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The networks and niches of international political economy

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ABSTRACT

We analyze the organizational logics of how social clustering operates within International Political Economy (IPE). Using a variety of new data on IPE publishing, teaching, and conference attendance, we use network analysis and community detection to understand social clustering within the field. We find that when it comes to publishing and intellectual engagement, IPE is highly pluralistic and driven by a logic of ‘niche proliferation’. Teaching IPE, however, is characterized by a ‘reduction to polarity’ that emphasizes a dualism in ontological and epistemological frames. In the face of competitive exclusion pressures, intellectual communities regenerate themselves by constructing niches while simultaneously nodding to a common tradition.

KEYWORDS

professional networks; sociology of professions; niche proliferation; social clustering; bibliometrics; teaching; international political economy.

INTRODUCTION

International Political Economy (IPE) is a field of inquiry, not a discipline. IPE has no clearly established set of methods or behavioral assumptions that are recognized as ‘best practice’ across the globe. Nor does IPE have a coherent position on whether it is a normative or scientific endeavor. While some scholars point to convergence on theories, methods, and analytical frameworks in North America (Frieden and Martin 2002), recent

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accounts of IPE describe it as a 'global conversation' or, most often, divided into different schools of thought (Blyth 2009; Cohen 2008). In this paper, we assess the networks of IPE by establishing how IPE is taught, what research is regarded, and who associates with whom.

Introspective debates and divisions within a field are nothing new. They reflect a logic of intellectual progress and professional conduct that spans far beyond IPE, international relations (IR), and the social sciences more generally (Abbott 2001). What is striking about introspective conversations about the field of IPE is that there is a tendency to think of a central, and relatively polarizing, organizational logic at work. Discussions about different kinds of IPE are oriented around dualisms, such as the so-called 'American' and the 'British' school traditions, reductionist and non-reductionist work, and quantitative versus qualitative cultures of inquiry. Such dualisms may have the benefit of being simple descriptive devices, especially given our professional proclivity to value parsimony.

Ravenhill (2009) famously alluded to a significant 'missing middle' within IPE scholarship that was left out of the characterization of American and British-school IPE. Others have argued that existing dualisms do not capture the multiple and diverse intellectual spaces within the field (see Phillips and Weaver 2011: 4–5; van Apeldoorn, Bruff and Ryner 2011). This includes scholars such as Jerry Cohen who have gone beyond earlier debates surrounding an American and British school depiction to other social clusters of scholarship – the American 'Left Out' (see also Murphy 2009) and the Canadian and Australian 'Far Out' (see Cohen 2014).

What does social clustering within IPE actually look like? Reducing divisions within a field to the language of dualisms might be a convenient heuristic but are these accurate portrayals of IPE in practice? Are there two 'schools/traditions/cultures' of IPE, or many? Of course, in any exercise in social clustering, the precise answer to that question depends on what is defined as a school/tradition/culture. However, those that bemoan 'Open Economy Politics' (OEP) or the 'American School' are usually not just taking jabs at intellectual positions, but on positions of social clustering and hierarchy within a profession. Social clustering is something that can be derived on the basis of professional practices. It can be empirically measured. Some scholars cite the same things more than others. Some scholars coalesce around the same conferences and ignore others. Some scholars teach IPE in strikingly similar ways. This leads to the fundamentally empirical question: What, in empirical terms, *is* the organizational logic of IPE as a field?

Here we provide a descriptive empirical overview of the intellectual and social networks within IPE. We do so to assess two competing visions of the organizational logic at work within IPE without assuming the particular form or content of that clustering. The organizational logic

presumed to be at work in most discussions of IPE is what we refer to it as a 'reduction to polarity' dynamic. This views the field as organized into two polar positions that are at odds with each other. Another logic of 'niche proliferation' seems equally possible. Intellectual communities could coexist in different plural forms, constructing local environments out of bits of the larger intellectual community that they identify with. Using community detection methods within networks of IPE publishing, teaching, and conference participation, we assess whether IPE is characterized by an organizational logic of 'reduction to polarity' or one characterized by 'niche proliferation'.

In mapping the intellectual and social spaces of IPE, we find evidence of *both* organizational logics at work, but in different venues. In terms of intellectual clustering, the evidence suggests the existence of multiple communities – usually between 5 and 7 at any given point in time. This reflects niche proliferation. Yet, when it comes to how IPE is reproduced, in terms of graduate-level training of the next generation of IPE scholars, the organizational logic of reduction to polarity is at work. The American and British school divide does not prevail in the world of publications, but it dominates in the classroom. We find a more complex logic at work within professional conference participation, though niche proliferation appears to dominate.

Our analysis makes three contributions to our understanding of IPE. First, we know of no existing empirical work that aims to ascertain what intellectual community structures actually look like in IR or political science. We view IPE as an interesting case because it is widely considered to be distinct but also interdisciplinary. Our analysis is inductive and uses community detection techniques to assess the presence of intellectual communities within IPE. Previous empirical work by Maliniak and Tierney assessed the 'paradigms' within IPE, dividing scholarship into realist, liberal, Marxist, constructivist, non-paradigmatic theoretical categories over time (Maliniak and Tierney 2009). Our analysis does not attempt to quantify the existence or trajectory of these paradigms but rather seeks to generate intellectual communities from the ground-up.

