Think Sociology!

Thoughts from the Head

Can a retiring head multitask? For this issue, my thoughts are simultaneously from the head and the heart – but I’m not chewing gum as I write! The big news is that we have a new incoming head. I am definitely rejoicing :-) Francesco Duina, a wonderfully gifted scholar, with Italian roots and a keen interest in the social construction of international trade agreements, is joining the Department as the new Head. Francesco is coming directly from Bates College, one of the premier undergraduate colleges in the U.S. He is a gifted teacher, as his Bates tenure attests, an accomplished scholar with four books and a slew of articles (and book five on the way), and he was the Head of Sociology at Bates.

Being a Department Head is the toughest job in the university. You are at the mercy of colleagues who look to you to solve local problems or hold off the evils of central administration – while that very same central administration looks to you to follow their wishes in enabling top-down change. Thankfully my colleagues have typically been wonderfully supportive. I have led a Department composed of smart people – students, staff, and faculty. Their collective intelligence, and professionalism, has made my job relatively easy. Alumni too have stepped up, volunteering both time and money, and their contributions too have made us better. So from the heart – many, many thanks.

We have also been lucky over the past several years to have strong senior administrators who have helped the university grow and who have seen fit to expand the excellence that now defines Sociology at UBC. Having just returned to UBC from giving the S.D. Clark Memorial lecture at the University of Toronto, I have seen firsthand that my colleagues there envy our excellence. They still believe they are better than we are – but the gap has closed enormously over the past decade, and is close to gone in my head (and in my heart it vanished long ago!). That level of excellence, which enriches us all and has been collectively achieved, is what makes me the proudest to have been Head. Over to you Francesco! I'm off to chew some 5 Beta (whatever happened to Juicy Fruit?).

Plastic Insects, Radical Entomology and the Politics of War

By Renisa Mawani

In 2012, insects - including bees and bedbugs - repeatedly made headlines in the New York Times. One article published in June reported “clumps of homeless bees” that were inconveniently frequenting public places, including outdoor restaurants, where they were frightening patrons and affecting business. Although entomologists have reported a mysterious decline in bee populations over the past decade – a phenomenon known as “Colony Collapse Disorder” – New York City’s spring swarm “nearly double[d] the rate of past years.” The bees may have adversely affected business and tourism in the city, albeit temporarily, yet bee keepers and bee enthusiasts were pleased. The “homeless bees” suggested a potential increase in bee populations, likely the outcome of an unusually warm spring. In December, the New York Times described an equally troublesome infestation also affecting New York City life. This time, the uninvited guests were bedbugs. “Reading in bed, once considered a relatively safe pastime, is now seen by some as a riskier proposition. That’s because bedbugs have discovered a new way to hitchhike in and out of beds: library books.” Unlike the homeless bees, New York City’s bedbugs were not solely invading spaces of human sociality but were entering and occupying consecrated sites of intimacy: the bedroom. The changing ecologies and adaptability of bees and bedbugs, briefly introduced (continues on page 2...)
here, illustrate what entomologists have called “insect plasticity” - the wondrous ability of certain insect species to transform themselves in response to predators, hostile climates, and environmental changes produced through shifting weather patterns and the use of pesticides, for example.

Insects have a long history in philosophy and literature and a much more recent one in the social sciences. From Aime Cesaire’s ants and bedbugs, to Jews as lice, and Tutsi cockroaches, insects as metaphor have regularly been evoked to identify racial and colonial anxieties and have often been mobilized as technologies of dehumanization and death. As many scholars have noted, the animalization of colonial-racial populations – their transformation into insects - has facilitated, legitimated, and justified mass violence, often with few ethical considerations (colonial Algeria, Rwanda, and the list goes on). More recently, as the New York Times articles suggest, insects have reappeared not solely as metaphor but as material agent, bearing a variety of consequences for human life and social forms. Insects, the BBC reported in March 2011, “are tremendously efficient at converting vegetation such as leaves into edible protein.” In a future of global food shortages, insects, many predict, will be instrumental not only in assisting the growth of more resource-efficient food for humans, but also as staples in human diets in the west. The insect as global agent has equally become a critical force in contemporary networks of war, facilitating the innovation of new forms of knowledge, death, and destruction in a rapidly changing and increasingly uncertain world.

