Knowledge of the U.S. Social Sciences

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Getting Started

Dear reader,

Welcome! This study is available as a website, https://brooksambrose.github.io/portfolio, and as a PDF document down-loadable from the website. Both are great ways to read the study. The PDF makes for a quicker read, while the website offers additional interactivity in figures and tables that will help you dive more deeply into the exhibits.



Figure 1: Explore your options!

At the top of the web page please notice a toolbar where you can:

- Show and hide the table of contents
- · Search the document
- · Adjust font and display settings
- View the underlying code at GitHub.com
- Download the PDF version

I hope you enjoy the study, and please feel free to report bugs, comment, and collaborate at the issue tracker of the GitHub

10 LIST OF FIGURES

repository.

Best,

Brooks

Knowledge of the U.S. Social Sciences

Introduction

(ref:abs-int)

(ref:abs-int)

Keywords: (ref: key-int)

Social Science Genres Today

(ref:abs-gen)

(ref:abs-gen)

(ref:key-gen)

Keywords: (ref: key-gen)

The Social Science Citation Landscape, 1900-1940

Knowledge mapping of acadamic journals promotes the conservation of intellectual history and stimulates discovery of under-

explored intellectual opportunities. Treated as a large network community detection problem, I demonstrate how to apply the

clique percolation method to map two kinds of recorded knowledge: citations and full text. The features of generated maps

are explained, and interpretive methods including visualization are presented. We use American social science scholarship in

the first third of the 20th century prior to U.S. entry into World War II as a case, and describe how the intellectual landscape

of four separate social science disciplines developed.

Keywords: (ref: key-cit)

11

12 LIST OF FIGURES

Vocabularies of Anthropology and Sociology, 1888-1922

Knowledge development of journals is measured as the change in topic prevalence over time.

Keywords: (ref: key-voc)

Chapter 1

Introduction

Abstract

(ref:abs-int)

Keywords

sociology of knowledge, topic modeling, history of social science

1.1 Knowledge Development

What were the ideas that predominated in the social sciences at their formation as professions in the postbellum United States? What was the course of their development over a generation of scholarship? In this study I will answer these questions inductively through a reading of the original journals in each discipline. Though the goal is substantive, the methodological challenges of consuming a large quantity of text will feature importantly in the story that unfolds. Along the way I will demonstrate the usefulness of the computational *distant reading* that is being explored in the humanities and how it can be combined with traditional textual analysis for social science purposes. While controversial in humanistic circles that emphasize the primacy of the reader's novel interpretive work when consuming text, distant reading fits comfortably within a social science epistemology that aims to achieve an objective description of intellectual history Indeed, computational methods offer a useful backstop to the idiosyncrasy of a particular person's reading of history.

Computational textual analysis promises to automate a particular slice of what hermeneutic methods accomplish. Hermeneutics claims that through historical methods it is possible to reconstruct the interpretive context of texts such that they can be understood in the same way that contemporary historical actors understood them. Establishing such context is a laudable yet arduous feat of historical research to uncover the social and intellectual milieu of a particular text. This is the gold standard approach, but one that restricts the field to specialists with the training and resources necessary for the undertaking.

Computers cannot study history in this way. What they can do, however, is mine source material for limited kinds of contexts. The kind I am concerned with below are the *historical vocabularies* that writers used to construct texts in historical time. Vocabularies are glyphs without grammar; they do not mean anything, but nothing meaningful can be said without them in the present or in the past. They are the mediated form of language, and in communicating with each other historical actors leave traces that survive perfectly in time so long as texts themselves survive.

While computers cannot read meaning in texts, and can barely recognize it, they are almost as good as humans at recognizing the glyphs of texts, and vocabularies are nothing but glyphs. What computers lack in smarts, they make up in speed and memory. The quantitative scale of their recognition makes for a qualitative shift because vocabularies can be enumerated across immense corpora of texts. Immense, at least, by human standards as there are limits to even computer memory and speed. Yet such enumeration of texts into objective historical categories; this is a profound resource for the intellectual historian. That one could begin a reading with such context would be a transformative research tool. Vocabulary enumeration, by which I mean simply the counting and classifying of texts according to the vocabularies they contain, invites a population studies approach to intellectual history. Where sense-making is driven by comparisons, a reader's arbitrary combination of texts is guaranteed to lead to anachronism. But if we can know that texts are relevant to each other without knowing why, we have done some small amount of hermeneutic work by supplying texts as historically correct context to each other.

And even going so far as abandoning the project of reading texts in a historically correct way, vocabulary enumeration can still lend objectivity to a novel construction, a productive anachronism, of textual meaning. Because vocabularies, the problems solved by computers, are mathematically, algorithmically, or stochastically determined, they may provide an immutable description of corpora that, like a map, enables individual and collective exploration within a common framework. Such maps may become the parameters of interpretive methods, which we may use to surface and control some of our subjectivity.

This at least is the rationale for what follows. I begin with a discussion of intellectual history of two social sciences, anthropology and sociology, in the United States. I take a coarse view of national history as the history of wars because of their

1.2. TOPICS ≟ IDEAS

downstream effects on government activity and institutional investments. The first period is between the end of the American Revolution (1783) and the end of the American Civil War (1865) and is the national context for the origin of U.S. anthropology. The second period is after the Civil War until the end of World War I (1918) and is the context for the origin of U.S. sociology and of modern U.S. higher education generally. Wars of territorial expansion are waged regularly during both periods against native peoples and rival colonial empires, and social research was always recruited to solve attendant problems of population and to provide rationales for the relationships with and understandings of conquered or would-be conquered people.

I use intellectual histories of anthropology to characterize the antebellum period, and the same for the postbellum period including sociology. The most important journals in each field date from the postbellum period, and the appearance of each is implicated in the project of professionalization for each discipline. The 1920s marked the end of war with the last of the militating American Indian tribes, and a reckoning with the darkest sides of industrialization laid bare by WWI. Social research had by this time completed a shift from colonial to industrial problems and enjoyed a golden decade of development as a profession, punctuated by the next great historical crisis in the Great Depression. With the 1920s begins the adolescence of social research, which is beyond the present scope. This study is of its childhood, which ends with the Great War. I however draw the study out until 1922 because it is the end of the public domain in U.S. copyright, to aid in the reproducibility of the analysis and so that all readers may recover the texts in question without difficulty.

1.2 Topics $\stackrel{?}{=}$ Ideas

The strategy of the study occurs in four steps.

- 1. Sort text into categories of similar vocabulary.
- 2. Describe the vocabularies that define category membership.
- 3. Describe vocabulary prevalence across time and discipline.
- 4. Validate category contents by a traditional qualitative reading of texts.

