

GOOD AND BAD SOCIOLOGY: DOES TOPIC MODELLING MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

MARIUSZ BARANOWSKI¹ & PIOTR CICHOCKI²

¹ Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Szamarzewskiego 89 C, 60-568 Poznań, Poland. ORCID: 0000-0001-6755-9368, Email: mariusz.baranowski@amu.edu.pl

² Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Szamarzewskiego 89 C, 60-568 Poznań, Poland. ORCID: 0000-0002-6501-9082, Email: piotr.cichocki@amu.edu.pl

ABSTRACT: The changing social reality, which is increasingly digitally networked, requires new research methods capable of analysing large bodies of data (including textual data). This development poses a challenge for sociology, whose ambition is primarily to describe and explain social reality. As traditional sociological research methods focus on analysing relatively small data, the existential challenge of today involves the need to embrace new methods and techniques, which enable valuable insights into big volumes of data at speed. One such emerging area of investigation involves the application of Natural Language Processing and Machine-Learning to text mining, which allows for swift analyses of vast bodies of textual content. The paper's main aim is to probe whether such a novel approach, namely, topic modelling based on Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) algorithm, can find meaningful applications within sociology and whether its adaptation makes sociology perform its tasks better. In order to outline the context of the applicability of LDA in the social sciences and humanities, an analysis of abstracts of articles published in journals indexed in Elsevier's Scopus database on topic modelling was conducted. This study, based on 1,149 abstracts, showed not only the diversity of topics undertaken by researchers but helped to answer the question of whether sociology using topic modelling is "good" sociology in the sense that it provides opportunities for exploration of topic areas and data that would not otherwise be undertaken.

KEYWORDS: unsupervised text analysis, LDA, topic modelling, sociological methods, big data sociology

INTRODUCTION

In taking up the good and bad sociology theme, it is essential to remember that “sociology has always been a divided and controversial field” (Wilterdink 2012: 2). The same is true of the research methods used in sociological sub-disciplines, which further reinforce the conflicts and divisions within this social science (cf. Gouldner 1976). The principal juxtaposition arose between the quantitative approaches, usually based on surveys, and the qualitative domain, which mostly involved interpretative studies of textual data, e.g., interview transcripts, personal documents, media discourse. The ready availability of large amounts of digital information and the rise of powerful computational methods of analysing undermine those established distinctions and pose a significant challenge for sociology in a technologically networked society (Baranowski 2021; Selwyn 2015). Sociological methods require serious re-thinking, and there is a pressing need for developing new methods or adapting those already developed in other disciplines. Otherwise, sociology would remain stuck with a twentieth-century tool-set and risk sliding towards irrelevance and obscurity (Adorjan & Kelly 2021; Baranowski & Mroczkowska 2021).

One of the recently developed approaches allowing large-scale and rapid information extraction out of vast text bodies is topic modelling. It should be noted—following Hannigan et al. (2019: 589)—that “borrowed from computer science, this method involves using algorithms to analyse a corpus (a set of textual documents) to generate a representation of the latent topics discussed therein (Mohr & Bogdanov 2013; Schmiedel, Müller, & vom Brocke 2018)”. Topic modelling, most commonly based on Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (Silge & Robinson 2017: 89-108), represents one of the recent advances in Natural Language Processing, which bring about massively enhanced opportunities for using content analysis in the context of sociological research. In general, it involves a fundamental transition from the survey mindset—extrapolation from small samples of carefully curated and structured data—to the Big Data mindset where large volumes of loosely organised information are processed at speed to discern the signals from the overall noise. On the other hand, while being a statistical approach, topic modelling defies the traditional juxtaposition of quality vs quantity, as it produces formal quantitative insights into the qualitative domain of meaning.

While quantitative content analysis existed within the classical paradigm of social sciences (Weber 1990), it was notably limited in its applications due to its low scalability. Consequently, the study of textual data has traditionally become a domain dominated by qualitative approaches, with quantitative accounts subsisting at the margins. Text-focused machine learning techniques remove the scalability limitations, as algorithms can read previously unimaginable volumes of text and handle highly complex coding schemes; their “reading” is also controlled by explicit parameter settings and, therefore, replicable. In particular, topic modelling allows for identifying the thematic structure of a large corpus of documents, which roughly resembles the highlighting technique of classical content analysis in that it marks every document—or some of its smaller constituent parts—with the probability of belonging to each of the topics

identified in the overall corpus of documents. Apart from the easy scalability, topic modelling also allows for multiple iterations and, unlike its classical counterpart, is not bound by a coding scheme fixed before the commencement of analysis. At first glance, topic modelling also seems to reduce the arbitrary impact of human subjectivity in that it does away with human coders; however, even though the analysis is explicitly specified in the form of replicable computer code, the decisions made by the code-writing analyst shape the model outputs in powerful and often not entirely predictable ways.

