

The Two Solitudes in the Digital Age: A Comparative Analysis of French and Anglo-Canadian Sociology Journals

By

Alan Francisco Colin Arce

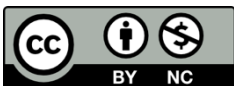
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Sociology

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University of Victoria



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We acknowledge and respect the Lək^wəŋən (Songhees and X^wsepsəm/Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək^wəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Sociology Journals

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Bachelor of Arts, Autonomous University of Mexico State, 2021

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Abstract

Canadian sociology is often described as two solitudes due to the separation between French and Anglo-Canadian sociologists. However, few studies have compared both languages to understand whether sociology is practiced differently in Canada depending on the language used for research. Therefore, this thesis explores whether Canadian sociology journals reflected the two solitudes over time. Using a computational methodology, I analyzed 14,528 French and English articles published in Canadian sociology journals between 1960 and 2021 to compare their publication trends.

The findings reveal that half of all articles addressed topics that were published about in the two languages. I also identified four core topics in Canadian sociology that were studied in both English and French between 1960 and 2021: theory, work, crime, and family. In addition to the common topics, the two languages experienced a fragmentation, delocalization, and feminization of their research topics over time. These similar social processes show that there is more common ground between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology than is implied by the two solitudes metaphor.

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Acknowledgements

Thank you to Érudit (<https://www.erudit.org/en/>) and the Canadian Foundation for Innovation (<https://www.innovation.ca>) for providing access to the Érudit textual corpus. This thesis was supported by a 2024 Coalition Publica Scholarship.

I also wish to thank Dr. Ray Siemens for his support in the process of obtaining the institutional signature for the data use agreement between Érudit and the University of Victoria.

Dedication

*“Hay muchísimas fronteras que dividen a la gente,
pero por cada frontera existe también un puente”*

Gina Valdez

Thank you to my supervisor, Dr. Bruce Ravelli, for your support and guidance since I started the master’s program in 2023. I always left our meetings feeling more inspired about my work.

Thank you for showing me how to be a better sociologist and researcher.

I also would like to thank current and past members of the Electronic Textual Cultures Lab at the University of Victoria, including Ray Siemens, Graham Jensen, Britt Amell, Randa El Khatib, Alyssa Arbuckle, Adar Charlton, and Faraz Forghan-Parast. Thank you for all your encouragement and support since 2021 when I joined the lab as a summer intern and then again in 2023 when I rejoined the lab as a graduate research assistant. My work at the lab and our discussions on open scholarship, multilingualism, and knowledge diversity informed several parts of this thesis.

También tengo que dar las gracias en español a las personas que siempre me han apoyado en mis estudios. A mis papás, muchas gracias por escucharme y alentarme cada semana en nuestras videollamadas. Este trabajo no hubiera sido posible sin ustedes que me apoyaron cuando quise tomar clases de francés hace diez años, cuando me acompañaron a tramitar la visa canadiense y en muchísimas ocasiones más en las que me dieron su apoyo y cariño. También muchas gracias a César, a mi abue Mago, a mi tía Bety y a Pao por seguir al pendiente de mí. Siempre los tengo presentes a pesar de estar lejos.

Por último, gracias a Rosario por apoyarme en todas las oportunidades que se me han presentado desde que nos conocimos. Mi vida sería completamente diferente si no hubiera tomado aquella clase de metodología en el 2018. Muchas gracias por mostrarme un camino que ni siquiera había considerado antes de conocernos.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Language plays a vital role in the production of knowledge in sociology. Language is also a part of researchers' positionalities, which influences the topics and theoretical traditions they write about (Xiang et al., 2025). Historically, Canadian sociology developed two research communities separated by language: one Francophone, concentrated primarily in the French-speaking province of Quebec, and the other Anglophone, dispersed in the rest of Canada. This division reflects broader linguistic divides in the country, marked by the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). Despite this well-known divide in Canadian sociology, the differences and similarities have yet to be fully explored. Understanding the role language plays in topic selection and knowledge production within Canadian sociology would help us better understand the discipline.

The language used to communicate research findings is linked to scientific capital, a particular kind of symbolic capital based on knowledge and recognition by other agents in a scientific field (Bourdieu, 2004). This recognition takes the form of professorships, citations, funding, scholarly awards, etc. In most scientific fields, English provides more scientific capital than other languages (Larivière, 2018). The selection of research topics is also connected to scientific capital because some topics are more likely to receive recognition than others. However, this recognition might be different in disciplines that work and publish in multiple languages, such as sociology.

Canadian sociology is particularly interesting to study because of how language might influence the selection of research topics by researchers in the same country. If there are similarities between the research topics in French and English, this might indicate a homogenization of the practice of sociology. In contrast, if there are differences between the

topics in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology, then this could suggest that the discipline is separated by language. This comparative work would deepen our awareness of how social positions might affect the work of sociologists in the past as well as today (Beytía & Müller, 2022).

Quebec sociologist Guy Rocher (1992) argued that there are two solitudes between Canadian Francophone and Anglophone sociologists. He believed that this divide prevented a full understanding of Canadian society because Canada's two largest linguistic and cultural communities were rarely studied through comparative research. More recently, Helmes-Hayes & Warren (2017) reiterated that Canadian sociology still had two national communities, one Francophone and one Anglophone.

While this divide has been one of the main characteristics of Canadian sociology, it is unclear to what extent Canadian sociology journals reflect these two solitudes. Recently, new bilingual data sources have become available that make it possible to compare large scale national journals by language. In particular, a textual corpus was recently published with the full text of thousands of articles published in Canadian social sciences journals (Coalition Publica, n.d.). This data source is valuable for performing computational research on Canadian journals and analyze the publication trends of social sciences disciplines in the country, including sociology. While analyzing the general trends of sociology journals in this corpus was not possible when Guy Rocher introduced the idea of the two solitudes, it is now thanks to the emergence of computational sociology over the last 15 years (Fu et al., 2022; McLevey, 2021; Nelson, 2020).

Thanks to these new methodologies and data sources, it is now possible to study Canadian sociology using large-scale data from national English- and French-language journals.

This is an important limitation because research on the state of Canadian sociology has excluded national journals, especially Francophone ones. This exclusion of national journals from previous research is noteworthy because these journals tend to publish research on Canada for a Canadian audience. Therefore, the history and extent of the two solitudes in Canadian sociology is ripe for study.

1.1 Sociological Significance

Language is intimately tied to power and hegemony (Bourdieu, 2003; Canagarajah & Said, 2011). Language also reflects and is associated with culture and world views (Bowker et al., 2025). In science, English has become the lingua franca for disseminating research, that is, the common language in which most scientific exchanges occur. While this facilitates communication between researchers regardless of their native language, it also creates a linguistic barrier for non-native English speakers when conducting research (Amano et al., 2023; Suzina, 2021). The use of English as a lingua franca has also been criticized because it facilitates the cultural, educational, and political hegemony of the United States and Britain (Canagarajah & Said, 2011).

In Canada, language has historically been a contentious political issue because of the division between French and English speakers in the country. In 1969, the Canadian government passed the *Official Languages Act*, which declared French and English as the country's two official languages. Since then, the federal government has implemented policies supporting bilingualism in government services and education (Hayday, 2015). These policies continue to this day, such as the *Action Plan for Official Languages*, which invests billions of dollars to

strengthen bilingualism in the country, including \$8.5 million to support the national French language research ecosystem (Canadian Heritage, 2024).

One of the reasons for funding multilingual scholarly publishing is that it supports the dissemination of cultures, topics, and viewpoints that cannot be directly expressed in English (Bowker et al., 2025). However, it is unclear if Canadian sociologists study different topics depending on the language they publish in. Comparing French and Anglo-Canadian sociology journals provides one way to explore if language influences scientific practices, such as the selection of research topics.

The separation of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology has been a recurrent theme in the history of the discipline in Canada, while bilingualism and linguistic separation were not of concern in other countries such as the United States or France (Brym & Saint-Pierre, 1997; Platt, 2006). Studying this separation might demonstrate if social and historical events in Canada influence sociologists, what they write about, and where.

Canadian sociology journals are a rich source of data for analyzing the two solitudes because they are the main vehicle for disseminating research, and therefore, provide legitimacy and profile for certain types of research over others (Fortin, 2018; Larivière & Warren, 2019). Journals also form what Arbuckle & Adema (2024) call “discursive communities” that bring together authors and ideas into conversations that act as disciplinary archives for showing how the communities may change over time.

One intended outcome of this study is to see if the idea of the two solitudes is still relevant when describing Canadian sociology. This research would require not only analyzing the similarities and differences between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology but also showing changes over time. I also intend to apply a new computational methodology that has the potential

to expose the similarities and differences between Canadian French and English sociology journal articles. Therefore, this study is a longitudinal and comparative analysis of Canadian sociology journals.

1.2 Aim and Scope

This thesis seeks to explore if Canadian sociology journals reflect the two solitudes through time.

The research questions that guide this study are:

- What are the differences and similarities over time in the publication trends of Canadian sociology journals by language?
- To what extent are the two solitudes evident in Canadian sociology journals?

I am conducting this study as a fluent English and French speaker. I am also an international student who has been in Canada for two years. This positionality gives me some distance from the cultural and linguistic division between Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

1.3 Thesis Overview

This thesis consists of six further chapters. In Chapter 2, I discuss the literature on Canadian sociology. I begin with an overview of the history of Canadian sociology since the 1960s, followed by a critical review of previous studies examining the publication trends of Canadian French and English sociology. Previous research on the publication trends of Canadian sociology has mostly focused on Anglo-Canadian sociology and in journals edited outside of Canada (Stokes & McLevey, 2016; Warren, 2014). My thesis addresses this limitation by analyzing a large selection of Canadian sociology journal articles through a computer-assisted model that provides greater depth and breadth than was possible with previous methods.

Chapter 3 describes the computational grounded theory methodology that guided this study. This methodology combines the grounded theory approach used in qualitative research

with computational text analysis to summarize large amounts of text and uncover themes in a corpus. This chapter also explains the technical decisions for building the textual corpus of Canadian sociology journals and analyzing this corpus using a topic modeling technique as well as a qualitative close reading.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis and shows the publication trends of Canadian sociology journals by language. The findings are presented in 20-year periods to trace the changes over time. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the results and if the two solitudes are evident in Canadian sociology journals.

Chapter 6 contains the conclusions of whether Canadian sociology journals have reproduced the two solitudes over their history. Chapter 7 describes the limitations of the study and points to possible future research directions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Throughout its history, Canadian sociology developed two different research communities separated by language: one Francophone, located mostly in the French-speaking province of Quebec, and the other Anglophone dispersed in the rest of Canada. This separation occurs in a bilingual country where Quebec has attempted to preserve its distinctive culture through policies that protect and promote the French language. Due to Quebec's history of separatism and nationalism, sociologists have described the province as a distinct society within the mostly English-Speaking Canada, or even as a nation within a nation (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). Canadian sociology has been shaped by this divide between Francophone and Anglophone Canada, however, the differences and similarities between the two sociological solitudes have yet to be fully explored. This fact limits the understanding of how language and geography might influence the practice of sociology in Canada.

Some topics like Indigeneity, immigration, language, class, or race are likely to be explored differently between the two sociological communities. Further, some topics might be overlooked by one community but not the other, which might influence the emergence of new ideas or approaches to understand social issues in Canada. Despite the possibility of excluding certain viewpoints, the differences between the topics and theories that French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian sociologists publish about have rarely been studied using a large dataset.

As mentioned in the introduction, Guy Rocher (1992) argued that there are two solitudes between Canadian Francophone and Anglophone scholars. He described the situation (1992, p. 67) as if

... a canyon was carved out between francophone sociologists, particularly those from Quebec, and Canadian anglophone sociologists. A wall of silence has arisen between us, which seems stronger and more lasting than the Berlin wall. There was no separatism, but an effective separation, a remoteness, a removal.

Rocher believed that this separation reflected the broader linguistic and cultural separation in Canada and that it prevented the formation of a distinct national sociological tradition.

Despite these well-known differences, there are few empirical studies that explore how sociology is practiced in the country (Warren, 2014), including research about the linguistic differences in Canadian sociology. One underexplored medium where these differences can occur is in the publication trends of Canadian journals, where the divide between the Francophone and Anglophone sociological solitudes might be replicated. However, no study has analyzed more than a handful of Canadian journals despite their high readership, their importance in disseminating national research (Larivière, 2014), and their possibilities for analyzing the manifestation of power structures in the discipline (Larivière & Warren, 2019).

To contextualize the analysis of Canadian sociology journals in English and French, this literature review will survey three main themes. First, the origins and institutionalization of Anglo and French-Canadian sociology from the late 19th century until the 2010s. Second, the differences in the role of sociological theory and methodology in Quebec and the rest of Canada. Third, the publication patterns of Canadian sociologists, including the main topics that have been studied in the country during the last few decades.

2.1 The Origins and Development of the Two Solitudes

Sociology emerged in English and French Canada between 1880 and 1960 and had a slow and uneven growth (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). American or French scholars in Canada were

usually the ones who nurtured the discipline in its first decades. In early 20th century Quebec, the development of sociology was tied to the Catholic church and practiced by doctrinal sociologists, who sought a moral understanding of the nature of society (Warren, 2009). In the rest of Canada, sociology had a distinct British influence during its origins, so it was more oriented toward history and philosophy than empirical research (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). The discipline had a long introductory period in the first half of the 20th century due to comparatively low investment in post-secondary education in Canada, limited funding for social science research, and low university enrollments (Hiller, 1982).

Despite these challenges, three sociology departments were established in Quebec before 1960 (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017; Hiller & Di Luzio, 2001). In 1925, C.A. Dawson established the first sociology department in the country at McGill University. In 1943, the first Francophone sociology department was established at Université Laval, with the Université de Montréal following suit in 1955. In this early institutionalization phase, sociologists were interested in studying the cultural richness of French Canada and how the traditional French-Canadian society transitioned into a modern one, but for some this implied a perception that French Canadians were a somewhat primitive group (Fournier, 2002).

In the rest of Canada, sociology became institutionalized between the 1960s and the 1980s, when Canada's post-secondary education system (including Quebec's) experienced an unprecedented growth and expansion supported by a strong welfare state (Fournier, 2002; Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). This growth was seen by the number of sociology faculty being hired. In 1960, there were only 61 full-time sociologists teaching at Canadian universities, representing 6.5% of all social sciences faculty. In 1970, there were 548 sociology faculty members, accounting for 11.5% of all social sciences faculty (Hiller, 1982).

During this time, sociology was also professionalized and established as an independent academic discipline. In the mid-1960s, the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA) was founded and two national sociology journals emerged: the *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* and the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). In Quebec, two French-language journals were also founded in the 1960s: *Recherches sociographiques* and *Sociologie et sociétés*.

In 1965, one of the most influential works of Anglo-Canadian sociology was published: John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic*, a comprehensive analysis of Canadian institutions and their elites in business, labor, politics, public service, mass media, religion, and higher education (Ogmundson, 2002). This book set the agenda of Anglo-Canadian sociology around questions of class, power, and inequality until the late 1970s. During this time, there was an uptake in Marxism and feminism, with the development of perspectives such as the new political economy and Dorothy Smith's standpoint theory (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017).

The expansion of the Canadian higher education system in the 1960s and 70s required more faculty, but many departments in Canada, including sociology, lacked the graduate programs and resources to train students (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018). In 1960, for example, only 11 students in the entire country completed a master's degree in sociology, and no doctoral degrees were awarded (Hiller, 1982). Therefore, most new faculty positions were filled by graduates of American graduate programs.