I will spend considerable effort on solving the problem presented by step 1, as here everything depends on the computational methods employed. Steps 2 and 3 are straightforward given a successful mathematical model of texts. Step 4 is seldom attempted, and may be the hardest of all, because it is here that machine and human learning must be integrated. If I am successful, if through these steps I may operationalize the notion of cultural meaning or cultural logic as conformity to vocab-

ularies, then I believe a new horizon of intellectual scholarship is possible. If on the other hand I find that machine-learned vocabularies do not correspond to human-learned understandings of the texts drawing on those vocabularies, then the discovery will be negative, that distant reading is not a scientific, historical, or hermeneutic method, but rather a toy at worst and a best new humanistic method of reading texts de novo.

The mathematical tool I will rely on in step 1 is called topic modeling, which refers to a variety of computational approaches to text data that blur the distinction between qualitative and quantitative analysis. The topic model paints a lexicographic picture of texts, analogous to the demographic picture gained by a civil census survey of cities and towns. To a topic model, texts are merely collections of terms (usually words) that are counted to create the so-called "bag of words" description of a text. In the same way that a census reduces communities to counts of the names of people who live in them, topic modeling reduces texts to the frequency of word choices in texts, to their diction or vocabulary. Just as a census of people fails to capture the nuanced interactivity of human settlements found in their culture, politics, and economic activity, the topic model washes away the meanings and intentions behind the words that are enumerated.

A population census would not be very helpful were it only a count of the names of respondents, and of course the really helpful data derive from the demographic and economic survey attached to the name. Text data do not usually come with such a collection of rich covariates, yet nevertheless topic models promise to discern helpful patterns from counts alone. The trick behind the estimation of a topic model is that it attempts to learn the demographic information (topics) without asking, by merely looking at how the names alone (terms) are distributed across geographies of interest (texts). If it can keep its promise, a topic model applied to census data might recover the cultural patterns latent in the distribution of names. It might, for instance, learn different groupings of names that in turn correspond to markers like age, race, national origin, or gender, so long as membership in those categories was related to geography. It might, for instance, successfully separate a category of Hmong names out from among the names of all people living in St. Paul because the non-Hmong names appeared in other regions where no Hmong names appeared.

To call the category of names "Hmong" requires an interpretation of the model, which by itself is just lists of names. This is the work of step 2, and requires a little bit of shoe leather by trying to make sense of what a list of names refers to. Here reading texts is like a census taker knocking on a door, and a topic model's latent analysis saves on this effort. Sometimes bringing domain knowledge to bear on the list itself will suggest a category label, but often choosing a small sample of texts as exemplars of the category. Still this requires much less shoe leather than a traditional qualitative analysis in which each text is

1.3. PRIOR WORK

studied directly. Of course the census is much more informative because it asks about demographic categories directly thereby avoiding the need for a latent analysis. In domains where rich covariates are not yet available or are prohibitively expensive to acquire, latent analysis provides promising clues of patterns that already exist. What is even more interesting, and something that might surprise even census analysts, is when latent categories do not correspond to known survey items. In either event the power of topic modeling for inductive analysis is to reveal structure in how names hang together that was hidden.

Even without conducting the second labeling step, in step 3 it will already be possible from the output of the model to inspect the distribution of topics across available covariates, especially time. These are the patterns that will help validate the topic models against what is already known about intellectual history. For instance, the power of institutional and generational change may well be apparent in the historical distribution of topics. This step leads naturally into step 4 by suggesting anomalies that can only be explained by a closer look at the texts, the chore that the entire preceding analysis punts on. In step 4 we learn either that our understanding of history was wrong, or that our topic model was wrong, and there may be no method other than one's judgement to decide.

In the next section, before we delve into the statistical and computational nuances of topic models, I will spend some time developing a few themes to help organize the blending of quantitative and qualitative methods invited by topic modeling in particular and computational text analysis generally.

1.3 Prior Work

1.4 Information

Understanding differences in the ontological status of the "topic" concept is a good way to begin to understand how this method of analysis is used by researchers.

Analysts have conceptualized the use of topic models in very different ways. Some researchers treat topics as useful for a particular purpose and not as true descriptions of real phenomena. Topics as information enhances the ability to search for relevant documents or statistical trends in otherwise unwieldy corpora as a time-saving alternative to manually reading large collections. (Boyd-Graber et al., 2017) Empirical problems, used as demonstrations of statistical techniques, have included

This is the "needle and haystack" approach favored by computer and information scientists who tend not to be interested in theoretical interpretations beyond the statistical definitions of topics.

1.5 Meaning

Other researchers instead grant topics ontological status, and these can be divided into three types. Most ambitiously, topics may be treated as representing categories of thought. Latent semantic structure latent semantic structure (?)

1.6 Communication

representational style (Grimmer, 2016) frame (DiMaggio et al., 2013)

Chapter 2

Social Science Genres Today

Abstract

(ref:abs-gen)

Keywords

(ref:key-gen)

2.1 JSTOR Journals

We rely on the JSTOR digital archive which gives access to optical scans of historical journals. JSTOR provides a title list of their journal coverage (JSTOR, 2018). The coverage of journals in the archive is very complete for those journals chosen for the database. As of this writing JSTOR contained 4,224 different journal titles and 2,738 journals from 1,147 different publishers. The different journal counts are due to some journals changing titles at least once. The JSTOR coding contains 79 subject labels. These labels refer to eight superdisciplines under which may be found 71 disciplines.

Most journals are given more than one discipline label, and the superdisciplines are not marked as such in the database creating some redundancy. For instance, a journal labeled as "Sociology" will also be labeled as "Social Sciences". Most academics will be familiar with whether a label is for a superdiscipline or a subdiscipline, yet for outsiders or for skeptical

¹To avoid overcounting, title histories are collapsed into their most recent record, meaning all subsequent counts are out of 2,738. Even though we might expect disciplinary identity to change over time, JSTOR discipline labels do not vary within title histories. One journal–Scientific American Mind–lacked any discipline labels and is excluded from tabulations.

insiders, the only clue is in the frequency with which a label is applied. Counting labels, however, does not unambiguously place a journal in one discipline or another because journals may bear multiple labels, even multiple superdiscipline labels.

To assess the size of the disciplines and to disentangle their hierarchies it will be helpful to have a mutually exclusive labeling scheme that draws on the JSTOR curators' judgement while simplifying it.

2.2 Network Mode Projection

I rely on network methods to accomplish this labeling in a data driven and reproducible way. In a network representation of journal discipline labels, two journals may be said to be be related if they carry the same label. In network terms this can be represented as a bipartite or bimodal network. In a bimodal network there are two types (modes) of nodes, a journal and a label, and ties can only be registered between, not within, these modes. So journals are not tied directly to other journals and labels are not tied directly to other labels.