Second, our analysis of intellectual communities within IPE scholarship innovates from existing bibliometric studies. Instead of looking at how or whether IPE scholars cite one another and how much, we analyze what 'common referents' IPE scholars have to understand their underlying intellectual community. Our methods capture not only published articles but also books, and our community detection methods allow us to see patterns of intellectual clustering that are not visible elsewhere. Moreover, we analyze trends not only in published scholarship but also in teaching (through analysis of IPE syllabi) and through organs of professional socialization such as conference participation. There have been a few studies of citation patterns in IR scholarship, but none

on the scale conducted in this paper (Maliniak, Oakes, Peterson and Tierney 2011; Soreanu and Hudson 2008).

Third, our coverage far surpasses existing studies to date. While we are notably limited to English-speaking scholarship, our data includes IPE as it is taught in 16 different countries, and we analyze professional backgrounds and teaching styles as they flow across countries. Existing studies of trends within IPE scholarship to date, such as Maliniak and Tierney's study of trends within IR and IPE scholarship using TRIP data, have been limited to the USA, Australia, and Canada (Maliniak and Tierney 2009; Maliniak, Powers and Walter 2013; Maliniak, Peterson and Tierney 2012).

ONE SCHOOL, TWO, OR MANY?

The IPE 'schools' conversation has been dominant in recent years, especially the notion that the field is divided into American and British schools (Murphy and Nelson 2001; Cohen 2007, 2008). The basic premise of the schools approach is that IPE developed since the 1970s to follow in the footsteps of the 'Magnificent Seven': Robert W. Cox, Robert Gilpin, Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, Charles Kindleberger, Stephen Krasner, and Susan Strange. Cox and Strange are in the British School asking questions about systemic transformation, while the American school is interested in questions of regime formation and control, and prone to a 'creeping economism' in its methodological approach (Cohen 2008). The schools debate led to affirmations that American IPE does indeed have a high degree of consensus via the OEP approach (Keohane 2009; Lake 2009; cf. Oatley 2011). It also included voices of dissent over how the schools are categorized, as well as multiple scholarly claims to outsider status (Germain 2009; Higgott and Watson, 2007; Murphy 2009). Others appealed to the need to recognize that the American and British schools were not largely representative of IPE scholarship, obscuring a more significant 'missing middle' of policy-engaged researchers (Ravenhill 2009).

To a certain extent, recent introspective discussion regarding IPE as a field begun to transcend a polar distinction between British and American schools, with more recognition of plural forms of IPE work (see Cohen 2014). However, understanding intellectual and cultural division goes back further than just the schools debate and also transcends it. The 'schools' debate belongs to a longer history of International Relations debates about American domination in scholarship (Grenier and Hagman 2016; Wemheuer-Vogelaar et al. 2016; Wæver 1998), including calls for the discipline to be more open to eclectic approaches (Leaver 1994; Strange 1994), and to be more connected to policy concerns (Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner 1998). Within IPE, the tension between American and non-American approaches has long been the focus. In the early-1990s, some scholars sought to explicitly develop a pluralist 'non-

hegemonic' IPE opposed to US scholarship that was 'aping' microeconomics (Higgott 1991; Strange 1995: 164). Here, the argument was that early work on 'complex interdependence' had permitted a pluralism that was squeezed out by the microeconomic approach adopted by Robert Keohane to produce neoliberal institutionalism (Keohane 1984). During this decade, there was much discussion about the need for a 'heterodox' IPE (RIPE Editors 1994), which was clearly linked to 'critical' scholarship that opposed itself to orthodox 'problem-solving' work. In many ways, little has changed. Recent debates have questioned if OEP has hollowed out systemic and network-based thinking by concentrating on a reductionist logic of interaction (Johnson et al. 2013; Oatley 2011). The US-based opponents to OEP argue that the approach ignores important systemic effects while concentrating on relationships between discrete actors, and that such reductionism is not a requirement for methodologically rigorous IPE scholarship (Oatley and Winecoff 2015). Research on the development of academic professions has demonstrated that scholarship is propelled by simple opposition between two elements recognized as important to an intellectual system (Abbott 2001; McCourt 2016; Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014; Tarrow 2008).

A second organizational logic for scholarly development is niche proliferation. The 'competitive exclusion' principle in biology suggests that two species competing for the same resource cannot coexist in constant populations for long. Crowding within a particular interactive space in an ecosystem leads to the elaboration of that ecosystem. Because of the definitive limits to outright competition, new ecological niches develop as organisms do not simply adapt to their environments but 'construct them out of bits and pieces of the external world' (Lewontin 1983: 280). From this perspective, organisms engage in niche construction after receiving repeated rounds of 'feedback' (Laland and Boogert 2010; Odling-Smee, Laland, and Feldman 2003: 19). Feedback informs a selection process through which groups seek to organize and protect themselves into units that have a good chance at identity maintenance and replication. Competitive exclusion pressures reward adaptive behavior that generates new niches within the ecosystem (Gimeno 2004; Jaeger 1974). Scholars also have an incentive to write to niches since targeting the most common topic and method is likely to only reward the very blessed with the so-called 'Matthew Effect' of cumulative advantage (Merton 1968; Whyte 2017). In the language of professional intellectual activity, niche proliferation translates into not one or two intellectual tribes, but potentially multiple tribes, not just with different research questions and styles but potentially with different epistemic and ontological precepts (Becher and Trowler 2001).¹

The logic of competitive exclusion has been utilized to understand patterns of intellectual boundary development, how interest group systems

change (Lowery et al. 2012), and to explain the formation of linguistic communities (Odling-Smee and Laland 2009). These works suggest that rather than a logic of polarization at work, it is niche proliferation which characterizes the development of systems. Recent interventions that highlight the plural spaces in which IPE scholarship thrives depict a state of the field which is consistent with this niche proliferation view. But they do not make this kind of mechanism explicit, instead opting for statements about the need for pluralism or ‘multiple stories’ (Leander 2009).