The influx of new faculty from the US raised concerns among some Canadian scholars about the Americanization of Canadian universities and cultural life (Cormier, 2005). In response, the Canadianization movement emerged to nationalize Canadian universities by prioritizing the hiring of Canadian citizens and Canadian-trained scholars, advocating for the

creation of more Canadian graduate programs, and some even arguing for unique Canadian ways of understanding the world (Cormier, 2005). In sociology, the Canadianization movement resisted the positivist orientation of American sociology (Michalski, 2016). For some, the movement also reflected an anti-American stance, particularly against American militarism, racism, and imperialism, while promoting the idea that Canada could offer a new, alternative form of society (Cormier, 2005).

Despite its influence on the social sciences in Canada, the Canadianization movement was not implemented equally across the country. In the three elite universities in the country (McGill University, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Toronto), 65% of social sciences faculty members hired between 1977 and 2017 received their doctoral degrees from American universities (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018). These universities maintained the hiring of American scholars even during the Canadianization movement to reinforce their symbolic capital and maintain their networks of homophily with other elite universities in the U.S (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018; Nevin, 2019).

In the same period, the rest of the U15 institutions (excluding elite universities)¹ saw increases from 28 to 48% in the overall proportion of faculty trained in Canadian Anglophone institutions (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018), and from 42 to 55% in Canadian Francophone institutions. Therefore, the hiring practices of the majority of U15 institutions were influenced by the Canadianization movement and policies that encouraged the hiring of Canadian citizens.

¹ The U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities is an association of fifteen large public research universities across Canada that train 58% of Canada's full time graduate students (U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities, 2022). The U15 includes the Universities of Alberta, British Columbia, Calgary, Manitoba, Montreal, Ottawa, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Waterloo, and Western Ontario, as well as Dalhousie, Laval, McGill, McMaster, and Queen's University.

The Canadianization movement was less pronounced in Quebec where there was a cultural preference to recruit faculty from France (Platt, 2006). Between the 1970s to the early 2000s, Quebec sociology was focused on the nationalization of sociology by founding French journals, expanding sociology departments in Quebec (Fournier, 2002), and establishing a Francophone association: the *Association Canadienne des Sociologues et Anthropologues de Langue Française*. The association was created because Quebec sociologists felt excluded from the mostly Anglophone Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association and would help facilitate connections with other Francophone countries (Rocher, 1992).

As Quebec sociology became more nationalized by creating its own Francophone academic spaces, sociologists became increasingly aware that Quebec considered itself a distinct society and not just a unique linguistic and ethnic group. The distinct society of Quebec was grounded upon the French language, the Catholic influence, oral traditions, and marginalization from English society (Fournier, 2002).

The nationalization of Quebec sociology coincided with two historical events. The first event, the Quiet Revolution, was a movement that took place in Quebec during the 1960s when the provincial Liberal Party came to power (Fournier, 2002). During this time, the provincial government was secularized after decades of Catholic influence, a larger welfare state was established, and the French language became the defining feature of Quebec as a distinct society (Dickinson & Young, 2002). Quebecois sociologists at the time found that the Quiet Revolution was the moment when Quebec became a global society (Warren, 2006).

During this time of rapid social change, one of the most notable works of Quebec sociology was published in 1968: Fernand Dumont's *Le Lieu de l'homme*, a book compared to Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* in terms of the influence it had in Quebec sociology. Based on the

experience of Quebec, Dumont proposed a theory of culture that argued for the recognition of the role of tradition as an essential element in the nature of culture (Cantin, 2019). Despite their influence, Dumont's book has not been translated into English, and Porter's book has not been translated into French (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017).

The second event that influenced the practice of Quebec sociology, was the rise of neo-nationalism, as seen in 1976, when the nationalist Parti Québécois was elected. At this time, sociology began perceiving Quebec's cultural differences as a source of pride rather than a handicap (Fournier, 2001). Quebec sociologists sought to collaborate with the provincial government to guide the social changes the province was experiencing. This began a tradition of using sociology to identify and solve social problems in collaboration with the state (Burawoy, 2009). One example of this collaboration was Fernand Dumont and Guy Rocher's contributions to the creation of a Quebec policy for cultural development (Fournier, 2001).

After this period of social change and rapid expansion of the Canadian higher education system, Canadian sociology was relatively stable between the 1990s and the 2010s. The discipline retained a solid institutional presence with dozens of sociology departments across the country employing around 1,200 faculty members (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). This period saw Canadian English-language sociology increasingly influenced by post-structuralism, postmodernism and the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Both challenged the basic assumptions of sociologists, including the limitations of science as a way of knowing. New topics emerged that explored postmodern society, such as immigration, ethnicity, security, ecology, culture, youth, and language (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). In Quebec, while Foucault and Bourdieu were also seen as important, their influence was less pronounced given the defining feature of Quebec sociology for decades was its focus on cultural issues.

Some more recent studies, while not necessarily seeking to analyze the differences between the Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canadian sociology, identified some recent differences in the institutionalization of the discipline in Quebec and the rest of Canada. For example, Nevin (2019) examined the academic job market for Canadian sociology by analyzing data of the hiring relationships between institutions. He found that seven Canadian institutions trained 37.3% of all sociology faculty, sixty others trained 27.7%, and the remaining 35% were trained abroad, usually in the United States.

Nevin (2019) found that not only were elite universities hiring American-trained faculty, but so did universities like York, Alberta, and Calgary. This might indicate a reversal of the Canadianization trends of the past decades as older faculty members retired. This reversal relates to the patterns identified by Lachapelle & Burnett (2018), who found that for the first time in 20 years, more Canadian-trained faculty retired than were hired between 2007 and 2017 at universities such as Alberta, McMaster, Western, Queen's and Waterloo. Both studies suggest that Canadian sociology departments increasingly hired faculty from abroad in the 2010s, especially those institutions with higher university rankings (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018).

However, Quebec had different hiring patterns than the rest of Canada. Forty-eight percent of sociologists employed in Quebec were hired from the same university where they obtained their doctoral degree or from another institution in the province (Nevin, 2019). When Francophone sociologists are employed outside of Quebec, they are usually hired at other universities with a focus on French language and culture, such as the University of Ottawa or the University of New Brunswick. Nevin (2019) suggests that this can be an indication of a particular Francophone style of sociology that is more oriented towards theory and the French language.

Throughout their history, Francophone and Anglophone Canadian sociology have had different influences and institutionalization processes that altered how each practiced sociology. Occasionally, these factors happened simultaneously, such as the expansion of the Canadian higher education system, but researchers have mostly focused on the distinct historical and social processes that shifted how sociology was practiced. In Quebec, these processes included nationalism, the French language, and the Quiet Revolution, while in the rest of Canada the discipline was shaped by American and British influences and the Canadianization movement. Because of their different histories, French and Anglo-Canadian sociology have pursued different intellectual traditions and disseminated their research in different journals and associations.

2.2 Differences in the Role of Theory and Methodology

In addition to the differences in their origins and development, Francophone and Anglophone Canadian sociology also differ in the theories and methodologies they use and the results they find (Guzman & Silver, 2018).

French and Anglo-Canadian sociology have different approaches to theory. Quebec tends to have a more contemporary orientation to teaching social theory, while in the rest of Canada, theory preserves and transmits the classics, mainly Marx, Weber, and Durkheim (Guzman & Silver, 2018). According to social theory syllabi and departmental data across Canada, in Quebec the contemporary French sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault have a higher centrality than even Weber or Marx, while Marx and Weber are the primary theorists in the rest of Canada (Guzman & Silver, 2018). Anglophone departments teach Bourdieu and Foucault less often in theory courses despite their greater influence on Anglo-Canadian sociological research (Helves-Hayes & Warren, 2017; Stokes & McLevey, 2016).

Despite these differences, what Canadian social theory has in common is that it is seen as a key part of sociological education and occupies a position between two traditions of thought, one American and one French/European. However, this intermediary position between American and European theory may not be the same in the empirical practice of Canadian sociology.

To examine the practice of Canadian sociology, Platt (2006) analyzed the research methods used in 565 articles published between 1961 and 2001 in four Canadian sociology journals. She also studied how the methods changed over time, and how they differed between French and English. The study found that quantitative methods were the most frequently used, although in the 1990s (the most recent decade of analysis) their use decreased by 20% compared to the 1980s. Quantitative studies were more common in Anglophone journals, while qualitative or historical methods were the most used in Francophone journals. Authors from Quebec used quantitative methods in only 38% of their articles, while authors from the rest of Canada used these methods in 62% of their articles.

Platt (2006) also found that not only were the methods used in Quebec different than in the rest of Canada, but the data they used was different as well. Seventy-five percent of Francophone articles used data from Quebec, and only 11% used data from Canada as a whole. In contrast, 44% of the articles in Anglophone journals used data from individual provinces, while 32% used national data (Platt, 2006). These results show how Quebec sociology is more focused on local/provincial concerns, while the rest of Canada tends to have a broader focus. Helmes-Hayes & Warren (2017) note that Francophone sociologists have Quebec as their point of reference, while Anglophone sociologists have Canada as their point of reference.

Another study by Michalski (2016) analyzed the theoretical and methodological perspectives of Canadian sociologists, but only focused on the Anglophone community due to a

lack of response from Francophone sociologists. This study was a national survey conducted in 2014-2015 among 190 full-time members of Canadian sociology departments about their ontological and methodological assumptions (Michalski, 2016). The author asked the participants to select which perspectives they followed in their research: positivist, interpretive, critical, feminist, or postmodernist.

The study found that the most common epistemological perspective was critical, an orientation that conducts research to “demystify and unveil reality to empower and liberate those who are oppressed” (Michalski, 2016, p. 530). This critical core is shared by a majority (62%) of Canadian sociologists. Furthermore, the engagement with this critical epistemological perspective is influenced by the social locations of faculty members, with factors such as gender, age, country of Ph.D. education, and having a degree in a discipline other than sociology all explaining a substantial variation in epistemological orientation (Michalski, 2016). This points to how certain social factors influence the type of sociology that Canadian researchers practice, although other factors such as region or language might also influence the epistemological orientations of faculty members, but they were not included in the study. Knowing if French-Canadian sociologists have another predominant epistemological orientation could help explain their separation from their Anglophone counterparts, as epistemological assumptions underlie disputes about valid disciplinary knowledge, methodologies, and theoretical claims (Michalski, 2016).

The differences in the main theoretical and methodological approaches between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology suggest two different ways of practicing sociology in Canada. French-Canadian sociology tends to engage more with contemporary European theory and apply more qualitative and historical methodologies. Anglo-Canadian sociology has a more critical

orientation and uses quantitative methods more often than French-Canadian sociology. Because theory and methodology shape empirical sociological research, these differences by language might also be present in the journal articles that disseminate the research results of Canadian sociologists.

2.3 The Publication Patterns of Canadian Sociologists

Only a handful of studies have analyzed how Canadian sociologists disseminate their work through scholarly journals, and those that do, have mostly focused on a handful of journals. For example, Carroll (2013) analyzed the trends in the 948 articles published in the *Canadian Review of Sociology* (CRS) over its 50-year history and found that, on average, one to two articles per year were published in French, while the rest were published in English. Carroll (2013) noted that in 50 years, only one editor (out of 27 in the journal's history up to 2013) worked at a Francophone university, and he edited the anthropology section of the journal when the CRS published both anthropological and sociological research.

Another study examined four Canadian sociology journals: the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, and the French language journals *Recherches Sociographiques* and *Sociologie et Sociétés* (Platt, 2006). While these are four flagship journals of Canadian sociology that date back to the 1960s, they are not the only venues where Canadian sociologists publish their work. Some publish in American or European journals because they might reach a wider international audience (Stokes & McLevey, 2016; Warren, 2014) while others might prefer to publish in local publishing venues edited in Canada. However, only a couple of bibliometric studies have considered a larger selection of journals to analyze the publication patterns of Canadian sociologists (Stokes & McLevey, 2016; Warren, 2014).

Using data from the Social Sciences Citation Index and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (which contain information on the articles of thousands of journals), Warren (2014) examined the trends around the internationalization of Canadian sociology. To this end, he analyzed if the doctoral training of faculty members and objects of study were different in Canada than in other countries. He found that across Canada, the proportion of faculty members with a Canadian doctoral degree was over 60% in 2012, and it was the highest proportion since the 1960s. Later in the decade the proportion of faculty trained in Canada might have decreased, as suggested by more recent studies (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018; Nevin, 2019) that found an increase in the hires of faculty trained abroad.

Regarding objects of study, Warren (2014) also found that Canadian sociology showed a trend toward internationalization to better fit in “core” journals and conferences by publishing about topics of interest to American and European audiences. This trend can be observed, for example, in the proportion of sociology articles focusing on Canada, which increased during the 1980s and early 1990s, but remained flat during the late 1990s to the early 2010s (Warren, 2014).

Among Francophone sociologists, the proportion of articles focusing on Quebec decreased from 24.6% in the 1983-92 period to 15% in the 2003-12 period, while articles focusing on Canada, the US and France all saw increases from the 1980s to the most recent period (Warren, 2014), suggesting an increasing interest in dominant societies. This decline suggests a reversal of the historical trends identified by Platt (2006), in which Quebec sociologists tended to use data from Quebec in around 75% of their articles published between the 1960s and the 1990s. However, while the proportion of articles on Canada stagnated, there was an increase in studies of particular cities or provinces over those about Canada as a whole.

Warren (2014) hypothesized that this increase in local and regional research might be explained because abstract and universalizing research is increasingly done in the centers of academic research (such as elite universities), while local research is relegated to the periphery. Warren also suggested that sociologists were increasingly organizing their work around certain theories or local experiences (such as biopower, identities, or emotion) over those with a national focus.

Another study looked at the publication patterns of Canadian sociologists in national and international venues through 7,141 articles with at least one Canadian author published in 169 journals indexed in Web of Science (Stokes & McLevey, 2016). This study explored the evolution of the intellectual structure of English Canadian sociology from 1966 to 2014, particularly how its topics changed over time and whether the discipline had become more intellectually fragmented or cohesive. Analyzing this structure clarifies how specialties change, how new areas of study emerge, and how institutional and political changes influence sociology.

As part of their study, Stokes & McLevey (2016) found that from 1966 to 1984 Canadian sociology was more cohesive, with a core set of specialties centered around power, class, elites, and politics that emerged following the publication of John Porter's book *The Vertical Mosaic* in 1965. This was followed by periods of diversification (1985 to 1994), fragmentation (1995 to 2004), and then reorganization around a new set of specialties focused on culture and social capital mostly knit together by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (2005 to 2014). Despite the changes, the authors concluded that new core specialties retain what is most distinctive about English Canadian sociology: strong relationalism and a focus on social inequality (Stokes & McLevey, 2016).

While the results from both bibliometric studies shed some light on the publication patterns of Canadian sociology, they have an important limitation: their data source. Both studies used the Web of Science database, which is a common tool for bibliometric studies, but it is biased towards English-language journals, which does not make it appropriate to analyze the intellectual structure of French-Canadian sociology. Furthermore, other scholarly databases such as Scopus, Dimensions, and OpenAlex have more comprehensive coverage of journals and research by Canadian scholars (Singh et al., 2021; van Bellen et al., 2024). At the national level, the Érudit platform contains a higher number of Canadian social sciences and humanities journals than Web of Science, as Érudit contains one third of all Canadian journals in these disciplines (van Bellen, 2024). Given these alternative data sources, the use of Web of Science or a selection of a handful of journals provides an incomplete picture of the publication trends of Canadian sociology.