This project, which is still in early stages, draws on, expands, and joins these conceptualizations of insect as metaphor and materiality. I ask how insects as objects of knowledge and as agents of knowledge in their own right have been developed and mobilized in global and local wars alike. How has the plasticity of insects been harnessed by the US government, inspiring military tactics and advancing technologies of war in the global present, while at the same time generating new forms of governance on local scales? Whereas honeybees have been trained and physically adapted by the US’s Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) eventually to replace explosive-sniffing dogs on the frontlines of war, the war against bedbugs has opened new trajectories of surveillance in New York City and in other major cities, including Vancouver. The uncontrollability of bedbugs, their inability to distinguish between wealthy, poor, and racially-marked neighborhoods for instance, has meant that regimes of surveillance are now everywhere. No one and nothing is off-limits.

Developing a radical entomology that draws on these two scales – the global and local – while demonstrating their permeability, this project examines how insects are constantly shifting between metaphor and material agent, generating new forms of knowledge, producing novel military tactics and opening additional forms of governance, while facilitating the interrelation-
Vending, Food, & Urban Space

By Amy Hanser

In 2010, the Vancouver City Council announced a plan to relax city regulations on food vending to allow for a broader range of street food options beyond hot dog. The policy change was described in Canada’s national media as initiating a “street food renaissance,” and supporters envisioned the new food carts adding “diversity” to city streets. “The popularity of this is a clear indication that people want to see a wide range of food on our streets and they want the offerings to reflect the cuisine of our culturally diverse city,” the city’s mayor, Gregor Robertson, was quoted as saying in the local newspaper. By contrast, in the lead up to the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing, city streets were high priority for city governments all around China. In Harbin, where I spent that summer, concern for the city’s “face” was apparent in daily newspaper reports about street vendors blocking roads and sidewalks and kebab stands dirtying neighborhoods. Across the city, vendors operating in morning markets and from newspaper stands and itinerant carts were edgy as city regulators patrolled in mini-vans, harassing vendors illegally occupying street corners of major thoroughfares.

How do cultural ideas shape how public spaces are regulated and socially organized? Numerous scholars - sociologist as well as geographers, urban planners, historians and others - have documented and described urban sidewalks of particular sides of contention and negotiation, and in cities around the world, street commerce has a long but contested history. But how do ideas about what a sidewalk should look like, and what kinds of activities should happen there, shape how city space is actually organized and governed?

For me, this question about the relationship between cultural ideas and sidewalks first emerged after I returned to Vancouver from China, where I had been conducting research on street vendors and street markets in Chinese cities. In China, municipal governments across the country are adopting more restrictive stances towards street vending, and conflicts between vendors and city regulators have become a common sight. Often, these regulatory efforts are propelled by a desire to modernize the “face” of the city, and sidewalks free from the presence of untidy street peddlers are a key part of that urban “face.”

Imagine my surprise, then, when in late 2009 and early 2010 there was much talk in Vancouver about the possibility of reintroducing food vending (beyond hot dogs and roasted nuts) to city streets and sidewalks. I quickly realized that the “food cart” phenomenon was not limited to Vancouver - Seattle, for example, has also been trying to loosen restrictions of food vending. For me, the discussion about food carts and the excitement it gave rise to raised an intriguing question. What would prompt cities to try to reintroduce activities that have been largely regulated out of existence? What visions of urban life would make this a compelling use of city resources and time? And why was the public generally so positive about the possibility of expanding their street food options? To investigate further, I have been conducting interviews in Portland, Oregon and Vancouver, talking to people connected with the city, food media, food vendors and others.