To date, all meta-discussions seem to hit at intellectual differences within IPE that are also fundamentally social. Because we are talking about a profession, and professions are performative in a way that leaves a trace, social clustering within professional practices can be measured and analyzed. Trends within a field are empirically measurable phenomena. Empirical analysis should inform the way we talk about our field. For example, some discussions seem to bemoan the rise of OEP or the supposed dominance of the ‘American School’, but do not have a good empirical handle on what this dominance looks like, just how extensive it is, or even if the trends they are observing within their own local interactions are indeed dominance, or something else. Likewise, recent celebrations of the diversity and pluralism within IPE need to make the empirical case not just that there is a lot of interesting work going on but that this interesting work is not in an extremely marginal position.

In what follows below, we take up the question of social clustering within IPE. We observe distinct niches within IPE research and organization, while a reduction to polarity in how IPE is taught and replicated. In short, niche communities proliferate in a relatively plural way, but their replication relies on acknowledging a fundamental division between opposing poles, be they American vs. British, reductionist vs. non-reductionist, or qualitative vs. quantitative conceptions of what IPE is and how it should be. We first establish a list of key IPE journals, identify IPE articles, and generate citation networks. For those not interested in the process of how we get our results, they can skip directly to page (TBD, approx. at Figure 10) for the analysis of our main findings and subsequent analysis.

ESTABLISHING A LIST OF KEY IPE JOURNALS

To understand the networks and niches of IPE, we assess teaching, research production, and professional engagement. Our approach centers on finding patterns within what IPE scholars actually *do*, and we employ methods to trace how positions are taken within networks that, with community detection, establish the organizational logics of the field. To understand patterns within published IPE scholarship, we need to know what the key IPE journals are. This is a challenge in a highly contested field with somewhat fuzzy boundaries (cf. Moody and Light 2006).

We collected 170 IPE syllabi from around the world and there is a common theme in understanding IPE as ‘power and wealth’ in the international or global system.² Emphasis differs, however, on approaches to power and wealth.

The first step was to establish a list of IPE journals, from which we drew articles to generate citation networks – the asymmetric web of inter-relationships between different kinds of published scholarship. Our list broadly captures the diversity within the IPE field while also restricting this list to a small number of journals that are best representative of the field. Previous work by Maliniak and Tierney used a set of 12 journals that publish articles in the subfield of IR, and coded those articles that were deemed to be IPE in a subset of these articles (Maliniak and Tierney 2009). We chose not to use such a ‘top list’ of IR journals for two reasons. First, using existing methods of journal ranking or even survey data, such as from TRIP, runs the risk of establishing not where IPE is published but where particular approaches to IPE may be culturally dominant. Our method picks up IPE in its most pluralistic form. Second, part of the debate concerning IPE as a field concerns whether it is a sub-field of International Relations at all, locating it in an earlier tradition of political economy and ultimately moral philosophy (Clift and Rosamond 2009). Other interventions have contested the very meta-theoretical foundations of IPE as many have understood it even within the tradition of classical political economy, arguing there is a long history of feminist and post-colonial literature that should be included (Weber 2015). Even the geographic centers of the field have been prone to contestation.³ For all of these reasons, we could not simply use a top list of IR journals to constitute a sample of IPE scholarship.

We thus devised a new method for ascertaining a list of IPE journals by assuming that a representative core of IPE scholarship can be derived from the way the field is *taught*. A key textual repository of what IPE scholarship is should be represented through how the field is represented to new generations of students. This is a reasonable assumption because it is through teaching that scholars are usually encouraged to present alternative/competing perspectives on the field, including perspectives that they do not agree with or follow closely in their own research. It is the most likely place where IPE is being represented comprehensively, ‘as a whole’, rather than just ‘the field as I study it’.

We engaged in two large data collection exercises of IPE textbooks and IPE syllabi. First, we gathered as many IPE textbooks and handbooks as we could, generated a corpus of 45 different IPE textbooks and handbooks – what we call the ‘expansive list’. Second, we sought to define a collection of ‘key texts’ that were *actually being used* in IPE classrooms. To ascertain how IPE is being taught to students, we gathered a large collection of IPE syllabi, at both the undergraduate and graduate level. This

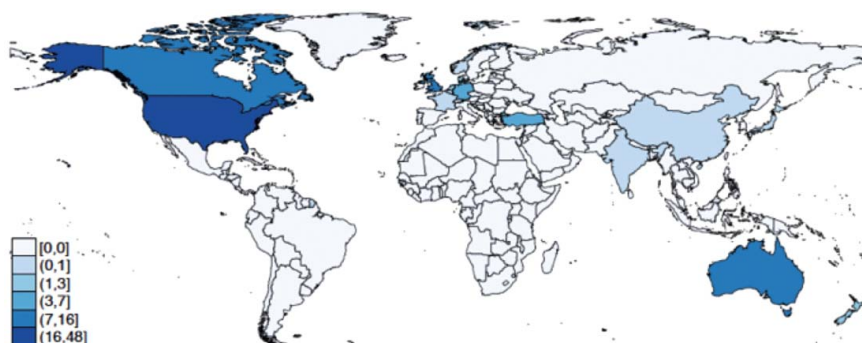


Figure 1 IPE syllabi collected and coded.

amounted to a significant search effort – we used a variety of keyword searches associated with the field, used IP masking to avoid regional specific search results, and contacted scholars directly for syllabi when we found a course but no syllabi posted online. Three different existing repositories of IPE syllabi were also included in the sample.⁴

In total 170 IPE syllabi were collected, from 16 different countries. [Figure 1](#) below shows the geographic distribution of IPE syllabi collected and their relative intensity in the sample. The geographic dispersion was clearly not even; however, neither are the number of IPE courses on offer: most, we speculate, are in the United States and Western Europe. While imperfect, this collection represents the most comprehensive collection of IPE syllabi that we are aware of – both in volume and geographic diversity. Darker shades in [Figure 1](#) indicate more syllabi collected from that country.