Given any bimodal network, we may translate or project it into either of two unimodal forms. In a single mode or unimodal projection of a bimodal network there is only one type of node, in my case either a journal or a label, but not both. The omitted type is instead represented as a set of ties among the included type. Though the bimodal network is a more elegant representation, it is technically necessary to project it into one of its two bimodal forms to leverage network methods that are desinged with unimodal data in mind.

Using the list of subjects associated with each journal in the JSTOR title list, I construct the bimodal *journal-label* network with journals in the first mode bearing ties to discipline labels in the second mode. I then project the bimodal network into two unimodal networks, one where journals are connected by ties equal to the number of discipline labels they have in common, and another where labels are tied by the number of articles carrying both labels. Call each of these unimodal networks, the (*journal-label-journal*) journal network and (*label-journal-label*) label network, a facet of the original bimodal network.

Figure 2.1 illustrates the effects of network mode projection on a random sample of 300 edges from the full JSTOR title list network. The first panel illustrates the bimodal network where journals are yellow dots and labels are blue dots. As an artifact of sampling, most journals here are shown tied to only one label. In fact this is never the case in the full network; as each journal has at least one discipline and one superdiscipline label the minimum number of labels is two, which is the median case accounting for 53.9 percent of journals. The most labels any journal bears is 10, but these are outliers with most journals bearing only a few labels.

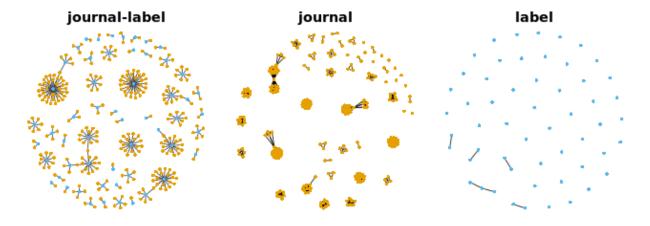


Figure 2.1: Mode Conversion on a 300 Edge Random Sample of the JSTOR Title List Label Network

It is worth noting a few features of the unimodal projections or facets illustrated in the second and third palens. First, unimodal projections will always be made of up of overlapping cliques. Take the journal facet; each journal bearing a particular label will be tied to each other journal with the same label. Together they will form a clique, a subnetwork of maximum density where all possible ties exist. Such cliques grow nearly exponentially, as each additional journal with the same label joins the clique and adds a number of ties equal to the former size of the clique. In practice this means that very common labels like "Social Sciences" can easily dominate the unimodal projection of the network. Here the weighting of edges becomes important; if two labels overlap because some nodes bear both labels, then within the intersection of the two cliques the ties may be treated as "weighing more" by adding the contribution of each label separately. The exception is if the cliques overlap by only one node, in which case they have a node but no ties in common. Nevertheless using methods that take edge weights into account is a good way to ameliorate the exponential influence of popular labels.

Second, though the unimodal facets of a bimodal network represent the same data, each may have different characteristics especially in the common case of a large population imbalance between modes. In the full network we have 35 times as many journals as labels and each journal sends multiple ties. This degree imbalance between the two modes may mean that one facet is more dense than its inverse. Density is the proportion of actual ties out of all possible ties. In Figure 2.1 an imbalance may be observed where the journal facet has many dense free floating or overlapping cliques and where the label network appears to be mostly made of isolated labels save for the few larger components. In the sampled network the journal facet is 11 times more dense than the label facet. In the case of our full network, the potential imbalance in degree distribution between facets happens to be offset by the population imbalance itself. The densities in the full journal and label facets are comparable, 26.2

and 27.3 percent respectively, meaning that analysis will not merely hinge on which facet is analyzed.

Third, unimodal projection has the effect of pruning what are sometimes referred to as pendants, which are simply nodes with only a single tie. Each of the isolates in the label facet represents a larger or smaller number of journals, which may be observed in the different sizes of the free floating cliques of the journal facet, yet no matter their size they supply no information about interdisciplinarity. Because the journal facet captures both size (of cliques) and relatedness (clique overlap) it is a better representation of the information of the original bimodal network. Its drawback is that it is larger and more unwieldy to analyze. The label facet offers a simpler picture of interdisciplinarity.

2.3 Network Community Detection

Each facet described above will help answer a different question about disciplinarity in the JSTOR archive as indicated by JSTOR's labeling policy. I aim to resolve the uncertainty about which labels count as superdisciplines and to reveal patterns of sorting not apparent in the labels themselves. The rationale for doing this is to observe not the choices of JSTOR coders, but the tacit judgement they likely used in applying labels. I expect that the 79 fine grained labels bely a simpler classification scheme of academic genres.

I will use two techniques, community detection and graph visualization, to answer these questions. Communities are really subnetworks of high density, or clusters. I operationalize disciplinarity as the presence of clusters within the journal facet network. Community detection on the journal facet will answer how many superdisciplines there are and the size of each in terms of the number of journals belonging to it. Visualization of the label facet will show how hard or soft are the boundaries between disciplines and where the strongest interdisciplinary relationships lay.

First, I use community detection to partition the JSTOR journals into mutually exclusive disciplines. Community detection is a set of network methods designed to expose clusters by grouping nodes together such that they send more ties to members of their own group than they send to members of different groups. There is a cottage industry around developing algorithms and statistical models to learn an unobserved community structure of a network (see Fortunato and Hric, 2016, for an excellent review). The choice of the right community detection method is controversial especially for very large networks in which cross-validation is difficult. Fortunately the network at hand is small enough to validate directly which lowers the risks of choosing the wrong method.

To wit I adopt the well-known Louvain method of community detection based on hierarchical modularity maximization.

(Blondel et al., 2008) Modularity is a quality metric quantifying the tradeoff between within-group and between-group ties. The modularity of any given partition of a network into clusters is equal to the proportion of ties that fall within clusters minus the expected proportion of within-group ties if ties were distributed randomly. A division that is as good as chance would have a modularity value of zero, a division better than chance a value between zero and one, and a division worse than chance a value between negative one and zero. (Newman and Girvan, 2004, 8) Higher modularity scores indicate a better sorting of the network into densely tied clusters.

The Louvain method is a bottom-up agglomerative algorithm. The procedure starts by assigning each node to its own community. Then, for each node, it assigns the node to the neighbor's group that would most improve global modularity. It repeats this until no move improves modularity. This forms the first layer in the hierarchy. It then collapses groups into nodes and repeats the algorithm on the condensed network, stopping at the first level where there is no modularity improving move to make. The first layer represents the most local, the last layer the most global resolution of community structure.

Modularity-based methods are tried and true, and their drawbacks are well-known. The Louvain method is not deterministic, as the outcome may (but usually does not) depend on the ordering of the nodes in the reassignment quee. However Louvain has several features that recommend it. It is computationally fast on small to medium graphs and it is freely available in network analysis software. It also gives a hierarchical solution that provides the analyst with options to inspect community structure at a range of local and global resolutions, akin to a cartography of counties versus one of continents. Given the small size of our network, a local resolution will not be overwhelming, so Louvain is preferable to other methods that only offer the coarser global view.