The use of Web of Science (WoS) might also limit the generalizability of Warren's (2014) results about the internationalization of Canadian sociology because this database only contains a small proportion of all Canadian social sciences journals, while the rest are foreign. Given how WoS underestimates journals that publish in languages other than English (Larivière, 2018), the articles that Canadian sociologists publish in WoS journals will be more international in focus to cater to those audiences, while Canadian journals that are not indexed in WoS are more likely to publish research focused on local or national issues (Larivière, 2018).

Web of Science's bias towards Anglophone journals also limits the possibility of knowing how articles published in French differ from those in English. Despite the underrepresentation of French journals in their data, neither Warren nor Stokes & McLevey mention how many articles in French they included or excluded from their analyses. The

exclusion of Francophone articles especially misrepresents the Quebec data, since in WoS journals, only 5% of the articles published by Quebec social scientists are in French (Larivière, 2018).

Therefore, the questions of how French-Canadian sociology differs from Anglo-Canadian sociology, and whether articles published in French address different topics than those published in English remain unanswered through empirical research, despite the theoretical debates that have developed around Canadian sociology. Francophone journals in particular have been excluded from most discussions of the state of sociology in Canada, demonstrating an important limitation in the literature that reproduces the linguistic divide in Canadian sociology.

Overall, previous research has identified significant differences in the histories, theoretical approaches and areas of study of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology. However, few studies have considered the similarities between the two, in part because of the idea of the two solitudes that implies a complete separation between the two. Therefore, even the research on the history and state of Canadian sociology has mostly been siloed by language. To address this limitation, this thesis analyzes a large selection of Canadian sociology journal articles in French and English through a computer-assisted model, described in the following chapter, that provides greater depth and breadth than bibliometric methods.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This thesis seeks to explore if sociology journals reflect the two solitudes of Canadian sociology through time. In this thesis, “Canadian sociology” refers to both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology. I refer to “French-Canadian sociology” as all the articles published in French in Canadian sociology journals. This term includes the French articles written by Quebec sociologists, by Canadian Francophone scholars outside of Quebec, and by foreign scholars publishing articles in national journals. I use this term because I am not distinguishing between these groups, but I recognize that most of the articles published in French in national journals are by Quebec scholars and that Quebec sociology has a distinct history from Francophone sociology produced in other provinces (Larregue & Warren, 2024b; Warren & Gingras, 2011).

Similarly, the term “Anglo-Canadian sociology” refers to all articles published in English in Canadian sociology journals, regardless of the province or nationality of the authors. While I do not make distinctions according to the geographic origin of the authors, I assume that if they are submitting to Canadian journals, they are interested in engaging with Canadian scholars and research. This assumption is based on the fact that the majority of readers of the journals included in this study are from Canada (Cameron-Pesant, 2018) and that these journals are published by Canadian institutions. Furthermore, some of the articles were written by researchers in disciplines outside of sociology, such as political science, law, media studies, economics, etc.

To explore what differences and similarities exist in the topics covered in scholarly articles in Francophone and Anglophone Canadian sociology journals, this study applied the first two steps of the computational grounded theory methodological approach. This approach combines the qualitative approach of grounded theory with computational text analysis.

Grounded theory is an inductive methodology that allows themes and relationships to emerge directly from the data (Chun Tie et al., 2019). While grounded theory is an effective tool for revealing nuance within data, it is limited in its ability to validate and reproduce results because of the predispositions of individual researchers, and is also ill-suited to analyzing large amounts of data (Nelson, 2020). However, computational text analysis provides an opportunity to reliably integrate unstructured data into theory-generating research, but its outputs are often difficult to interpret in meaningful ways (Nelson, 2020).

Computational grounded theory combines interpretive and computational approaches to overcome the limitations of both methods and incorporates distant and close reading to better measure and create meaning. This approach combines expert human knowledge with computer pattern recognition to achieve a methodologically rigorous approach to content analysis (Nelson, 2020).

A computational methodology was selected for this study because of its ability to make comparisons across time and space using vast amounts of data (Fu et al., 2022). This methodology is well-suited for summarizing the main features of large volumes of textual data, which would be impractical to code manually (Chen et al., 2023). Employing a computational methodology enables this study to analyze and compare thousands of Canadian sociology journal articles written in French and English across 60 years, from 1960 to 2021.

While it is more common to use bibliometric methods to identify the evolution of a field or a discipline through academic publications, they would not have been sufficient to answer my research questions because this study seeks to compare articles in both English and French. The most common databases used in bibliometric studies, Scopus and Web of Science (WoS), are biased towards English journals as they only index a few journals in other languages. For

example, in the sociology category of WoS, there are only three Canadian journals: the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, and *Recherches Sociographiques*.

While these are key publications in the country, this selection paints a very limited picture of national sociology journals, considering that Érudit (a national repository) indexes 34 Canadian sociology journals, and 11 of those publish exclusively in French.² Therefore, using WoS as a data source would have excluded most Canadian sociology journals.

Another possible bibliometric database that could have been used was OpenAlex. OpenAlex indexes more Canadian journals and articles in both French and English, however, 14.7% of the papers in OpenAlex are misclassified, with an even higher percentage of French articles being mislabeled (Céspedes et al., 2025). Furthermore, the metadata of the articles indexed in OpenAlex, including the country and reference lists, is missing or inaccurate in a high number of articles (Alperin et al., 2024), which would bring into question the reliability of my results should I have chosen this database.

As the sources commonly used for bibliometric studies posed important limitations for answering my research questions, a different database was needed that could analyze the full text of thousands of journal articles to understand the differences in Anglo and French-Canadian sociology. Therefore, I chose to use Érudit in this study, a platform that disseminates Canadian social sciences and humanities journals, including 29 national sociology journals, 12 of them French and 11 of them bilingual. Érudit also provides access to a textual corpus with the full text of the articles published in these journals. Given the extensive coverage of Canadian journals on

² The number of journals in English and French is not proportional because the selection of the journals depended on their inclusion in Érudit or Sociological Abstracts. Because Érudit is developed in Quebec, it attracts more Francophone journals. However, the number of articles by language was more balanced with 7,440 articles in English (51% of the total) and 7,088 articles in French (49%).

Érudit and the availability to access the full text of their articles, computational grounded theory was a more appropriate methodology for this study over a bibliometric approach.

3.1 Computational Grounded Theory Framework

Nelson's (2020) computational grounded theory framework consists of three steps: 1) pattern detection, 2) pattern refinement, 3) and pattern confirmation. The first step, pattern detection, consists of performing an exploratory analysis that automatically classifies text into categories. This technique identifies patterns across text through clustering and topic modeling algorithms that uses the co-occurrence of words in documents to uncover themes within a corpus (Nelson, 2020). This step is automated and produces a list of weighted words for each topic. The total number of articles included in this step in my research was 19,466 for both languages. Fifty-seven per cent of the articles (11,027) were in French, and the remaining forty-three percent (8,420) were in English.

The second step, pattern refinement, allows the researcher to use the output from step one to evaluate the categories suggested by the topic modeling algorithm. Both traditional and computational grounded theory require moving back and forth between the results of the analysis and the data (Nelson, 2020). This step involved reading the texts with the highest probability of representing a topic to confirm or revise the patterns identified in the first step. The most representative documents of a topic are those that the topic modeling algorithm assigned the highest probability of belonging to the topic. These probabilities can be sorted in descending order to read from the most representative articles to the least.

The three main actions I did when revising the results of the topic models were removing a topic, merging two topics, or reassigning the documents to other topics that fit them better. During this process, I documented the rationale behind these decisions in research notes, and I

also extracted quotes from the abstracts that related to the topic. Because this step involves a person (as opposed to a machine or an algorithm) reading the texts, the computational results are contextualized and interpreted in a more meaningful and theory-informed fashion (Nelson, 2020), and also why this step is often called *guided deep reading* (McLevey, 2021).

To review a larger number of articles and get a more accurate impression of the topic, I read only the abstracts of the most representative documents (as opposed to the entire article). Reading the entire article was not practical given the size of my dataset. Reading even a handful of articles per topic would have been unrealistic and even then, would not have justified refining the results of the topic model based on the reading of such a limited number of articles.

I reviewed the articles until reaching the point of saturation, that is, when new analysis did not provide additional insight into the existing categories (Chun Tie et al., 2019). While the point of saturation varied by topic, I reviewed the abstracts of at least 20% of the most representative articles of each topic to ensure the results were an accurate representation of the topic. I documented the number of abstracts I read for each topic, which amounted to 2,013 French abstracts and 1,795 English abstracts.

The pattern refinement step was an iterative process where I revised the topic models if they did not align with the sampled texts. For example, some topics were removed while others were combined. The rationale behind these decisions was described in more detail in the Notes column of the tables in Appendix A, which show the full results of the topic models. Through this close reading, it was possible to translate “computational output into sociologically meaningful concepts [...] to draw more abstract conclusions about the social world that produced the data” (Nelson, 2020, p. 30). The conclusions drawn from these two steps were guided by the

debates in Canadian sociology around the two solitudes, as discussed in the literature review section.

The third step of computational grounded theory, pattern confirmation, uses natural language processing techniques, such as word hierarchies, named-entity recognition, or supervised machine learning, to statistically assess whether the patterns hold throughout the corpus. However, Nelson's (2020) explanation of this step is not as clear as that of the previous two. Therefore, this step was omitted from the study because the findings of the first two steps convinced me that they were rich enough to answer my research questions. Removing this step meant that I was not following the complete computational grounded theory framework, however, other studies have assessed the validity of the topics through close reading (Chen et al., 2023) without applying pattern confirmation.

The pattern detection and refinement steps were conducted separately for the English and French articles and the results compared. The corpus was also divided into three 20-year periods: from 1961 to 1980, from 1981 to 2000, and from 2001 to 2021 to enable comparisons over time, both in and across languages. These periods were selected to account for trends in the university job market in the social sciences in Canada, as explained in more detail in the literature review. These trends include the Canadianization movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, the economic crises of the early 1980s that reduced the number of hires (Khelifaoui & Gingras, 2024), and the demographic shift of the 2000s, when new faculty members (not necessarily trained in Canada) joined Canadian universities (Khelifaoui & Gingras, 2024; Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018).

Previous research by Helmes-Hayes & Warren (2017) investigated the history of Canadian sociology after 1960 in two periods: one from 1960 to 1990, coinciding with the expansion of the Canadian higher education system and one after 1990 characterized by a

relatively stable number of students and faculty. However, for a comparative analysis over time across only two 30-year periods, in my opinion, would not have provided enough granularity by which to better understand how Canadian sociology evolved over the 60 years.

3.2 Corpus Building

Selecting the journals to analyze the trends in Canadian sociology was not straightforward, as there is no comprehensive list of sociology journals. There have been previous attempts to map Canadian scholarly journals (Van Bellen, 2024), but their categorization into disciplines is too broad and does not distinguish between the different disciplines under the umbrella term of social sciences. Larregue & Warren (2024) contend that, beyond the journals that are generally accepted as representative of sociology (such as *Recherches Sociographiques* and *Sociologie et Sociétés*), it can be challenging to constitute a corpus of Canadian sociology journals that does not appear arbitrary. While this is a valid concern, I believe the two databases I selected for this study address the concern of arbitrariness.

Two scholarly databases were used to locate journals for this study: Érudit and Sociological Abstracts. Érudit disseminates over 170 Canadian social sciences and humanities journals with over 200,000 articles (Cameron-Pesant, 2018), and provides access to the full text of most of these articles for research. Érudit differs from traditional bibliometric databases in two ways that are relevant for this study: it focuses on Canadian journals and, when applying to be indexed, the journals themselves select which discipline they publish in (as opposed to being assigned by the database). Therefore, all 29 journals in Érudit that are classified under the sociology category chose to be associated with the discipline.

The other database, Sociological Abstracts, indexes sociology journals from all over the world, as well as journals from related disciplines in the social sciences. The database lists all the

indexed journals including details on the publisher, country of publication, and coverage in the database (selective or core coverage).³ Journals included in the selective coverage were excluded because they were usually from disciplines other than sociology, including linguistics, political science, social work, and law. For this study, I selected journals published in Canada that were part of the core coverage because it had a similar selection to the journals indexed under the sociology category in Érudit, but with the addition of some Anglophone journals.

In total, there are 35 Canadian journals in the core coverage of Sociological Abstracts, but most of them were excluded from the corpus for several reasons. For example, thirteen were already indexed in Érudit, five were not available in open access nor with the University of Victoria's library access, four had no website, and seven were no longer published by Canadian organizations. Therefore, out of the 35 journals, a total of six were available for inclusion in the corpus, all Anglophone or bilingual, most notably the flagship journals, the *Canadian Review of Sociology* and the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. The list of journals included in the study can be consulted in Table 3.1. Twelve journals were French, nine were English, and thirteen were bilingual.

Table 3.1: Journals Included in the Study

Journal	Language	Database
Acta Criminologica	Bilingual	Érudit
Aequitas	Bilingual	Érudit
Alterstice	Bilingual	Érudit
Atlantis	Bilingual	Érudit
Cahiers de recherche sociologique	French	Érudit
Les Cahiers du Gres	French	Érudit
Cahiers Société	French	Érudit
Comparative and International Education / Éducation comparée et internationale	Bilingual	Érudit
Criminologie	French	Érudit

³ The full list of journals in Sociological Abstracts can be downloaded at the following link: https://pq-static-content.proquest.com/collateral/media2/documents/titlelist_socabs.xls

Critical Gambling Studies	English	Érudit
Développement Humain, Handicap et Changement Social / Human Development, Disability, and Social Change	Bilingual	Érudit
Diversité urbaine	Bilingual	Érudit
Enfances, Familles, Générations	French	Érudit
Engaged Scholar Journal	English	Érudit
Enjeux et société	French	Érudit
Frontières	French	Érudit
Imaginations	Bilingual	Érudit
The International Indigenous Policy Journal	English	Érudit
International Review of Community Development / Revue internationale d'action communautaire	French	Érudit
Journal of Critical Race Inquiry	English	Érudit
Lien social et Politiques	French	Érudit
Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure	Bilingual	Érudit
Recherches sociographiques	French	Érudit
Religiologiques	French	Érudit
Revue Interventions économiques / Papers in Political Economy	Bilingual	Érudit
Simmel Studies	Bilingual	Érudit
Sociologie et sociétés	French	Érudit
Surveillance & Society	English	Érudit
Canadian Journal of Sociology	Bilingual	Sociological Abstracts
Canadian Review of Sociology	Bilingual	Sociological Abstracts
Alternate Routes	English	Sociological Abstracts
Canadian Studies in Population	English	Sociological Abstracts
Socialist Studies: The Journal of the Society for Socialist Studies	English	Sociological Abstracts
Studies in Social Justice	English	Sociological Abstracts

To access the full text articles in Érudit, I used the corpus available on the “Érudit - Scholarly and Cultural Journals Collection” dataset. Each journal has a list of folders corresponding to the journal issues indexed in Érudit, and inside each issue, there are folders with a PDF and XML file for every article. The articles include not only research papers but also

other types of academic documents, such as book reviews, editorials, and letters to the editor. I decided to keep these other types of articles in the topic models because they are important components of some journals and may give some indication of how the discipline changes over time. This collection is available free of charge to researchers who sign an agreement with Érudit.