From this corpus of IPE syllabi, we recorded what the required course text(s) were in each case, when there was a textbook. The results of this process yielded two corpora of IPE texts. The first, ‘expansive list’ represents 47 different textbooks, while the second ‘taught list’ represents 21 different textbooks. We restricted the ‘taught list’ to those texts that were required reading in at least three or more IPE syllabi.⁵

For each textbook in these corpora, we consulted the list of references and recorded each time a given journal was being referenced. The coding of these texts provided a list of approximately 1000 different journals total for the ‘expansive list’ and approximately 600 different journals for the ‘taught list’. [Figure 2](#) represents the rank distribution of the absolute number of references by different journals in both textbook corpora. The strong positive slope of this relationship – especially at the top end of the distribution – illustrates that the dominance of journals within each corpora are very similar. This figure uses logged values for interpretation only: there was a clear ‘power-law’ – like distribution of these rankings, since journals such as *International Organization* (IO) and *Review of International Political Economy* (RIPE) stand out very far above others.



Figure 2 Total (ln) number of journal references within two IPE textbook corpora.

Some textbooks may cite more journals in general and we sought to avoid textbook-specific bias by taking the simple mean number of citations for all journals cited in each textbook. If a given journal was above that mean for a given textbook, we considered it as a ‘key IPE journal’ for that textbook. After following this procedure for both the ‘expansive list’ and the ‘taught list’ of IPE texts and aggregating these results, we were able to generate a rank-ordering of journals that were ‘key’ more frequently than others. The top 20 ranked by this method are listed in [Table 1](#) below.

The diversity of these journals is impressive, both in terms of emphasis/focus, and their rank in terms of how ‘highly ranked’ they are in terms of impact factors. Of course many important journals (including some of our own favorites) are excluded from this list. But our aim is not to produce a list of ‘the best’ or ‘the most popular’ journals, but rather a selection of journals from which we can derive a good representation of IPE in all its wonderful diversity. Much like the outcome of a compromise in which no single party is completely happy, we imagine this list will leave many IPE scholars with the same feeling. Because only some of the content of these journals is IPE, we coded IPE article content from this selection of journals.

Table 1 Key IPE journals identified

Journal	'Taught list'	'Expansive list'
<i>International Organization</i>	13	31
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	11	18
<i>World Politics</i>	9	23
<i>International Studies Quarterly</i>	9	17
<i>American Economic Review</i>	8	15
<i>Review of International Political Economy</i>	7	12
<i>New Political Economy</i>	7	11
<i>American Political Science Review</i>	6	12
<i>Millennium</i>	6	12
<i>Foreign Policy</i>	6	9
<i>International Affairs</i>	6	7
<i>Third World Quarterly</i>	6	7
<i>World Development</i>	5	11
<i>International Security</i>	5	9
<i>Review of International Studies</i>	5	8
<i>New Left Review</i>	4	8
<i>Journal of Political Economy</i>	3	9
<i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i>	3	8
<i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i>	3	5
<i>Global Governance</i>	3	3

IDENTIFYING IPE ARTICLES

Generating a citation network from every article published within the journals list in [Table 1](#) would detect arbitrary forms of intellectual clustering, because most of the articles published in e.g. the *American Economic Review* are not IPE articles.

Web of Science data was used to generate a large data-set of every article published from this list of journals: in particular the title, keywords, and abstract of full articles but not book reviews or editorial commentary. This constituted a list of over 17,000 unique journal articles, which we then had to classify into 'IPE' and 'non-IPE' articles. We started by reducing the set of IPE articles to those that were above a particular citation threshold. This was to reduce the sample of articles to those that are engaged with more by others. This had to be done with great caution. Taking a simple pre-established threshold (e.g. the article has to be cited at least three times) not only risks being arbitrary, it also ignores important journal-specific and time-related dynamics. Some journals are associated with higher number of citations in general, and establishing a general threshold would strongly discriminate across journals. Even

within the same journal, the number of citations is much higher for older articles than for recently published articles. Generating a threshold also necessitates considering the distribution of citation counts. These distributions had properties akin to a power-law distribution: the top cited articles within a given journal were cited an incredibly large number of times, and the distribution tapered off quickly thereafter. This is well known in the bibliometrics literature. Basing the threshold on the simple mean trend over time is thus distorted by the massively-cited outliers. To adjust for this dynamic, we took the natural logarithm of citations for each journal, in order to smooth out the power-law like distribution of citation counts for each article.⁶ Our thresholding system took the simple predicted mean of the (natural log number of) citations for each year of a given journal. This makes our threshold very inclusive of time-related and journal-specific factors but still separates articles that are engaged with more by the scholarly community from those that are less engaged with. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of cited articles in six journals that publish IPE research, and shows the plotted trend line through this distribution that we used as our threshold in each case.