Portland is undoubtedly one of the most well-known cases of “street food” in North America. As of early 2013, over 700 “mobile food units” were licensed in Multnomah County (a large portion of which is the city of Portland), and one observer estimates that a little over a half of these might be food carts or food trucks. That’s a lot of carts! (Vancouver, by contrast, has only 103 permitted food cart vendors, and only about half of these sell food other than hotdogs or roasted chestnuts.) Interestingly, the story in Portland is not one in which city government has overtly facilitated or encouraged the expansion of food carts and opened city sidewalks to food commerce; in fact, sidewalk food selling is just as restrictive in Portland as it is in most North American cities, and only a handful of the city’s now renowned street food vendors actually operate from formal sidewalk locations. Food carts in Portland operate almost entirely from private parcels of land that has been zoned for parking. Nevertheless, these carts could easily be seen as eyesores - many food cart pods have a ramshackle appearance - or as under-regulated and as potential safety hazards. They might also be seen as unfair competition for brick-and-mortar restaurants who pay more taxes and have greater overhead. But for the most part, they are not. Why?

Part of the story in Portland is clearly health regulators who are not troubled by food preparation in carts and, by the accounts of people I interviewed in Portland, who are also keen to facilitate the ability of cart operators to make a living. But ideas about urban space and city culture are clearly at work as well. In particular, food carts in Portland serve as what I think of as “containers of virtue,” easily associated with many positive cultural values at the same time. And food carts can “contain” a surprisingly wide range of positive values: They are seen as “activating” drab urban

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Georg Simmel at UBC: The Story of a Photograph
By Tom Kemple

It was in April 2011 that Rayka Kumru, a student in my social theory seminar, came into my office and said: “You are not going to believe what I’m going to show you!” She then placed a copy of a photograph in front of me and asked: “Recognize anyone?” I peered curiously at the somewhat blurry old image of a small group of people in old-fashioned clothes in a lovely middle-class garden. “That’s Simmel there on the left!”, I cried out after a moment. Now considered one of the founders of sociology, along with Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, Georg Simmel (1856-1918) was the central figure in our course, where we studied his writings on everyday sociability, life in the modern metropolis, and the experience of being a stranger, and discussed how they might apply to recent studies of interactions in the expanding online world of social media. My course was inspired by my sabbatical in Berlin, the city where Simmel was born and had taught for many years, where I was doing research on his life and lesser known writings. I was also in Berlin to begin work with my colleague from the University of Leeds, Austin Harrington, in co-editing a special issue of the journal Theory, Culture & Society showcasing the wave of recent scholarship on this eclectic thinker, much of it inspired by new translations of his work. To have found a photo of Simmel in my own back yard was astonishing!

“The I’ve never seen such an informal picture of Simmel before,” I said to Rayka. “How did you find this?” “Well,” she began, “when I was skiing at Whistler over the mid-term break, I was waiting for the chairlift with some people” – I was now more intrigued than ever – “and an old woman in the group struck up a conversation with me. She asked if I was a student at UBC and wanted to know what kinds of courses I was taking. I told her I really liked your class on social theories of the new media, and when I mentioned that the ideas of this guy named Georg Simmel especially interested me, she jumped in: ‘Georg Simmel was my grandfather’s best friend! You must come over to my house some time and I’ll show you some pictures’. After classes ended, this woman invited Rayka to dinner at her home near UBC, and showed her dozens of old photos of her family, many of them from the time her grandparents lived in Berlin’s Westend just before the first world war. A couple of them were of Simmel at a Sunday garden party at the home of his grandfather, and she made a few photocopies for Rayka to take with her as she left. Needless to say, I was eager to meet this woman to hear more about her grandfather’s connection to Simmel, and Rayka was happy to arrange an introduction.

Since Rayka’s discovery a couple of years ago, I have been to Mrs Cornelia Hahn Oberlander’s house to look at her family photos and to hear stories about her illustrious grandfather, Professor Ignaz Jastrow (1856-1937). A noted political economist and historian at the University of Berlin, Jastrow was the author of hundreds of books, essays, and journal articles (the bibliography of his works that Mrs Oberlander gave me is 110 pages long) on the financial policies of the German Reich, labour economics and working class movements, and the political theory of “social liberalism” (he is said to have been reading Adam Smith when he died). Mrs Oberlander identified the fleeting image of her mother in the photograph, Beate Jastrow, on the far left behind the pear tree; her aunt Ethel (Elisabeth) hiding behind their mother, Anna Jastrow (nee Seligman); and her grandfather, Ignaz Jastrow, the bearded man of the house in black formal wear standing between Georg Simmel and his wife Gertrud (who wrote books under the name Maria Louise Enkendorff). Mrs Oberlander also showed me the tea cup and saucer she inherited from her grandfather, which guests like Simmel would have used in their afternoon parties, and she mentioned that her grandparents were also friends with Max Weber, whose family had once lived nearby and who, with Jastrow and Simmel, had been among the founding members of the German Sociological Society in 1910. Mrs Oberlander has also been happy to tell me about her own current projects as a world renowned landscape architect, including the Van Dusen Garden, the grounds around the Museum of Anthropology, and most recently the rooftop garden of the Vancouver Public Library (see her website: www.corneliaooberlander.ca).