In my case, it took around three months for the approval of the agreement between the University of Victoria and Érudit. Once the approval was obtained in August 2024, I began exploring the dataset and downloading it to a hard drive. However, some journals were not yet in the corpus because they had been added to Érudit in 2023 or 2024 and the corpus had not yet been updated.

The journals that were not available on the Érudit corpus were *Surveillance & Society*, *Critical Gambling Studies*, *Religiologiques*, and *Papers in Political Economy*. In those cases, the PDF files of the articles published before 2022 were obtained using web scraping, a technique “to extract data from the World Wide Web (WWW) and save it to a file system or database for later retrieval or analysis” (Zhao, 2022, p. 951). The articles collected through web scraping were published in open access journals.

Web scraping was also used to download the PDF files of articles published in journals indexed in Sociological Abstracts (except for the *Canadian Review of Sociology* and the articles published between 2019 and 2021 in *Canadian Studies in Population*). I used Python’s Beautiful Soup library for web scraping, which pulls data out of HTML and XML files commonly present in websites (Beautiful Soup, n.d.). An example of the web scraping code for downloading the articles of a journal issue is described below. The code was adapted from GeeksforGeeks (2023) tutorial, and the URL to scrape had to be updated for every journal issue I wanted to download.

The lines of text in green that begin with a number sign (#) are comments that explain what the code does.

```
import requests
from bs4 import BeautifulSoup
# URL from which the pdfs will be downloaded. The URL changes for each issue published
# by the journal
url = "https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/surveillance-and-
society/issue/view/Launch"
year = 2002
number = 1

# Requests URL and get response object
response = requests.get(url)

# Parse text obtained
soup = BeautifulSoup(response.text, 'html.parser')
modified_html = soup.prettify()
soup = BeautifulSoup(modified_html, 'html.parser')

# Finds links on the website and replaces the portion of the URL with the text "view"
# with the text "download". This provides a download link to the article PDF.
for a_tag in soup.find_all('a', href=True):
    href = a_tag['href']
    if 'view' in href:
        a_tag['href'] = href.replace('view', 'download')

# Find all hyperlinks present on webpage
links = soup.find_all('a')
i = 0

# From all the links on the website, check if the pdf link is present and download the
# file
for link in links:
    if ('article' in link.get('href', [])):
        i += 1

        # Get response object for link
        response = requests.get(link.get('href'))

        # Download content in pdf file. The pdf variable defines how the file is going
        # to be named
        pdf = open("SurSoc_" + str(year) + "_No" + str(number) + "_pdf" + str(i) +
        ".pdf", 'wb')
```

```
pdf.write(response.content)
pdf.close()
```

The web scraping code did not work for *Religiologiques*, the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, and the 2019-2021 issues of *Canadian Studies in Population* because the web scraping was restricted on the journals' websites. To include these journals, I manually downloaded a random sample of 30% of articles published in *Religiologiques* and in the 2019-2021 issues of *Canadian Studies in Population*. Because this process was manual and time-consuming, a random sample of 30% was the best way to include the journal in the study without spending too much time obtaining the articles. Thirty-three articles from *Religiologiques* and fourteen from *Canadian Studies in Population* (published from 2019 to 2021) were manually obtained using random sampling. The articles from the *Canadian Review of Sociology* were obtained using Wiley's API for text mining.

The articles in the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* could have been downloaded using web scraping, as it is also an open access journal with a similar website to other journals. However, I obtained the articles using JSTOR's Constellate service for text mining, as this process is more efficient. JSTOR provides this service to facilitate access to the content of their journals for computational analysis. This process requires filling in a project form indicating the research objectives and the articles of interest. If approved, JSTOR provides a downloadable folder of TXT files with the requested articles. This approach, while more efficient, could not be used with other journals because they were not available on JSTOR.

3.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using Python, a commonly used programming language in computational sociology (Macanovic, 2022). For this study, I used the nltk, spacy, and mallet

libraries. These three libraries are used in the social sciences for preprocessing large amounts of textual data and analyzing it through different computational techniques, including topic modeling (Graham et al., 2012; Macanovic, 2022; McLevey, 2021). To filter the journal articles by language, I used the fastText library, created by the Facebook AI Research lab to automatically identify the language of a large number of texts.

To process the data for the analysis, I converted the articles from a pdf format into plain text files on the command line following Mähr's (2020) tutorial. Then, I imported the converted files into Python and did the preprocessing tasks in the following order:

1. Separate the text of the articles into term components or tokens.
2. Turn the tokens into lowercase and remove the punctuation and letter accents.
3. Remove the stopwords (frequent words that do not carry relevant meaning, such as prepositions).
4. Implement lemmatization, a technique that “normalizes words by reducing them to their base dictionary form” (McLevey, 2021, p. 239). For example, the words *theory*, *theories*, and *theoretical* would all be normalized under the word *theory*. This prevents having multiple similar words referring to the same concept or idea and helps with the interpretation of the topic modeling output.

These preprocessing steps are important because they influence the results of the topic modeling and if I had omitted any of these steps or not preprocessed the data, the results would likely have been different and harder to interpret. The order of these steps also influences the results, but I followed Maier et al.'s (2018) suggested order of data preprocessing for topic modeling. The code for data preprocessing was adapted from Kurt's (2020) tutorial.

After processing the data, I was ready to apply the computational grounded theory framework. For the first step, pattern detection, I developed six topic models: two for each of the three twenty-year periods divided by language. Topic modeling is a technique that finds statistical regularities in word co-occurrence that often correspond to recognizable themes or discourses, with the assumption that words that frequently appear together likely refer to the same topic (Baumer et al., 2017). This technique can identify the thematic structure of large amounts of text documents by combining an inductive approach with quantitative measurements, making it ideal for exploratory research (Maier et al., 2018).

There are multiple algorithms available for developing topic models, but I used Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA), the most common algorithm applied in social science research (Chen et al., 2023). According to Maier et al. (2018), LDA is based on the three following concepts: 1) the texts to analyze constitute a *corpus*, 2) one item within the corpus is a *document*, 3) the words within a document are referred to as *terms*. The LDA algorithm models “a comprehensive representation of the corpus by inferring latent content variables, called topics” (Maier et al., 2018, p. 94). Topic modeling, and the LDA algorithm in particular, have a series of assumptions that are important to consider for accurate results:

- (1) words that are semantically similar tend to cluster together in a topic
- (2) the orders of words in a document can be neglected to understand the major content in a document
- (3) each document is a representation of a set of topics and each topic is a representation of a set of words from the text data (Chen et al., 2023, p. 115).

The documents in a corpus (a set of texts suitable for computational analysis) can be categorized into any number of topics that the researcher chooses, but the process of estimating the optimal number has been highly debated (Chen et al., 2023; Maier et al., 2018; Nelson, 2020). This is an

important decision because a larger number of topics provides more nuance, but risks overlap, whereas a smaller number of topics combines topics that should be separated. There are computational ways of calculating the optimal number of topics using a coherence score algorithm, but in sociology it is more common to test models with multiple numbers of topics and select the number that best fits the data (Maier et al., 2018; Nelson, 2020). A good fit has few duplicate topics and avoids having topics composed of overly general words.

In this case, I tested models with 10, 15, and 20 topics, and ended up selecting the 15-topic model because it was a manageable number to make comparisons across languages and over time, while still providing some nuance to distinguish between the topics. Furthermore, the models created for the articles published from 1960 to 1980 had a relatively small number of documents (less than 1,000), so having 20 topics for the first period would have split topics that referred to similar ideas.

To demonstrate how the model with 15 topics seemed to fit the data better, Table 3.2 compares topic terms and issues related from test models created with 10, 15, and 20 English topics published between 1981 and 2000. All models had at least one topic that was difficult to interpret because it was formed by very broad words that did not convey a clear meaning. However, the 15-topic model better fit the data because it had only one topic that was challenging to interpret. In contrast, the 10-topic model combined topics that could have been separated, while the 20-topic model had two topics composed of broad words that were difficult to interpret, and it also split two topics that were similar enough to compose one unique topic. The 15-topic model did not merge different topics or split similar topics, making it the most reliable out of the three.

Table 3.2: Difficult to interpret topics in test topic models		
Model	Topic terms	Issues

10-topic	research, study, work, science, theory, article, text, canadian, write, sociologist, publish, reader, theoretical, reference, analysis, publication, history, university, field, discipline	The broad words make it difficult to identify at first glance what the topic refers to.
10-topic	crime, health, control, public, sexual, problem, police, violence, case, make, law, report, medical, criminal, behaviour, people, victim, risk, research, abuse	Crime and health appear as part of the same topic, as opposed to two separate topics.
10-topic	school, education, group, ethnic, community, language, student, french, canadian, people, educational, study, cultural, teacher, minority, english, change, program, system, identity	Education and ethnicity appear as part of the same topic, as opposed to two separate topics.
15-topic	research, study, canadian, work, article, text, publish, sociologist, science, reference, year, reader, publication, include, write, field, university, page, discipline, academic	The broad words make it difficult to identify at first glance what the topic refers to.
20-topic	occupation, occupational, status, income, high, education, table, male, mobility, difference, effect, female, year, level, category, model, datum, cent, job, low	The two topics overlap, as they both have words referring to work, gender, and income. These topics could be merged.
	woman, man, work, gender, male, female, feminist, sex, sexual, role, family, experience, power, pay, harassment, domestic, study, time, relation, make	
20-topic	make, work, point, question, give, part, provide, find, write, problem, fact, discussion, present, view, research, good, reader, case, deal, describe	The broad words make it difficult to identify at first glance what the topic refers to.
	research, canadian, study, quebec, science, publish, publication, year, article, reference, text, sociologist, university, work, field, journal, manuscript, canadien, discipline, include	

The LDA algorithm also calculates which documents are the most representative for each topic, which is the basis for the second step of the computational grounded theory framework (pattern refinement). This step consists of reading the most representative documents for each topic to ensure they align with the topics and terms identified in the previous step. The most

representative documents are those that most strongly exhibit the words and themes associated with that topic.

In this step, I also assigned a label for each topic to describe its general contents. These labels were not preconceived but emerged as I reviewed the documents, an approach consistent with a grounded theoretical approach. As mentioned previously, I only read the abstracts of the articles.

In some cases, I removed topics because they mostly or exclusively contained documents that were not relevant to the study (such as instructions for authors, call for papers, or reviewer lists). In other cases, I merged two topics if I considered them to be similar enough. For example, between 1960 and 1980 the model created two topics with articles about theory, one had more reviews of books about theory and the other consisted of original articles on theory. Rather than having them separately, I assigned them all the label theory and counted all of these documents as part of the same unique topic. For a handful of topics that did not seem to have cohesive commonalities, I reviewed all the documents in the topic and assigned them to other topics.

When doing the close reading, I noticed a handful of topics that were comprised of documents that were not research articles, for example, book reviews or editorials. There were 1,591 of these miscellaneous documents excluded from the analysis. In addition, 3,350 book reviews in French were excluded from the study because they were largely about the history and culture of Quebec, as opposed to reviews of sociology books. The excluded book reviews, mostly published in *Recherches Sociographiques*, were more related to humanities disciplines like history and literature, so they did not provide much insight into how the topics of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology changed over time. However, book reviews about sociological topics were included in the analysis, as the topic models assigned these reviews to a sociological topic,

while the model grouped the book reviews about Quebec history and culture into one single topic that had little connection to sociological discussions. After removing these documents, the total number of articles in the corpus was 14,528.

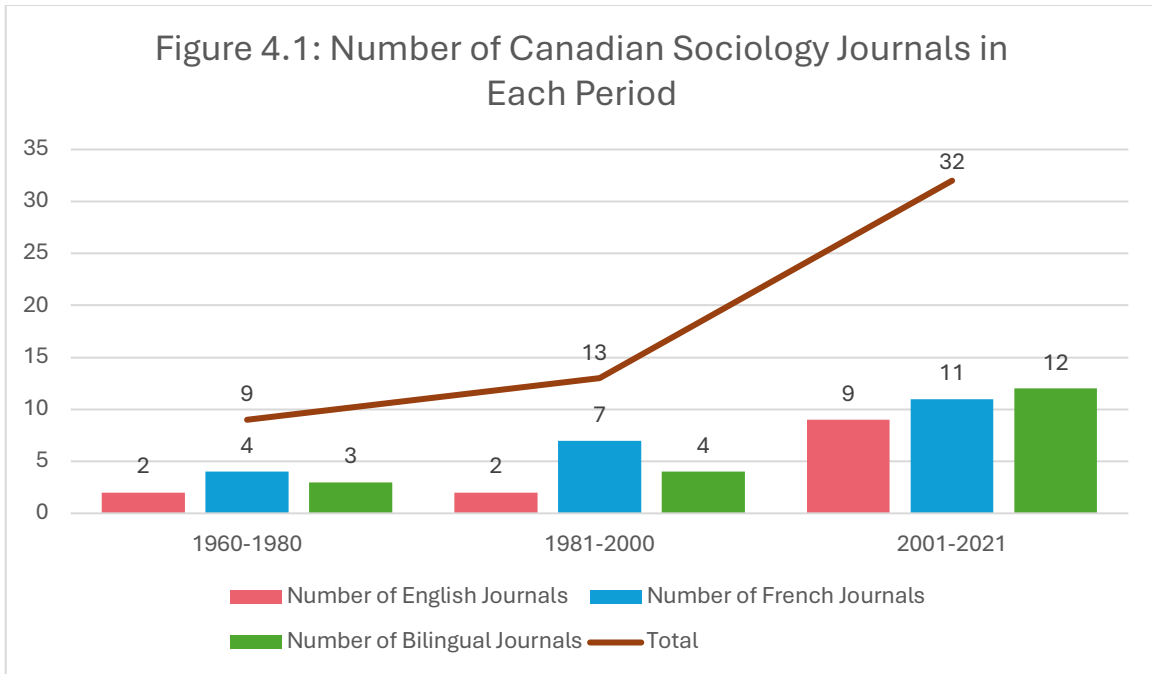
Chapter 4: Results

This chapter covers how the results of the computational grounded theory framework reveal the differences and similarities over time in the publication trends of Canadian sociology journals by language. The findings focus on the main topics published in Canadian journals to explore if they reflect the two solitudes.