Table 2.1 summarizes the results of applying the Louvain method to the journal facet and taking the most localized layer of the community structure. Learned labels are applied to the clusters by assigning each the name of its most frequent label. Community detection sharpens the boundaries between fields by placing each journal unambiguously in one superdiscipline or another. This mutual exclusivity is apparent by the sum of the given labels exceeding 100%.

The first finding is that of the 79 labels these eight form the top of a hierarchy of superdisciplines. Area Studies stands apart and is not subsumed under either Social Sciences or Humanities. Social Sciences journals predominate due to JSTOR's initial focus in that area, even without counting economics among them, and Science & Mathematics counts for a larger than one might think. Economics stands apart from the Social Sciences, and indeed Business & Economics marks the transition from the larger academic journal space to the smaller professional space of Arts, Law, and Medicine & Allied Health.

Superdiscipline Learned Pct Given **GPct** 790 28.9 916 33.5 Social Sciences Humanities 664 24.3 719 26.3 499 Area Studies 357 13 18.2 Science & Mathematics 307 11.2 360 13.1 **Business & Economics** 266 9.7 285 10.4 293 Arts 240 8.8 10.7 132 Law 84 3.14.8

30

2738

1.1

100.1

52

3256

1.9

118.9

Medicine & Allied Health

Total

Table 2.1: JSTOR Journal Counts

The given labels do overlap and we can recover a picture of interdisciplinary by clustering and visualizing the label facet. This facet presents a simplified view. Recall that each facet represents the same data, the difference being whether a journal or a label is represented as a node or an edge, and that there is a population imbalance in favor of journals over labels. The larger the population the easier it is to partition into a greater number of subpopulations. Converseley, because there are far fewer labels than journals, we would expect the clustering to be less granular for the label network than for the journal network. In fact there is only one less cluster–Law–which is subsumed under Social Sciences.

2.4 Network Visualization

Figure 2.2 visualizations the relationships among disciplines, where again the strength of ties is equal to the number of journals bearing both labels. Here the label with highest number of ties within its cluster becomes the category name of the cluster. That label is then ommitted as a node and is instead visualized as a color coding of its cluster, reflecting the special status of the superdiscipline labels.

Unlike traditional graph visualizations that are designed to be pleasing to the eye, this one is drawn according to a statistical model called a latent position or latent space model. It starts with a simple idea that the weight of the edges (the number of journals carrying both labels) is a count that follows a Poisson distribution. This distribution may be modeled by log-linear regression where the logarithm of the mean of the distribution is a linear function of an intercept term and covariates. What is interesting about the model is that the covariate of interest is treated as the distance between the nodes in an unobserved or latent space. The distance is treated as negative such that as nodes get closer together (as the negative distance increases) the count of the edge weight between them increases (technically the logarithm of the mean of the count increases).

25

It is an elegant idea, but estimating the model is complicated. The distances are metaphorical, and to realize them requires positing a euclidean space in which each node has coordinates. From the coordinates the distances can be easily caculated, but knowing which are the right coordinates requires a complicated estimation routine based on optimizing goodness of fit between guesses of the coordinates and the actual count data. The estimator begins with coordinates taken from the conventional Fruchterman Reingold layout algorithm and uses Markov Chain Monte Carlo simulation to converge toward the positions that optimally fit the latent space assumption (See Krivitsky and Handcock, 2008, for details of the model, estimation, and software). Even if the estimator does not arrive at a perfect solution it improves upon a conventional layout in the direction of meaningful, and not just pretty, aesthetics thereby helping the viewer to avoid artifacts and perceive real information about the network.

Another great feature of the latent space model is that it allows additional terms to be fit alongside the latent distances. It is possible to control for or net out the effect of nuisance terms like any other regression. As discussed above there is a concern about the undue effect of popular labels. We have already tried to remove the superdiscipline labels from the label network, preferring to represent them as color coded categories rather than nodes. Popular labels may still remain, however, and due to the exponential growth of ties during downmode conversion even a handful of them will have a disproportionate influence on the global layout of the graph.

This degree distortion can be controlled for by what is called a sociality term, which can be thought of as a measure of a node's popularity. A sociality term is a score for every node that if positive means a node is more attractive and if negative means a node is actually repulsive of ties. When viewing the positions of a latent space model also fit with a sociality term, the space will measure relatedness without the effects of popularity.

Figure 2.2 plots the results of a latent space model on the label facet omitting superdiscipline nodes.

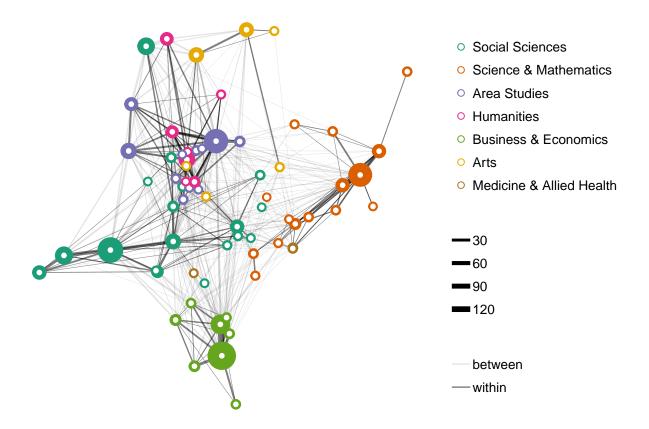


Figure 2.2: Discipline Network in Latent Space. Node size represents sociality. The larger a node, the more attractive it is, and the larger a white dot within a node, the more repulsive it is.

Here some of the granular categories are collapsed. The humanities includes arts, as we might expect, but also area studies, which one might have classed with the social sciences, but which bear stronger ties to cultural studies like music, folklore, religion, and language and literature. Law and medicine and allied health are grouped with the social sciences, and business and economics is maintained as separate field due merely to the attachment of three professional fields—development studies, management and organizational behavior, and marketing and advertising—to their parent disciplines business and economics (not to be confused with the separate and ommitted label "business and economics"), which are themselves strongly tied to the social sciences.

Setting the `off` event (i.e., 'plotly_doubleclick') to match the `on` event (i.e., 'plotly_click'). You

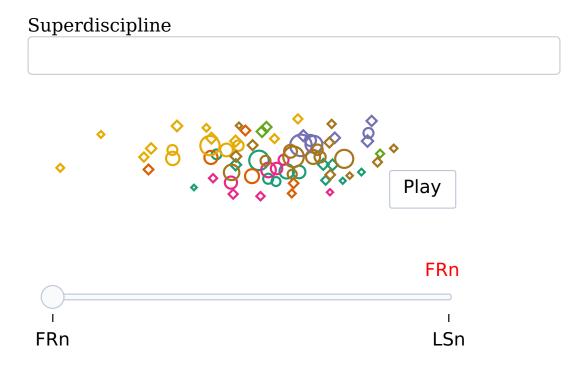


Figure 2.3: Fruchterman Reingold and Latent Space Layouts Compared

Though graph layouts are imperfect and should not be overinterpreted, the global features of facing within clusters do indicate the disciplines that straddle boundaries. On the border between the social sciences and science and mathematics are the social sciences dealing most with the physical problems of space, health, and technology. On the edge of the humanities and social sciences are history, philosophy, and anthropology.