We then needed to classify a sub-set of articles above such time-and-journal-specific thresholds as IPE articles. Our classification system worked through two major stages.

The first stage was designed to build an initial corpus of IPE articles. This initial corpus cast an intentionally wide net, which led to gathering many false positives and false negatives. Articles that self-classified as IPE articles were identified first through a computer automated process that searched for strings within the article title, abstract, and keywords that clearly signaled an article was an IPE article: terms like 'international political economy', 'global political economy', 'transnational political economy', and 'world political economy'. While it is highly certain that these 'self-classified' articles are IPE articles, this is clearly only a subset of all IPE articles. To capture others, we developed a comprehensive 'flagging' system based on other key words.⁷

While it works great for large volumes of text, automated classification is not perfect. A number of articles that were not 'flag classified' as IPE articles were found to have missing abstracts, and thus represented false negatives. We needed to hand-classify these, and to do so we used the same criteria as our automated flagging system: an article was considered IPE if it had all three of an economics dimension, a global/international dimension, and a politics/governance dimension. In these cases, we had to inspect each article based on the title, keywords when they were available, and in many cases, we had to get the full text of the article and read the introduction. The journal also provided helpful context. For example, for an article in the *American Economic Review* we had very high certainty that these all qualified for the 'economics' dimension, and had to look for

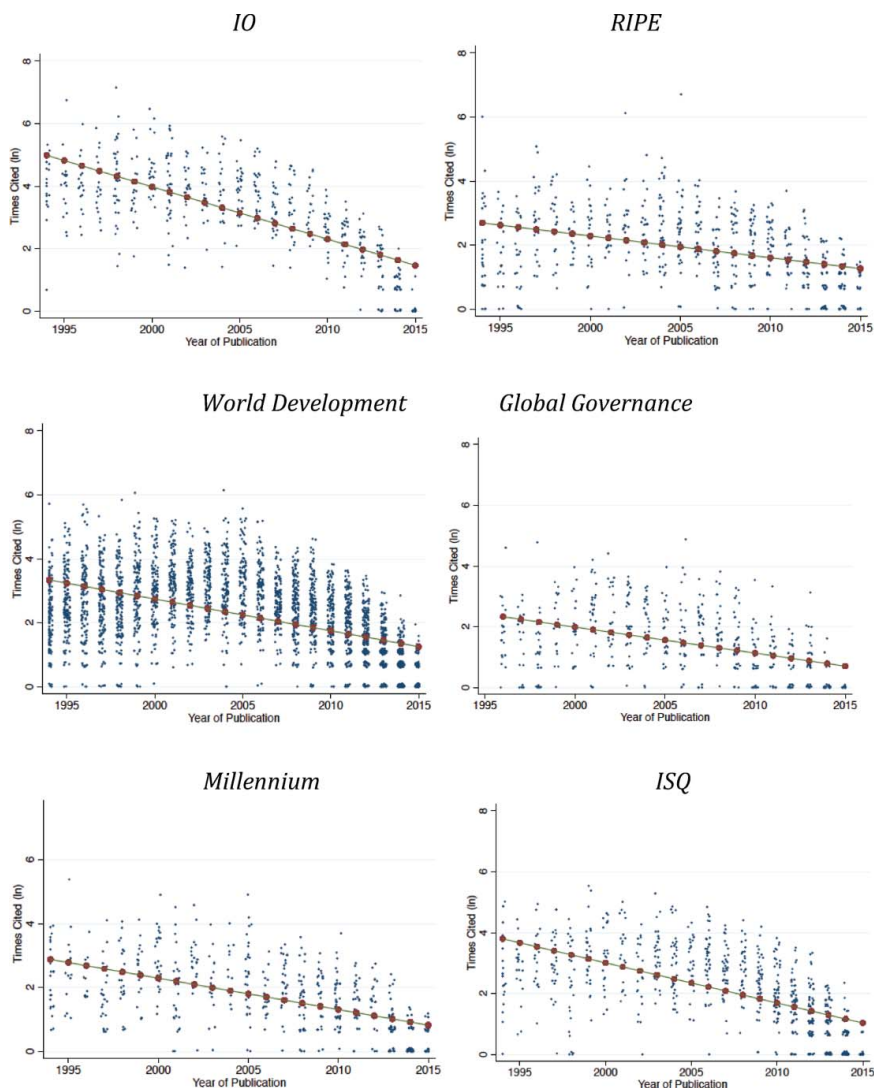


Figure 3 Example of a citation thresholds taking time into account.

the other two. A similar case applies to articles in *Global Governance*, for example: the global/international dimension and the politics/governance dimension is contextually prominent, and so then we had to look for the economic/political economy dimension. Such manual coding of articles is subject to disagreement and we assessed our level of inter-coder agreement statistically to ensure quality control.⁸ The collection of these articles constituted our 'initial corpus'. Figures 4 and 5 provide a



Figure 4 Wordcloud of full article corpus.

graphical illustration of how our full article corpus – i.e. before we classified IPE articles – differs from our initial corpus, through the methods described above.