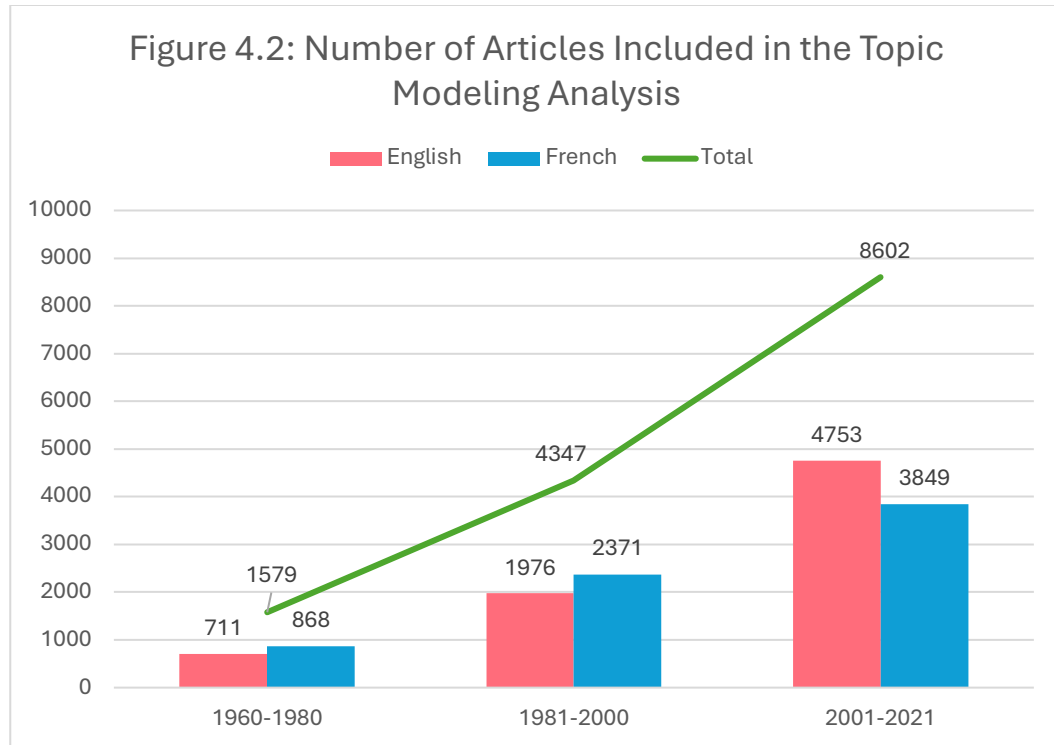
The chapter presents the results of the topic modelling analysis and the observations I made during the close reading of the articles' abstracts, which also informed the discussion of the findings in the next chapter. I begin with an overview of the number of journals and articles published over 60 years of study (1960-2021). Then, I provide a more detailed explanation of each of the three periods of analysis and comparing the topics studied in English and French journals. I conclude by discussing some similar general trends in the common topics of both languages across the three periods. Many of the results are summarized in graphs, figures, and tables for simplicity and clarity. For more detailed results of the topic models, see Appendix A.

4.1 Canadian Sociology Journals and Articles over Time

The number of Canadian sociology journals and articles published increased over time, but each language grew at different rates over the 60 years of study. Figure 4.1 shows the number of journals in each study period. There were always more French journals than English, possibly because there were fewer French journals abroad where French-speaking sociologists could publish their work, especially in the early periods. Most journals originated between 2001 and 2021, with four new journals being French, seven being English, and nine being bilingual. The increase in the number of journals over time allowed new specialties to emerge and more articles to be published.



Since the 1960s the number of sociology articles published in French and English has steadily increased. Figure 4.2 shows the distribution by language and period of the 14,528 documents included in the topic modeling analysis. The two languages are distributed almost evenly in the general corpus, with 7,440 articles in English (51.29%) and 7,088 in French (48.71%). French journals grew faster between 1960 and 2000 while English grew faster between 2001 and 2021.



4.2 Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals by Period

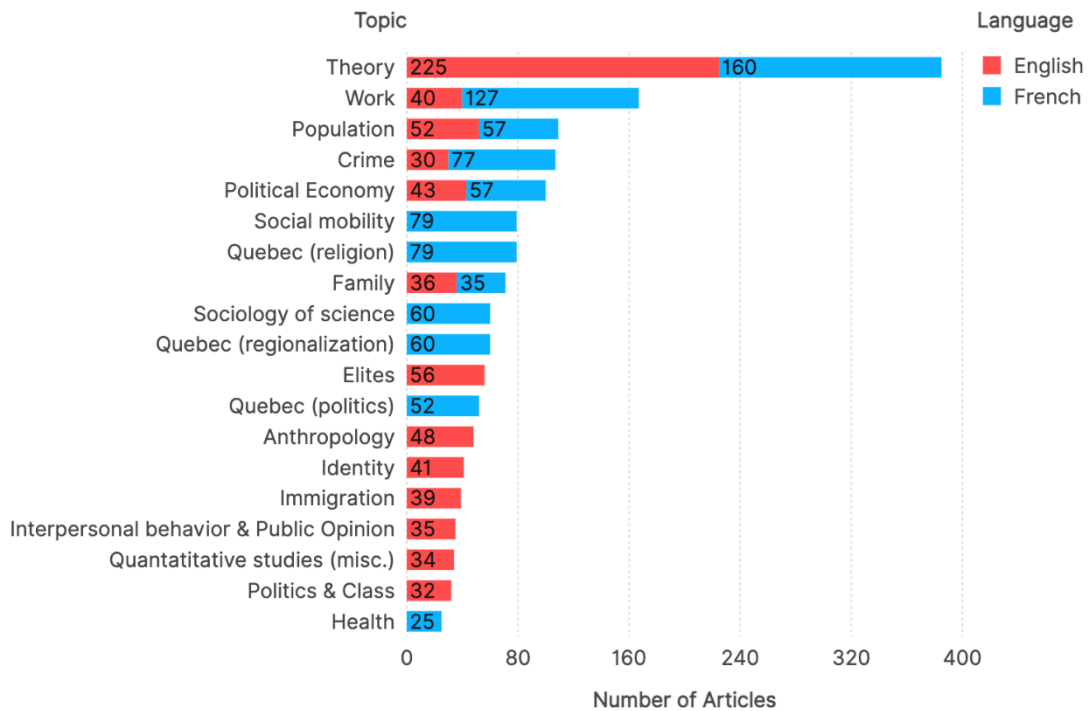
In the following subsections, I present the results of the topic modeling analysis of Canadian sociology journals for each 20-year period. This allows a comparison between the topics studied by each language and see if the journals reflected the two solitudes. These topics reflect what sociologists were writing about across time and language, as described in the methodology chapter. The labels I assigned to the topics are indicated in bold.

4.2.1 1960-1980

As seen in Figure 4.3, more articles were published in French than English. **Theory** was the most frequent topic in both languages, making up 31.6% of all English articles and 18.4% of all French articles. Other shared topics between the two languages were **population**, **political economy**, **work**, **family**, and **crime**. Despite these shared topics, the way they were explored differed by language. For example, in the close reading of the articles abstracts about **work** in English, I noticed a tendency to study income and occupational prestige, while the French

articles were more likely to explore unions and labor movements. In the **population** topic, the English articles examined the population trends in several parts of the world, while the French articles analyzed the differences between the Anglophone and Francophone populations in Canada.

Figure 4.3: Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals (1960-1980)



The English journals also tended to publish articles on class and critical theory through the topics of **elites**, **political economy**, and **class and politics**, which constituted 18.4% of all articles. The articles that comprised these three topics, plus the **identity** topic, mainly analyzed issues related to Canada. I observed this focus on the Canadian context in the close reading, as well as on the list of terms that composed the topics in the computational analysis (seen in Appendix A), which included words such as “Canadian”, “Quebec”, “country”, and “federal”. In contrast, the rest of the topics were more general and did not focus exclusively on Canada. The English articles were

also more likely to use quantitative methods to explore diverse research areas such as education, urbanization, and political attitudes, all of which were included in the **quantitative studies miscellaneous** topic. This is the only period in which quantitative studies formed their own separate topic.

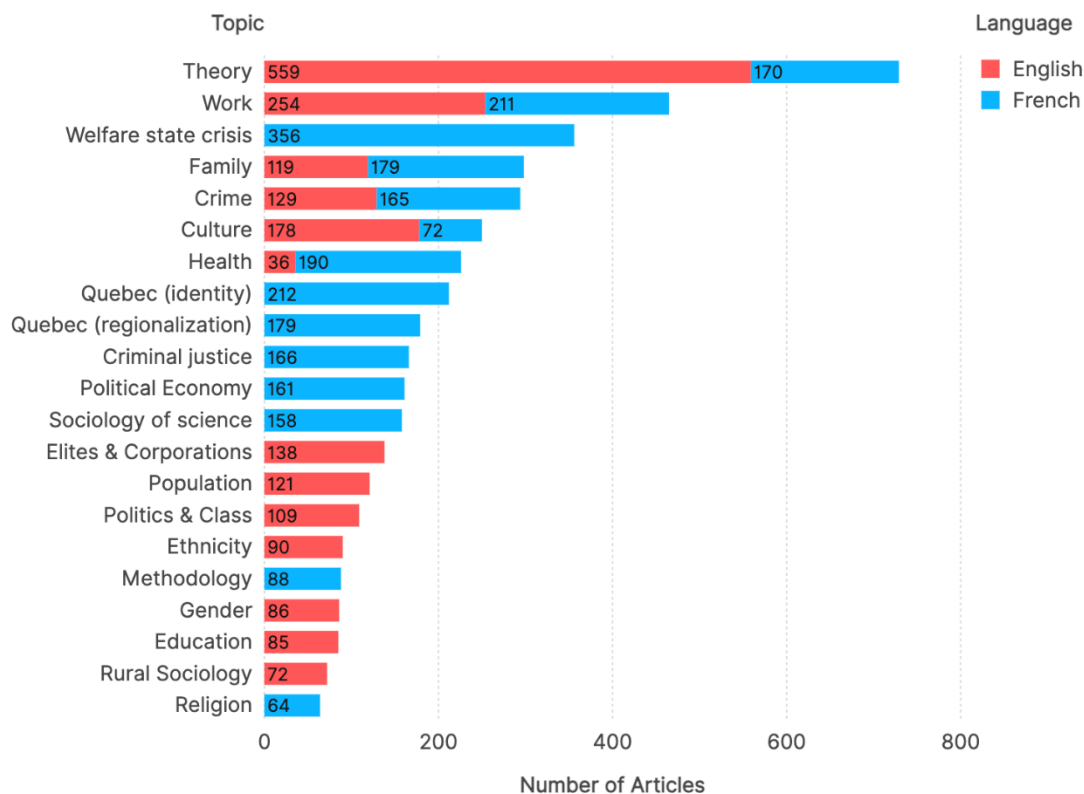
The French articles tended to focus on Quebec through three topics areas studying social life: **religion, regionalization, and politics**. The 191 articles about these three topics comprised 22% of all articles published in French during this period. The **sociology of science** topic had a partial focus on Quebec because it included several articles on how sociology developed in the province, but also articles about higher education or science more generally.

The **anthropology** topic appeared only in English because, during this period, the CRS was called the *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, and published articles from both disciplines, while the French journals did not generally include articles on anthropology.

4.2.2 1981-2000

Between 1981 and 2000, there were once again more articles in French than English, as seen in Figure 4.4. Journals in the two languages published articles about **theory, work, culture, crime, family, and health**. However, while in the previous period the topics shared by the two languages tended to have a similar number of articles, in this period the shared topics were much more evident in one language than the other. For example, **theory** constituted 28.3% of articles published in English, but only 7.1% of French articles. **Work** and **culture** were also more discussed in English than in French, while **crime, family, and health** were more frequent in French than English. The **health** topic had the highest difference between the languages as there were five times more French articles than English.

Figure 4.4: Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals (1981-2000)



The new English topics that appeared for the first time during this period (i.e., **ethnicity**, **gender**, **education**, and **rural sociology**) had the lowest number of articles, contributing less than 20% of all articles published in this period.

The **Elites and Corporations** topic was also new, but it shared similarities to the **elites** topic from the previous period, as well as to the French topic of **political economy** from this period. However, when combining the topic terms with my close reading, the English articles had a specific interest in Canada and corporate interlocking directorates, while the French articles took a more international approach exploring globalization, free trade, and the world systems theory.

The French articles continued with an interest in Quebec, although the percentage of articles decreased. The 391 articles about **identity** and **regionalization** in Quebec constituted 16.5% of all French articles published in this period (compared to 22% in the last period, split across three topics). The interest in research exclusively focused on Quebec declined but was still a higher proportion than the number of English topics focused on Canada. In English, the topics with a national focus, were **elites and corporations** and **ethnicity**, which comprised 11.5% of all English articles.

The most frequent topic in French, **welfare state crisis**, consists mostly of articles on social protection and regional and community development. During the close reading, I noticed that both themes were connected by the rise of neoliberalism (some articles also referred to it as post-Fordism) and the decline of the welfare state, which was sometimes described as a crisis. The articles in this topic attempted to understand the political and economic changes that undermined the welfare state that had been prevalent before the 1980s. This new topic reflects a change in priorities for French-Canadian sociology that coincided with the implementation of neoliberal policies in several parts of the world during this period.

The French journals also tended to publish on **criminal justice**, the **sociology of science**, **religion**, and **methodology** (especially qualitative methods). Except for the **sociology of science**, the other topics were new to this period, but like English, these new topics were among the least frequent, contributing 13.6% of all French articles. These low relative frequencies for new topics in the two languages suggest that national journals might have been exploring new research areas, but most articles concentrated on consolidated topics that had been already studied in the previous period. The exception to this trend was the **welfare state crisis** topic, which accounted for 15% of all French articles. There are two reasons that can explain the high number of articles

on the **welfare state crisis**. First, it is a topic that relates to concerns from the previous period, such as social mobility and politics. Second, the *International Review of Community Development* journal continuously addressed the decline of the welfare state in combination with research on community development.

While most of the new topics had the lowest number of articles, they show an important change in the discipline that would be exacerbated in the next period: an increasing concern with issues regarding marginalized social groups, such as women, ethnic minorities, and immigrants. This trend points to an increasing feminization of the field, that is, a concern with topics that have historically been associated with women due to their socially assigned role as caregivers.⁴ Topics such as **health, family, education, ethnicity, and gender** address processes of social reproduction that women do more often than men (Fraser, 2016). In addition, these topics are usually more concerned with the private sphere, a traditionally feminine space. In contrast, topics such as **work, political economy, and regionalization** are more concerned with economic production and the public sphere, which has historically been masculine (Fraser, 2016).

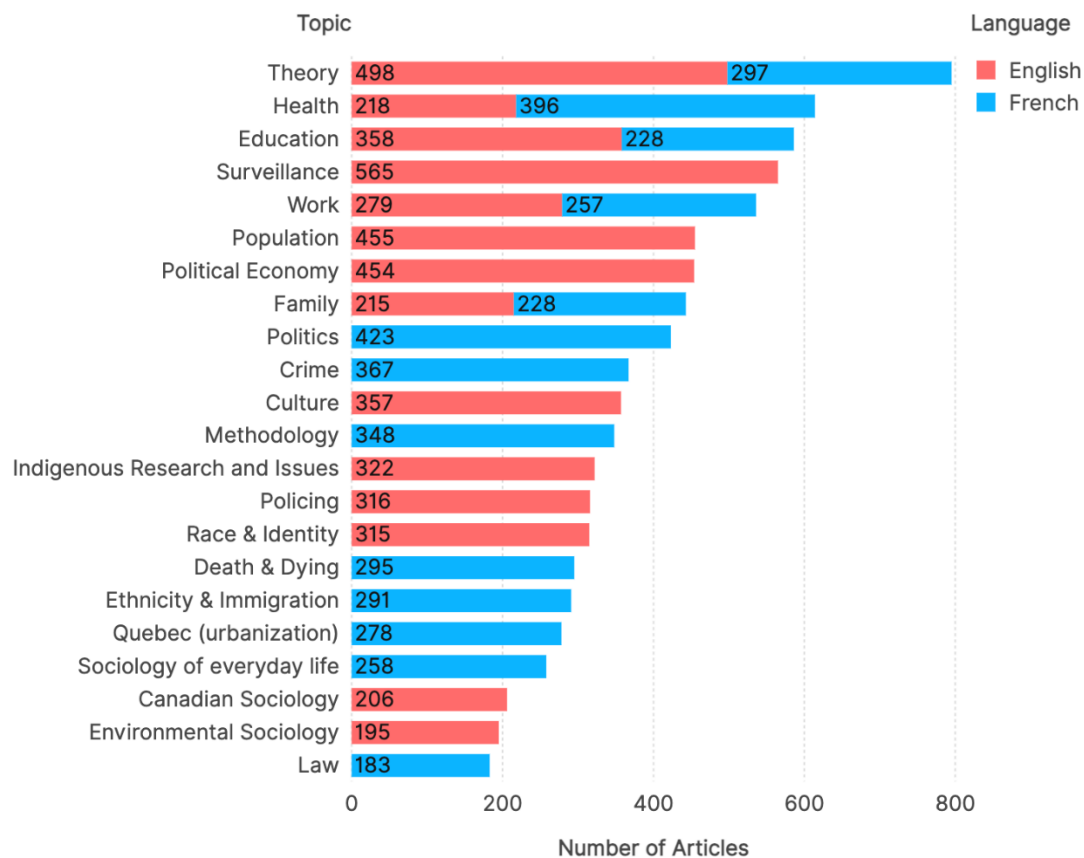
There might also be a connection between the emergence of these feminized topics and the large number of articles on the welfare state crisis in this period. As the State reduced spending in social services during the 1980s and onwards, the responsibility of social reproduction devolved onto families and communities, that is, the private sphere (Fraser, 2016). Therefore, Canadian sociology tended to address, on the macro level, the rise of neoliberalist policies, and on the micro level, the impact of these policies in different social spaces and marginalized communities.