2.5 Social Science Journals

The journals within social science cover five different subdisciplines.

Table 2.2: JSTOR Social Sciences Journal Counts

Subdiscipline	N	Pct	Labeled	LPct
Archaeology	256	27.9	115	12.6
Political Science	219	23.9	183	20
Education	192	21	170	18.6
Sociology	160	17.5	145	15.8
Anthropology	46	5	89	9.7
Population Studies	22	2.4	27	2.9
Geography	18	2	32	3.5
Transportation Studies	3	0.3	7	0.8
Total	916	100	768	83.8

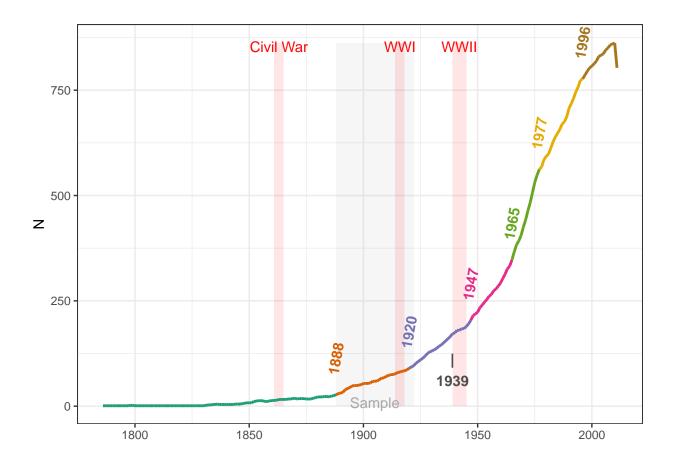


Figure 2.4: Periods in the Growth of the Number of Social Science Journals in the JSTOR Archive

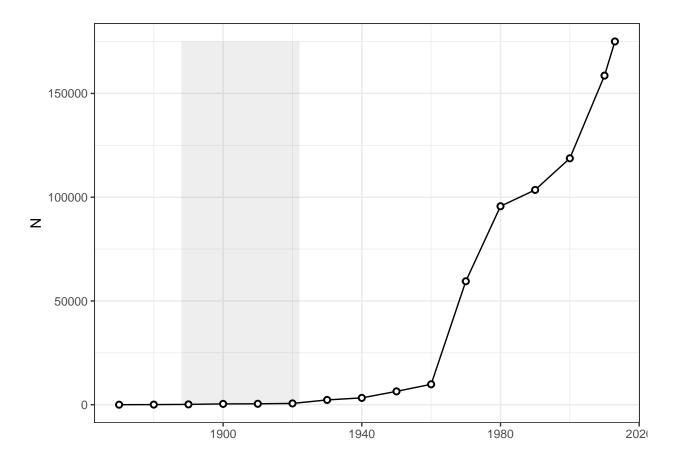


Figure 2.5: Decennial growth in number of PhD degrees conferred in the U.S.

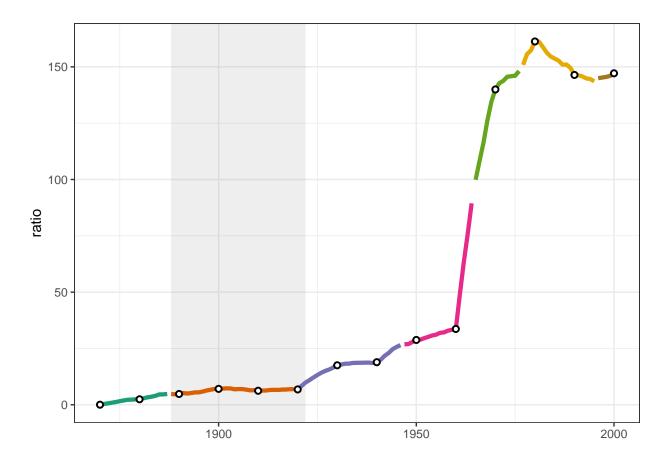


Figure 2.6: Number of PhDs conferred in the United States per Social Science Journal

This period represents one of stable growth, as the size of the field grows with the number of players on it. Between 1888 and 1922 there tended to be about seven new PhDs in the U.S. for every social science journal even as each population grew year over year. These growth patterns begin to diverge around 1920 as a decades long acceleration of personnel begins, relatively slowly between 1920 and 1960 at an average acceleration rate of 22 PhDs per journal per year, and then quite precipitously in the 1960s at an average acceleration rate of 121.

Chapter 3

The Social Science Citation Landscape,

1900-1940

Abstract

Knowledge mapping of acadamic journals promotes the conservation of intellectual history and stimulates discovery of underexplored intellectual opportunities. Treated as a large network community detection problem, I demonstrate how to apply the clique percolation method to map two kinds of recorded knowledge: citations and full text. The features of generated maps are explained, and interpretive methods including visualization are presented. We use American social science scholarship in the first third of the 20th century prior to U.S. entry into World War II as a case, and describe how the intellectual landscape of four separate social science disciplines developed.

Keywords

citations, k-clique communities, community detection, landscape

3.1 Introduction

If knowledge is power then scholar must be a powerful class. But what kind of power is knowledge and in what way do scholars wield it? Is knowledge powerful a utility, like water or electricity, to drive a tool and accomplish a task? Is it an asymmetry

of information, like a stock tip or the combination to a safe, that gives one a leg up on her competition? Is knowledge like the power of an authority, like a governor, a military commander, or clergyman, to compel the loyalty and obedience of another person?

How we conceive of knowledge affects how we view the nature and importance of the people and institutions that produce it. Scholars certainly do not have a monopoly on the utilization of production of knowledge in society, but their occupational roles are conditioned by the stuff of knowledge at the same time that knowledge is itself conditioned by the technology and social arrangements that constitute scholarly occupations.

3.1.1 Scholarly Communication vs Knowledge Terrain

If the production of culture perspective were to argue against Marx's German Ideology, it might say, "Not all mental laborers have soft hands." Marx drew a course distinction between mental and material labor to demonstrate that the former is not possible without the latter, even when at the time mental labor had already been commidified with the advent of print media. The production of culture perspective simply effaces the distinction altogether; mental labor, or cultural products, are like any other industrialized commodity.