After some research in the storage shelves of the UBC Library, I was eventually able to return to Mrs Oberlander with some stories of my own. I found that Simmel reportedly called Jastrow the smartest man he ever met, and that the two used to engage in such long and intense conversations that the one could hardly hear what the other one was saying. Not long before the photograph was taken in the summer of 1914 (just before the war broke out, and as Simmel
was preparing to leave his beloved Berlin for his first permanent faculty appointment at the University of Strasbourg, Simmel wrote an editorial for the Akademische Rundschau protesting the firing of his friend from the staff of Berlin Commercial College which Jastrow had co-founded. Although Jastrow’s dismissal was ostensibly on financial grounds, in Simmel’s view it was carried out in a way that compromised the academic freedom of university lecturers and could lead to the commodification of higher learning. Clearly, Simmel’s friendship Jastrow was profound and important, and it shows us that he was much more conversant with issues related to academic politics and social science debates of the day than scholars have previously thought.

In a note on the back of one of the snapshots, Mrs Oberlander’s mother recalls the “characteristic movements” that Simmel typically made when speaking, a peculiarity many of his students remarked on as well: **His voice, apparently slightly laborious, his language and art of speaking, were incomparable, completely original. His voice circled around the object so to speak, encircling it, holding, vibrating and then raising a little, intoning strangely and finally wrapping itself in the object, boring into it; it matched his form of thought exactly, this process of winding, slowly unwinding, everything he concerned himself with. He shaped things so that they assumed and expressed his incomparable spirit, but at the same time reflected their own essence and truth** (Richard Kroner, in a volume of reminiscences of Simmel published in 1958).

In his unpublished “Auto-biographical Sketch” of 1920, Professor Jastrow comments that, even as Simmel’s influence and reputation began to grow after his death, “the most deeply and uniquely influenced by him were those who knew him personally. With the most composed of gazes he would find a concept and a context for every object he beheld or contemplated, taking his audience with him into philosophical heights and depths, and all the while ready to offer his brilliant mental counsel to others without any desire to show off or impress.” Although Simmel had little to say about the musical arts, he seems to have embodied their rhythms and movements in the way that he orchestrated words, ideas, and gestures in the lecture hall, on the written page, and even in everyday conversation.

As luck would have it, among the pieces by Simmel that I was translating for the special issue of *Theory, Culture & Society* was a series of short epigrammatic and anecdotal pieces he published in the avant-garde art journal Jugend (Youth) under the strange title “Snapshots under the aspect of eternity” (Momenti bildes sub specie aeternitatis). In contrast to his well-crafted books (such as *The Philosophy of Money*), systematic treatises (including the recently translated *Sociology*), and scholarly essays (especially the celebrated “The Metropolis and Mental Life”), where Simmel advances his most influential theoretical arguments and his famous repertoire of modern social types — the stranger, the city-dweller, the prostitute, the pauper, the miser, and so on — these literary “stills” of everyday scenes and ordinary encounters are written in an ironic, playful, and even comical style. Published in the early days of popular photography, they were not accompanied by any actual snapshots, but rather by stylized designs and graphic drawings characteristic of the Jugendstil movement which celebrated individual artistic creativity over the technological reproduction of images. Nevertheless, if we imagine this photographic “snapshot” of friends gathered in sociable conversation at a Sunday garden party “from the perspective of eternity,” or at least from the vantage point of the personal fates and political upheavals in the lives of the people depicted here in the years to follow, then it might capture a moment in which Simmel was grappling with the great philosophical or everyday sociological problems which preoccupied him in his work.

