientation who asked me quite seriously, "Do people in Calgary own pairs of cowboy boots?" I was completely shocked and confused by this understanding of my hometown. This was the first time I had ever heard my hometown being described in such a manner, and the description did not match up my experience at all. It was not that I was defending the white racial frame that many understood my hometown through, but rather, it never occurred to me that my hometown could be understood through a white racial frame- primarily because I did not see it

that way. I did not take long to realize that almost everyone in Ontario looked at my hometown that way, and call that claim hyperbolic, but this response was repeated to me every time I introduced myself. Nobody even knew my city existed. Where I was from, the entire province was simply a solid blue, white supremacist flag-waving, stick-in-the-mud province. Conversations went a lot like this:

“Where are you from?”

“Calgary!”

“Calgary?”

“Yeah, in Alberta.”

“Oh! Alberta! Wow, I heard it’s cold and super white there?”

I don’t know if I was ignorant in so much as I was just unconscious of my differences. The suburbs had guarded me against understanding society through a class-based discriminatory system, and now that I was outside my hometown and exposed to the intersectionality of race and class. Being in Ontario, however, opened my eyes to a new identity I had. I was different in that I was Black. The places I had seen in Toronto did not collectively represent a multicultural place. Rather, the place of Toronto was divided into racialized spaces. *This* is where white people lived, and *there* was where Black people-like me- lived. I went from having complete access to “white spaces” in my hometown to being denied the right to even enter their sacred circles¹ as the people who wanted to get to know me the most and befriend me were Black people. The demographics of my circle of friends dramatically changed. Suddenly, I was expected to love hip hop only, use the word “true” (this word has become a part of my permanent vocabulary), and hate the police. This was not me, but it became me, slowly. First year sociology added fuel to fire. I reinterpreted a certain incident at my hometown during my retail experience, when \$200 went missing during cash in, as an attempt to accuse the Black girl of stealing money. I unconsciously gave looks of anger to sales associate who dared to ask if I needed help or who followed me around the store. I caught

¹This is a sociological concept developed in class discussion on Key and Peele’s piece, “A Cappella-Uncensored”, found online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2EtalOOS-eM&index=15&list=PL83DDC2327BEB616D>.

comments my peers openly made about how difficult my hair must be to handle. If people came over to my apartment, I was expected to have chicken and grape juice in the fridge. Spoken word culture was the only artistic way I could appropriately express myself; forget about my classical piano training. Not too long ago, someone I met told me they understood the struggle I would endure in pursuing a career in law as a “Black female”. I blinked and took a momentary pause in the conversation, because that obstacle had not even been a thought that entered my mind. My pursuit of justice was causing an injustice on me: how could I desire to fight for the rights of the oppressed, when I was one of them?

I could go on about the different things I picked up about being Black in the short 37 months I’ve spent in Ontario. Being Black became my label. It made me distinct. This distinction was never placed on me until I came to Ontario. And race has made me bitter about myself and others. It has made me angry, resentful towards white people. It has stopped me from smiling at strangers, because all I can think about sometimes is how I’m being perceived. What I understood as multicultural was no longer a positive label. A greater awareness of race has, in my experience, resulted in a greater aware of differences. When you are fixated on differences, it becomes easy to create labels of assumptions. I’ll never forget what one of my friends from my hometown said to me the first Christmas I returned. “Why are you trying to act Black?” If Mr. Dubois came to analyze my experience in Ontario, he might have diagnosed me with a case of double consciousness. What I thought I knew about myself and what society believed of me came together in one big mess of “who am I?”

Thankfully, there are some positive things that came about my awareness of being Black. I feel extremely naïve for admitting to this, but my initial reaction upon learning about racism that was fundamental was disbelief. Yes, racism was something exclusive to a select few, but it was phenomenon mainstream analysts of race would describe as an “unfortunate socioeconomic condition tacked onto an otherwise healthy society.” (Feagin 2006) Now I see how such a macrosystem illustrates itself in my micro interactions, in the day to day encounters I have with strangers, in the doors that open and close for

² Double-consciousness refers to the concept coined by Du Bois as “this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (1994)

me both in academia and work. Feagin's understanding of the world through the lens of systemic racism seemed plausible. I live in a nearly all white, rich neighbourhood in Mississauga and I have no idea how I ended up here. I found an affordable basement apartment for \$650 per month online and needing a place to sleep, I signed a contract. When I walk home now, my white neighbours are baffled by my afro and dark skin. Some nervously give a quick wave, others just stare. Now I'm used to these types of exchanges, but upon first coming to Ontario, I remember going home upset, wondering why I was seen so differently. Systemic racism is a macrostructure that finds itself implicit in my micro-interactions. This is no longer a reality I can deny. My conclusions have led me to ask more questions. Friends back home are surprised to hear. It's not that I don't care about issues of race, because for me, any form of injustice places responsibility for me to respond. It's just in the odd moments at night, when I'm cross analyzing police statistics of justifiable homicides and race for my research, that I wonder how I found myself to be an advocate for an entire race.

So in conclusion, I can't tie up this narrative in a nice bow because if I'm honest, I'm still trying to figure out where I fit. How I can reconcile a past understanding of myself with this new, assumed identity? I went from being what my peers called an "oreo"- White on the inside, Black on the outside- to the poster girl for Black female liberation and everything in between. The me I know, that I don't actually know, only knows an unstable, constantly-asserted sense of self. I wonder how much of each will be pinned onto me when I move in September, wherever I end up moving. Will it be worse in the United States? If the doors of law school miraculously open for me, will my peers receive me well? Will I get to join in the solidarity of grad school I had romanticized in my youth, or will I be forced to walk down the hallway to the Black Law Students' Association, where I brainstorm ways to come out on top in my career, in life? Four years ago, I never thought I'd be asking myself these questions.

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The Effect of Early Childcare Education Policy In Brazil On Women's Employment

by Gursharan Sandhu

ABSTRACT

Ultimately, this report analyzes the introduction of Early Childcare Education (ECE) in Brazil to analyze progression, if any, towards women in employment since 1996. With the enactment of ECE and its resources, it is expected that women would be seeking employment rather than childrearing at home. Although it is already widely documented that ECE increases women's participation rates (Cochran 1993; Connelly, DeGraff, and Levison 1996; UNESCO/OECD 2007) this paper goes beyond validating this finding and also examines the circumstances needed to operationalize the policy effectively, such as correcting inter-regional differences. To analyze the impact of ECE in Brazil, the report examined moderating and mediating indicators of success on women's employment. The moderating variable of region affects outcomes on women's participation rates for prime age groups of 20 to 24 and 25 to 34; the percentage of women earning minimum wage; percentage of women working in low pay and precarious work conditions; percentage of women working part-time; and real earnings. In addition to considering moderating influences, the policy was also examined to test for mediating factors that also significantly influence the key outcome on women's employment such as: municipal funding, regional quality differences in public and private administrations, and regional disparities in public and private ECE usage. This paper finds that ECE does increase women's participation rates for various age categories, it decreases the percentage of women working part-time, but has failed to decrease the number of women working in precarious working environments. Overall,

this paper finds that ECE does impact women's employment opportunities, indicating that policies have began to align with feminist concerns freeing women to join the workforce while rectifying the national culture which enforced the stereotypical belief that women should remain at home to take care of children

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report assesses the impacts of the Early Childcare Education (ECE) policy in Brazil on the outcomes of women's employment. The analysis examines data from the Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD), the Monthly Employment Survey to search for patterns of unequal opportunities in the labour force as a result of childrearing. The national culture in Brazil enforced the stereotypical belief that women should remain at home to take care of children. This resulted in the inactivity of women in the labour force until feminist movements and the civil rights movement began to take shape. From this point on, access to employment became more viable for women around the world. As national culture began to shift towards freeing up women to join the workforce, policies began to align with feminist concerns. This led to the official enactment of ECE in 1996, a positive attempt to bring women into the workforce and also grant women the opportunities to advance in a career. Both of these goals are explored and evaluated by multiple processes of testing in efforts to locate patterns of advancements in the employment for women.

Ultimately, this report analyzes the introduction of ECE in Brazil to analyze progression, if any, towards women in employment since 1996. With the enactment of ECE and its resources, it is expected that women would be seeking employment rather than childrearing at home. Although it is already widely documented that ECE increases women's participation rates (Cochran 1993; Connelly, DeGraff, and Levison 1996; UNESCO/OECD 2007) this paper goes beyond validating this finding and also examines the circumstances needed to operationalize the policy effectively, such as correcting inter-regional differences.

To analyze the impact of ECE in Brazil, the report examined moderating and mediating indicators of success on women's employment. The moderating variable of region affects outcomes of women's participation rates for prime age groups of 20 to 24 and 25 to 34; the percentage of women earning minimum wage; percentage of women working in low pay and precarious work

conditions; percentage of women working part-time; and real earnings. In addition to considering moderating influences, the policy was also examined to test for mediating factors that also significantly influence the key outcome on women’s employment such as: municipal funding, regional quality differences in public and private administrations, and regional disparities in public and private ECE usage.

The overall conclusions are based on the following trends:

Firstly, ECE has increased women’s participation rates for ages 20 to 24 and for women aged 25 to 34 between 1996 and 2012. According to PNAD (2013), in 1996, women’s participation rates for ages between 20 to 24 and 25 to 34 were 47.2 percent and 50.1 percent respectively. By 2012, women’s participation rates climbed to 65.8 percent for women between ages 20 to 24 indicating a growth rate of 39.4 percent. Women between ages 25 and 34 have a participation rate of 71.8 indicating a growth rate of 43.4 percent. Evidently, the same findings are not noted in male participation rates for the same age categories. Table 1.2 suggests that growth rates in male participation rates for ages 20 to 24 declined by 2.2 percent and also decreased for ages 25 to 34 by 0.7 percent since the enactment of ECE. These age groups are selected for analysis due to women making career advancements during this age period and also tend to have children at these ages as well. In particular, Rio de Janeiro has amassed the largest growth rate in women’s participation rates from 1990 to 2007 because of its specialized lottery-based selection procedure that offers more opportunities for the most disadvantaged families.

Table 1.1. Women’s participation rates by age categories, 1996 to 2012 (in percentages)

	1996	2012	Growth: 1996 to 2012
20 to 24	47.2	65.8	39.4
25 to 34	50.1	71.8	43.4

Source: based on PNAD (2013), the Monthly Employment Survey.

Table 1.2. Male participation rates by age categories, 1996 to 2012 (in percentages)

	1996	2012	Growth: 1996 to 2012
20 to 24	87.2	85.3	-2.2
25 to 34	94.1	93.4	-0.7

Source: based on PNAD (2013), the Monthly Employment Survey.

The second finding examines the percentage of Brazilian women working part-time from 2000 to 2012 and quantifies the composition of women working part time by doing a comparison against men. The number of women in part-time work has gone down significantly since 2000, from 33.2 percent to 24.6 percent. In addition, it is also evident that the share of women in part-time labour has decreased compared to men. When comparing to men, it is notable that ECE has not affected men as much as women, revealing a positive correlation for ECE implementation on women. This ultimately suggests that there are fewer Brazilian women in part-time work; however further research needs to be conducted on whether this resulted in more Brazilian women working in full-time employment or whether there is a reduction in part-time labour as an overall trend.

The third and fourth findings concern the percentage of women earning minimum wage by region and the percentage of women working in precarious, low pay jobs. In 2002, the Brazilian minimum wage was R\$ 264, and almost doubled in 2009 to R\$ 465 (Fernandes 2014).¹ The percentage of women earning minimum wage is an indicator used to note if ECE in Brazil not only helped young mothers to enter the labour force but if ECE also led to women entering higher-prestige occupations. Table 1.3 considers the percentage of minimum wages across cities in 2015, which will also be discussed when considering the variations in ECE across regions². As of January 2015, the North and Northeast regions of Brazil (Recife and Salvador) have the highest percentage rate for women working for minimum wage at 28 percent and

¹ The minimum wage is set in accordance to the workweek.