The production of culture perspective is at odds with public sector economics that argues that non market mechanisms create value where markets fail to do so. (Hayes, 2000)

Remuneration

Are culturally interior artifacts referenced by socially superior scholars?

3.1.2 Mapping Knowledge Terrain

3.1.2.1 knowledge stuff

There are two reasons to map knowledge spaces. First, we may want to know how knowledge develops as a resource unto itself. Second, we may want to exploit such a map for a productive purpose. Here we will attempt the second as prologue to the first. We will tackle the technical problems of constructing a map. We will show how a map can be put to use. Finally, we will investigate how the particular map we make may tend to predictably get us lost.

All knowledge mapping requires first an ontological and then an analytical action. Ontological actions delineate the things that matter. They arbitrarily construct from perception the items that we then think about. While onotological decisions tend

3.1. INTRODUCTION 33

to define the scope of everything that may be learned from an investigation, they are often assumed rather than demonstrated.

Actor Network Theory (ANT) provides a unique example of a method of research that, because it is ethnographic and thus marinating in an abundance of perception, allows the cast of ontic characters to grow. Literally anything can be deigned significant for inclusion in a web of knowledge. In an ANT study of science, if the feel of a reading chair modifies a reader's oreintation to a text they are reading, the chair counts.

The lion's share of knowledge mapping studies are not so ontologically radical as ANT. Take the field of bibliometrics. The ontological decision here is to take documents as the primary ontic. Documents are nothing but collections of glyphs, so the first task of bibliometricians tends to be to map glyphs to terms and analyze them. Here we have already used the ontic triad underlying bibliometrics. In the sentence

there are twelve discrete glyphs and two terms. A grammatical cutting rule renders the glyph sequences as

and a tokenization rule maps the cuts to two terms

which may in turn be analyzed, for instance by counting the tokens. The documents form the bins within and across which the terms will be analyzed. The token, as a mere operational step, is used and then dispensed with unless questions of measurement surface. Clearly the *glyph-term-document* (GTD) ontic does not care about the armchair of a reader of a document, and indeed does not even care about the reader herself.

So the reader is invisible because she is not inscribed in the document. What about the writer? Bibliometricians may backfill GTD by entity recognition or grounding. Once terms are recognized, we may further recognize that we know more about them. A simple example of this is pulling out "metadata", for instance, the author of a document. The author's name is not just any term, but a conceptually very important one. Grounding is how bibliometrics may be linked to theories and programs of greater importance.

Bibliometrics has indeed been based more on the reference of a text as a particular grounded entity rather than on the use of the full text of a document. If a text is a building, the reference is its address. More precise than a name, an address is

a codification of different hierarchically ordered elements that describe the location of an entity. The consistent tokenization of a reference is not an easy task, as it depends on entity recognition of several different kinds of things, including year of publication, author, title, and source.

The citation became the basis of the concept of a web of knowledge as coined in the work of Eugene Garfield and institutionalized in the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI).

Citations solved the problem that ideas do not have signatures or addresses that we can trace reliably. Jargon is an attempt to give an idea a unique address as an idiosyncratic term, and etymology seeks to hierarchically order words according to their origins, but an idea per se will always elude precise identification. Unlike a document, an idea is not mechanically reproducible; it always requires interpretation and understanding in a mind, and a mental event as subtle as an idea cannot be observed.

(Lederberg, 2000) Garfield conflates citations with several roles in the network around ideas. Compares value of citations to value of subject coders, coding meaning of paragraphs intractable. ISI became a commercial pursuit because Garfield failed to get scientific institutions, especially the NSF, to fund it. The goal was primarily practical, to give researches access to current or historical references relevant to articles, perhaps especially their own, they knew they were already interested in.

Unlike ideas, documents are physical artifacts and can be traced empirically. They are fungible, reproducible, and locatable with addresses.

The reproduction and location of ideas cannot be reliably observed, and documents only contain ideas in a metaphorical sense, as a Leyden jar was once thought to contain electricity.

Documents are the tangible and fungible currency with which scholars communicate about ideas, yet how knowledge is actually communicated via documents is not amenable to direct observation at scale. In bibliometrics they have served as a proxy for ideas.

There have been two main orientations to mapping the web of knowledge, description and conscription. Description has either scientific aims, to understand and explain the facts of knowledge development, or practical aims, to locate and retrieve knowledge required for a particular purpose. Conscription on the other hand aims to mobilize bibliometric patterns of knowledge as measures of value in competitive markets, namely hiring, promotion, and awards within scholarly professions.

There are several ways to digitally represent texts as knowledge.

From an empirical perspective, texts are nothing but collections or bins of glyphs. The current paradigm is to render glyphs and recognize them as terms. Such terms may then be analyzed, for instance, by counting diction. Alternative paradigms are

3.1. INTRODUCTION 35

cropping up

Second is entity recognition or grounding, where recognized terms are mapped to an existing database of structured knowledge.

(Pilkington and Meredith, 2009)

3.1.3 Disciplines as a Large World Co-reference Network

A large world network is not amenable to traditional visual representations due to its extreme density. Scholars often use edge filtering to reduce this density down to a manageable size for vizualization. Unfortunately this convenience function renders a large world as a small world and grossly misrepresents the true structure of the network. In the KCC representation, the network is partitioned into subnetworks of differential density. Nodes are included in a subnetwork if they are involved in ties at a given floor of density, for instance, they need to be tied to at least five other nodes. At a level of five, then, nodes involved in only four ties would be excluded. As this standard is raised, more nodes are excluded. This results in a nested set of subnetworks, where nodes included in a community at a lower threshold are excluded at a higher threshold. Subnetworks of lower density thresholds are always as big or larger than those at higher thresholds. Moreover, higher density subnetworks are always subsets of lower density communities, as their density meets and exceeds the standard for inclusion at the lower level. As one can imagine, inclusive levels are larger. As the threshold is raised subgroupings are sluffed off until reaching points of maximal density. In a world where almost everything is connected, there are no structural holes to reveal differences between subnetworks. Instead, we can view the structure as gradations in density within a very densely connected world.

Nodes meeting the highest standards can be thought of as omnivorous; their ties draw them to the masses, but the masses are not sufficiently tied to the higher standard community. Where the gentry may be as comfortable at the movies as at the symphony, the layity lacks access to the more erudite circles.

What is the credential that would allow a node to climb the hierarchy? One's list of aqcuaintances must overlap by a certain amount (defined by the threshold) with the membership of the higher tier. Indeed their inclusion would change the credentials of everyone they are tied with, as anyone who was just under the standard would be tipped in based on their friend's promotion.

In the KCC model the references are the members of the hierarchy. Their association with each other is determined by how they are used by published authors. Authors who include two references on their bibliography tie those references together in the network. Indeed each citing article lays down a dense clique of references, and the impact of an article grows quadratically

with the length of its reference list.