This paper demonstrates how topic analysis can be implemented into sociological inquiry making sociology “good”, i.e. at least better off than with its current inventory of methods. Based on an LDA analysis performed on 1149 abstracts of academic texts mentioning topic modelling, we (i) discuss the application of LDA in the context of traditional methods of content analysis, (ii) present basic insights into the thematic structure of articles using topic modelling, (iii) conclude with recommendations concerning future use and research opportunities associated with computational approaches to the analysis of textual data.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The need for systematic content analysis yielding quantifiable results was recognised at the outset of modern social sciences—even before the first world war, Max Weber put forward a proposal for exhaustive press monitoring to measure the “cultural temperature” of society (Lazarsfeld & Oberschall 1965). While Weber’s ideas could not be matched by any existing methodological tools and research infrastructures, pioneering research on the press’s discourse was empirically taken up by the next generation of researchers, most notably perhaps by Harold Lasswell (1927). However, the formulation of the classical paradigm of content analysis is typically associated with Bernald Berleson’s stipulation that it amounts to a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (1952: 18). According to Berleson, content analysis was supposed to serve the following five aims:

1. Describing the substance characteristics of message content
2. Describing the form characteristics of message content
3. Making inferences to producers of content
4. Making inferences to audiences of content
5. Predicting the effects of content on audiences

In the narrow sense, the classical content analysis boiled down to the first two of those aims as it matured into a set of techniques geared towards the systematic classification of communications allowing for exploring their content and formal characteristics. In terms of the expected structure of the research process, the quantitative content analysis came to be conceived as a survey with documents standing in for respondents. Due to its limited significance in social sciences, the field also did not

benefit from much innovation. The postulated sequence of steps required to conduct a content analysis remained fixed over the decades: (1) formulating the research problem, (2) selecting a sample of content, (3) determining the units of analysis, (4) specifying the coding scheme, (5) coding and (6) statistical analysis of the coding output (Mayntz, Holm, & Hübner 1976).

The classical approach suffers from several substantial limitations. Firstly, the necessity of sampling due to the practical impossibility of reading all content, which can arguably be performed better than in human surveys as documents have higher response rates, but still brings about some sampling error. Secondly, the essentially aprioristic nature of the coding scheme—although some free reading and pilot research is involved in its specification, it can only be based on a very limited selection of documents. Thirdly, the need for training coders and maintaining intercoder reliability—the true Achilles heel of the whole process as it limits both coding complexity and empirical scalability. In order for the coders to be reliably consistent in their judgements, they need to be well trained based on a uniform and unambiguous set of coding variables and instructions, which makes it necessary to keep them short and straightforward. Furthermore, as increasing the number of coders strains the coherence of the coder group and necessitates ambitious quality-control schemes, the analysis does not scale well and is hardly replicable as any future re-implementation requires re-training of the coders. Fourthly, the statistical analysis of results bound by the coding data it receives—in theory, it could lead to changes in the coding scheme and instructions, but this would require a costly re-run of most of the content-analytic process.

Being aware of the limitations of the classical approach and the advantages of topic modelling, let us quote the point of view of Monica Lee and John Levi Martin, who referred explicitly to good and bad sociologists. Quite provocatively, they stated that:

When it comes to formal analyses, we might say that bad sociologists code, and good sociologists count. The reason is that the former disguises the interpretation and moves it backstage, while the latter delays the interpretation, and then presents the reader with the same data on which to make an interpretation that the researcher herself uses. Even more, the precise outlines of the impoverishment procedure is explicit and easily communicated to others for their critique. And it is this fundamentally shared and open characteristic that we think is most laudable about the formal approach. (Lee & Martin 2015: 24)

We take the above statement instead as forcing a discussion and a critical examination of the status of methods used in sociology, since, as Juho Pääkkönen and Petri Ylikoski (2021: 1469) have pointed out, “it remains unclear how unsupervised methods can, in fact, support interpretative work and in what sense this could be said to make interpretation more objective”. Unsupervised topic modelling, which we treat as an exploratory technique, does not aim at superseding the traditional approaches to content analysis; it does, however, constitute an interesting complement to them. In terms of objectivity, it clearly does away with substantial amounts of subjectivity by way of eliminating the human readers, whose interpretative decisions prove difficult

to account, especially in the contexts of qualitative content analysis. On the other hand, topic modelling relies on a number of arbitrary choices, e.g. setting the number of desired topics or determining the values of hyper-parameters, and its results are also highly dependent on the procedures applied for text cleaning and pre-processing. Although, all those decisions are made explicit in the code script, and therefore fully replicable; furthermore, a variety of metrics exist which guide the analyst towards better choices. Yet, all this provides a framework for managing subjectivity, rather than a solution eliminating it.