² The percentage of women earning minimum wage in 2015 is assessed to compare inter-regional differences, to see if there are moderating factors influencing the effect of ECE in Brazil.

26.2 percent, nearly doubling the next highest region (Rio de Janeiro) at 13.7 percent. The differences across regions in terms of women earning minimum wage also suggests interregional differences in terms of women in low pay, precarious work; women’s composition of part-time labour; and actual women’s earnings. Both statistics suggest that the ECE policy has failed to push women into higher prestige occupations as women still dominate in occupation groups that earn minimum hourly rates or salaries at the poverty line. However, it is also discovered that this rate greatly varies, suggesting a moderating effect by region. Salvador and Recife (cities in the North and Northeast regions) have more than three times the rate of women in minimum wage jobs compared to São Paulo (located in the Southeast region). Salvador and Recife also have the highest rates of women in low paying jobs, a rate well above the cities in the South and Central West. This suggests that ECE will provide certain regions with more success than in poor rural regions like the North and Northeast, a concerning feature of inequality and economic despair.

Table 1.3. Percentage of women employed earning minimum wage, by cities, 2014 to 2015

	Jan 2015
Recife	28.0
Salvador	26.2
Belo Horizonte	13.4
Rio de Janeiro	13.7
São Paulo	7.8
Porte Alegre	10.5

Source: based on PNAD (2015), the Monthly Employment Survey.

Finally, the fifth indicator on the progression of women’s employment as a result of ECE is comparing women’s monthly earnings in 2014, by region. There are large differences in women’s earning when comparing Recife and Salvador (the North and Northeast regions) to Port Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio

de Janeiro (South and Southeast regions), just as there were when comparing the rate of women in minimum wage jobs. In addition, it is noted that women in the South earn more than men earn in the North. This suggests that women in the South and Southeast regions have more opportunities than women in the North and Northeast regions to find occupations that pay well.

This report takes a step further and outlines a complex issue that is occurring between the main relationship of ECE on women's employment. This key relationship is moderated greatly by regional differences, which are the following: differences in municipal funding, differences in quality control, and differences in public and private administration and usage.

As illustrated in Table 1.4, the North region has over 500,000 children who are enrolled in daycares or preschools, in which the municipality funds only 281 million reais. Comparing this to the wealthy Southeast region, which has more than 2.3 million enrolled children, it has a municipal funding amount of 6.83 billion reais, more than 20 times the amount of funding per child. It is noted that the North and the Northeast regions receive the lowest funding in terms of the total amount of children enrolled for ECE. This mediating effect is linked to having the highest rate of women earning minimum wage, as the funding is determined by a percentage of the municipality tax revenue. Since women are located in low paying jobs, and also chose to work part-time in the North and Northeast regions, this suggests that women in these regions are reluctant to work full-time and to pay taxes that funds for ECE. Nonetheless, when considering the key relationship, wealthy regions such as the South, Southeast, and Central West are notable for increasing the percentages of women's labour participation and decreasing the percentage of women working part-time. These regions also have the highest women's monthly earning in 2014, suggesting that these regions push women to find occupations that require more responsibility and ultimately, the opportunity for upward mobility.

This line of reasoning leads to the next finding on significant quality differences - in teaching and infrastructure - amongst regions causing for a mediating effect. When measuring infrastructure quality, Evans and Kosec (2012) note that Southeast preschools have two times the infrastructure quality than preschools in the North, in which daycare centers also resembled similar findings. In 2009, all South and Southeast region preschools had electricity but in the North only three-fourths did (Evans and Kosec 2012). Since private institutions offer a higher degree of quality, this would likely result in more mothers enrolling their children into these facilities to further enhance

their own level of employment rather than to take the 'mommy track'. Also, the infrastructural quality of private daycare centers also significantly exceeded public daycare centers, another variable that changes the effectiveness of ECE for those who can afford private daycare centers. According to Vega and Barros (2011) the Southeast funds five times as much per ECE student as does the North, and more than six times as much as the Northeast, which is also noted in Table 1.4 in the last column. In supporting this finding, we see in rank order that the Southeast and South regions have the highest funding and also the highest quality. Whereas, the Northeast - which funds more than 2.5 times the amount in the North region - is well below the wealthier regions.³

Table 1.4. Annual municipal ECE expenditures in 2009, by region

	Total children enrolled in daycare centers and preschools	Total municipal expenditure on ECE	Municipal expenditure per enrolled ECE children (total reais)
North	504,089	281 million	558
Northeast	1,674,525	721 million	430
Southeast	2,364,619	6.83 billion	2,889
South	713,868	1.59 billion	2,228
Central West	305,158	297 million	974

Source: Evans, David K. and Katrina Kosec. 2012. *Early Child Education: Making Programs Work for Brazil's Most Important Generation*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

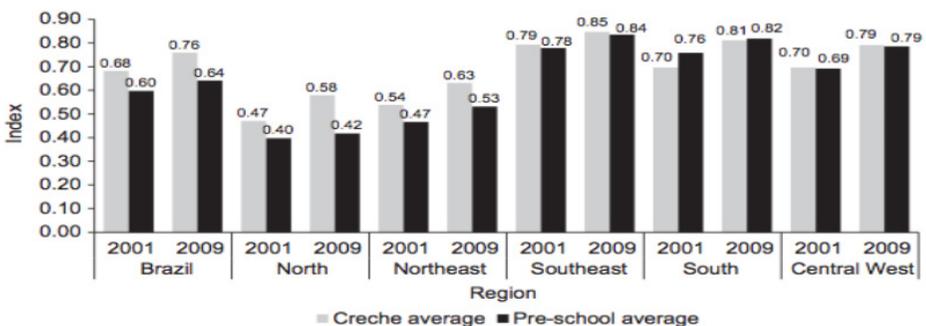
Contrasting public and private use of childcare and preschools suggests different outcomes of ECE on women. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 provide data on the percentage of public and private daycare centers and preschools, by region. The poorest regions - the North and Northeast - rely on publically funded ECE

³ A case that serves as an outlier is the Central West, which has the second lowest municipal funding for ECE. However, it has comparable rates to the Southeast and South, which provide substantial funding for ECE. This can be due to having the lowest total of children enrolled in ECE, thus its inclusion in Table 2.1.

institutions of daycare centers and preschools. In the North, 79 percent of the daycare centers are for public use compared to only 43 percent in the Southeast. Moreover, a larger portion of daycare centers and preschools are administrated by private organizations in the South. This enhances the likelihood of mothers enrolling their children into private institutions due to higher quality, resulting in more women entering employment and evidently attaining higher paid jobs than women in the Northern regions. Ultimately, this exhibits that there is important mediating effects from regional differences, which influences the key relationship.

Figure 2.1. Quality index, by region, 2001 to 2009

Figure 2.1: Average quality index of creches and pre-schools by region (2001 and 2009)



Source: Evans, David K. and Katrina Kosec. 2012. Early Child Education: Making Programs Work for Brazil's Most Important Generation. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

On the basis of data, this report finds that ECE does impact women's employment opportunities. It has especially increased the participation rate for women; however, there remains to be regional differences that leave implications for furthering the policy on ECE. The North and Northeast regions suffer from the highest rates of women entering low pay, minimum wage jobs, which threaten the amount of funding and quality control. Contrary to this, the South regions are beneficiaries from ECE since these regions have experienced more women entering full-time employment rather than part-time; earn from R(\$) 500.00 to R(\$) 1000.00 more than women in the North and Northeast regions; and also have access to higher quality ECE resources.

Figure 2.2. Percentage of crèches, by regions

Figure 3.18: Share of crèches of different administrative dependencies, by region

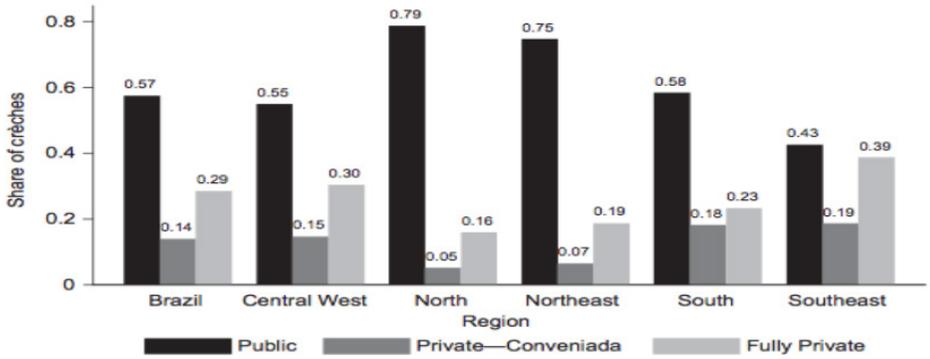
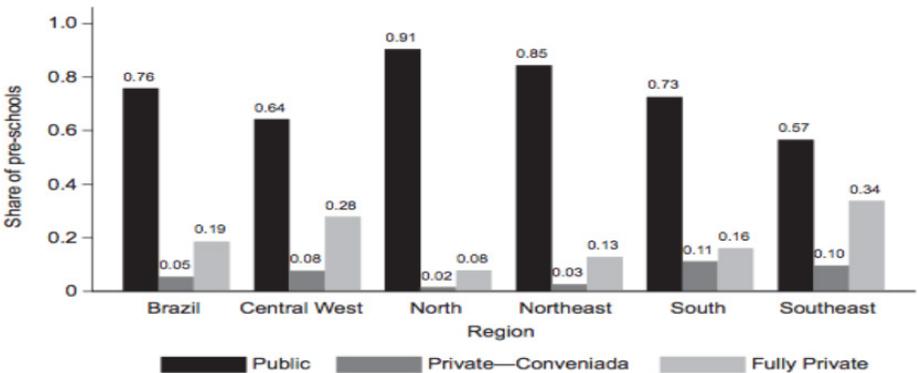


Figure 3.19: Share of pre-schools of different administrative dependencies, by region



Source: Evans, David K. and Katrina Kosec. 2012. Early Child Education: Making Programs Work for Brazil's Most Important Generation. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

The most significant finding is that regional differences, especially in the North have not amounted the same level of success that the South has experienced due to limited funding, quality and administration. Although this is largely contributed by net state tax revenue, it can be accommodated by the assistance of the federal state. As stated in the Brazil Constitution, Article 30 (VI) municipalities have the power to, “maintain, with the technical and financial cooperation of the Federal Government and the state, programs of infant and elementary school education” (Constitution of the Federative

Republic of Brazil, 1988/2001, CA No. 53, 2006). Upon this power, equality in ECE distribution across regions should be granted to enhance the objectives of the policy throughout Brazil to optimize the value of educated women to a further extent.

Aside from assisting women to enter higher levels of employment, poor families should also attract attention as exemplified by Rio de Janeiro, in the lottery-based selection procedures. Rio de Janeiro is a unique case when processing the results. Since 1990, Rio de Janeiro witnessed a 55.3 percent growth in women's participation rate. As of 2015, Rio de Janeiro had a rate of 13.7 percent of women earning minimum wage, averaging a median rate between Salvador and Recife (the cities with the highest rate) and the São Paulo (the city with the lowest rate). Most surprisingly, Rio de Janeiro tops all cities with the highest actual women's earning, regardless of having a larger percentage of women working in low paying positions. This suggests that the lottery-based selection procedure allowed Rio de Janeiro to mobilize women towards employment the most as a result of ECE. This methodology used by Rio de Janeiro should be implemented across Brazil to amend similar outcomes on women's employment.