⁴ The term “feminization” has been used in the literature to imply that research topics in sociology are gendered (Larregue & Warren, 2024a), but I do not make a value judgment on these topics.

4.2.3 2001-2021

In the most recent period, there were more English articles than French (see Figure 4.5). Five topics were studied in both languages: **theory**, **health**, **education**, **work**, and **family**, comprising 34.6% of all articles. These five shared topics had all appeared in previous periods, so there were no new shared topics between French and English journals.

Figure 4.5: Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals (2001-2021)



Theory was the largest topic by total number of articles in the two languages, but it was not the most frequent topic in either language for the first time since the Canadian journals in the corpus were founded. As seen in Figure 4.5, there were more articles about surveillance in English, and

French had four topics that were more frequent than theory: **politics, health, crime, and methodology.**

Both languages also had several new topics, some of which had a high number of articles. For example, **surveillance** accounted for 11.9% of all in English, and **politics** accounted for 11% of all in French. Other new topics in English were **Indigenous research and issues, policing, race and identity, Canadian sociology, and environmental sociology.** In total, these topics contributed 40% of all English articles in this period. These new topics coincided with the establishment of new Canadian journals in the 2000s and 2010s, such as *Surveillance & Society*, the *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, and the *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry*. Therefore, it stands to reason that articles written on these topics would become more apparent as the new journals emerged.

In French, the new topics were **death and dying, law, education, the sociology of everyday life, and ethnicity and immigration.** These topics constituted almost 31% of the articles published in this period. The articles about **death and dying** were mostly published in the *Frontières* journal, while the **education** articles mostly appeared in *Comparative and International Education* and *Alterstice*. Therefore, the increase in the number of journals also influenced the new topics explored in French-Canadian sociology.

This period also had the fewest topics with a focus on Quebec, with just one topic addressing urbanization in the province. The topics on **education and ethnicity and immigration** had articles about Quebec without exclusively focusing on it, according to my close reading. The **education** topic discussed Francophone education, both in Quebec and the rest of Canada. Similarly, the **ethnicity and immigration** topic had 28 articles about Quebec (out of 80 of the most representative abstracts on the topic that I reviewed). The rest of the

articles discussed theoretical issues on immigration and ethnicity or studied this topic in other parts of the world, such as France, Belgium, Italy, Morocco, Senegal, Spain, and India.

In English, the **Canadian sociology** topic was the only one with a predominantly national focus. Overall, the topics focused on Quebec or the rest of Canada were among the ones with fewest articles, while the most frequent topics in English and French (i.e., **surveillance** and **politics**, respectively) had a general focus that was not tied to any specific country or region. According to my close reading, even the **political economy** topic, with a four-decade tradition of Canadian research, shifted from a Canadian to an international focus that examined the global processes of capital consolidation, such as free trade agreements, the formation of transnational elites, and business conglomerates abroad. The decrease in the number of topics and articles about Quebec in French, and Canada in English, suggests a delocalization of Canadian sociology, with fewer topics and articles reflecting a regional or national context.

Compared to the previous period, the feminization of research topics increased in the two languages. **Health** and **education** were the second and third topics with the most articles, respectively. Both topics are concerned with social reproduction and the care of communities. Other feminized topics in this period include **family**, **death and dying**, **ethnicity and immigration**, and **race and identity**. Between 1981 and 2000, feminized topics were among the least frequent, but in this period, they became more central to Canadian sociology. However, Anglo-Canadian sociology showed a stronger tendency to study feminized topics. Some topics in French-Canadian sociology were more associated with the public sphere and masculine traits, such as **politics**, **law**, and **urbanization**.

4.3 Common Topics over Time

After reviewing the topics of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology journals in each period, this section explores the common topics across the 60 years of study. The nine topics covered in both English and French articles are shown in Table 4.1. The nine topics accounted for 8,200 articles or 56.5% of all articles published in both languages across all periods. All the common topics experienced growth across all three periods (except for theory), which suggests that they are recurrent concerns in the discipline. **Crime** and **health** were the common topics with the largest increases in the two languages from one period to the next. Both topics more than doubled their number of articles compared to previous periods. A list of all topics by language and period is in Appendix B.

Table 4.1. Common Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals by Period

Topic	1960-1980		1981-2000		2001-2021		Total
	English	French	English	French	English	French	
Theory	225	160	559	170	498	297	1909
Work	40	127	254	211	279	257	1168
Crime / Policing	30	77	129	165	316	367	1084
Political Economy / Elites	99	57	138	161	454		909
Health		25	36	190	218	396	865
Family	36	35	119	179	215	228	812
Population	52	57	121		455		685
Education			85		358	228	671
Culture			178	72	357		607

There are four topics that appear in both languages across all periods: **theory**, **work**, **crime**, and **family**. These can be considered the core topics of Canadian sociology given their prominence over the 60 years of study, as they constituted 4,974 (34.2%) of all 14,528 articles published. There was an overlap of five to six topics in each period between the two languages, but only two topics at most changed from one period to the other, while the rest stayed the same.

Between 1960 and 1980, both languages studied **political economy** and **population** in addition to the four core topics. Between 1981 and 2000, **culture** and **political economy** were the shared topics, while in the most recent period, it was **education**. In the last period, there were no new topics studied in both French and English (as education had already been published in English in the previous period). Therefore, in the last period, French and Anglo-Canadian sociology diverged in their new areas of specialization.

In Anglo-Canadian sociology, **political economy** and **population** can be considered core topics and areas of focus because they were continuously published between 1960 and 2021. In French-Canadian sociology, an additional core topic over the 60 years of study was **health**. This topic was also studied more frequently in English starting in the 1980-2000 period and continuing through the next. Therefore, **health** may also become a core topic of Canadian sociology if both languages continue this trend.

The common topics in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology journals highlight the similarities between the two. These topics constituted half of the articles published throughout the 60 years of study. This result puts into question the two solitudes metaphor, which implies that French and Anglo-Canadian sociology have an almost complete separation. The following section describes in more detail how the two solitudes were reflected in the publishing trends of Canadian sociology.

4.4 The Two Solitudes in Canadian Sociology Journals

The results show that the two solitudes of Canadian sociology have not been fully reproduced by the topics covered in national sociology journals. Although they have important differences, such as different growth rates and diverging new topics of study, their similarities reveal significant overlap between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology.

First, throughout the 60 years, they shared at least five topics in each period, and these overlapping topics accounted for over half of all articles published. A full divide between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology (as suggested by the two solitudes metaphor) would have shown even less similarities in their topics published. However, one finding that emerged in my close reading was that French articles had a tendency to engage with more research published in English than vice versa. English articles were more likely to reflect the two solitudes by citing only other English texts, while French journals/articles were more likely to cite sources from both languages more frequently.

Second, both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology are similar in the declining number of articles about Quebec or Canada. The 1960s and 70s were the period with the highest proportion of articles exploring regional or national topics but this has declined over time for both languages. This decrease suggests that Canadian journals developed more international connections, but also perhaps, that publishing research about Canada is less of an interest to sociologists in the country.

Third, the topics published in Canadian sociology became more associated to the private sphere and social reproduction, which are traits usually associated with women. Feminized topics such as **education**, **health**, or **immigration** were among the least frequently studied between 1960 and 1980, but they increased in prominence in later periods. At the same time, there was a decrease in topics more associated with masculine traits, such as **work** or **political economy**

grew at slower rates. These trends show a process of feminization in Canadian sociology. The authors publishing on these topics might not necessarily be women in their majority, but the topics themselves are gendered because the division of labor, both in society and in sociology, is gendered.

The processes of feminization and delocalization of topics in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology are similarities that show that both traditions were influenced by similar social changes. Viewing Canadian sociology as a binary between French and English prevents identifying how changes in the discipline and in the broader Canadian research context, influence both, and is discussed more fully in the next chapter. Overall, similar social processes evidenced in national sociology journals provide some basis to conceive of Canadian sociology as being more than the two solitudes.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The computational grounded theory approach was able to compare French and English articles in Canadian sociology journals and explore publishing trends over 60 years. The results show that language does influence the topics covered in Canadian sociology journals. However, there were four topics (theory, crime, family, and work) that were covered in both French and English across the 60 years of study.

The close reading technique allowed me to further explore the similarities and differences between the two languages and if the journals reflected the two solitudes. While there were differences in topic selection by language, there were also four similar processes that challenge the state of the two solitudes in Canadian sociology. These processes were the growth, fragmentation, delocalization, and feminization of Canadian sociology. In the following section, I analyze the results of the computational model focusing on how these processes were experienced in both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology.

5.1 More Sociology Articles, Fewer Sociologists

The first common process in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology is that they both experienced a steady growth in their number of journals and articles over the 60 years of analysis. This growth happened even though the number of sociology faculty decreased. In 1981, there were 1,427 sociologists in Canadian universities (Hiller & Di Luzio, 2001), and in the early 2010s, this number decreased to around 1,200 (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). Therefore, the growth in number of journals and articles, must be a function of something other than the number of Canadian sociologists.

First, journals increased their international connections, as previously discussed, and perhaps some of the increase could be explained by foreign researchers publishing more articles

in Canadian journals. Second, researchers everywhere face more pressure to publish to advance their careers, and journals have responded by publishing more articles (Hanson et al., 2024). Third, some of the new journals (i.e., those established between 2001 and 2021) are categorized as sociology on Érudit and attract a broad interdisciplinary audience. Journals like *Surveillance & Society*, the *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, or *Frontières*, because of their focus on popular topics may attract researchers and readers from several disciplines. For example, surveillance is not only interesting to sociologists, but also to communication researchers, criminologists, political scientists, lawyers, and beyond. These factors may help explain why the number of journals and articles increased even as the number of sociologists in Canada declined.

5.2 Fragmentation of Research Topics

In the previous results section, I discussed the core topics of Canadian sociology that were published across the three periods of study (1960-2021) in both French and English – **theory**, **crime**, **work**, and **family**. These core topics are different from those found in previous research on Canadian sociology because these other studies usually focused on one language only. Therefore, there were differences between what researchers perceived to be the main topics of Canadian sociology, and the topics published in national sociology journals. These differences became starker after the late 1980s.

Between 1960 and the mid-1980s, researchers considered that the main topics of Anglo-Canadian sociology were political economy, social inequality, and occupational mobility (Stokes & McLevey, 2016), and national journals indeed published about these topics, as seen in the results chapter. However, in later periods, there were more discrepancies between what researchers considered to be the core topics in Anglo-Canadian sociology and the topics published in national journals. For example, political economy and feminism are considered two

core topics since the 1970s (Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017). My results partially support this perception. Political economy was indeed a core topic in Anglo-Canadian journals, but gender was only a key topic in the 1981-2000 period. It is likely that Canadian sociologists continued publishing on feminism and gender after the year 2000, but this probably happened in international journals or in journals of adjacent disciplines, such as gender studies.

Similarly, In French-Canadian sociology, Breton (1989) argued that the main trends of Quebec sociology between 1960 and the end of the 1980s could be grouped under three areas: modernization, nationalism, and social equality. When looking at the main topics I identified in French-Canadian journals between 1960 and 1980, most were consistent with these broader categories suggested by Breton. However, since 1990, several topics studied in national journals cannot be categorized under these issues, such as **theory, methodology, the sociology of everyday life, and death and dying.**

These differences between the perceptions of Canadian sociology and the publication trends of national journals can be explained by the diversification and fragmentation of the discipline since the late 1980s. Since then, new specialties in Canadian sociology have appeared and become less connected to others. These processes were documented by Stokes & McLevey (2016) in articles published by Canadian sociologists in Web of Science journals between 1985 and 2004.

In national journals, the diversification and fragmentation of research topics also occurred, but over a longer timeframe. In the 1981-2000 period, new topics emerged, but the core topics of theory, work, and family still had the largest number of articles. In the following period (2001-2021), some new topics such as surveillance (in English) and politics (in French) outnumbered the core topics, suggesting a fragmentation of Canadian sociology.

These recent trends differ from Stokes & McLevey's (2016) study of WoS journals, which found that between 2005 and 2014, Anglo-Canadian sociology became less fragmented because the sociology of culture became a central topic that brought the discipline closer together. In contrast, my longer period of analysis found that **culture** was only the sixth most frequent topic in English between 2001 and 2021, and therefore, not the unifying influence that Stokes and McLevey assert.

5.3 De-Quebecization and De-Canadianization

A second common trend in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology was the decline in the number of topics and articles analyzing Quebec or Canada. The decline in the number of topics focusing on Quebec society challenges the widespread assumption that French-Canadian sociology is only about Quebec (Beland & Blais, 1989; Fortin, 2018; Thériault, 1994). While Quebec society was a core topic in Francophone journals, my findings suggest it was not the only one. As Fortin (2018) argued, “thinking in Quebec and thinking about Quebec are not synonymous, nor are they done in the same journals or according to the same methods” (p. 425, own translation). Journals like *Sociologie et Sociétés* (founded in 1969) or *Cahiers de Recherche Sociologique* (founded in 1983) publish articles without a particular focus on Quebec and have made efforts to attract submissions from other French-speaking countries (Fortin, 2018). Therefore, since the foundation of these journals, Quebec sociology has actively looked to make connections beyond Quebec and the rest of Canada (Rocher, 1992; Warren, 2006).

Several topics identified in my study showed the international connections fostered by French-Canadian journals. For example, the **political economy** topic of the 1981-2000 period had articles about world systems theory and trade in Latin America. The **education** topic of the 2001-2021 period had articles addressing multicultural education in other multilingual countries

like Switzerland. *Sociologie et Sociétés* published articles by influential French and American sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Alain Touraine, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Therefore, Canadian sociology cannot be understood as a binary where French research is local and English research is international.

The delocalization of French-Canadian sociology in Quebec is a trend that has been previously noted in the literature and is supported by my findings. Warren (2014) found that over time the number of sociology articles indexed in Web of Science mentioning the word Quebec in their abstracts, declined. Similarly, Khelfaoui & Gingras (2024) noted that Quebec sociology underwent a “de-Quebecization” (*dé-québécoisisation*) process in the late 1990s and 2000s as Francophone universities hired more faculty from the rest of Canada and other parts of the world. This de-Quebecization process did not only impact faculty hiring, it also influenced the topic selection of Quebec sociologists, as seen in the decrease of articles over time about the province in international (Warren, 2014) and national journals, as seen in the results section.