METHODOLOGY

Our LDA analysis (Blei, Ng, & Jordan 2003) was performed on abstracts of articles containing the phrases “topic modelling”, “topic modeling” and “topic model” in their abstract or title, which were downloaded from Scopus for the period 2000-2020. The database comprises 1,149 individual records containing the abstract and publication meta-data, e.g. citation count or author affiliation; however, the meta-data is not made available to the LDA algorithm. It can be merged with the LDA outputs at a later stage. The analysis proceeded in three distinct stages: (i) data cleaning, (ii) modelling and parameter setting, (iii) model exploration. The analysis was performed in R (R Core Team 2021), within the family of libraries associated with `tidyverse()` and `tidytext()` packages.

Since LDA requires a document-term matrix, extensive data-cleaning and pre-processing are needed for the algorithm to work correctly. Crucially, it must be noted that LDA-techniques belong to the general approach known as “bag-of-words”, which amounts to treating every document as an unordered list of tokens (usually but not necessarily individual words or common phrases). Topics are defined based on the probability distribution of specific tokens within a given vocabulary.

The extent of necessary data cleaning varies depending on several factors—principally, however, on the shape and quality of the text input. Crucially, however, the cleaning and reshaping code usually remains re-usable across different projects with only minor tweaks required. Therefore, it is easy to scale up and repurpose once the LDA workflow is set up. Firstly, the data needs to be imported and initially cleaned (for instance, every Scopus abstract contains a copyright statement at the end, which needs to be erased as it leads the algorithm to seek topics based on the names of the major publishing houses). Secondly, Natural Language Processing needs to happen, which in our case involves using the Spacy library for tokenisation, POS-recognition and noun-phrase extraction. Note that after Spacy, only noun phrases are retained (based on the assumption that nominal elements of the argument structure carry the relevant information). Following the extraction of noun phrases, some additional housekeeping commences: (1) rough spell-check using Hunspell, principally aimed at unifying British and American spellings, (2) stemming of the unnested tokens in order to reduce the morphological diversity of tokens (3) removal of grammatical stop-words, e.g. “I”, “where”, “that”, retention of common n-grams as units within noun phrases, e.g., “climate change” becomes “climate_change”, (4) following ngramisation, a list of

commonly occurring personal stopwords are purged, e.g., “information” and “society” would be eliminated, but “information_society” would be retained if it proved to be a prevalent phrase.

Once the reasonably clean database is forged, it has to become a document-term matrix, where each document is a row, and each term a column, with the frequency of term-occurrence registered in every cell. The original DTM is far too sparse (i.e., contains too many low-frequency terms), and it also contains a few far too frequent terms. Sparsity reduction is required to eliminate low-frequency items—in our case, the original matrix has 1149 documents and 5142 individual terms and is more than 99% sparse, while after reduction, the DTM has dimensions of 1149 x 2024 and is 98% sparse. Finally, four omnipresent tokens were removed: “topic”, “text”, “public”, and “topic_model”. The LDA algorithm takes the DTM as input and requires the setting of several parameters, principally:

1. Hyperparameter delta—how likely it is for a token to belong to more than one topic, here we set delta at 0.01, which is moderately low.
2. Hyperparameter alpha—how likely it is for a document to be a mixture of more than one topic, here we set the initial alpha relatively low at 1.5, but we allow the model to estimate alpha further as it learns.
3. K-topic number: we tell our algorithm to find 14 topics.

RESULTS

An LDA model has two main outputs: (i) matrix beta and (ii) matrix gamma. The data analysis requires one or both of them, sometimes with metadata retained in the original abstract database. Since every document—an abstract in our case—is a mixture of topics, and every topic is a mixture of words—tokenised words after preprocessing, the beta matrix is created by extracting the per-topic-per-word probabilities for every topic/token combination. The tokens most strongly associated with each topic are featured in the faceted word clouds. Note that we already named the topics following extensive eyeballing of prominent tokens and publications associated with that topic. In naming topics, additional information was taken into account—other than the top-tokens, such as an examination of documents associated with the topic, the journals that most often publish articles associated with the particular topics, and the most prominent authors. Thus, the labels are not assigned by the model and constitute a hopefully well-informed judgement call on the part of the authors.

The other crucial model-output comes as the matrix “gamma”, i.e., document—topic associations. The gamma value is essentially an estimate of the proportion of words from that document that belongs to the particular topic. Gamma is estimated for every document—topic pair; however, our alpha setting of the LDA hyperparameter pushed the algorithm towards looking for one dominant topic in every document. While multi-topicality is possible, even within the specific prose genre of article abstracts, we direct the model against pluralistic assignments for two reasons: (i) an abstract is a short-form document that is usually about one major topic, unlike, for instance, the

full-text article which contains a mixture of topical threads, (ii) much of our further analysis relies on selecting the “top_topic” of a document so for most purposes the multi-topical assignment of probabilities would be lost anyhow. In any case, this is a judgement call, and we calibrated the algorithm in this particular way after many attempts at modelling.