To read the full article, please visit <http://tinyurl.com/brazil-childcare-policy>

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The Future of Racial Profiling In Canada: Bill C-51 and Hereditary Guilt

by Christopher Abbott

The recent implementation of Canada's Anti-terrorism Act, 2015, colloquially referred to as Bill C-51, has sparked a fierce debate concerning the tension between national security and Canadian democracy. Those in favor of the anti-terrorism bill contend that an expansion in Canada's security and intelligence establishment, coupled with limitations on civil liberties, is necessary to defeat asymmetric warfare such as terrorism. Critics, however, are concerned that Bill C-51 will curtail privacy rights, have a chilling effect on freedom of expression, and increase the number of false arrests through an expansion of discretionary power. Addressing the latter issue, the purpose of this paper is to uncover the hidden socio-political costs of Bill C-51. In particular, this paper asks whether or not Bill C-51 increases the discretionary power of law enforcement officials and, moreover, what the consequence of these increases may be. Ultimately, this paper finds that Bill C-51 will serve to increase the discretionary power of law enforcement officials by decreasing the threshold for preventive arrest. Moreover, the greater discretion given to law enforcement officials may serve to increase the use of racial profiling. Finally, an increased reliance on racial profiling may have severe and detrimental effects at the state level, as well as societal and individual level.

Malicious generalizations about Islam have become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West; what is said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as a whole cannot now be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, or other Orientals, or Asians. (Said 1997: xxi)

In the aftermath of September 11th, Western nations have concentrated national security efforts toward defeating ideologically-driven violence. Though the War on Terror tends to be viewed synonymously with military endeavors in Middle Eastern countries, 9/11 has also altered Canada's domestic domain. Canada's *Anti-terrorism Act*, 2001, for example, created new terrorism offences, gave law enforcement officers greater discretionary power, and made the prevention of terrorism a top national security priority. With greater discretion, a new directive, and the implicit consent of many Canadians, policy makers and law enforcement officials began "advocating for the racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims as the means towards greater national security" (Bahdi 2003: 293). Indeed, the practice of racial profiling - long condemned due to inefficiency and adverse effects on targeted communities - became a politically convenient panacea for terrorism.

Proponents of racial profiling tend to emphasize the efficient use of limited resources, the deterrence factor, and the notion that 'it just makes sense'. However, as I will show below, the arguments in favor of racial profiling are unconvincing and widely refuted. This paper argues that the *Anti-terrorism Act*, 2015 (also known as Bill C-51) *increases* the discretionary power of law enforcement officers by lowering the threshold for preventive arrest. Further, the greater discretion given to law enforcement officials, coupled with a ubiquitous preconception that terrorists are Muslim and/or Arab, will increase the use of racial profiling.

For many Canadians, however, increasing the use of racial profiling is not an issue. Indeed, some may argue that a greater reliance on racial profiling in the name of national security is justified. This brings me to the second argument of this paper: Not only is racial profiling inefficient, it could have disastrous effects at the state level, as well as societal and individual level. At the state level, an increase in racial profiling may undermine the *Charter* by infringing on the principle of nondiscrimination as outlined in section 15. At the societal level, racial profiling may further stigmatize the Muslim and Arab

communities, serving to institutionalize racism and degrade multiculturalism in Canada. At the individual level, racial profiling and discrimination could lead to serious physical, psychological, and financial damage to those profiled.

WHAT IS RACIAL PROFILING?

Though the term *racial profiling* is defined differently by different organizations, it typically refers the substitution of race, ethnicity, religion and/or national origin, or a combination of these, as a proxy for risk (Bahdi, Parsons, and Sandborn 2010). In a more nuanced fashion, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (2003) defines racial profiling as “any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that relies on stereotypes about race, color, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment.”

Locating examples of racial profiling in Canada prior to 9/11 is no difficult task. Besides the illegitimate use of racial profiling to stop and harass African-Canadian motorists (“Driving-While-Black”), the practice was also employed during World War II. Indeed, after the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, both the Canadian and American government ordered the internment of all persons of Japanese ancestry, subsequently seizing their liberty based on their ethnic identity (Bah 2006).

While the use of racial profiling in the post-9/11 context has never been formally institutionalized within Canada, there are several factors that lend credence to its existence. First, the rhetoric used by politicians in the wake of September 11 may serve to legitimize and encourage racial profiling among law enforcement officials. For example, Major-General Lewis Mackenzie, security advisor to former Ontario Premier Mike Harris, suggested “it would be criminally negligent if Air Canada did not engage in racial profiling” (Choudhry 2001: 367). Second, a multitude of high profile cases suggest racial profiling exists within Canada’s War on Terror. Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen from Syria with a degree at McGill University and the University of Quebec, was arrested at JFK International Airport after the RCMP provided inaccurate information about Arar to American authorities. With no basis, the RCMP described Mr. Arar as an “Islamic Extremist” with ties to Al Qaeda, leading to his deportation to Syria, where he was tortured and imprisoned for one year (Commission of Inquiry

2006). After scholars and journalists expressed outrage about the incident and the consequences of racial profiling, a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar has acknowledged that racial profiling may have played a role. Finally, Reem Bahdi (2003), a Professor at the University of Windsor's Faculty of Law, contends that "the lack of explicit endorsement of racial profiling in the anti-terrorism legislation does not mean that racial profiling does not take place in Canada" (p. 297). In fact, Bahdi (2003) argues, "the silence of the legislature regarding the practice, at best, fails to effectively check racial profiling and, at worst, creates opportunities for racial profiling" (p. 297).

DOES IT WORK?

Proponents of racial profiling tend to rely on three arguments: the efficient use of limited resources, the deterrence factor, and the notion that 'it just makes sense'.¹ From an ostensibly pragmatic point of view, racial profiling has the potential to solve the problem of scarcity. Indeed, if a certain segment of the population are perceived to commit a particular crime disproportionately more than other segments of the population, it may be efficient to focus limited money and personnel on this segment. Applied to the War on Terror, this argument has led law enforcement to focus on Muslims and persons of Middle Eastern appearance or origin. Nevertheless, Daniel Moeckli notices two major flaws in this argument. First is the issue of "over-broadness"; that is, "the overwhelming majority of those who are Muslim have, of course nothing to do with terrorism" (Moeckli 2010: 107). By focusing resources on Muslim and Arab persons, a large percentage of these resources will be wasted on Muslims and Arabs who have no affiliation with terrorism. Second is the issue of "under-inclusion"; that is, "profiles based on race, ethnicity, national origin and religion are also under-inclusive in that they will lead law enforcement agents to miss a range of potential terrorists who do not fit the profile" (Moeckli: 107). The recent massacre at a Church in Charleston, South Carolina illustrates how focusing solely on Islamic extremism led, in part, to law enforcement agents missing other terrorists. Dylann Roof, a white male who frequently wore flags

¹ Racial profiling 'works' if it can be proved that the legitimate aim (capturing and preventing criminal activity) outweighs the potential negative externalities of difference in treatment.

from apartheid-era South Africa and Rhodesia, was arrested in June 2015 after shooting and killing nine African-Americans, in order to incite a 'race war' (Robles, Horowitz, and Dewan 2015). Though Roof frequently posted on white supremacist websites and was outwardly racist, a Caucasian teenager from South Carolina does not fit the profile designed to catch terrorists.

The second argument used by proponents of racial profiling is that it acts as a deterrent. As the argument goes, simply knowing that you are subject to greater scrutiny and surveillance will deter you from participating in terrorist activities. Nevertheless, there are two flaws underlying this argument. The first flaw concerns the type of criminals law enforcement officials are trying to deter. While deterrence may work when the potential criminal fears capture and prosecution, "such concerns are less relevant to someone willing or eager to die for their cause" (Haggerty and Gazso 2005: 181). Thus, truly committed terrorists, such as those who carried out the 9/11 attacks, may not be deterred. The second issue with this argument is that simply shifting resources in order to deter one segment of the population necessitates shifting resources away from other segments. Indeed, nonprofiled groups will detect lower costs of offending, and consequently commit more crimes (Schnuck, Martin, and Glaser 2012).

The third and most often cited argument is that 'it just makes sense'. For instance, Sharon Reddick argues that airport security agents should be targeting Arabs and Muslims because "the majority of terrorists come from Arab countries, are between the ages of seventeen and forty, and they are Muslim extremists" (Reddick 2004: 154). Thus, for Reddick (2004), the 9/11 attacks could have been avoided if protection against terrorism was put before "good manners and respect for everyone" (p. 155). One over-arching counter-argument stands in the face of Reddick's opinion; namely, profile evasion. As Alexander (2011) notes, "the use of racial profiling in terrorism assumes that terrorists come primarily in certain shapes and sizes" (p. 312). In the case of the 9/11 hijackers, Raymond Kelly, former New York City police commissioner, noted how "[The hijackers] came here. They shaved. They went to topless bars. They wanted to look like they were part of the American dream. These are not dumb people" (Gladwell 2006). Ultimately, by studying and knowing what law enforcement officials are looking for, terrorists "carefully alter or tailor their behavior/appearance," along with their documents, to avoid suspicion (Bahdi et al.: 39).

BILL C-51: AN EXPANSION OF DISCRETION AND THE USE OF RACIAL PROFILING

Made possible due to escalating fears surrounding foreign terrorists organizations (i.e., the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) and lone-wolf attacks on domestic soil (i.e., the shootings on Parliament Hill in October 2014), the Anti-terrorism Act, 2015, was loosely designed to give Canadian law enforcement and intelligence agencies greater means to defeat terrorism. Fraught with controversy, Bill C-51 has been heavily criticized for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the expansion of preventive arrest powers.

Though the Anti-terrorism Act, 2001, contains provisions for preventive arrest, the new legislation “will further lower the threshold of preventive arrest and detention, increasing the risk that entirely innocent people will be swept up on mere suspicion” (Ruby and Hasan 2015). Previously, law enforcement agencies were permitted to arrest and detain someone if they suspected a terrorist attack will be carried out. Moreover, an arrest could be made if that arrest was necessary to prevent the carrying out of a terrorist activity (Criminal Code, 1985, s 83.2). However, under Bill C-51, “will be carried out” has been substituted with “may be carried out,” while “necessary to prevent” terrorist activity has been substituted with “likely to prevent” terrorist activity (Anti-terrorism Act, 2015, s 17). As Roach and Forcese (2015) observe, “the recurring use of ‘may’ in Bill C-51 seems designed to require only the demonstration of a possibility rather than a probability of the terrorism offense occurring” (p.16).

Under the auspices of Bill C-51, the preconceptions that many people hold about Muslims, Arabs, and the identity of terrorists, may increase the use of racial profiling. In a 2003 poll, 48 per cent of Canadians approved of racially profiling Muslims and Arabs, despite the fact that their civil liberties would be called into question (Bahdi et al.: 35). Further, according to a poll conducted by Angus Reid in 2013, Canadians’ feelings toward Muslims are lower than any other religious group. In fact, while all other religions were regarded unfavorably by less than 30 per cent of Canadians, 54 per cent of Canadians held an unfavorable view of Islam (Geddes 2015). The common stereotype associating Arabs and Muslims to terrorism may ultimately be a result of the way in which the mass media framed 9/11 and the subsequent War on Terror. Framing theory emphasizes the ability of the media to “delineate other people’s reality, highlighting one interpretation while de-emphasizing a less favored

one" (Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008: 54). Further, by applying certain frames, the media, implicitly or explicitly, identifies the main causes and responsible agents (Papacharissi and Oliveira: 54). One commonly cited example of how the media frames terrorism was a cartoon published by The Globe and Mail on Father's Day in 2003. In the cartoon, "an Arab man with stereotypical features gleefully receives a belt of explosives from his young son" (Bahdi: 305).