While there is the misconception that French-Canadian sociology is about Quebec (Beland & Blais, 1989; Hiller & Di Luzio, 2001), a misconception in Anglo-Canadian sociology is that it does not have a distinct national tradition due to the influence of American sociology and the decentralized nature of the country (Brym & Saint-Pierre, 1997). This view has been constantly challenged (Brym & Saint-Pierre, 1997; Helmes-Hayes & Warren, 2017; Matthews, 2014), but Anglo-Canadian sociology is also experiencing a delocalization process similar to the French case.

As seen in my results, only the **Canadian sociology** topic focused exclusively on Canada in the 2001-2021 period. At the same time, new journals like *Surveillance and Society* or the

International Indigenous Policy Journal have attracted articles from international researchers that do not necessarily refer to Canada.

Another reason for the delocalization of English topics is that Anglo-Canadian social sciences departments at the highest ranked universities have been increasingly hiring researchers trained abroad, usually from the United States (Lachapelle & Burnett, 2018; Nevin, 2019). University training is important to the development of organizational norms and often socialize students to view problems and sociological approaches in certain ways (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). As seen during the Canadianization movement, faculty trained in the United States tended to research and teach topics relating to social issues in the US, to the detriment of research and teaching about Canadian issues and society (Cormier, 2005; Helmes-Hayes, 2010). The recent increase in the hires of faculty trained in the US risks furthering the delocalization of research topics in Anglo-Canadian sociology. These trends in national journals and sociology departments suggest that Anglo-Canadian sociology is undergoing a de-Canadianization process like the de-Quebecization of French-Canadian sociology.

Both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology are experiencing these delocalization processes at the same time as funding bodies and universities promote publication in international Anglophone journals. This causes a paradox because sociologists are encouraged to publish in foreign journals despite national journals having a higher Canadian readership (Fortin, 2018; Larivière, 2018). These policies push French and Anglo-Canadian sociology to become more alike, not because of an increasing dialogue between the two but because the publication of more international topics provides greater scientific capital (in terms of funding, awards, citations, promotions) over research about local or national topics.

If the trends of de-Quebecization and de-Canadianization continue, they could compromise the viability and sustainability of national journals, as Van Bellen & Larivière (2024) warn. In sociology, the *Canadian Journal of Sociology* ceased publication in 2023 despite being a flagship journal in the country since its foundation in 1975 (Platt, 2006). If more Canadian sociology journals fail, this could lead to an even greater delocalization and homogenization of the discipline because international journals tend to publish topics with less specific cultural and national components (Erola et al., 2015).

5.4 Feminization of Research Topics

The third common trend that both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology demonstrate is the feminization of the topics they study. The most frequent topics in the 1960s and 70s, such as political economy, politics and quantitative studies, have been more related to masculine traits because men tend to study topics about economic production where instrumental rationality is expressed more often (Larregue & Warren, 2024a). In later periods, the topics became more related to care work and social reproduction, such as education, identity, immigration, and health, which women are more likely to study (Larregue & Warren, 2024a). These changes can be partly explained by the increase in the number of women studying sociology and becoming faculty members.

In general, there is a trend of women studying more social sciences than men (Larregue & Warren, 2024a). In Quebec, the number of women hired as social sciences faculty has continuously increased since the 1980s, and women constituted a little more than half of all sociology Ph.D. students between 2010 and 2020 (Khelifaoui & Gingras, 2024). In the rest of Canada, since 2013, women have received more than half of the Social Sciences and Humanities

Research Council (SSHRC) awards for graduate students in sociology (Larregue & Warren, 2024a).

The increasing number of Canadian women sociologists, and the increase in the number of feminized topics in national journals, is important because professions usually experience a decline in wages as they become predominated by women – commonly referred to as the *wage penalty* (Murphy & Oesch, 2016). In addition to reduced salaries, the feminization of research topics in Canadian sociology could also lead to a reduction in scientific capital. Previous research has found that the more feminized topics in sociology are less likely to be funded by SSHRC (Larregue & Warren, 2024a). This trend risks creating divisions within Canadian sociology between topics considered more masculine and which receive more funding, and topics considered more feminine which receive less. If this trend continues, sociology would mirror the broader gender biases and prejudices in society.

5.5 Beyond the Two Solitudes

Despite the argument that French and Anglo-Canadian sociology reflect two solitudes (Jean-Pierre, 2013; Rocher, 1992; Warren, 2014); both are influenced by similar political and institutional processes that are reflected in their journals. These similarities put into question whether the divide between the two is unbridgeable or whether further dialogue and collaboration is possible.

The growth, fragmentation, delocalization, and feminization of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology show that, while they are partly separated by language and topic selection, they are united by broader social factors that are concealed by the metaphor of the two solitudes. In fact, Marcoux (2019) also questioned the pertinence of this metaphor, arguing that there are

no two solitudes but one and a half, because French-Canadian social science researchers cite English research, but Anglo-Canadian researchers cite English research almost exclusively.

In addition, the few comparative studies between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology, while not always guided by the idea of the two solitudes, have highlighted the differences between the two (Guzman & Silver, 2018; Jean-Pierre, 2013; Marcoux, 2019; Platt, 2006). This focus on differences maintains the social boundaries between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology (Breton, 1989). Therefore, exploring the similarities is important to avoid reinforcing these boundaries through the research on the history of Canadian sociology.

Breton (1989) speculated that the neglect of comparative analyses between Quebec and the rest of Canada was partly due to a fear of losing one's sense of uniqueness. Therefore, the neglect of comparative research in Canadian sociology, especially one looking at similarities between Quebec and the rest of Canada, might be motivated by political and social reasons rather than scientific ones. This neglect reinforces the two solitudes and prevents the formation of research networks between Francophone and Anglophone sociologists, even when they have several topics in common.

Fostering connections between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology would be beneficial for several reasons. First, it would diversify the viewpoints of Canadian sociology. If Anglo-Canadian sociologists only consult research in English, they might overlook relevant research or theories produced in Quebec or other French-speaking countries. This oversight could lead to omissions and duplication of research efforts in the topics that are commonly studied in both French and Anglo-Canadian sociology, such as theory, family, or health. These risks are lower for French-Canadian sociology because Francophone researchers are more likely to consult and cite research in English and French.

Second, creating more connections between the two languages would have the potential to combine the distinctive strengths of French and Anglo-Canadian sociology. French-Canadian sociology has a tradition of incorporating a historical perspective to sociological research (Platt, 2006). This characteristic would complement Anglo-Canadian's sociology tradition in critical research, which has been criticized for sometimes being a-historical and losing sight of contextual changes (Ramos, 2023). In contrast, Anglo-Canadian sociology, especially at elite universities, has a tradition of quantitative research, which has occupied a marginal position in French-Canadian sociology (Beland & Blais, 1989; Platt, 2006). Incorporating quantitative research could provide different insights of Quebec society and encourage Francophone researchers to critically interrogate these methods that are more common in Anglo-Canadian sociology.

Third, research done in Canada with federal funding should arguably be available in the two official languages if it concerns both Francophone and Anglophone communities in the country. Part of the federal funding for supporting Canada's Francophone research ecosystem could support this work by funding translations of relevant articles into French.

Finally, bridging the two solitudes, to the extent it exists, would provide a more complete understanding of Canadian society. As Breton (1989) argued: "statements about Quebec society frequently contain an implicit if not an explicit comparison with a speculative image of English-speaking Canada rather than with views based on research evidence; and vice versa" (p. 563). Obtaining this research evidence cannot be done in isolation; it requires a greater dialogue and collaboration between French and Anglo-Canadian sociologists.

Some practical ways for fostering dialogue and collaboration between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology can be inspired by initiatives promoting multilingualism in scholarly

communication more broadly. For example, manual or machine translation of articles published in Canadian journals, or at least their abstracts, has the potential to make research more accessible in the two official languages of Canada. This is especially important when “the work is conducted in a region or country in which the primary language is not English, when the team involves researchers whose primary language is not English, or when the research directly or indirectly affects a group of people whose primary language is not English” (Steigerwald et al., 2022, p. 993). Following this advice, English articles about Quebec and French articles about Canada should be available in the two languages.

Translation of French articles into English can also encourage Anglophone researchers to engage more fully with French-Canadian journals because English articles, both worldwide and in Canada, rarely engage with scholarship written in other languages (Marcoux, 2019; Pradier et al., 2025). Another way national journals could foster dialogue between French and Anglo-Canadian sociologists is by organizing bilingual special issues. This could reduce the siloing of Francophone and Anglophone research by highlighting the thematic similarities between the two. Special issues about the sociological topics shared by the two languages over time, such as family, health, or theory, could be good starting points to attract submissions in English and French.

One final way for overcoming the two solitudes is promoting a more balanced representation of Francophone and Anglophone researchers in the editorial boards of national journals. Editorial board members act as gatekeepers that determine journals’ broad publication trends and usually reward the type of research that most resembles their own (Brown et al., 2025). Therefore, increasing the representation of French-speaking or bilingual researchers in the editorial boards of Anglophone journals and vice versa can produce a dialogue on how to assess

and reward Canadian sociology regardless of the language of publication. This is especially important for journals who label themselves Canadian, such as the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, which only had one Francophone editor in 50 years (Carroll, 2013).

These suggestions would help address the linguistic separation that has been a concern in Canadian sociology for decades. Having Canadian sociological research more available in the two languages would make the discipline more accessible for Francophone researchers. Non-native English speakers spend more time conducting research tasks such as reading and writing papers or preparing presentations in English (Amano et al., 2023), which is now the most frequent language of articles in national journals. Therefore, initiatives looking to overcome the two solitudes would not only provide a more complete understanding of Canadian society but also make the discipline more equitable.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study aimed to explore if national sociology journals have reflected the two solitudes between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology. To explore this question, I conducted a computational analysis comparing the topics of national sociology journals by language. I found that around half of all articles addressed topics that were frequently published about in the two languages. I also identified four core topics in Canadian sociology that were studied in English and French between 1960 and 2021: theory, work, crime, and family.

In addition to the common topics in the two languages, Canadian sociology experienced four similar social processes in the two languages: growth, fragmentation, delocalization, and feminization. These similarities show that there is more common ground between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology than is implied by the two solitudes metaphor. Focusing only on the differences between French and Anglo-Canadian sociology risks reproducing their separation and prevents analyzing common issues in Canadian sociology. Two important issues identified in this thesis is that the delocalization of Canadian sociology might cause a decrease in research about Canada and that the feminization of the discipline might devalue some of the most frequent topics in English and French.

This research contributes to the understanding of sociology in general by showing that language influences the topics sociologists study because it is a part of researchers' positionality and social context. This research also contributes to the history of Canadian sociology by analyzing how national journals have changed in the two languages since their foundation in the 1960s.

The results of this research are of interest for Canadian sociologists to understand how the Canadian context influences their own practice as researchers. These results may also be

useful for journal editors of Canadian journals to decide if they want to continue publishing on the same topics as they have in the past. Alternatively, they may wish to prioritise topics that focus more on Canada or that would enable them to build stronger connections with their French or English counterparts to resist the delocalization of the discipline.

In my study, Canadian sociology journals provided a distinct perspective to explore the metaphor of the two solitudes. While there was some overlap in the topics studied in French and Anglo-Canadian sociology, they also had distinct areas of study. For example, Anglo-Canadian sociology had a recurrent focus on elites and political economy, while French-Canadian sociology attracted articles not only about Quebec but also about other Francophone countries.

Beyond these topical differences, I discussed some common social processes in Canadian sociology that are pushing the discipline in similar directions regardless of language. Canadian journals and sociologists play a key role in deciding whether maintaining, refusing or furthering these processes would benefit the discipline. Because these processes are happening in both English and French, the idea that there are two solitudes in Canadian sociology prevents full participation in these issues influencing the practice of sociology. Therefore, thinking beyond the two solitudes would be important to encourage further collaboration between French and Anglo-Canadian sociologists to study the social issues in Quebec, Canada, and elsewhere.

Chapter 7: Limitations of the Study and Future Directions

This study used a computational approach to compare French and Anglo-Canadian sociology journals using the full text of journal articles as a data source as opposed to bibliometric databases. The computational approach has potential to continue uncovering broad trends and patterns in Canadian sociology. However, despite including over 14,000 articles in the analysis, this is not a conclusive account of the publishing trends of Canadian sociology. This study excluded articles published by Canadian sociologists in foreign journals and national journals not indexed in Érudit or Sociological Abstracts. It also excluded books, conference papers, preprints, and other scholarly outputs. Therefore, there are more documents written by Canadian French and English sociologists than was captured here. Although it is difficult to estimate what was excluded, Canadian sociologists published around 250 articles in Web of Science-indexed journals each year between 2006 and 2014 . Most of these articles were excluded from my study unless they were published in the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, *Recherches Sociographiques*, or the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, the only Canadian sociology journals indexed in this database.

Furthermore, topic modeling has a limited ability to identify subspecialties in general topics, even when combined with close reading. To overcome this limitation, future studies could combine a computational approach to compare a specific topic in more detail using qualitative methods. For example, the articles in French and English about **theory**, **health**, or **work** could be compared using content analysis or a similar qualitative technique to understand in more detail how French and Anglo-Canadian sociology differ within a specific topic. This sort of studies has been conducted to compare syllabi in Canadian universities for courses on theory and the sociology of education (Guzman & Silver, 2018; Jean-Pierre, 2013), but not journal articles.

Future studies could also compare national sociological traditions using other computational methods, such as named-entity recognition to identify the most mentioned people and places in sociology journals by language, or sentiment analysis to understand the context in which these mentions occur. This can be done especially with open access journals that allow the reutilization of their articles for research purposes.