The fourteen topics identified and the main keywords are shown in Figure 1. At first glance, it is clear that the topics are diverse, but none of them include “sociology” or “sociological analysis” among the main keywords. In fact, the token “sociology” features only 41 times in the whole corpus. However, looking at the content of the topics, it is easy to identify issues that fall under the areas of specific sociologies (e.g. T2., T3. or T9.). A brief analysis of the documents most strongly associated with these three topics suggest, however, that they are typically conducted within other disciplinary frameworks. It seems indicative of the hitherto low level of engagement of sociological research with the novel methodologies of topic modelling. Further support is rendered to such a general observation by the examination of the most prominent journals publishing articles associated with the identified topics (see Table 1).



Figure 1. Main topics within the topic modelling

Source: own elaboration.

The overall picture of existing uses of topic modelling suggests a strong diversity of interests. Some topics include specialised issues of data analysis using various machine learning algorithms methods (T4., T6., T13., as well as T1. and T6.), and others—detailed issues of new network technologies. Still, others are connected with customer services (T8.), transportation issues (T14.) or social media analysis (T7.).

Cluster analysis of the selected topics is presented in Figure 2. It clearly shows how some topics are connected to each other (e.g. T4. and T6.), while others are more separate entities (e.g. T9. or T7.). Note that the hierarchical clustering of topics is performed on data derived from the gamma-matrix, i.e., degree of association of each document with every topic. The most fundamental distinction occurs between the bottom five topics on the dendrogram, which broadly relate to methodological interests, and the other nine topics, which demonstrate more substantive concerns with specific knowledge domains.

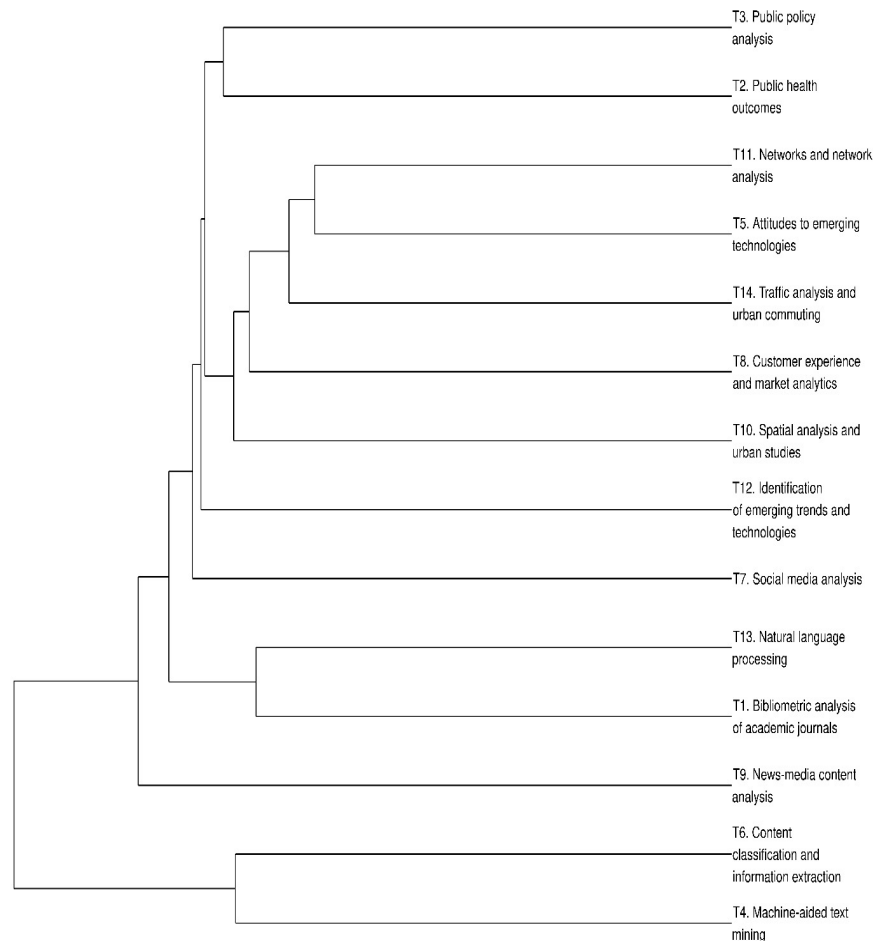


Figure 2. Cluster analysis dendrogram of main topics.

Source: own elaboration.

Apart from exploring the relationships between different topics, which can also be performed using more powerful classification techniques, it is also helpful to look inside the topics. Thus, a secondary LDA can be performed to identify micro-topics

within the documents most strongly associated with each of the macro-topics. Figure 3 provides a snapshot of such an exploration. Notably, as implemented here, the analysis takes a number of analytic shortcuts—most importantly, all macro-topics are assumed to contain exactly eight micro-topics. It would be likely better to allow for macro-topics to have a variable number of micro-topics and make provisions for individualised hyper-parameter settings. Such an individualised approach would nevertheless require substantial manual data analysis within our current framework. Since secondary data users typically prefer analytic solutions which require minimal data-collection efforts on their part (Jabkowski, Cichocki, & Kołczyńska 2021), a one-size solution constitutes a preferable option to a manually tweaked one. The setting of secondary LDA parameters could be automatized in principle, but we have not yet achieved practically applicable solutions in this respect.