Bill C-51 and the expansion of discretionary power will likely lead to an unprecedented level of unchecked racial profiling. Given the way in which the media associates Muslims and Arabs with terrorism, it is possible that law enforcement officials, as humans and consumers of mass media, will increasingly see this tactic as legitimate. As Bahdi et al. (2010) notes:

When decision makers operate against a backdrop of ingrained, but often unconscious stereotypes, they are likely to filter and interpret facts or events through the lens of stereotypes rather than by making an individual and rational assessment based on the particular facts of a given case (p. 35).

THE COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL PROFILING

As discussed above, there is no hard evidence that racial profiling 'works' as intended. However, there is plenty of evidence to support the claim that racial profiling can be damaging to the Canadian state, to Muslim and Arab communities, and to Muslim and Arab individuals.

Relying on racial profiles may well be at odds with the Canadian *Charter*, particularly section 15(1): "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability." Indeed, at first glance it is evident that the use of racial profiling infringes on the principle of non-discrimination. However, under section 1 of the *Charter*, colloquially referred to as the reasonable limits clause, the government may argue that the discretion given to law enforcement officers to prevent terrorist attacks is "demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society." Employing the *Oakes* test², the government would have no problem proving that the

objective to prevent future terrorist attacks is both substantial and pressing. However, defending the proportionality of racial profiling may prove to be more difficult. To be sure, even if the government could prove that racial profiling is rationally connected to preventing terrorism, there is no question that this practice will irreparably damage the right of non-discrimination. Furthermore, as was shown above, there is no evidence that racial profiling ‘works’, and thus it cannot be justified as a proportional measure. Nevertheless, the fact that Bill C-51 has expanded discretionary power will likely lead to greater reliance on racially profiling Muslims and Arabs. Moreover, I argue that the complete disregard for *Charter* rights, ‘in the name of national security’, will increasingly undermine the supremacy of the *Charter* in particular, and of the rule of law in general.

By exposing a segment of the population to unwarranted racism and a great degree of vulnerability, the multicultural identity of Canada is at risk. Those in favor of racial profiling may believe that innocent members of targeted communities have nothing to fear, as they will be exonerated upon investigation. However, this type of thinking may serve to reinforce the stigma placed on Arabs and Muslims. For example, if a law enforcement officer arrests an innocent Muslim individual based on a racial preconception, a White individual who witnesses this arrest will likely never know that this Muslim individual was innocent. Instead, seeing this Muslim individual arrested will increase the likelihood that this White individual will think of Muslims as terrorists. The consequence is a positive feedback loop that will leave Canadian citizens and law enforcement officials comfortable with these prejudices, and thus “determinations of risk [will] become even more inextricably linked with stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims so that the Arabness and Muslimness itself becomes a substitute for risk” (Bahdi: 309). Ultimately, racial profiling may lead to the stigmatization of Muslims and Arabs, the institutionalization of racism, and the degradation of a multicultural society.

Infringing upon section 15 *Charter* rights and leaving Muslims and Arabs vulnerable to racism culminates at the individual level. Indeed, individuals wrongly identified as terrorists suffer irrevocable harm. For example, since the enactment of the *Anti-terrorist Act*, 2001, the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions (OSFI) has been tasked with providing a list of individuals

² The *Oakes* test is an analysis of s.1 of the *Charter* that allows limitations on the rights and freedoms if it can be “demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.”

or organizations suspected of engaging in terrorist activities to financial institutions (Bahdi: 301). Encouraging the blatant use of racial profiling, financial institutions are advised to “regard with suspicion not only the people whose names are actually on the list, but also anyone whose name resembles the name of a listed person [emphasis added]” (Bahdi: 301). Of course, many (if not most) Canadians with the last name Hussein are not terrorists. Nevertheless, Liban Hussein, a Somali immigrant and a resident of Ottawa, was added to Canada’s list of terrorist entities and subsequently had his financial account frozen. Hussein was eventually cleared of any wrongdoing, but lost his house and business in the process (Bahdi: 310).

The psychological impacts stemming from prejudice and racism loom large. According to Robert Carter, “Racial discrimination can cause people to suffer psychological distress such as clinical depression, anxiety disorders, PTSD, or personality disorders” (Carter 2007: 16). However, the effect of racial discrimination does not stop at the deterioration of mental health; studies show that racial discrimination affects mental health, which contributes to lower economic, social, and political status (Carter: 14). In other words, racial profiling and its negative externalities can impoverish, socially exclude, and politically disempower targeted groups.

CONCLUSION

As was illustrated above, the usefulness of racial profiling, in terms of efficiency and deterrence, is largely baseless. Beyond this paper, the scholarly consensus is that racial profiling is not an effective tool for combating crime. Moreover, the potential consequences of racial profiling can be grave; it may undermine the Charter, act to further stigmatize Muslim and Arab communities, and cause an immense amount of psychological, physical, and financial misery.

Nevertheless, the Anti-terrorism Act, 2015, will facilitate an increase in the use of racial profiling by giving law enforcement officers greater autonomy over preventive arrests. However, law enforcement officials should not be singled out and shamed for these preconceptions. Due to the way the media has framed 9/11 and the War on Terror, a majority of Canadians associate terrorism with Muslims and Arabs. Due to the expansion of discretionary power, however, racial profiling may only decline in concert with public opinion and political support. Whereas profiling that affects a majority of Canadians would

suffer from political pressure, profiling that targets marginal groups, such as Muslim and Arab communities, will remain politically convenient until the public condemns this brutal practice. As Justice Robert Jackson historically argued, "guilt is personal and not inheritable" (Korematsu v. United States 1944). Indeed, no Canadian citizen, regardless of ethnicity, race, or religion, should inherit guilt at birth.

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The Effects of Class Composition on Student Learning

by Biancha-Nikolette Jacob-Okorn

ABSTRACT

Various studies have examined the effects of class composition – and more specifically, class size – on student learning. This has become a concern within the University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) Sociology department, which has experienced tremendous enrolment increases in the last five years. This issue is situated within the larger trend of massification of higher education, which can be problematic for student learning, and is widely discussed throughout academic literature and explored in this study. Using qualitative survey data collected from Sociology students at the UTM, as well as from professor reviews on the website www.ratemyprofessor.com, this article examines the effects of large class sizes on student learning experiences within the Sociology department. Beyond examining class size, the data also examines students' views on assessment methods, technology in the classroom, and instructors' teaching styles. From the results, it is revealed that, although large classes make it more difficult to ensure quality learning for students, students' outcomes are more dependent on the instructor's traits and the pedagogical methods employed in the classroom. The results also demonstrate students' preference for the type of assessments that encourage active learning and are typical of small classes, such as essay writing and long- or short-answer tests. These results address and alleviate the concerns that the sociology department at UTM have expressed in response to increasing enrolment rates and class sizes. Class size in itself is not found to have a

negative effect on student learning, so reducing class sizes is not an effective response to ensure high-quality learning. Instead, this study suggests that the university would benefit from hiring additional faculty as well as teaching and encouraging instructors to employ innovative teaching methods.

INTRODUCTION

The Sociology department at the University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) has seen tremendous growth within the last five years, which has led to increasingly large class sizes in both the Sociology and Crime and Socio-Legal Studies programs. A significant contributing factor is that the increased enrolment rates have not been accompanied by increased resources, such as full-time faculty. Despite the growth in class sizes, there continue to be extensive wait lists for many elective and required courses, placing great pressure on the department to further increase class sizes to accommodate wait-listed students. The department, however, has become concerned with whether these factors have a negative effect on student learning. This research will examine whether larger class sizes reduce the quality of learning that students experience, compared to smaller classes. The results from this research will be useful to the Sociology department and faculty who are interested in providing the highest quality of education to UTM students, and will provide insight into how the department ought to respond to administrative pressures to continue to increase class sizes - whether that means that classes should no longer be expanded, or faculty must adjust their teaching to better fit large class sizes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Growing class sizes have become a “hot topic” in the media and otherwise non-academic world, with respect to the effects that class sizes have on student learning outcomes. Throughout the popular press several aspects of the issue have been discussed, including the disadvantages of traditional lecturing, growing tutorial sections, waning student-instructor ratios and increasing course waitlists (Dehaas 2011a; Dobson-Mitchell 2011; Dehaas 2011b; OCUFA 2014; Charnalia 2015; Eastwood 2013; Roe 2015). The University of Toronto has specifically been discussed in the press with regard to waitlist problems and the trend of students “selling” their spots in courses

(Eastwood 2013; Roe 2015; McKeen 2014; Charnalia 2015). Overall, there is a sense within the media that these issues are compromising student learning for corporate interests, thus changing the landscape of higher education in Canada. To ensure that student learning is not being compromised at UTM, it is necessary to examine the academic literature to gain a more objective insight into how students are affected by course composition.

The existing academic literature regarding large university class sizes is primarily devoted to the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages associated with growing class sizes and the impact that is experienced by students. One of the major issues with large classes that scholars identify is the fact that large classes often depend on traditional lecture-style teaching, which they argue does not necessarily achieve the instructors' learning goals for the students (Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Hornsby and Osman 2014; Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Crull and Collins 2004; Allais 2014; Hogan and Daniell 2012). Paolo Friere (1970) is cited by Quinlan and Fogel (2014) as one of the original critics of what he termed the "banking model of education", whereby students are merely passive objects receiving information from the lecturer, rather than actively engaged in their learning. Thus, passivity is common among students in large classes, and many instructors are faced with the task of reconciling this challenge.

Some of the other issues that emerge in large classes include difficulty tracking attendance, ensuring that students keep up with assigned readings, encouraging critical thinking, holding students' attention, and a lack of instructor-student interaction (Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Bauer and Snizek 1989). Monks and Schmidt used student course evaluations to gain insight into the student perspective on large classes as well, and the students noted that larger classes often led to "less clarity in class presentations, less preparation,... less effective teaching methods, less adequate graded material, [and] slower return of assignments" (2011:15).

INSTRUCTOR-RELATED FACTORS

Aiming for Active, not Passive, Learning

Often when faced with these issues, instructors adjust their pedagogical models to attempt to replicate the intimacy and active learning in large classes, which is more commonly found in smaller, seminar-style classes. A few of

the techniques that are reviewed within the literature include introducing computer workbook activities, facilitating small discussion groups and peer collaboration (within lectures or in separate tutorial sections), encouraging journal writing and self-reflection, using audience response systems such as clickers, rewarding student participation, and encouraging volunteer-based service learning (Crull and Collins 2004; Reinertsen and DaCruz 1996; Corwin 1996; Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Hogan and Daniell 2012; McKinney and Graham-Buxton 1993; Wright and Lawson 2010).

Many instructors acknowledge that larger classes are becoming unavoidable with the increasing popularity of higher education, and while some regard large class sizes as a “necessary evil”, others are more optimistic about the possibility of creating quality learning environments in large classrooms (Allais 2014). For example, although one study used a natural experiment to argue that “class size has a negative impact on the student-rated outcomes of amount learned, instructor rating, and course rating”, other authors argue that “class size does not preclude active learning strategies”, rather it is the fear of the instructor to implement new teaching techniques that makes active learning more difficult in large classroom settings (Monks and Schmidt 2011; Quinlan and Fogel 2014). Overall, since it is unfeasible to move backwards and return to smaller classes, the trend in coping with ever-increasing class sizes appears to be innovation and adaptation by instructors.