3.2 Methods

3.3 Data

3.4 Results

The structure of a large world as revealed by KCC can be explored in a bottom-up and top-down fashion. Bottom-up observes 3-clique communities first. In the social science co-reference network.

Figure 3.1: K-clique Community Structure ([popout](tree.html))

Figure ??fig:kcc2tree) shows a KCC model of the social sciences in the first half of the twentieth century.

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Disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity are revealed in a novel fashion in the KCC model. Disciplinarity is shown as a level of exclusion.

3.4.1 Continents

The global map is made of many separate regions ranging in scale from large continents to small isles. These regions are either showlowly connected or totally separated from each other. The vast majority of these regions are "flat isles" with little to no internal structure of their own. Most flat isles are supported by only a single article, some by a couple of articles penned by the same author, and only a few represent real activity among a small group of different authors.

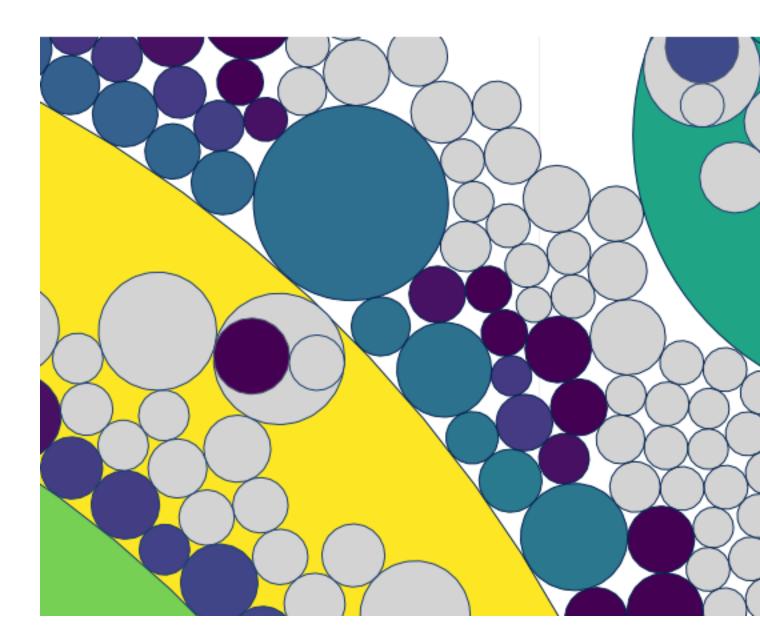


Figure 3.2: Flat Isles, where Reviewers tend their Flock

The most substantial flat isle comes from four authors publishing in the same 1930 issue of *Zeitschrift Fur Nationalokonomie*. It includes 50 references the most prominent of which are Angell's 1926 *The Theory of International Prices* and Tugwell's 1924 *The Trends of Economics*. The structure of the group is provided by an article by Robert Reisch; the other three shared no references in common and Reisch's article, titled "The 'Deposit'-Myth In Banking Theory" and containing 108 references, is likely to have been written as an introduction to the journal on the basis of what had already been accepted for publication. Indeed another flat isle of four articles has the exact same pattern, also from *Zeitschrift Fur Nationalokonomie*

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but from an issue in 1937, the article on the first page of the issue, titled "Theory Of Capital, Introduction" and containing 25 references, includes subsections of the bibliographies of three other articles that do not themselves overlap.

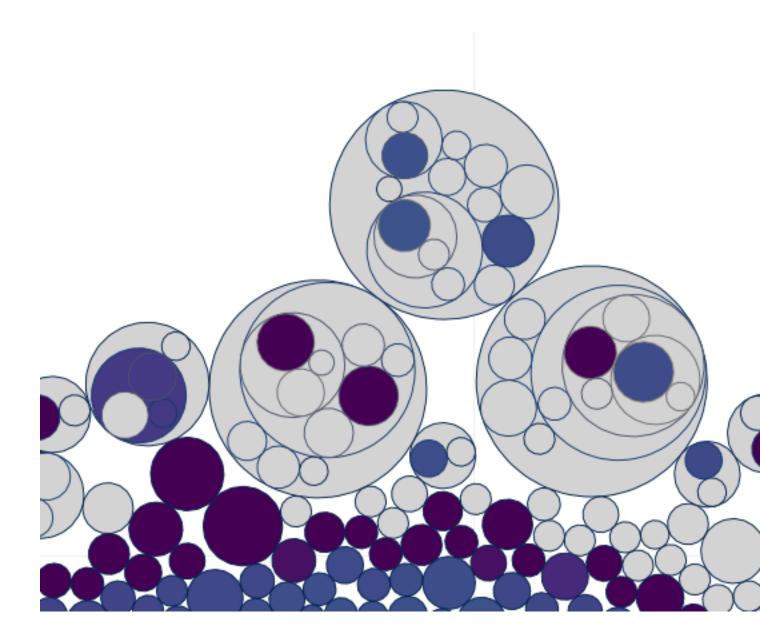


Figure 3.3: Hill Isles, where the Wild Things Are

Reviews, whether they are formally labeled as such, borrow directly from the bibliographies of one or more seed articles and in this way they contribute a disproportionate amount of the global structure of the co-reference network. This kind of review, rather than looking again at an existing intellectual trend, creates the cohesion it purports to describe. Flat isles, especially if they are large, are flat due to the retrospection of a usually solitary reviewer. Compare this to "hill isles" with more internal

structure growing out of the related but uncoordinated reference activity of authors.

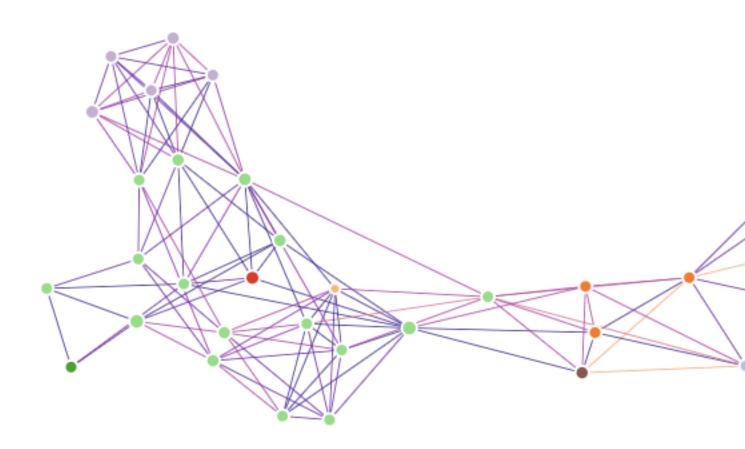


Figure 3.4: Hill Isle in Graph Layout

3.4.2 Peaks

The KCC model reveals

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3.4.3 Valleys

3.4.4 Do reference lists describe author knowledge?

The peer review process can now be thought of as a process of auditing credentials. An author makes an opening bid with the submission of a particular reference list. What this reference list implies about what the author knows is unclear. One may omit a knowledge signal because it is truthfully irrelevent or in a deceptive sin of ommission oriented to what they expect to be the expectations of editors and reviewers. One may also include what they do not know out of error, bragadoccio, carelessness, or fraud. Part of the work of reviewers will be to validate those claims to knowledge.