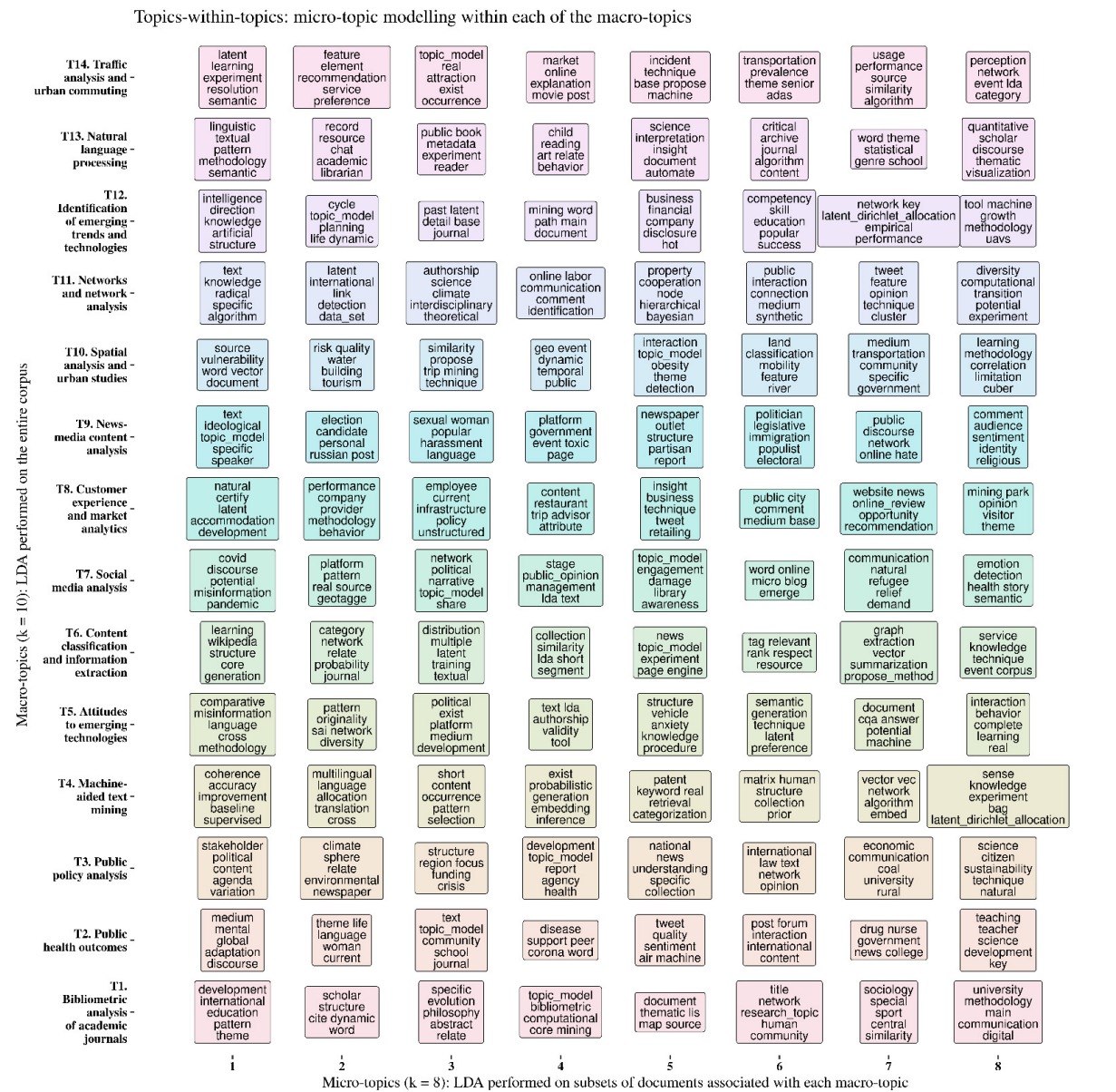


Figure 3. Secondary LDA: micro-topics within macro-topics.

Source: own elaboration.