The initial corpus was then refined by removing false positives in our sample. The automated flagging system may be prone to classify articles as IPE based on an assemblage of word use, when these are not legitimately IPE articles at all. We re-assessed all selected articles at this stage for potential elimination, based on the simple threefold criteria above. After doing this coding blind and independently, we then assessed levels of disagreement on particular articles, actively deliberating over our thought process in such classifications, finding differences among us, and so on. One particular issue that arose repeatedly was what to do about papers that were focused on a single country or regional case study (e.g. 'Argentinian pensions in the context of

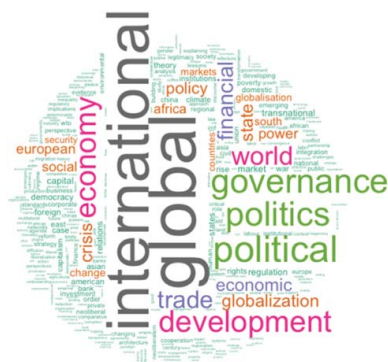


Figure 5 Wordcloud of initial corpus.



Figure 6 Wordcloud of final article corpus.

globalization’).⁹ We chose to exclude such articles within the IPE article corpus, for two reasons. First, these articles were associated with a higher rate of disagreement than other articles. Second, including these articles into the IPE article corpus risked picking up intellectual communities around particular localities, potentially leading to forms of clustering that were not related to our ultimate aim. Another issue that arose was what to do about analyses that were essentially economic or public policy analyses of global/international phenomena (e.g. a comparative analysis of World Bank programs). These were more challenging to classify, because of the ambiguities of the articles’ scope of analysis. We classified these on a very careful case-by-case basis, in particular on the basis of whether they were engaging with governance or political dynamics in the article, rather than those factors simply being part of the frame. Hundreds of articles were looked up and examined in closer detail, and we only excluded those articles where we both had agreement. We also excluded from the corpus the two special issues dedicated to the American and British Schools debate in IPE, within *New Political Economy* (NPE) and *RIPE*, respectively. Articles with no reference in formation were also excluded from the final corpus, as it is not possible to generate citation communities without such data.

After deploying these methods, we were left with a corpus of 645 articles – the ‘final corpus’. Figure 6 illustrates a wordcloud based on word frequency within this final corpus in comparison to the earlier stages in our article classification system. Table 2 breaks down the number of articles in the final corpus by journal source. We caution that these journals should not be seen as ‘more’ or ‘less IPE’ based on the inclusion into our corpus, for the simple reason that some journals publish many more articles than others, and more often.

Table 2 Journals in the IPE article corpus and their representation

Journal	Number of articles in corpus
<i>American Economic Review</i>	11
<i>American Political Science Review</i>	19
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	2
<i>Global Governance</i>	40
<i>International Affairs</i>	39
<i>International Organization</i>	61
<i>International Security</i>	5
<i>International Studies Quarterly</i>	67
<i>Journal Of Common Market Studies</i>	8
<i>Journal Of Political Economy</i>	1
<i>Millennium</i>	12
<i>New Left Review</i>	21
<i>New Political Economy</i>	63
<i>Review Of International Political Economy</i>	181
<i>Review Of International Studies</i>	29
<i>Third World Quarterly</i>	53
<i>World Development</i>	11
<i>World Politics</i>	22

GENERATING CITATION NETWORKS

We began by extracting all citations from each of these articles. This was a total of 39,513 citations with which we sought to generate network topologies. The specific kind of citation network we sought to generate is based on common referents, and not simply whether authors of the IPE article corpus cite the other articles in the corpus. By common referents we mean that one article in the IPE article corpus is related to another if it cites the same piece of literature.

Several quality control procedures were run to ensure that the citation reference data we were using was of a high quality. Reference entries in the Web of Science usually have a consistent structure, but not always. We sought to address this and lower the misclassification rate. In particular an author's name might be initialized or spelled differently based on their middle name – for example 'Milner Helen. Resisting Protectionism' might be spelled 'Milner Helen V'. or 'Milner HV' or 'Milner H.V.'. We addressed this by taking the last name and initial as well as the year of publication as the identical referent. We found this to be especially common with citations to published books. This data quality issue was addressed by taking the last name and the first initial in the text. The

above three examples would be all reduced to “Milner, H”, plus the date of publication.

We also enhanced the quality of the data by ensuring that multiple editions to a book (e.g. *The Great Transformation*, fourth edition) are all treated as the same text, by standardizing to the original year of publication. We did this through string searches of edition numbers and also by honing in on older ‘classics’ that are more likely to be in multiple editions.¹⁰ Additionally, we weeded out citations that are not to scholarly literature but to primary materials. Specifically, we excluded those citations related to policy papers or other non-academic citations (for example, a World Bank document, or a document from the US State Department). In doing so, we reduced the chances of generating a link between two articles simply because they are on the same subject, rather than sharing the same scholarly referents.

Entity ambiguity is a significant data quality issue when network topologies are being constructed. As such we experimented with alternative ways of representing a citation based on different formats and data cleaning. Full citation information is sometimes encoded differently for the same article, leading to distortions in the data. Using only names, first initials, and year of publication minimizes this problem but also generates its own attendant problem, since some authors publish multiple pieces within a given year. To address this, we included the first five digits of the publication in each instance, so that e.g. Wade, R. 2009 *New Left Review* is differentiated from Wade, R. 2009 *New Political Economy*. Our method has an advantage of not only assessing academic articles but also books. In fact, some of the most frequently cited texts in our analysis are books and not articles. Table 3 below displays the top 10 most cited pieces of literature within the IPE article corpus.