Georg Simmel has more than this coincidental connection to our department, however. The second full-time sociologist hired at UBC, Kaspar Naegle, who later became Dean of Arts a year before his death in 1964, and after whom our endowed lecture is named, was one of the most passionate and comprehensive readers of Simmel in the period after World War II. His articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* on Simmel and Durkheim opened up new paths of sociological theorising that I think are only now being fully appreciated. Naegle emigrated to North America as a teenager after the war from Berlin’s Westend, and his family may well have been acquainted with the Simmels or the Jastrows living nearby. Naegle had studied at Harvard with the great Talcott Parsons, who dedicated his influential *Sociological Theory and Modern Society* to his late student — “perceptive observer, imaginative theorist, and beloved friend to very many”. And Parsons had been persuaded by Naegle to include substantial selections from Simmel’s works in the monumental anthology which they co-edited in 1961, *Theories of Society*. In some ways, I credit my own current interest in Simmel to my indirect encounters with Naegle through this book. The first occasion was in the spring of 1994 when former department head and then Dean of Arts, the late Patricia Marchak, took a copy of *Theories of Society* from her bookshelf at my job interview, advising me to take up Naegle’s unfinished project to make Simmel a special subject of study. Ten years later in the summer of 2004, my friend and colleague, the late Ken Stoddart, was clearing his office bookshelves after retiring, and made a gift to me of his copy of the two-volume *Theories of Society*, with its long introduction by Naegle. Carried across so many generations, an ocean, and a continent, perhaps this photograph is just the latest stop on a journey in which Simmel has once again found a home, if only in the printed and virtual worlds of UBC.

*The special double-issue I co-edited with Austin Harrington was published in the December 2012 *Theory, Culture & Society* Annual Review. Published sources for much of the information below can be found in our introduction to the special issue. An online interview with Austin and me, which includes another photo of Simmel taken the same day, is available on the TCS blog at: [http://theoryculturesociety.blogspot.ca/2013/03/interview-with-thomas-kemple-and-austin.html](http://theoryculturesociety.blogspot.ca/2013/03/interview-with-thomas-kemple-and-austin.html).*
streets, and they are characterized as nodes for the creation of community and interaction among alienated urban dwellers. Food carts are frequently viewed as sites of micro-entrepreneurship (especially for new immigrants and young cooks), and they are also seen as spaces of culinary creativity and sites of countercultural (or perhaps hipster) food provision. Creative, fostering the livability of cities, and taking the position of economic underdogs, Portland’s food carts hold a clear affinity with a larger urban sensibility of Portland as a city that emphasizes the offbeat and the DIY, values neighborhood and quality of life issues, and that is deeply invested in a “virtuous” food culture that emphasizes local, healthy food production and consumption.

In retrospect, the growth of food carts in Portland seems almost accidental (something a more detailed history would help demonstrate). By contrast, Vancouver provides an intriguing example of a broader trend in many North American cities to actually reintroduce or expand the space allotted for the selling of street food. Unlike in Portland, most of Vancouver’s new food vendors operate from designated sidewalk locations or street-side parking spots. But as with Portland, the Vancouver case demonstrates how the association between food carts and positive cultural values effectively “paved” the way for them to gain access to previously off-limits sidewalks and street curbs. Disentangling what those values are, how they intersect, and how they concretely have created space for food vending on Vancouver’s city streets is complex, but as in Portland, cultural ideas about urban space, city life and food appear to be central. Formal city pronouncements, such as press statements by the city’s Mayor Gregor Robertson, have characterized food carts and trucks as both forms of job creation and expressions of the city’s cultural diversity. But it is clear from talking with people within the city that ideas about urban space and about food coalesce powerfully in the form of the street-activating, local food-purveying food cart. One city informant closely involved with food carts described her commitment to “vibrant streets” and noted how the “jumbled form” of food carts helps “animate” a public realm that has become too sterile. She also suggested that food - virtuous food, local and healthy food - plays a central role in Vancouver’s urban
PhD student on the Podium: Christine Hochbaum

Christine Hochbaum is a sixth year doctoral student in the Sociology department. Her doctoral dissertation is on the type of effects that child characteristics have on parental disciplinary behaviour. Indeed, Christine is turning the idea of parent to child socialization somewhat on its head by arguing that parenting is affected by the traits and characteristics of each child. Christine has advanced to candidacy and is well on her way to completing her studies. Her academic accomplishments are even more impressive since Christine is also legally blind.