Topic	Journal
T1. Bibliometric analysis of academic journals	<i>Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology, Journal of Consumer Research, Cognition, International Journal of Communication, Environmental Sociology</i>
T2. Public health outcomes	<i>Global Environmental Change, Journal for Research in Mathematics Education, European Societies, Scientometrics, Journals of Gerontology –Series B Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences</i>
T3. Public policy analysis	<i>Policy and Society, Sustainability, Communication Methods and Measures, Policy Studies Journal, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i>
T4. Machine-aided text mining	<i>Information Retrieval, Scientometrics, Topics in Cognitive Science, Communication Methods and Measures, Journal of Information Science</i>
T5. Attitudes to emerging technologies	<i>Political Analysis, Information Processing and management, Social Science Computer Review, Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice, Decision Support Systems</i>
T6. Content classification and information extraction	<i>Information Processing and Management, Decision Support Systems, Scientometrics, Synthesis Lectures on Human Language Technologies, Information Retrieval</i>
T7. Social media analysis	<i>Decision Support Systems, Computers, Environment and Urban Systems, International Journal of Information Management, Journal of Information Science, Digital Journalism</i>
T8. Customer experience and market analytics	<i>International Journal of Information Management, Tourism Management, Journal of Service Research, Decision Support Systems, Social Science Computer Review</i>
T9. News-media content analysis	<i>American Journal of Political Science, Political Analysis, Information Communication and Society, Political Behavior, European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology</i>
T10. Spatial analysis and urban studies	<i>International Journal of Geographical Information Science, Computers, Environment and Urban Systems, Cartography and Geographic Information Science, Transportation Research Part C: Emerging Technologies</i>
T11. Networks and network analysis	<i>Journal of Informetrics, Decision Support Systems, Scientometrics, Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology, Resources Policy, Review of International Organizations, Social Science Computer Review</i>
T12. Identification of emerging trends and technologies	<i>Information Processing and Management, International Journal of Engineering Education, Migration Studies, Futures, Telecommunications Policy</i>
T13. Natural language processing	<i>Digital Journalism, Poetics, Digital Scholarship in the Humanities, Administrative Science Quarterly, Government Information Quarterly, International Journal on Digital Libraries</i>
T14. Traffic analysis and urban commuting	<i>Transportation Research Part C: Emerging Technologies, Accident Analysis and Prevention, Computational Linguistics, Tourism Management, Journal of Air Transport Management</i>

Table 1. Topics and key journals
Source: own elaboration.

Modelling micro-topics within the fourteen macro-topics serves two main goals: (1) investigation of the macro-topic coherence, (2) exploration of the within-topic diversity of interests. The former use is methodological and may be deployed to evaluate the quality of macro-topics. Thus, it complements other measures of model fit, e.g., topic coherence or model perplexity, as well as those of manual inspection, e.g., a review of top documents or top tokens. In this methodological use, the tool is most restricted by the above mentioned fixed topic number and parameter settings for the micro-topic modelling. However, it seems to work best as a snapshot of discourse, allowing an inspection of topic diversity at a glance. Such an approach best fits exploratory studies, which aim to gain quick insights into an unknown body of text. For instance, the algorithms deployed here to study abstracts mentioning “topic modelling” could easily be re-purposed to analyse abstracts relating to any other research domain. Even a cursory examination of the micro-topics points to the existence of meaningful micro-topics. For instance, within T.7. Social media analysis there are several recognisable themes: T.7.1. “Covid pandemic (mis)information”, T.7.3. “Network dissemination of political narratives” or T.7.7. “Communication patterns of refugees”.

As mentioned above, the LDA algorithm does not have access to any of the publication meta-data—modelling only involves document ids and abstract texts. However, once the documents are classified as belonging to any particular topic, this information can be merged with the available meta-data. For example, it is possible to determine which journals provide the most prominent publications within each topic. Detailed information on the journals assigned to the particular topics can be found in Table 1. As can be seen, topics have a heterogeneous representation of journals, which means that topic modelling itself is used in different journals assigned to specific disciplines. Looking from another perspective, although there is no “sociology” in the keywords, as we pointed out above, there are sociology (and multidisciplinary with sociology) journals in which the machine learning algorithms of topic modelling are applied (cf. *Environmental Sociology*, *European Societies*, *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, *Migration Studies*).

CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

When considering the role of topic modelling within the development of sociology, which to explain social reality increasingly conditioned by digital technologies must develop adequate methods of analysis, one cannot ignore the diversity of methods of analysing large corpora of data as their weaknesses. This paper is based on an implementation of LDA (Blei, Ng, & Jordan 2003), but there are also other established alternatives (Bohr & Dunlap 2018). Table 2 provides a brief discussion of four topic modelling methods along with their limitations.

Name of the methods	Characteristics	Limitations
Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA)	LSA can get from the topic if there are any synonym words. Not robust statistical background	It is hard to obtain and to determine the number of topics. To interpret loading values with probability meaning, it is hard to operate it.
Probabilistic Latent Semantic Analysis (PLSA)	It can generate each word from a single topic; even though various words in one document may be generated from different topics. PLSA handles polysemy.	At the level of documents, PLSA cannot do probabilistic model.
Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA)	Need to manually remove stop-words. It is found that the LDA cannot make the representation of relationships among topics.	It becomes unable to model relations among topics that can be solved in CTM method.
Correlated Topic Model (CTM)	Using of logistic normal distribution to create relations among topics. Allows the occurrences of words in other topics and topic graphs.	Requires lots of calculation. Having lots of general words inside the topics.

Table 2. The characteristics and limitations of topic modeling methods

Source: Alghamdi & Alfalqi 2015: 150–151.