Chapter 4

Vocabularies of Anthropology and Sociology,

1888-1922

Abstract

Knowledge development of journals is measured as the change in topic prevalence over time.

Keywords

topic modeling

4.1 Full-Text

Computational text analysis requires that text corpora be transformed from a human to a machine readable format. Several efforts to digitize paper archives have made historical research designs possible, notably the Google Books project, HathiTrust, and ITHAKA JSTOR archive. Digital storage devices like the portable document format (PDF) have also enabled texts to be represented in both a digital version and as a reasonable facsimile of paper originals. Reasonable, we should say, for most sociological purposes, put not for other historical questions where materiality of culture is important. (Schreibman, 2014, 149)

Digital archives make research into the production of culture difficult, precisely because they misrepresent several aspects of the means of production. Because researchers should be mindful that digitization of texts abstracts some qualities of texts and

renders many others invisible. The importance of physical space and material qualities of libraries is illegible when working with digital archives, while the verbal content of texts is highlighted. We must keep in mind that we are not viewing what historical actors saw. Digital texts are almost perfectly fungible, while, variability in historical texts. We are liable, for instance, to underestimate the search costs to locate texts, and the fungibility of texts themselves.

There are reasons, however, to believe that digital text archives provide not just a useful but an historically valid abstraction from the material texts. If we want to understand how an individual scholar understood a particular text, better to have her personal copy, margin notes and all. Yet how would that scholar have treated the text as a cultural item? She would abstract her own copy to a format credibly held in common, the more aniseptically clean version that we see in digital archives. These are the ghosts of the texts, so to speak, but they are what would be left when all idiosyncracies were removed, the version that one would assume colleagues thought of when declaring that text publically.

This is by way of saying that the texts I compile below are not the same that were read by the historical actors under consideration. They are the texts that historical actors would assume their contemporaries were reading, that is, the sanitized, fungible, original published form of the text. By getting at these texts, we are getting at the real historical infrastructure for scholarly communication.

The optical character recognition that computers require in order to store text digitally depends critically on the hard work of creating quality scans of journal archives. JSTOR has done a comendable job of this. Next we will describe what the JSTOR archive has to offer.

4.2 Data

Every record for every journal was downloaded manually, including front and back matter, articles, and book reviews.

4.3 Sampling

4.4 Units of Analysis

Conventionally researchers feed entire documents into the construction of term frequencies. This method treats any term in a document as being related to any other term by the same degree. The goal of any topic mixture model algorithm is to sift

4.5. TOPICS 45

Table 4.1: Filtering due to Data Management

step	doc	pag	par	sen	tok	ter	lem
imported	100	100	100				
cleaned	99.27	98.21	67.51				
tokenized	99.27	98.21	67.51	100	100	100	
preprocessed	99.27	98.01	67.35	91.38	42.21	35.74	100
sampled	1.84	1.56	1.17	1.43	0.62	4.95	20.86
100							

these terms into different topic categories basically by looking for clues across documents; a topic can be "seen" in a particular document to the extent that other documents include that topic and *other* topics different from the focal article, so that the intersection of terms reveals the topic. But a much simpler assumption to reduce the attendant noise within a document is to merely feed lower level syntactic structures—paragraphs and sentences—to the algorithm. We will see that doing so greatly improves the usefulness of discovered topics.

The irony of this approach is that while topics become more clear as documents become shorter, the assignment of any particular shorter document to a topic is murkier due to the smaller word count.

Long documents will contribute more text to the corpus, but this is fair as they make up more of the population of text.

Thus a simple random sample will allow better descriptive statistics. I sampled at the paragraph level because.

4.5 Topics

The modeling objective is twofold, to sort text into categories of similarity, and to describe the qualitative content that defines the category membership. In this way we may operationalize the notion of cultural meaning or cultural logic as the rules of category classification. reduce expressions as instances of a latent category of expression.

4.5.1 How many topics?

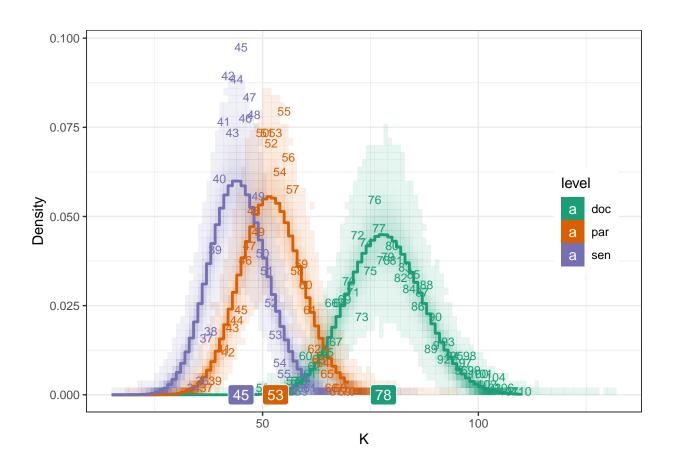


Figure 4.1: Distribution of K by convex hull

Table 4.2: Kurtosis Permutation Test

level	e	se	199	u99	$P(e \le 0)$
doc	-0.0932	0.1149	-0.3682	0.2252	0.7948
par	-0.1125	0.1206	-0.3999	0.2185	0.8257
sen	0.0118	0.2304	-0.5078	0.6471	0.4973

4.6. MODEL SELECTION 47

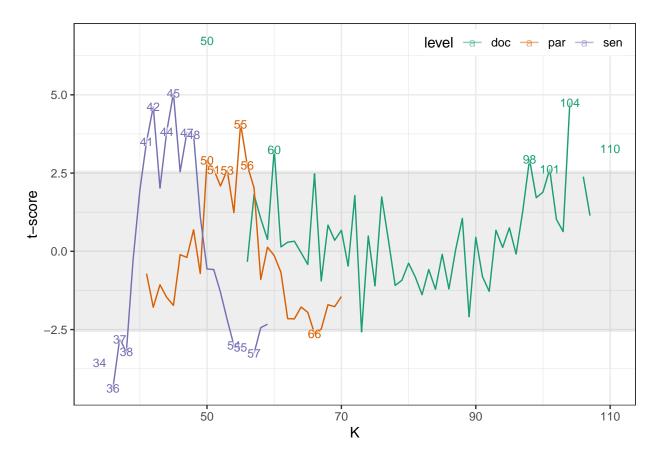


Figure 4.2: Significant Counts of K

4.6 Model selection

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