Christine has competed in Para-sport throughout her life. This past December, Christine competed against other para-nordic skiers in BC in a couple of races at the BC Cup #1 at Sovereign Lake. Christine hopes to compete at the 2015 Canada Winter Games in Prince George. Christine also plans to participate in rowing with the Vancouver Rowing Club (VRC) this April. Christine will be VRC’s second visually impaired (VI) rower in VRC’s 30 years of the Learn-to-Row program and VRC’s seventh VI rower in their 126 years of history. Prior to these activities, Christine competed in a Para-sport called goalball for twelve years for several provincial teams as well as was selected and trained with the Canadian National Women’s Goalball team from 2001 through 2004. Christine competed as a VI swimmer at Nationals from 1993 to 1995 and at the Canada Summer Games in 1993, which was the first Canada Summer Games to include athletes with disabilities. Due to her many eye surgeries since October 2010, she has been told by her surgeons that competing in goalball and competitive swimming is out of the question. We wish Christine the best in her cross-country skiing and rowing pursuits.

identity. “We’re on the left coast. We’re all about local… We’re Vancouver, and this is - we think this reflects the city.” Interestingly, another informant, one involved in media coverage of food, spoke directly to the effect that street food has on sterile, “silo-like” urban culture: “…a food truck, it’s a totally different vibe. It’s more like a party. It’s more like a backyard barbecue, right? And…I just think it’s cool to see public spaces being used for, for something other than just like a transit place where people are passing through.”

These comments reflect particular ideas about urban space today that emphasize livability and the provision of attractive amenities. And while these discourses draw upon the older ideas of figures like Jane Jacobs and sociologist William H. Whyte, they also draw inspiration from arguments about “creative cities” and the need for cities to compete for “creative industries” and the highly-educated, mobile young people who work in them. In such a “creative” context, food can be a particularly “virtuous” product to sell. Part of an increasingly elaborated and popularized food culture that infuses food with great cultural and even moral value, food carts serve as spaces where local food, healthy food, gourmet “foodie” food culture can all make an appearance, sometimes simultaneously. The result is a green light for a certain kind of street food that generates lively but unthreatening street life and offers the cosmopolitan opportunity to consume cultural diversity.

Interestingly, Vancouver has not always been friendly to street vending, and even today the categories of acceptable street commerce are severely delimited. The current city by-law that regulates street vending was formulated in the early 1970s, when a growing number of street vendors in downtown locations like Gastown and Granville Street gave rise to complaints from local businesses and resulted in the city licensing vendors to only sell from designated locations. When vendors began erecting semi-permanent kiosks in their new sales locations (structures that looked like “outhouses,” according to one city councilor at the time), the city even hired an architect to produce standardized designs. Unlike the food carts of today, the “jumble” of hippy vendors in the 1970s offered little perceived value to Vancouver’s downtown.
Support Students!

Donations from Sociology alumni have had a positive impact for many deserving undergraduate and graduate students. Financial support enables students to excel within the Department and ensure they have access to the resources that give them the best education possible. We invite alumni and friends to support students by making a gift to one of the following funds:

**Sociology Department Excellence Endowment** - This fund was established to support the advancement of excellence in the Department. Donations provide for visiting professors, support for publications, graduate and undergraduate student support, seed money for research collaboration and other initiatives.

**Kaspar Naegele Memorial Prize in Sociology** - This $1,300 prize has been endowed by Robert (BA ’60) and Judith Doll (MA ’94) and former students, friends, and colleagues in memory of Dr. Kaspar Naegele, a caring and inspirational teacher and renowned scholar who served as Professor of Sociology from 1954 to 1965 and the Dean of Arts (1964 - 1965). The award is offered to an undergraduate student in the honours or majors program in Sociology.

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