The LDA example shows that the listed characteristics and limitations are neither complete nor definitive. For example, the need to manually remove stop-words remains a problem even after advanced pre-processing. The high-frequency stop-words are not a problem, i.e., for most common languages, there are well-researched dictionaries available. Domain-specific stop-words may prove challenging. For instance, when dealing with academic abstracts, it seems reasonable to exclude such common words as: “paper”, “study”, “article”, “issue”, “research”, “analysis”, “finding”, “approach”, “author”, “program”, “review” or “chapter”. Such words constitute a common occurrence in abstracts, regardless of their topic. On the other hand, there are common methodological words as “logistic”, “regression”, “multilevel”, “hypothesis”, or “regression_model”; they also are omnipresent in academic abstracts regardless of their research interests, it could be argued that this particular set of tokens would indicate that the underlying research is quantitative. Hence, the precise set of stop-words remains of the author’s making and usually involves multiple trial-and-error iterations. For more information on the limitations of topic models, those interested can find quite a lot of literature on the subject (Arabshahi & Anandkumar 2016; Blei & Lafferty 2006; Ding & Jin 2019; Lee, Song, & Kim. 2010).

CONCLUSIONS

The use of value-laden categories (cf. Gans 1999: 268; Rex 1983; Weber 1949) to evaluate sociology has, on the one hand, a heuristic dimension aimed at drawing attention to the problem of the quality of sociological research rather than the normative evaluation of the discipline as a whole. However, on the other hand, a “good” sociology primarily describes and explains, and to a lesser extent predicts, the functioning and

changes of society. A “good” sociology allows us to see the invisible or to explain the known in a different, often non-intuitive way. “Bad” sociology, on the other hand, is not sociology based on coding (as stated by Lee & Martin 2015), but an approach that is unable to diagnose and explain social reality. In this view, topic modelling based on LDA, although it has limitations of (i) applicability and of (ii) a methodological nature, enriches the sociological approach by enabling the analysis of large textual datasets that would not be possible without this method (DiMaggio, Nag, & Blei 2013: 577). It constitutes a relatively easy to use method for investigating textual Big Data, which remains difficult or impossible to grasp through traditional empirical approaches.

Additionally, “good” sociology using topic modelling can serve as, on the one hand, a novel method of literature review, initiating further research using “classical” research methods. Principally, it can serve as a discourse-mapping tool, identifying areas of interest and potential coding schemes for more conventional analysis. As it can be deployed rapidly at scale, it seems to constitute a good fit for meta-analyses of literature and exploratory summarisation of prevailing trends. One such ready opportunity exists in the form of secondary LDA (LDA-within-LDA-results), which has been demonstrated in this paper. On the other hand, LDA can be deployed as a fully holistic research method both on its own and in conjunction with other meta-data (e.g., monitoring topic prevalence over time, tracking funding sources for particular research streams, or investigating publication patterns). Such research opportunities were demonstrated in this paper, as we identified which journals publish most prominently within each of the identified macro-topics.

FUNDING: This work was supported by grants awarded by the National Science Centre, Poland [no. 2021/05/X/HS6/00067] and [no. 2018/31/B/HS6/00403].

CONFLICT OF INTEREST: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

REFERENCES

- Adorjan, Michael & Benjamin Kelly. 2021. “Time as Vernacular Resource: Temporality and Credibility in Social Problems Claims-Making.” *The American Sociologist* 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12108-021-09516-x>
- Alghamdi, Rubayyi & Khalid Alfalqi. 2015. “A survey of topic modeling in text mining.” *International Journal of Advanced Computer Science and Applications* 6(1): 147–153.
- Arabshahi, Forough & Animashree Anandkumar. 2016. *Beyond LDA: A unified framework for learning latent normalized infinitely divisible topic models through spectral methods*. Technical report. Retrieved November 10, 2021 (https://escholarship.org/content/qt7d95h1dd/qt7d95h1dd_noSplash_f43b4c2f867fcf6945df3700d-0196f3a.pdf).