Another technique that has been discussed extensively in the literature within the last five years is “flipping the classroom” (Forsey, Low and Glance 2013; Wilson 2013; Holmes et al. 2015; Crews and Butterfield 2014; Strayer 2012; Herreid and Schiller 2013; Schwartz 2013; Smith and McDonald 2013; Brooks 2014; DuBrowa 2014). While other techniques are simply implemented into the standard lecture and tutorial sections, flipping the classroom involves completely re-formatting the way a course is instructed. Brooks defines the flipped classroom as one where students view the lecture material online (typically through videos or readings), and then “use class time to... [apply] lecture material, usually relying on active learning and group work to create a collaborative and engaging learning environment” (2014:226). Although many studies have not determined whether the flipped classroom actually enhances learning at the university level, Crews and Butterfield (2014) and Forsey, Low and Glance (2013) have collected considerable positive feedback from students on this teaching format. Students have been found to appreciate the active

learning opportunities, flexibility and clarity of lessons, and instructor-student interaction facilitated by flipped classrooms (Forsey, Low and Glance 2013; Crews and Butterfield 2014). Although, by nature, flipping the classroom is an easier task in small, seminar-style classes, Forsey, Low and Glance (2013) applied this pedagogy to a class of 100 students, which required the instructor to be available more often for multiple tutorial sections rather than one or two lectures weekly. So, flipping the classroom has proven benefits to students and instructors, but it has not been determined whether this teaching method can be applied to even larger classes.

Increased Use of Part-Time Faculty

Another consequence of larger class sizes has been the increased use of part-time faculty and sessional instructors, roles which vary in definition throughout the literature. Some institutions classify the role as sessional “markers” who are only hired to help the instructor keep up with grading student assignments and tests; other “sessional instructors” are similar to “teaching assistants” in that they conduct the discussion/tutorial sections of a class and grade the students’ work; and the most common understanding refers to the sessional instructors who share most of the same teaching roles as permanent faculty (i.e. delivering lectures, grading assignments, conducting tests) but are hired only on quarterly or yearly contracts (Smith and Coombe 2006; Byers and Tani 2014; Leatherman 1997; Banachowski 1996). Universities increasingly hire sessional instructors rather than create more tenured positions because they cost less than permanent faculty, are more flexible with their time, and are more easily eliminated when student enrolment declines (Banachowski 1996). Sessional instructors hold a somewhat precarious position in that their role within the institution is ambiguous - they are not as involved with their department or the administration as permanent faculty, which Leatherman (1997) argues can compromise the quality of education being delivered by sessional instructors.

Sessional instructors are often found to depend on traditional teaching methods - such as the banking model of education - rather than implementing a variety of methods, as permanent faculty often employ (Banachowski 1996). This is pertinent to the study of education quality in large classes because a considerable portion of the literature, as discussed previously, encourages

instructors to employ new and innovative teaching techniques in order to ensure the success of students in large classes. Additional disadvantages associated with sessional instructors which are discussed in the literature include grade inflation, less time to mark assignments, less time with students, and students' inability to establish the professional relationships that are required for recommendation letters for jobs or graduate school (Leatherman 1997; Smith and Coombe 2006; Banachowski 1996). On the other hand, however, Banachowski (1996) also argues that sessional instructors are not bad scholars or bad teachers, and that they can actually present more interesting or helpful instruction to students because they often have more practical experience than permanent faculty. She proposes that, if universities continue to employ these instructors so extensively, they simply need to be better-integrated into the institutions and better-prepared for their teaching roles, in order to make their positions less ambiguous and avoid putting students at a disadvantage (Banachowski 1996).

STUDENT EXPERIENCE

Student Learning Goals

As mentioned previously, active learning is the predominant pedagogical model that instructors are trying to implement successfully in large classes. Active learning pedagogy is essentially the opposite of Friere's "banking model", since students are no longer passive receivers of information, but rather they are actively participating in their own learning by thinking, talking and moving within the lesson (Quinlan and Fogel 2014). Compared to the traditional lecture pedagogy, active learning techniques more readily foster the most important learning goals that sociology instructors have for their students, such as application of theory, self-reflection, developing strong writing skills, and most commonly discussed throughout the literature, critical thinking (Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Hornsby and Osman 2014; Hogan and Daniell 2012; Machum and Clow 2015; Burgess-Procter et al. 2014). Critical thinking skills are especially crucial for students to develop in our current innovation economy and knowledge society, as are the strong writing skills which facilitate such critical thinking (Hornsby and Osman 2014; Burgess-Procter et al. 2014).

Hornsby and Osman (2014) are cautious of the idea that these

necessary skills can be fostered in large classes. It must be acknowledged that there are a variety of meanings that the term “large” can hold in the discussion of large class sizes – this measurement is dependent on the discipline, the pedagogical needs of the classroom, the institution and its size (Hornsby and Osman 2014). Throughout the articles in which the instructors assess specific teaching techniques in large class settings, the “large class” sizes range from 70-105 students to more than 1000 students, with much variation in between (Crull and Collins 2004; Arvanitakis 2014).

Consequences of Large Classes for Student Experience

Some scholars note the difficulty that emerges when class sizes become too large, such as Hogan and Daneill’s (2012) finding that implementing active learning techniques became less effective with a class of 180 students compared to a class of 90 students. In addition, Crull and Collins’ (2004) study found that their specific active learning strategies can only be taught in classes of 105 students without the addition of more teaching assistants for grading and leading discussion sections – importantly, however, although the authors consider 105 students to be a large class, it is considered small-to-medium at UTM.

Another important factor to consider is the “student load”, which refers to the number of students that one instructor is responsible for (Monks and Schmidt 2011). For example, although classes may be capped at 200 students, one instructor may teach two or three sections of that class size; thus, the instructor has a heavier “student load” because he/she is responsible for 400 or 600 students, even though class sizes are not that large. This can impact the amount of time that instructors are able to spend discussing course material outside of class with the students, the type of active learning that can be done within lecture sections (since consistency must be maintained across sections), and lead to less in-depth feedback on student assignments or tests (Monks and Schmidt 2011).

MASSIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

With so much discussion on the disadvantages and seemingly negative impacts of large class sizes, it must be noted that it is unlikely that this growth

will slow down in the near future. Large class sizes can be generally attributed to the societal trend of the “massification of higher education” (Allais 2014; Hornsby and Osman 2014; Arvanitakis 2014). Hornsby and Osman define massification as “the rapid increase in student enrolment that was witnessed towards the end of the twentieth century” (2014:712). Some of the causes of this massification include a desire for improved health, empowerment and economic development, as well as social justice, the democratization of education and consequential breakdown of elite structures within society (Hornsby and Osman 2014, Arvanitakis 2014). Rather than hiring more faculty, universities often choose to accommodate more students with fewer resources, in the interest of saving money. This lack of increased resources is what leads to growing class sizes and the concern around whether students are receiving the same quality of education that they would in smaller classes.

Hornsby and Osman (2014) and Allais (2014) argue that, although massification of education may produce more graduates, the value of their degree may be compromised and less valuable nowadays, since it is not clear what portion of these graduates even develop the skills that will make them competitive within the labour market or contribute to the advancement of society (Hornsby and Osman 2014). Further, massification of education is not well-suited to our current economy or society, because an increasing percentage of students graduate with large debts and no job prospects. Allais (2014) argues that the whole reason for massification (to seek self-improvement) is becoming unrealistic because attaining a degree no longer ensures one’s employment. Even more broadly, massification has become an ideology in itself; universities and higher education are praised for promising to increase economic competitiveness and individual prosperity, but they have actually become a capitalist enterprise, where university degrees increasingly appear to be mere commodities (Allais 2014). Thus, in relation to class size, massification ideology places a burden on universities and instructors to continue to accommodate larger classes in the interest of social justice and the greater good.

SOCIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CLASS SIZES

Some scholars also discuss the idea that sociology instructors should be encouraging students to “do” or “commit” sociology, rather than simply

attaining knowledge and memorizing theories and facts (Hogan and Daniell 2012; Machum and Clow 2015). In Machum and Clow's (2015) article "Commit Sociology: Learn to Be a Critical Thinker", the authors argue that critical thinking is a necessary skill required for committing sociology. These authors refer to a controversial statement, "now is not the time to commit sociology", made by Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper in response to an opposing party's leader suggesting that it is necessary to look at the structural issues that lead domestic terrorists to commit acts of terrorism rather than simply categorize them as "bad" people. This demonstrates the importance of critical thinking in order to be a more active and engaged citizen able to identify and critique ideologies (Machum and Clow 2015). This idea about good citizenship is relevant to the discussion of class sizes, because, as Quinlan and Fogel argue, one of the main disadvantages of listening-based, lecture-based pedagogy is that it promotes "passive, disengaged and disconnected students, and therefore passive citizens who are disengaged and disconnected from each other" (2014:44).

METHODOLOGY

POPULATION OF INTEREST

The study population consists of current and former undergraduate students at the University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) campus who are/were enrolled in the Sociology or Crime and Socio-Legal Studies programs. Former students were eligible for participation if their graduation date was June 2010 or later, since the Sociology department experienced its most significant increase in class sizes since 2010. Both the Sociology and Crime and Socio-Legal Studies programs are part of the Sociology department at UTM. The study population includes students who have chosen either of these two programs as a major, minor, or specialist subject POSt (Program of Study). The current students in this study range from first-year to graduating-year in order to gain insight into the current course composition of classes at the 100-, 200-, 300-, and 400-levels and to examine how student learning is affected differently at each level.

To recruit participants to the study, non-probability convenience sampling was employed. Participants were sought out through online postings

on “UTM TextBooks Exchange”, “UTM Student Book Exchange”, “Spotted at UTM”, and “UTM Sociology and Criminology Society (SCS).” The advertisement was posted on three occasions within a three-month period. While there was an option to complete a written version of the survey in-person, all 42 participants completed the online version. Of the 29 participants who provided their subject POSt, the majority (16) were Crime and Socio-Legal Studies majors, 9 were Sociology minors, 6 were Sociology majors, 5 were Crime and Socio-Legal Studies specialists, and 2 were Sociology specialists. Most participants were in their 2nd, 3rd, or 4th year of study (75%), while 7.14% were first-year students and 17.86% were graduated students.

DATA SOURCES

Two sources of qualitative data were used in this study. First, surveys were completed by 42 participants online through the survey host website “SurveyMonkey.com.” The survey was comprised of a mix of 20 open- and closed-ended questions about course composition with respect to how the course structure promoted or hindered student learning. Questions dealt with topics including, but not limited to, expected class sizes in 100-level courses vs. 400-level courses, which assessment methods students find to be the most conducive to their learning, and the importance of student-instructor interaction (See Appendix A for survey questions). The second source of qualitative data for this study was collected from the online student-written comments on “RateMyProfessor.com.” Only the reviews of Sociology professors at UTM were examined on this website, as we are only concerned with this department and institution for the purposes of this study. Again, reviews were only examined if they were written in the year 2010 or later.

DATA ANALYSIS

From the data, several themes emerged as important aspects of course composition, including instructor approachability and helpfulness, student-instructor interaction, instructor lecturing style, students’ use of technology in the classroom, students’ anticipated class sizes, and assessment methods utilised by the instructor.

IDENTIFYING “GOOD” INSTRUCTORS

Throughout the research, many students commented on the benefits of having what they considered to be a good instructor. Some of the traits that were frequently associated with good instructors included approachability, helpfulness, patience, willingness to further explain concepts, and ability to motivate students. The trait most appreciated throughout the Rate My Professor.com data, however, was caring about students and wanting students to succeed. For example, some responses included:

“[This Professor] challenges his students to do their best. It’s a challenging class, but a class where you WILL learn the material and be expected to engage with it... His office is always open and he’s very nice. He genuinely wants you to learn.”

“Very approachable and helpful prof. [O]ne of the very few profs [I] met in [UTM] that actually genuinely care[s] about students.”