Each node in our initial network is of two types or ‘modes’ – one consisting of IPE articles themselves, and another consisting of the common referents between them. We converted this into a 1-mode network consisting of only IPE articles in our corpus, with each link represented as a common referent.¹¹ Converting citations within IPE articles to weighted, 1-mode networks in this way allows us to model the IPE citation network in a way that incorporates not just how related different articles are in terms of the literature they rely on, but to do so in a way that incorporates the variable strength of those relationships. In such a large corpus of articles, it is highly likely that a given pair of articles within the corpus have at least one citation in common. Yet, a single tie between two IPE articles is not as meaningful as multiple ties. We ‘thinned’ the network by accepting only pairs of IPE articles that had strong ties (higher ‘edge weights’) between them. Rather than choosing an arbitrary threshold, we used the distribution of edge weights within the network itself, by taking only those edges that were above the mean number of edge weights as

Table 3 Top cited works in IPE corpus, 1994–2015

Rank	Author	Year	Work
1	John Ruggie	1982	'International Regimes, Transactions, and Change', <i>IO</i>
2	Peter Hall & David Soskice (eds)	2001	<i>Varieties of Capitalism</i>
2	Robert O. Keohane	1984	<i>After Hegemony</i>
3	Geoffrey Garrett	1998	<i>Partisan Politics in the Global Economy</i>
4	Eric Helleiner	1994	<i>States and the Reemergence of Global Finance</i>
5	Dani Rodrik	1997	<i>Has Globalization Gone Too Far?</i>
6	Nathaniel Beck & Jonathan N. Katz	1995	'What to Do (And Not to Do) with Time-Series Cross-Section Data', <i>APSR</i>
6	Susan Strange	1996	<i>Retreat of the State</i>
7	Jeffrey A. Frieden	1991	'Invested Interests', <i>IO</i>
7	Robert Gilpin	1987	<i>The Political Economy of International Relations</i>
8	Beth Simmons	2004	'Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy', <i>APSR</i>
9	Karl Polanyi	1944	<i>The Great Transformation</i>
10	Kenneth Waltz	1979	<i>Theory of International Politics</i>
10	Mark M. Blyth	2002	<i>Great Transformations</i>

constituting 'strong' ties between IPE articles. While the number of ties that this amounts to varies by the period within the modeled network, it is usually between 4 and 5.

To detect communities within the IPE article network, we relied on community detection algorithms. The algorithms are a suite of tools in network analysis that allow researchers to assess, based on the structure or 'topology' of the network, different distinct 'clumps' of the network that may have substantive meaning, depending on what connections between the nodes is actually representing. Because the connections between nodes in our network are common referents/citations, detecting communities in our network context is akin to finding different forms of intellectual clustering – either polarized intellectual 'tribes' or a more pluralist proliferation of 'niches'.

Community detection algorithms work by trying to maximize the 'modularity' within a given cluster in a network. All network structures can be defined by their modularity; it is a score of network structure,

which indicates how ‘clumpy’ the network is. Modularity measures how strongly a network can be divided into different distinct parts. Networks with a high modularity have many connections between the nodes within modules but sparse connections between nodes across different modules. Community detection uses modularity scores to assess the quality of a given division of the network into different communities, and attempt to maximize the modularity on the basis of successive iterative attempts.

There are numerous different community detections available, each with their own benefits and costs. We deploy a community detection algorithm known as the Louvain method (Blondel et al. 2008). This is a method that is particularly well suited for community detection in large networks, and has recently been deployed in IPE literature to detect communities among corporate elites (Heemskerk and Takes 2015). The Louvain algorithm has a unique but intuitive way of generating community structure. It first looks for ‘small’ communities by optimizing modularity locally. Then it aggregates nodes belonging to the same given community and builds a new network whose nodes are the communities themselves. It does this repeatedly throughout the network until a maximum level of modularity is reached and a hierarchy of community is obtained, and until there is no redundant information left within the network, therefore providing us with established communities (Blondel et al. 2008).

Figure 7 illustrates our network of common referents within the IPE article corpus with community detection results highlighted in different colors for each of these periods. (Those reading the physical journal in black and white should refer to the online version for color.) Nodes are represented as individual articles within the IPE article corpus, and are scaled based on their simple degree centrality (how many connections to others they have). We excluded nodes that were ‘isolates’ (1 node standing alone) as well as small clusters with two or three nodes unconnected to any other part of the network, on the grounds that so few connections conveys bilateral connections but not an intellectual community. Edges are represented as thicker if there are more citations in common with their connecting node. The layout for this network, common to all networks visualized in this paper, uses the Fruchterman–Reingold algorithm, which is a standard layout algorithm for displaying networks in a ‘flayed’ manner, allowing the researcher to see many nodes in the network at once (rather than having them bunched together).

The community detection algorithm found 16 different communities within these networks. While the color-coding within Figure 7 helps us to understand the different kinds of relationships that IPE articles have to one another, it is also difficult to interpret because of its sheer size and complexity. More importantly, taking the full corpus of IPE articles and their references and constructing one large network risks generating