- Baranowski, Mariusz. 2021. "The sharing economy: Social welfare in a technologically networked economy." *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society* 41(1): 20–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02704676211010723>
- Baranowski, Mariusz & Dorota Mroczkowska. 2021. "Algorithmic Automation of Leisure from a Sustainable Development Perspective." Pp. 21–38 in *Handbook of Sustainable Development and Leisure Services. World Sustainability Series*, edited by A. Lubowiecki-Vikuk, B. M. B. de Sousa, B. M. Đerčan, & W. Leal Filho. Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-59820-4_2
- Benoit, Kenneth, Kohei Watanabe, Haiyan Wang, Paul Nulty, Adam Obeng, Stefan Müller, & Akitaka Matsuo. 2018. "quanteda: An R package for the quantitative analysis of textual data." *Journal of Open Source Software* 3(30): 774. doi:10.21105/joss.00774
- Berelson, Bernard R. 1952. *Content analysis in communication research*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Blei, David M., Andrew Y. Ng, & Michael I. Jordan. 2003. "Latent dirichlet allocation." *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3(1): 993–1022.
- Blei, David & John Lafferty. 2006. "Correlated topic models." *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems* 18: 147.
- Bohr, Jeremiah & Riley E. Dunlap. 2018. "Key Topics in environmental sociology, 1990–2014: Results from a computational text analysis." *Environmental Sociology* 4(2): 181–195. DOI: 10.1080/23251042.2017.1393863
- DiMaggio, Paul, Manish Nag, & David Blei. 2013. "Exploiting affinities between topic modeling and the sociological perspective on culture: Application to newspaper coverage of U.S. government arts funding." *Poetics* 41(6): 570–606. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.08.004>
- Ding, Juncheng & Wei Jin. 2019. "A Prior Setting that Improves LDA in both Document Representation and Topic Extraction." *2019 International Joint Conference on Neural Networks (IJCNN) 2019*: 1–8. DOI: 10.1109/IJCNN.2019.8852000
- Gans, Herbert J. 1999. *Making Sense of America: Sociological Analyses and Esseys*. Lanham, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Gouldner, Alvin W. 1976. *The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: The Origins, Grammar, and Future of Ideology*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Grün Bettina & Kurt Hornik. 2011. "topicmodels: An R Package for Fitting Topic Models." *Journal of Statistical Software* 40(13): 1–30. doi: 10.18637/jss.v040.i13
- Hannigan, Timothy R. et al. 2019. "Topic modeling in management research: Rendering new theory from textual data." *Academy of Management Annals* 13(2): 586–632.
- Jabkowski, Piotr, Piotr Cichocki, & Marta Kołczyńska. 2021. "Multi-Project Assessments of Sample Quality in Cross-National Surveys: The Role of Weights in Applying External and Internal Measures of Sample Bias." *Journal of Survey Statistics and Methodology* 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jssam/smab027>
- Lasswell, Harold D. 1927. "The theory of political propaganda." *American Political Science Review* 21(3): 627–631.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. & Anthony R. Oberschall. 1965. "Max Weber and Empirical So-

- cial Research”. *American Sociological Review* 30(2): 185–199. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2091563>
- Lee, Sangno, Jaeki Song, & Yongjin Kim. 2010. “An empirical comparison of four text mining methods.” *Journal of Computer Information Systems* 51(1): 1–10. DOI: [10.1080/08874417.2010.11645444](https://doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2010.11645444)
- Lee, Monica & John L. Martin. 2015. “Coding, counting and cultural cartography.” *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 3(1): 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ajcs.2014.13>
- Mayntz, Renate, Kurt Holm, & Peter Hübner. 1976. *Introduction to Empirical Sociology*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education.
- McFarland, Daniel A., Daniel Ramage, Jason Chuang, Jeffrey Heer, Christopher D. Manning, & Daniel Jurafsky. 2013. “Differentiating language usage through topic models.” *Poetics* 41(6): 607–625. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.06.004>
- Mohr, John W. & Petko Bogdanov. 2013. “Introduction—Topic models: What they are and why they matter.” *Poetics* 41(6): 545–569. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.10.001>
- Pääkkönen, Juho & Petri Ylikoski. 2021. “Humanistic interpretation and machine learning.” *Synthese* 199: 1461–1497. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-020-02806-w>
- R Core Team. 2021. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. Vienna, Austria. <https://www.R-project.org/>
- Rex, John. 1983. “British Sociology: 1960–80—An Essay.” *Social Forces* 61(4): 999–1009. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2578275>
- Schmiedel, Theresa, Oliver Müller, & Jan vom Brocke. 2018. “Topic modeling as a strategy of inquiry in organizational research.” *Organizational Research Methods* 22(4): 941–968. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428118773858>
- Selwyn, Neil. 2015. “Data entry: Towards the critical study of digital data and education.” *Learning, Media and Technology* 40(1): 64–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2014.921628>
- Silge, Julia & David Robinson. 2017. *Text mining with R: A tidy approach*. Sebastopol, CA: O’Reilly Media.
- Weber, Max. 1949. “‘Objectivity’ in Social Science and Social Policy.” Pp. 50–112 in *Max Weber on The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, edited by E. A. Shils & H. A. Finch. Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Weber, Robert Philip. 1990. *Basic content analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wilterdink, Nico. 2012. “Controversial science: Good and bad sociology.” *Figurations: Newsletter of the Norbert Elias Foundation* 36: 1–12. https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/4493017/151330_380325.pdf

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Mariusz Baranowski is assistant professor of sociology at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland.

Piotr Cichocki is assistant professor of sociology at the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland.

OPEN ACCESS: This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial License (CC BY-NC 4.0) which permits any non-commercial use, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited.

ARTICLE HISTORY: Received 2021-12-01 / Accepted 2021-12-30