“Best prof I’ve ever had... yes attendance is mandatory but he is SO fair and he really wants his students to do well. He encourages students to go meet with him and has a different teaching style than most profs I have had.”

“She is one of the profs that cares about students succeeding and provides us with resources like tutorial test practice for the first test.”

This is particularly interesting since “caring about students” is not necessarily something that instructors can aim to do, it is a more inherent trait that some instructors convey to students without effort. Many student comments reflected this type of idea that the instructor’s personality matters more than their pedagogical style. For instance, some students acknowledged that certain courses had “boring” content or that the instructor was particularly difficult in their assessments or held high expectations of the students, which overall made the course “harder.” Course difficulty, however, was often counteracted by good, caring instructors.

The other important traits of a “good instructor” (i.e. helpfulness, approachability, etc.) can also help alleviate the difficulties that are presented by large class composition. For instance, if a student feels comfortable asking for extra clarification either during lecture or outside of class, their learning experience goes beyond the traditional one-way lecture that is present in most large classes. Thus, a high quality of learning can still be experienced by students in large classes, provided that there are “good instructors.”

STUDENT-INSTRUCTOR INTERACTION

Continuing with the sentiment of “good instructors”, students also noted that the traits of a good instructor made a difference in their face-to-face student-instructor interaction. As one survey respondent wrote:

“[Face-to-face student-instructor communication] is important when the professor is good, but I’ve had bad professors at UTM where the face-to-face interaction doesn’t matter. [It is] all dependent on the quality of the professor at the end of the day. [A] great professor will always help students while a bad one won’t matter whether the class is smaller or bigger.”

Most of the survey respondents agreed that face-to-face communication between the student and instructor is not “necessary” but that it improves their learning experience. Some of the benefits of this communication mentioned by participants include building good relationships and making connections with instructors, creating richer learning experiences and making concepts easier to understand. The benefits of student-instructor interaction are important to consider while examining the effects of course composition because some class sizes allow or facilitate these interactions more easily than others. When asked whether they prefer large or small classes, participants who preferred small classes often attributed their preference to the more intimate environment, increased interaction opportunities, ease of approaching the professor, chance of developing a rapport with professors and the individual attention given to each student by the instructor.

While smaller class sizes typically facilitate these interactions, many of

the comments on Ratemyprofessor.com reflect the idea that, with large classes, the instructor's office hours can also be used to pursue such interactions. Although visiting an instructor's office hours requires more time and effort from the student, the opportunity for enriching their learning experience and building relationships is still available. Thus, when instructors are available to students outside of class and, as mentioned in the previous section, are patient and willing to help their students, they can alleviate some of the challenges that come along with growing class sizes.

On the other hand, however, it is impossible for the instructor to be available to every student outside of class, not only due to increasing class sizes (often more than 100 students per class), but also the type of students that attend UTM. Since UTM is largely a commuter-school, many students hold other part-time or full-time jobs that simply do not allow them to be available during all of their instructors' office hours.

One response to the survey question regarding preference between large and small classes was particularly interesting, as it highlighted both the intimacy of smaller classes, but the "ease" of large classes for busy students:

"I honestly like both. Small class sizes make it easier to approach the professor and participate in class discussions more meaningfully. Large class sizes are easier to stay anonymous and are generally easier. If I had to choose between the two, I would prefer a larger class simply because the course would be easier to manage, with an already busy schedule."

Other participants also preferred the simplicity of large classes, noting that they have "more standardized testing, [so it is] easier to do well", and large classes have "less opportunity for meaningful participation [which allows students to] 'sit back and learn' rather than discuss and input." So, there can sometimes be a disparity between the instructors' teaching goals of having in-depth lectures and encouraging critical thinking, and the students' desire to simply take the easiest courses and get the highest grades.

Thus, lecture style and pedagogical methods become important factors in facilitating meaningful and high-quality learning experiences in large classes, within classroom hours, so that all students can engage in critical thinking and active learning.

INSTRUCTOR'S TEACHING STRATEGIES AND STUDENT ENGAGEMENT

Instructor Traits

Throughout the Ratemyprofessor.com reviews especially, many students discussed how an instructor can engage the class simply with their personality. The positive reviews often mentioned that when the instructor was "funny", "interesting", "personable", "charismatic", "helpful", "enthusiastic" or "passionate", the student was easily engaged in the class, even in cases where the content was "boring" or the student was not initially looking forward to taking the course. This was especially true when instructors were described as "enthusiastic" and "passionate" about what they were teaching. The best example of this comes from one participant who stated (in his review of one sociology professor):

"How he managed to make a course I was dreading into my favourite class to attend is amazing. He loves what he teaches and his enthusiasm gets you hooked onto the material too!"

Students often noted their appreciation of instructors sharing personal stories and experiences with the class that would be memorable and thus help the student remember certain concepts in a more abstract manner. When instructors connected their lessons to "real-life examples" the participants often had an easier time remembering the course concepts.

Lecture Style

Additionally, students also appreciated when instructors went against traditional pedagogy and taught in ways "outside the box." One of the highest-rated professors examined on Ratemyprofessor.com for this research had several comments praising his ability to engage the class in a seemingly organic manner, by not following the typical lecture format and "not [relying] on Power Point" for delivering lectures. Some students also commented on how he does not necessarily teach "content" directly, but teaches the students how to think, while challenging them to do so, which they seem to appreciate and enjoy. One

of the many positive comments for this professor included:

"This professor teaches really well. [He] inspired me to continue with sociology and pursue a Master's Degree. Best sociology prof ever, he makes you see the world a different way."

Through the survey data, it was also found that this instructor used these teaching methods in a medium-sized class (around 150 students), which demonstrates that engaging students and using non-standardized lecture formats (such as lecturing without Power Point) is not limited to small classes.

Conversely, when examining the negative reviews on Ratemyprofessor.com, the biggest complaint raised by students with regard to lecture style was when instructors' lectures did not provide any additional information to the Power Point slides, and simply read them off in lecture. Or, on the other hand, when the instructor did not post the slides online for students and talked too fast during lecture for students to write information down. Students often commented that these lectures became "VERY boring and not engaging at all."

Teaching Strategies Employed

A significant portion of the data pertains to the techniques employed by instructors to engage students in class and encourage them to think critically about the course content. Several students noted that deeper engagement was possible in small and medium-sized classes through means of small in-class assignments, sharing anecdotes, assigning marks for participation, class discussion/Socratic teaching method, small group discussion, and graded classroom interaction and attendance. Some of the reasons these strategies were seen as more feasible in smaller classes include that students often feel more comfortable speaking in smaller classes than large ones, so it was easier for students to participate in class discussions and group work. Also, some of these techniques require instructors to learn students' names, such as when awarding grades for class participation, so naturally a smaller class size is required.

In large classes, many participants noted that instructors often employed different engagement strategies. The most commonly identified

strategy for large classes, as mentioned by the majority of participants, was the use of iClicker technology. One student commented “in larger classes, the iClicker [is used or] an interesting news piece/video/image related to the lecture [is shown].” Weekly quizzes, asking questions, incorporating social media (i.e. using Twitter to “live tweet” questions throughout lecture), learning catalytic, after-class quizzes and posting discussion questions online were also mentioned in relation to large-class engagement strategies.

Another participant explained how class discussions can also be used effectively in large classes, although the discussions are of a different nature than in smaller classes, noting that “in the smaller classes the prof engaged each student independently. In bigger classes only questions asking the whole class occurred.” Hence, although small classes may provide deeper discussions and student thinking, the same pedagogy can be employed in large classes to have students engage with the course material more than they would in a traditional one-way lecture.

Importance of Participation

A similar finding was discovered with the difference between participation in small versus large classes. One student noted that when instructors ask closed-ended questions (i.e. “textbook questions”), it is not as helpful as asking a student to defend their position on a topic so that the instructor can see how the student arrives at their opinion/conclusion. This is important in the discussion of class sizes, because in large classes, instructors often ask closed-ended questions rather than opinion questions, such as when they employ the iClicker technology.

When asked about the effectiveness of participation at improving student learning, a large majority of participants agreed that it is, indeed, effective, while four participants did not think participation improved student learning. Many students explained that participation increases engagement and absorption of course material, helps students to understand the material more and make connections between content, and “forces students to think about what they learned [which] will help them remember [it].” One student, when describing their most memorable learning experience, noted that “[this professor’s class] was great. [I] always felt engaged, and participation helped you be involved and learn more.”

On the other hand, the four students who did not believe that participation

improved their learning cited their individual learning styles as their reasoning. Some of these students mentioned that they are “independent learners” or have anxiety about participating in class. As mentioned previously, one of these students argued that participation is only beneficial when the questions are not closed-ended, because it requires more thought. Interestingly, one participant noted:

“I do not like participation because I am a type of learner that likes to think independently. While I do not discourage class participation, I find that it puts...pressure on certain students to say stuff that doesn’t really add anything valuable to the topic in class.”

Presumably, this respondent is referring to “graded participation” which places pressure on students to participate in order to earn grades. This comment makes an interesting point because it presents graded participation as a sort of paradox. While it is often employed for the purpose of better-engaging students and increasing or stimulating class discussion and critical thinking, the pressure of being graded for participation can lead to meaningless or bland discussions that do not require critical thinking, since students may feel the need to say anything they can think of that is slightly relevant to the topic.

Technology in the Classroom

From the data one major idea emerged regarding students’ use of technology in the classroom. The general sense is that, in order to reduce the use of technology and stimulate critical thinking, instructors must adjust their pedagogy to make students feel like they can succeed without the use of their laptop. The main concerns that students had with instructors employing “no-tech” policies is that they would not be able to write every detail that the instructor mentioned in lecture, which can cause anxiety for some students who feel they need to write down everything that is said by the instructor. Some participants, however, also recognized that students generally feel the need to write every detail because exams and quizzes are most often multiple choice, which utilizes the small details that are mentioned in class as both right

and wrong answers. One participant commented:

"I tolerate [no-tech policies] but [I'm] not a fan. Courses are set in [Sociology] to hit you with a lot of useless information in most cases for multiple choice so you need to be able to jot down as much as you can and laptops are the best for that. If profs want to change the class to make it more reasonable so that [it's] possible to take notes [then] that is the better option."

Other students also acknowledged that "you retain more if you hand write [notes] opposed to [when you] use a laptop", and hand writing notes is "less distracting" because there is no temptation to use other features of the laptop, but that they still favoured laptop usage because they had so much information to write down. Additionally, one participant recognized that:

"In the long-term student laptop usage does indeed simplify some aspects of learning that affect quality of learning such as the means of writing material down and critically examining [it]."

Overall, it is apparent that students strongly disapprove of "no-tech" policies in classes where they are expected to memorize a lot of information, but that they would be more accepting of such policies in classes with more critical thinking and discussion rather than one-way delivery of course content.

Anticipated Class Sizes

The overall finding from this research regarding students' expectations of class sizes was that students are accepting of large classes in 100-level courses, but they expect more opportunities for active learning as they progress to 400-level courses and thus expect smaller classes as the course level increases. From the survey, it was found that most participants expect more than 200 students in 100-level courses, between 151-200 students in 200-level courses, less than 150 students in 300-level courses, and less than

50 students in 400-level courses. The majority of participants (77%) believe that class size makes a difference in their enjoyment or learning outcomes in a class. Accordingly, students also believed that, since higher-level courses facilitated more successful learning outcomes and student enjoyment, they ought to be smaller than 100-level classes.