Another way of using computational methods to better understand Canadian sociology can be to compare the results obtained in this study to the articles Canadian sociologists publish in journals abroad. This can be helpful to understand the role of national journals in disseminating sociological research and whether the nationality of a journal influences the topics sociologists publish about.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Results of the Topic Models by Period

English Topics (1960-1980)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms	Notes
Theory	225	32.75	science, work, make, world, theory, man, society, sense, problem, life, question, view, knowledge, fact, understand, scientific, concern, good, human, culture	Merged to form one sole topic
			society, system, theory, structure, process, situation, individual, power, problem, change, role, term, conflict, analysis, definition, relation, concept, type, form, action	
Elites	56	8.15	canadian, elite, medium, study, analysis, corporation, control, research, society, economic, number, percent, company, corporate, university, power, firm, include, member, position	
Population	52	7.56	age, rate, population, marriage, year, table, fertility, birth, increase, cent, family, woman, number, change, estimate, proportion, datum, child, period, female	
Anthropology	48	3.49	network, people, indian, land, village, community, time, white, person,	

			year, society, local, culture, native, eskimo, town, tie, live, find, member	
Political Economy	43	6.25	economic, production, labour, capitalist, class, development, capital, state, economy, relation, market, capitalism, industrial, country, political, increase, form, world, condition, industry	
Identity	41	5.96	ethnic, group, canadian, french, immigrant, religious, english, language, quebec, church, jewish, religion, catholic, school, identity, immigration, cultural, institution, education, american	
Work	40	5.82	occupation, occupational, status, mobility, worker, high, work, low, job, class, income, prestige, cent, table, man, female, labour, force, male, rank	
Immigration	39	5.67	urban, migration, area, population, rural, household, community, family, city, income, migrant, cent, work, study, pattern, high, change, mobility, move, number	
Family	36	5.24	woman, school, child, student, teacher, role, work, man, family, sex, wife, education, boy, class, girl, mother, study,	

			husband, educational, question	
Interpersonal behavior & Public opinion	35	5.09	group, attitude, high, study, item, response, scale, sample, low, table, score, respondent, student, question, support, cent, relationship, subject, individual, research	
Quantitative studies (misc.)	34	4.94	variable, effect, analysis, factor, measure, datum, education, status, model, table, high, relationship, level, correlation, coefficient, difference, result, independent, study, test	
Class & Politics	32	4.65	class, political, party, canadian, middle, support, vote, liberal, government, federal, level, quebec, conservative, election, politic, low, cent, interest, participation, work	
Crime	30	4.36	crime, police, criminal, court, law, juvenile, offender, offence, delinquent, delinquency, case, year, treatment, robbery, prison, justice, number, event, officer, rate	
Total	711	99.93		

French Topics (1960-1980)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms	Notes
Theory	160	18.43	social, pouvoir, societe, analyse, sociologie, rapport, culturel, culture, structure, systeme, valeur, dire, action, forme, theorie, tel, politique, element, objet, nouveau	
Work	127	14.63	groupe, travail, action, organisation, pouvoir, projet, participation, objectif, populaire, syndical, social, probleme, syndicat, membre, travailleur, formation, politique, service, education, mouvement	
Quebec (religion)	79	9.10	canadien, religieux, politique, eglise, francai, catholique, pouvoir, etat, peuple, journal, devoir, grand, nouveau, homme, voir, droit, eter, sociographique, societe, religion	
Social mobility	79	9.10	social, pouvoir, relation, groupe, analyse, niveau, moins, tableau, nombre, recherche, variable, type, facteur, effet, emploi, categorie, travail, resultat, difference, revenir	
Crime	77	8.87	criminel, criminologie, devoir, justice, delinquance, victime, pouvoir, groupe, delinquant, droit, police, mesure, jeune, prison,	

			milieu, sujet, loi, social, reaction, adolescent	
Quebec (regionalization)	60	6.91	ville, region, saint, urbain, population, rural, urbaine, logement, agricole, municipal, quebec, grand, nouveau, ile, industrie, eter, municipalite, nord, province, voir	
Sociology of science and Quebec sociology	60	6.91	science, social, sociologie, scientifique, recherche, enseignement, ecole, etudiant, universite, professeur, scolaire, education, intellectuel, formation, cours, annee, professionnel, champ, universitaire, institution	
Political Economy	57	6.56	classe, etat, politique, economiqu, societe, pouvoir, production, social, capital, national, developpement, entreprise, industriel, rapport, capitaliste, grand, economie, travail, pays, bourgeoisie	
Population	57	6.56	population, canadien, quebec, francai, groupe, langue, tableau, nombre, francophone, ethnique, anglais, annee, pouvoir, linguistique, anglophone, nouveau, moins, ontario, etat, canader	
Quebec (politics)	52	5.99	politique, pouvoir, public, quebec, gouvernement, sant, service, partir, medecin,	

			parti, loi, administration, medical, provincial, election, information, commission, devoir, ministre, liberal	
Family	35	4.03	femme, travail, homme, pouvoir, feminin, production, grand, mariage, terre, groupe, travailleur, indien, peche, condition, famill, famille, village, jour, femm, cote	
Health	25	2.88	politique, pouvoir, public, quebec, gouvernement, sant, service, partir, medecin, parti, loi, administration, medical, provincial, election, information, commission, devoir, ministre, liberal	Split from the Quebec (politics) topic
Total	868	99.97		

English Topics (1981-2000)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms	Notes
Theory	559	28.28	theory, cultural, knowledge, form, work, analysis, science, world, culture, human, make, point, action, process, structure, critical, practice, discourse, relation, concept	
Work & Class	254	12.85	variable, effect, table, difference, high, analysis, status, model, datum, measure, level, study, occupation, respondent, income, result, sample, occupational, category, education labour, worker, work, job, market, union, wage, employment, force, unemployment, pay, sector, time, employee, industry, skill, increase, employer, labor, industrial	Merged to form one sole topic
Culture	178	9	people, make, give, medium, time, group, good, member, life, view, claim, find, thing, public, movement, feel, culture, religious, sense, part	
Elites & Corporations	138	6.98	state, policy, government, canadian, economic, public, power, control, political, country, organization, development, interest, economy, network, large, corporation, federal, capital, welfare	

Crime	129	6.52	crime, police, law, violence, control, sexual, criminal, victim, abuse, case, report, behaviour, legal, problem, harassment, theory, research, justice, youth, public	
Population	121	6.12	population, age, rate, year, table, migration, increase, period, mortality, birth, life, change, death, decline, number, model, time, estimate, fertility, demographic	
Family	119	6.02	family, child, age, woman, marriage, fertility, parent, home, life, young, live, birth, mother, income, time, year, marital, wife, household, marry	
Politics & Class	109	5.51	class, political, party, state, movement, politic, economic, work, ideology, vote, power, capitalist, capitalism, marxist, analysis, historical, liberal, history, interest, leave	
Ethnicity	90	4.55	group, ethnic, canadian, quebec, immigrant, language, french, cultural, english, community, minority, native, origin, identity, ethnicity, culture, immigration, francophone, aboriginal, bear	
Gender	86	4.35	woman, work, man, gender, male, female,	

			feminist, sex, family, role, time, power, pay, experience, sexual, labour, domestic, relation, make, home	
Education	85	4.30	school, education, student, educational, system, teacher, university, program, change, study, development, high, community, teach, provide, child, develop, literacy, experience, college	
Rural Sociology	72	3.64	farm, production, community, land, rural, urban, development, city, household, economic, local, area, small, farmer, labour, economy, agricultural, market, large, property	
Health	36	1.82	health, medical, cloth, environmental, human, care, problem, science, knowledge, drive, study, risk, technology, research, service, environment, nature, cambridge, culture, park	
Total	1976	99.94		

French Topics (1981-2000)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms
Welfare state crisis	356	15.01	social, politique, etat, mouvement, action, pouvoir, public, nouveau, local, groupe, rapport, societe, developpement, intervention, communautaire, projet, mettre, acteur, institution, service
Quebec (identity)	212	8.94	quebec, langue, culturel, ethnique, groupe, francais, francophone, canadien, culture, politique, communautaire, national, societe, nation, immigration, immigrant, identite, linguistique, etat, integration
Work	211	8.89	travail, emploi, travailleur, entreprise, organisation, nouveau, formation, professionnel, syndicat, syndical, pouvoir, secteur, production, activite, marche, service, technique, relation, gestion, rapport
Health	190	8.01	santé, service, personne, mental, mort, pouvoir, medical, intervention, vie, medecin, maladie, soin, probleme, prevention, professionnel, risque, aide, pratique, medecine, suicide
Quebec (regionalization)	179	7.54	quebec, population, region, ville, tableau, moins, revenir, nombre, montreal, pouvoir, effet, statistique, annee, grand, recherche, variable, analyse, total, groupe, service
Family	179	7.54	femme, enfant, jeune, famille, familial, homme, vie, social, famille, parent, travail, mere, age, fille, rapport, relation, moins, situation, feminin, mariage
Theory	170	7.16	quebec, auteur, montreal, histoire, recherche, ouvrage, livre, quebecoise, sociographique, texte, saint, compte, nouveau, rendre, presse, universite, chapitre, annee, quebecois, canadien
Criminal justice	166	7	droit, loi, pouvoir, juridique, devoir, justice, penal, public, etat, peine, commission, tribunal, mesure, prison,

			securite, voir, cas, decision, judiciaire, rapport
Crime	165	6.95	violence, victime, jeune, criminologie, crim, criminel, groupe, sexuel, adolescent, delinquance, police, crime, etude, delinquant, pouvoir, policier, social, comportement, journal, homicide
Political economy	161	6.79	economiqu, etat, economie, production, developpement, marche, industrie, pays, pouvoir, capital, grand, nouveau, industriel, agricole, politique, economique, international, entreprise, unir, national
Sociology of science	158	6.66	recherche, science, education, universite, ecole, scientifique, formation, sociologie, scolaire, enseignement, universitaire, chercheur, quebec, cours, annee, programme, etudiant, professionnel, professeur, etude
Methodology	88	3.71	social, pouvoir, sociologie, analyse, rapport, pratique, theorie, science, objet, forme, societe, question, recherche, voir, savoir, dire, tel, ainsi, connaissance, discours
Culture	72	3.03	societe, culture, religieux, nouveau, humain, pouvoir, moderne, histoire, monde, vie, religion, corps, homme, devenir, ainsi, eglise, forme, voir, discours, pense
Religion	64	2.69	societe, culture, religieux, nouveau, humain, pouvoir, moderne, histoire, monde, vie, religion, corps, homme, devenir, ainsi, eglise, forme, voir, discours, pense
Total	2371	99.92	

English Topics (2001-2021)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms
Surveillance	565	11.88	surveillance, technology, datum, information, system, privacy, control, camera, public, network, practice, access, individual, power, user, online, digital, study, medium, internet
Theory	498	10.47	life, individual, human, form, theory, make, fact, process, concept, modern, relation, principle, world, point, power, culture, view, question, idea, moral
Population	455	9.57	population, age, model, year, high, immigrant, group, rate, variable, table, level, effect, study, canadian, datum, country, income, low, fertility, difference
Political economy	454	9.55	political, state, movement, global, class, power, economic, world, capitalism, politic, democracy, capitalist, struggle, capital, economy, party, crisis, national, socialist, democratic
Education	358	7.53	student, education, school, teacher, language, university, study, learn, educational, program, high, international, experience, research, teach, academic, participant, cultural, community, development
Culture	357	7.51	work, people, make, experience, space, story, time, culture, art, life, image, world, live, feel, place, thing, cultural, write, body, sense
Indigenous Research and Issues	322	6.77	indigenous, community, people, aboriginal, nation, research, policy, knowledge, government, land, vol, western, international, water, process, cultural, journal, traditional, include, scholarship
Policing	316	6.64	police, law, state, security, crime, public, government, case, legal, officer, criminal, medium, report, violence, risk, citizen, threat, military, court, policy
Race & Identity	315	6.62	woman, identity, race, black, gender, white, feminist, people, racial,

			citizenship, group, experience, violence, discourse, study, justice, canadian, racism, sexual, immigrant
Work	279	5.86	work, worker, policy, labour, market, employment, job, public, government, service, sector, economic, wage, time, pay, welfare, economy, union, benefit, income
Health	218	4.58	health, care, service, study, participant, people, mental, community, support, research, experience, gambling, medical, risk, individual, report, practice, problem, treatment, interview
Family	215	4.52	child, woman, family, parent, man, mother, work, time, gender, young, marriage, care, age, home, life, live, relationship, school, study, change
Sociology of Science & Canadian Sociology	206	4.33	research, canadian, science, study, academic, work, public, canadian, analysis, field, university, knowledge, theory, article, discipline, sociologist, journal, scholar, change, critical
Environmental Sociology	195	4.10	city, community, urban, local, environmental, area, food, change, migrant, development, climate, rural, migration, economic, global, place, resource, environment, mobility, human
Total	4753	99.93	

French Topics (2001-2021)

Topic label	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Terms
Politics	423	10.98	politique, social, public, etat, action, acteur, mouvement, organisation, mettre, nouveau, national, pouvoir, gouvernement, association, projet, local, collectif, citoyen, institution, lien
Health	396	10.28	sant, personne, social, service, soin, pouvoir, mental, vie, intervention, handicap, situation, professionnel, personn, medecin, besoin, maladie, medical, aide, pratique, devoir
Crime	367	9.53	violence, criminologie, police, victime, pouvoir, risque, sexuel, crim, etude, justice, policier, criminel, adolescent, groupe, jeune, effet, resultat, prison, intervention, comportement
Methodology	348	9.04	recherche, social, pouvoir, analyse, science, pratique, travail, question, action, permettre, mettre, approche, sociologie, chercheur, acteur, connaissance, savoir, scientifique, relation, objet
Theory	297	7.71	social, societe, pouvoir, sociologie, culture, culturel, forme, critique, individu, voir, rapport, politique, dire, valeur, ainsi, nouveau, historique, sociologique, classe, theorie
Death	295	7.66	pouvoir, mort, vie, humain, corps, homme, dire, voir, eter, meme, devoir, religieux, guerre, frontiere, encore, histoire, grand, religion, devenir, monde
Ethnicity & Immigration	291	7.56	immigrant, groupe, diversite, immigration, culturel, culture, religieux, identite, origine, migration, migrant, jeune, international, ethnique, pays, identitaire, interculturel, communaute, societe, autochtone
Quebec (urbanization)	278	7.22	ville, region, quartier, urbain, logement, montreal, quebec, local, espace, developpement, population, projet,

			nouveau, rural, territoire, urbaine, centre, social, saint, grand
Sociology of everyday life	258	6.70	pouvoir, dire, eter, temps, voir, tre, pratique, travail, alors, experience, mettre, prendre, aller, meme, peu, souvent, ainsi, chose, entretien, bon
Work	257	6.67	travail, emploi, social, travailleur, revenir, entreprise, moins, marche, professionnel, pouvoir, effet, quebec, activite, temps, analyse, statistique, niveau, annee, recherche, nombre
Family	228	5.92	enfant, jeune, famille, parent, femme, familial, social, vie, mere, famill, pere, homme, relation, generation, temps, enfance, pouvoir, lien, couple, adulte
Education	228	5.92	education, scolaire, langue, ecole, eleve, etudiant, universite, formation, francai, enseignement, quebec, francophone, recherche, enseignant, linguistique, universitaire, apprentissage, programme, nouveau, international
Law	183	4.75	droit, femme, loi, pouvoir, juridique, devoir, etat, question, article, genre, rapport, feministe, egalite, liberte, public, sexuel, voir, homme, cour, commission
Total	3849	99.94	

Appendix B. Topics in Canadian Sociology Journals by Language and Period

Topic	1960-1980		1981-2000		2001-2021		Total
	English	French	English	French	English	French	
Theory	225	160	559	170	498	297	1909
Work	40	127	254	211	279	257	1168
Health		25	36	190	218	396	865
Family	36	35	119	179	215	228	812
Crime	30	77	129	165		367	768
Political Economy	43	57		161	454		715
Population	52	57	121		455		685
Education			85		358	228	671
Culture			178	72	357		607
Surveillance					565		565
Methodology				88		348	436
Politics						423	423
Welfare state crisis				356			356
Indigenous Research and Issues					322		322
Policing					316		316
Race & Identity					315		315
Death						295	295
Ethnicity & Immigration						291	291
Quebec (urbanization)						278	278
Sociology of everyday life						258	258
Quebec (regionalization)		60		179			239
Sociology of science		60		158			218
Quebec (identity)				212			212
Sociology of Science & Canadian Sociology					206		206
Environmental sociology					195		195
Law						183	183
Criminal justice				166			166
Politics & Class	32		109				141
Elites & Corporations			138				138
Ethnicity			90				90
Gender			86				86
Quebec (religion)		79					79
Social mobility		79					79
Rural Sociology			72				72
Religion				64			64

Elites	56						56
Quebec (politics)		52					52
Anthropology	48						48
Identity	41						41
Immigration	39						39
Interpersonal behavior & Public Opinion	35						35
Quantitative studies (misc.)	34						34
Total	711	868	1976	2371	4753	3849	14528