Students who preferred smaller classes over large ones cited many benefits that come along with small class sizes. They generally believed that smaller classes are more intimate, allow for more interactive learning, are easier to remain focused in, produce more meaningful class discussions, allow greater participation, better engage students with the course content and the instructor, and provide more opportunities for questions to be asked and answered. These class experiences become more important and desirable to students in higher-level courses, since, as one participant noted, “[topics are] more focused [in upper years] so 4th year courses should be seminar style where discussions are encouraged and participation is mandatory.” Another participant explained that “100-level courses have broader subject matter” and “smaller 400-level courses allow greater involvement in subject matter”, further supporting the expectation that 100-level classes should be larger than those at the 300- or 400-level.

Therefore, it seems that students accept the idea that 100-level classes are more standardized and require less critical thinking, as they are meant to simply provide the basic foundations of sociology. Students do not necessarily engage with the content or the instructor in large 100-level classes, because, as some participants believed, it was not necessary for their success, nor was it expected of them. One participant’s comment highlighted the fact that students are expected to grow academically throughout their studies:

“The expectations of a student and a student’s abilities should grow over the 4-year period of study. I encourage a ‘sit back and learn’ approach to first year classes, thus, large classes are acceptable. At a fourth year level, a student should be encouraged to articulate their own ideas and debate with other students. A fair opportunity to do so would not occur in a large class setting.”

By the time students reach 300-level and 400-level classes, they have chosen

their areas of focus and specializations, and they are more aware of their specific interests within the Sociology discipline. Therefore, as “course topics become more concentrated and specific... [the] number of students [per class] should complement that.”

Assessment Methods

Students recognize that instructors in large classes are often forced to use multiple choice assessments for efficiency, but many participants believe that they are not being employed effectively and not achieving the learning goals that instructors have for their students. Out of the options “Test/Exam - Essay”, “Test/Exam - Multiple Choice”, and “Test/Exam - Short/Long Answer”, multiple choice tests ranked as the lowest on the survey for “which assessment methods helped you to learn sociological concepts and theories?” Other assessment methods that ranked low on this question included annotated bibliography, oral presentation, paper - draft, pecha kucha, peer feedback, recording and problem-based learning. Many of the negative comments on Ratemyprofessor.com shared the sentiment that students did not appreciate when they were tested on specific details, which they often associated with multiple choice testing as well. The students frequently felt that studying for such tests did not require any thought on their part, simply memorization. Some comments included “[we] had to memorize every single word, date, and number to do reasonably well”, “test and exams were based on small details rather than main theories”, and “good for people who don’t want to come to class and just memorize textbooks. No critical thinking required or appreciated.” Other issues that students frequently cited with all assessment methods were a lack of clarity on the instructor’s expectations, as well as a lack of feedback given for graded assessments.

On the other hand, the most frequently mentioned factor throughout the positive instructor reviews on Ratemyprofessor.com was “fairness” with regards to assessments and grading. As one participant said,

“[this professor is] the fairest prof I’ve ever had at UTM. He tells you exactly what to expect on the tests and describes in detail what he expects in your papers.”

Many other participants described “fairness” similarly, as giving straightforward tests/exams, not requiring very specific details from the lectures or textbook in assessments, and giving a clear explanation of assessments beforehand so that students could best decide how to effectively prepare and not be surprised by the assessment requirements or format. As far as tests and exams, students favoured the “long/short answer” format the most, as 60% of students said that it was an effective method of learning sociological concepts and theories. From the survey data, other assessment methods which students regarded as helpful to their learning were critical analysis papers, reflection papers, case studies and quizzes. One participant noted their most memorable learning experience as having an instructor who held weekly quizzes which “make reading articles incumbent”; this was reverberated by other students’ instructor reviews as well. A common attitude was that, even though weekly or surprise quizzes required the students to work harder, they enjoyed the experience if the instructor was helpful and wanted the students to succeed. This also held true for other in-class assessment methods, such as graded comment cards, “ticket out the door” (whereby students submit an answer to a specific question related to lecture at the end of class), and participation marks. A positive rating of one instructor read:

“My advice is not to fall behind for the readings and come to all lectures since he gives out mini quizzes or there’s group work (10% of your mark). However, he is very helpful in making the readings easier to understand.”

So, once again, a “good instructor” can alleviate some of the difficulties that are associated with feasible assessment methods within large classes. Since large classes do not always permit essay tests, research papers, class presentations, or other, more critical assessment methods, students appreciate when a “good instructor” can motivate them to complete the assigned readings and create multiple choice questions that require critical thinking rather than memorization.

LIMITATIONS

The main limitation of this study is that it is not fully exhaustive. In the interest of efficiency and cost-effectiveness, probability sampling techniques were not employed when recruiting participants for this study. Thus, the opinions shared by the participants of this study do not necessarily form a representative sample of UTM Sociology students. Additionally, the responses provided by participants in the survey may be biased due to the students' success (or lack of success) in a specific class or with a specific instructor. Similarly, there is sampling bias throughout the Ratemyprofessor.com data as well, because often the students who take the time to write on this forum have either strongly negative or strongly positive opinions on the professor. The cross-sectional nature of this study can also be a limitation because many of the survey responses relied on students' ability to recall their past experiences, which could affect the accuracy of their accounts. For the purpose of this study, however, and the time restraint of a Summer class session, non-probability sampling and a cross-sectional study design were the best research methods to employ. Many of these limitations can be overcome in future studies that are conducted over a longer period of time.

CONCLUSIONS

The data from this study demonstrates how Sociology students at the University of Toronto Mississauga (UTM) perceive the effects of class composition on their learning quality and experience. Many of the theories discussed in the existing literature were demonstrated in the results of this study.

First, many authors argued that the traditional lecture-style of teaching, which large classes are often dependent on, do not achieve instructors' learning goals for their students (Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Hornsby and Osman 2014; Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Crull and Collins 2004; Allais 2014; Hogan and Daniell 2012). This was supported by the data collected in this study because a significant number of students held negative views toward classes in which the instructor employed Paolo Friere's "banking model", by simply reading from their notes or the Power Point slide word-for-word while the students are expected to copy the content. A key difference between positive and negative

instructor reviews on Ratemyprofessor.com was that instructors with negative reviews often used this traditional lecture style, whereas instructors who were rated more positively were praised for their engaging lecture style and unique approaches to teaching. The literature regarded students as passive recipients of information when the instructor lectures with this “banking model,” and found that such passivity was common in large classes. The data showed that instructors at UTM have already begun to try to reconcile this by using in-class engagement strategies such as iClickers, sharing news articles/videos/images that are related to course content, holding weekly quizzes and asking questions during lecture. These pedagogical models have been well-received by students, as supported by the data, because the majority of students want more engagement and more critical thinking in class. This is especially the case when lecture slides are posted online, since students do not want class time to become useless for them.

Quinlan and Fogel’s (2014) argument that active learning strategies are possible in large classes is supported by the data in this study. A significant portion of the data demonstrated the importance to students of having engaging, innovative instructors in order to have positive learning experiences. The opposing argument, presented by Monks and Schmidt (2011), was also supported by the data, however, with a caveat. Their argument that “class size has a negative impact on the student-rated outcomes of amount learned, instructor rating, and course rating” was supported only when the instructor did not implement any innovative pedagogical techniques.

A similar finding emerged with regards to assessment methods. When instructors in large classes used multiple choice questions that were based solely on lecture or textbook material, students did not feel like they were learning theories or concepts effectively because they were simply memorizing and repeating information. For these types of questions, students felt that they had to focus their studying not only on understanding the theories and concepts, but on knowing the details of “useless” information that would be included within multiple choice questions. Instead, students believed that they had higher-quality learning experiences when instructors made multiple choice questions that require critical thinking, or when they used essay or short/long answer questions instead. Little and Bjork (2015) provide an effective means of “optimizing multiple-choice tests” in this way, which students in this study have already seemed to experience at UTM in some classes. So, more instructors

need to make the effort to improve their multiple choice assessments, since they continue to be the most efficient assessment method in large classes.

These themes also highlight the idea that instructors have learning goals for their students that they must try to achieve, which is more difficult in larger classes. While encouraging theory application, self-reflection and developing strong writing skills are cited throughout the literature as important learning goals, critical thinking is most frequently discussed (Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Hornsby and Osman 2014; Hogan and Daniell 2012; Machum and Clow 2015; Burgess-Procter et al. 2014). Many participants in this study agreed that critical thinking is crucial in sociology, and regarded instructors who required critical thinking to be “good” instructors. Students commented on how, even in large classes, the best instructors would be able to organize class discussions and assessments that required critical thinking and analysis.

Flipping the classroom was another pedagogical technique that was discussed throughout the literature. From this study, it is clear that the majority of classes at UTM are not “flipped”, and still follow a lecture format. However, many students discussed one “large” 200-level class where they were required to devote “about 15 hours in a week” to the assigned readings, which were mandatory because they would be discussed for the duration of the lecture. Importantly, these classes were considered “large” in the student comments, but may not necessarily be large by UTM instructor’s standards. The instructor of this class was also favoured for their “different style of teaching”, and for inspiring students. As stated previously, this instructor inspired one student to pursue a graduate degree and made them “see the world a different way.” Essentially, by Brooks’ definition, this class was flipped, since the students were familiarizing themselves with the content outside of class, and lecture meetings were used as a “collaborative and engaging learning environment” (2014:226). From the data collected in this study, flipping the classroom is an effective means of encouraging active learning at the university level and could be employed in large classes.

The overall consensus by scholars throughout the literature is that although large classes make it more difficult to ensure quality learning - in sociology classes as well as within other disciplines - student outcomes are more dependent on the instructor rather than the class (Mollborn and Hoekstra 2010; Quinlan and Fogel 2014; Monks and Schmidt 2011). In support of this

consensus, this study can conclude that course composition in itself does not reduce learning quality for students. While large class sizes can, indeed, make it more difficult for students to have meaningful learning experiences, other instructor-related factors can either alleviate or intensify such difficulties. Thus, in response to increasing enrolment rates, it is not necessary to put a “cap” on the number of students enrolling in Sociology programs. A better response would be to hire additional faculty so that professors and TAs have a lighter “student load”, allowing more in-depth assessment methods (such as written papers, or long/short answer tests rather than multiple choice tests) to be employed even in large classes. This can be done in conjunction with encouraging innovative teaching methods to promote active learning and critical thinking in the largest sociology classes.

In the future, it would be useful to determine with more certainty whether active learning strategies are being employed in large classes, by faculty standards (i.e. more than 200 students), or if it is only possible in smaller classes (which students may consider large). Future studies could also examine lecture styles, assessment methods and student outcomes in large classes more directly, rather than looking at student evaluations. This would collect more objective data on the topic of course composition and student learning. This area of research would benefit from longitudinal studies as well, because future researchers can conduct a pre- and post-tests of implementing active learning and engagement strategies and their effects on student learning.

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Secularization: The Decline of Religiosity or the Revival of Faith?

by Shernaz Patel

ABSTRACT

This paper explores traditional definitions of secularization and their relationship to the process of modernization. By first understanding and discounting the view of traditional secularism offered by Max Weber, this paper aims to offer a different take on how the process of modernization are tied in to secularization and result in the 'revival of faith' that is characteristic of today's society.

Modernization and its related processes should be understood as necessarily pluralizing, not secularizing. Modernization changes the role of religion in society by pushing it out of the public sphere of education, economics, and family. Secularization then, is characterized by religious groups sharing the authority that once was held by a singular religious figure. Secularism does not bring about a decline in religiosity but instead changes the shape of religion. This changing shape of religion, previously mistaken for a decline in religion, creates a global religious marketplace enabling growth and inclusion of cultural pluralism. Secularization is not the death of religion but the beginning of a new type of religion, a revival of faith- one that enables the growth of religious pluralism.

There have been many traditional theorists such as Nietzsche, Marx, Freud and Weber, that prophesize secularization, as the increasing disbelief in religion, as the ultimate end of religion (Berger 2008; Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). None of their theories proposing a link between rationalization and religion have been substantiated with the evidence of religious decline as predicted (Berger 2008). In reality, there has been evidence of a revival of religious faith, changing the prospects for the growth and continuity of religion (Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). By positing an understanding of and discounting traditional secularism, this paper argues that secularism does not bring about a decline in religiosity but instead changes the shape of religion: that is, secularization creates a global religious marketplace and enables the growth and inclusion of cultural pluralism.

TRADITIONAL SECULARISM: THE DEATH OF RELIGION

Secularism derives from *saeculum*, meaning a century or age. The opposite of *saeculum* is *eschaton*, meaning the end of time at the moment Christ returns (Gorski and Altinordu 2008). This would suggest that secularism, from its root word, simply means a new age of religion. For classical theorists like Weber, however, secularism is defined as the opposite to or the end of religion (Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Swatos and Christiano 1999). To fully understand Weber's view of secularism, it is important to first note their idea of religion. For Max Weber, religion is a cultural force and a barrier to the rationalization of society (Berger 2008; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Religion offers a way for people to understand the world, and with rational thought people depend more on science than supernatural reasoning. The period of Enlightenment, brought about through modernity, was thought to be incompatible with religion (Finkle and Stark 1988; Mouzelis 2012; Reno 2014). Modernization and its processes, such as urbanization and the development of science and rational thought, undermined the scope of religion in its role vis-à-vis non-religious institutions (Mouzelis 2012). Modernization changed the role of religion and pushed it out of public spheres such as family, education and economics (Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012). Weber believed that this shift in religion's role caused a change in the way people identified with themselves and each other, and in the bonds they held to their communities, ideologies, and symbols (Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012).

Weber believed that as modernization progressed, rational thought would replace religion's role of helping people understand and identify with the human experience (Reno 2014; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Weber posited that the increased rationalization of action would bring about the death of religion. Weber defined the rationalization of action as secularization (Berger 2008; Swatos and Christiano 1999). As society is shaped by modernization, religion's role diminishes. Secularization enables people to view the modern world through rational calculation instead of the previously accepted supernatural idols, sacred symbols, doctrines, and institutions (Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012). For Weber, a secular world was a religion-less world (Swatos and Christiano 1999).

Swatos and Christiano (1999) dispute Weber's claim that as society's progress through modernization religion's role diminishes to its ultimate end. They argue that there is always room for religion in society. We will always need religion to explain basic human experiences where solutions lie beyond rational determination (Swatos and Christiano 1999). There are always experiences of the human condition, such as death, that only religion can explain (Swatos and Christiano 1999). Even if religion is declining, there will always be a revival to try and search for spiritual and supernatural explanations for experiences that cannot be accounted for or understood rationally (Collinson 1999; Swatos and Christiano 1999).

Religion will also always play a role in the formation of localized, smaller communities (Collinson 1999; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Religion creates the smaller groups and communities which share a singular moral authority. Weber believes localized communities do not need religion: religion itself is creates those smaller communities (Beseke 2005; Collinson 1999; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Paul Berger calls this a "confusion of categories" (Berger 2008). Modernity is necessarily pluralizing not secularizing (Berger 2008). Weber's theory of secularization has been continually disputed as there is no substantial evidence of the extinction of religion brought about with the rise of modernization (Berger 2008; Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Weber based his thesis on the assumption that secularization is a necessary feature of modernity (Berger 2008; Reno 2014). However, plurality, not secularization, is the necessary feature of modernity (Berger 2008; Finke and Stark 1988). Though Enlightenment did "demystify" religion and take away its authority, spirituality is only one part of religion and one cannot conclude

that religion as a whole is declining (Beseke 2005; Berger 2008; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Modernization is a reformation process: since society and experience is changing as we progress socially, culturally and technologically, the shape and role of religion and how we interpret the world must also change (Beseke 2005; Collinson 1999; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Modern theorists such as Chaves, Swatos and Chistiano argue that modernization does not cause the end of religion, but is a step towards a new type of religiosity (Chaves 1994; Swatos and Christiano 1999).

MODERN SECULARIZATION: CHANGING DEFINITIONS

Since there has been evidence of revivals of religious faith, sociologists are taking a break from the conventional or commonly accepted wisdom to search for new definitions of secularization through a process called “epistemic reflexivity” (Lin and Tsai 2011). To study from this perspective is to break from both common sense and professional knowledge. Berger proposes that secularization be understood in terms of a spectrum, where a country’s take on secularization depends on the differential roles that religion plays in a society and the various specialized institutions that carry them out (Berger 2008). Berger proposes a spectrum where we have a system of institutional differentiation at one end; moving towards a system of privatized religion protected by law but removed from the public spheres of education, family and economics; to a repressive sort of secularization where religion is evicted from the public sphere and into private space at the other end (Berger 2008; Lin and Tsai 2011).

The first case of secularization as institutional differentiation is common in the American context (Berger 2008). There is an understanding of the separation of church from state and how previous community or religious responsibilities such as education are now organized through specialized institutions. The second case of secularization is characteristic of France where religion is strictly considered and protected as private matter, and barred from political life (Berger 2008). This understanding originated in the anti-Christian movement following Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Lastly, the third type of secularization was practiced through Soviet Union and other communist regimes (Berger 2008). This sort of secularism seeks to privatize and repress religion.

There are two things in common with all of Berger's definitions of secularization. First, that it is the system of governance itself that has become secularized: the separation of church from state (Berger 2008). Secondly, there is the idea that religion has become privatized because its role in the public sphere has been replaced (Beseke 2005). Beseke counters this argument by stating that there is no real privatization, it is just that religion's role is changing and harder to locate (Beseke 2005). Berger's definitions show how the process of modernization can yield different results in a country depending on society's attitude toward religion and the current socio-political climate.

Berger's spectrum is useful as it helps us understand the different ways that a secular society can appear, but does not fully explain the process of secularization itself. Secularization then, must be understood as a process tied in with modernization and religion that can yield many different results (Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Lin and Tsai 2011). Understanding the history of a country's religious climate is essential in understanding how the process of secularization will take place. Secularization cannot be defined in terms of outcome because the results of the process rest upon a number of interacting factors and will not be consistent. Weber's view of modernization causing a universal view of secularization as the death of religion is implausible. 'Secularization' understood as a process tied in with modernization is necessarily pluralizing.

MODERN SECULARIZATION: THE PROCESS OF AUTHORITATIVE DECLINE

The process of secularization is now commonly understood to describe the declining scope of singular religious authorities (Berger 2008; Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). This definition still incorporates the two features common under Berger's descriptions of secular societies: the separation of religion from the public sphere, and the 'privatization' of religion. Under this model, the once dominant religious institution, now removed from the public sphere, displaces the power and authority it once held over its followers to other religious institutions (Chaves 1994; Finke and Stark 1988). The privatization that occurs is one where individuals are no longer socialized into a singular religion, but have a choice as to which religion to adhere to. The overall power and respect that a singular religious institution once held is now shared across many religious institutions. Some theorists argue that this will

still lead to the end of religion because there is no longer a singular authority. The displacement of power and authority undermines religious commitments and routines causing symbols to lose their meaningfulness (Chaves 1994; Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Mouzelis 2012).

However, counter arguments have been made and supported with evidence that this displacement and reformation of religion does not detract from religion and God, but instead creates a marketplace where there are many Gods and individuals are free to make a choice (Reno 2014; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Religion as a whole has not lost its dominance of the sacred through secularization; its dominance is now shared across multiple religious institutions. This new type of religiosity, the reformation created through the process of secularization, is an asset to religious commitment (Finke and Stark 1988; Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Mouzelis 2012; Reno 2014). Without secularization and the removal of religion from the public sphere, shared religious authority would not be possible (Swatos and Christiano 1999).

The shared religious authority, a feature of secularization, creates a 'global religious marketplace' or 'religion à la carte' model (Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). In this sense, secularization enables the growth of cultural pluralism. This is beneficial because it allows the individual seeking authenticity to create a tailored path towards religious attainment and the 'truth'. People spend more time understanding various religions and are now more engaged in the process than they would have been had they just taken the more common religious route, or the religion they were raised with (Swatos and Christiano 1999). The 'religion à la carte' model increases one's religious commitment as the individual is more engaged in the process of religiosity and they better embody their religious beliefs (Beseke 2005; Lin and Tsai 2011; Swatos and Christiano 1999). The embodiment of and engagement with religion creates a system of belief that is more purposeful and meaningful to the individual (Beseke 2005; Finke and Stark 1988; Lin and Tsai 2011).

The ability to choose one's religious pathway is an essential feature of modernity. Modernity is about choice, whether real or imagined; it is about the search for new and better systems of thought, belief, and action (Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999). Modernity brought about the separation of church from state with a wave of rationalization. This began the process of secularization where religion adapted and changed its shape so it could still play a meaningful role in the lives of individuals. The secularization process is

a result of modernity, and creates a global marketplace for religion (Mouzelis 2012; Swatos and Christiano 1999).

CONCLUSION

Modernity, secularization, and religion all have to be understood in relation to each other and as social processes that shape our actions, behaviours, and beliefs (Chaves 1994; Mouzelis 2012). The shape that these processes and institutions take depend on the socio-political landscape of the time. Weber assumed that the essential feature of modernity was secular and therefore hypothesized that as modernity developed, secularization as the death of religion would occur (Mouzelis 2012; Reno 2014; Swatos and Christiano 1999). This assumption is arguable and Weber's theory of secularization has not been substantiated with evidence (Berger 2008). There is evidence of new religious movements and revivals, not of a decline. There will always be a need for religion to explain human experiences that cannot be answered through rational determinism (Collinson 1999; Swatos and Christiano 1999).

Modernity changed the way people interacted with each other and understood various symbols or systems of belief. Modernity changed the role of religion in people's lives. People are always searching for answers, better explanations for human experiences, and systems of beliefs that better suit their needs. Secularization then, compared to modernity, is a process of reformation where individuals are given the choice to finding and creating their own religious pathway (Finke and Stark 1988; Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Mouzelis 2012). To allow for this choice, the authority once assigned to a singular religious authority must be shared across all religious authorities. This process of dividing religious authority over multiple religious groups is the process of secularization which can take shape in many forms on the spectrum (Berger 2008).

Some argue that the shared authority between religious institutions harms and degrades religion (Reno 2014). However, it is also argued that religious choice, given through a global marketplace for religion, enhances one's religious beliefs (Beseke 2005; Lin and Tsai 2011; Swatos and Christiano 1999). It makes the individual more engaged and involved in religious matters. Individuals have a stronger embodiment and connection with their beliefs because they have chosen them on their own (Beseke 2005; Finke and Stark

1988; Lin and Tsai 2011). Secularization is not the death of religion but a revival of faith. It marks the beginning of a new type of religion- one that enables the growth of religious pluralism.

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JOURNAL MANAGER POSITIONS

If you are interested in operating and managing “The Society”: Sociology and Criminology Undergraduate Review, we recommend that you run in the SCS elections for an executive position. Inquiries regarding how to do so can be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca.

STUDENT EDITOR POSITIONS

If you are interested in a position as a student editor for “The Society”, you must apply to the SCS student journal managers during their hiring period. Inquires regarding how to obtain a student editor position can be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca.

SUBMITTING AN ARTICLE FOR REVIEW

For your work to qualify for consideration, you must be a current undergraduate student in, or have graduated from, a Sociology or Criminology program at UTM. The work you submit for review must have been written within the past two years during your time as an undergraduate student.

If you are interested in submitting an article for review and have inquiries regarding formatting and deadlines, these inquiries may also be forwarded to scs@utmsu.ca. However, if you are discussing the topic of your article and/or have attached your article for review, please forward your questions and/or submission to scs.scur@gmail.com only to comply with our double-blind process and standard.