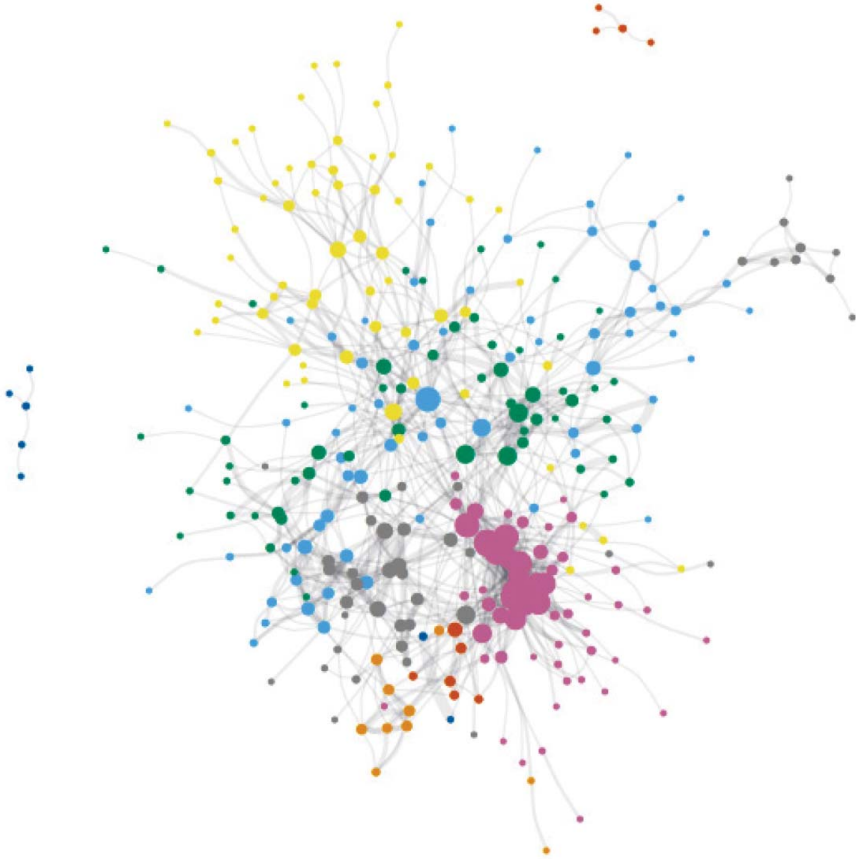


Figure 7 Communities detected in IPE network, 1994–2015.

misleading conclusions. The timing of when articles were published determines the kinds of references they can cite. The probability that e.g. Cerny (1995) will cite Simmons (2001) is exactly zero, because the latter work did not exist at the time that Cerny (1995) was published. [Figure 8](#) illustrates a general and important trend within the IPE articles and their citations in our data: articles within a given time range tend to reference works within that range.

To deal with this, we chose to ‘window’ our data – meaning that we produce a citation network for IPE articles published within a particular range of dates. The window should be small enough that it minimizes the problem described above, but large enough to show IPE scholarship being built up year-on year, as IPE scholars try to engage with other scholarly work, and (in network language) try to fill structural holes and generate structural folds within networks (Vedres and Stark, [2010](#)). By

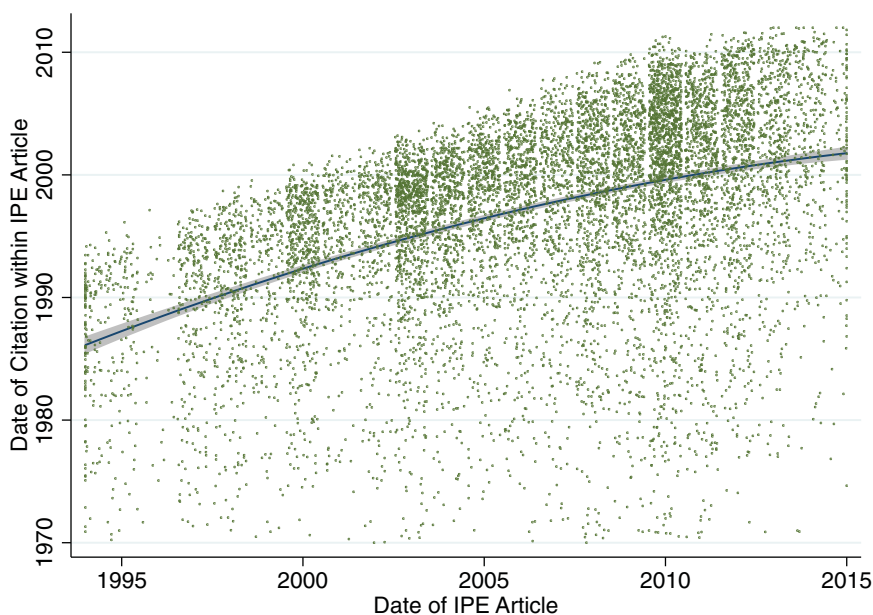


Figure 8 Dates of citation and dates of publication in IPE.

windowing the data, we should be able to see how IPE fields are transforming when it comes to who cites whom not as a single act but a more collective trend. The network was divided using this windowing principle into three separate periods: 1994–2000, 2001–2008, and 2009–2015. The periods are chosen to split up the data into segments that are easy to interpret. Figures 9–11 present the located communities for each of the three respective windows.

Figure 9 shows 1994–2000, with a mix of scholarly communities apparent, reflecting different niches of the field. At 12 o'clock is a group (labeled 1) of British-Canadian 'finance IPE' scholars, including early work on the 'offshore world'. At 2 o'clock we have a transnational group (3) clearly interested in Marxist and Gramscian themes, as well as the French Regulation School and World Systems Theory. During this period, this group had a clear presence in the core IPE journals. At 6 o'clock is a US-based group (5) known more for quantitative studies in comparative political economy than IPE, which is also tied to qualitative scholars working on multinational corporations and different production regimes (Hollingworth, Pauly). At 11 o'clock is a mainly US-based group (6) of qualitative scholars from a range of approaches (Fearon, Barnett and Finnemore) who, nevertheless, share a common body of scholarship. This cluster also includes scholars working on environmental issues in what would become a more distinct group working on Global

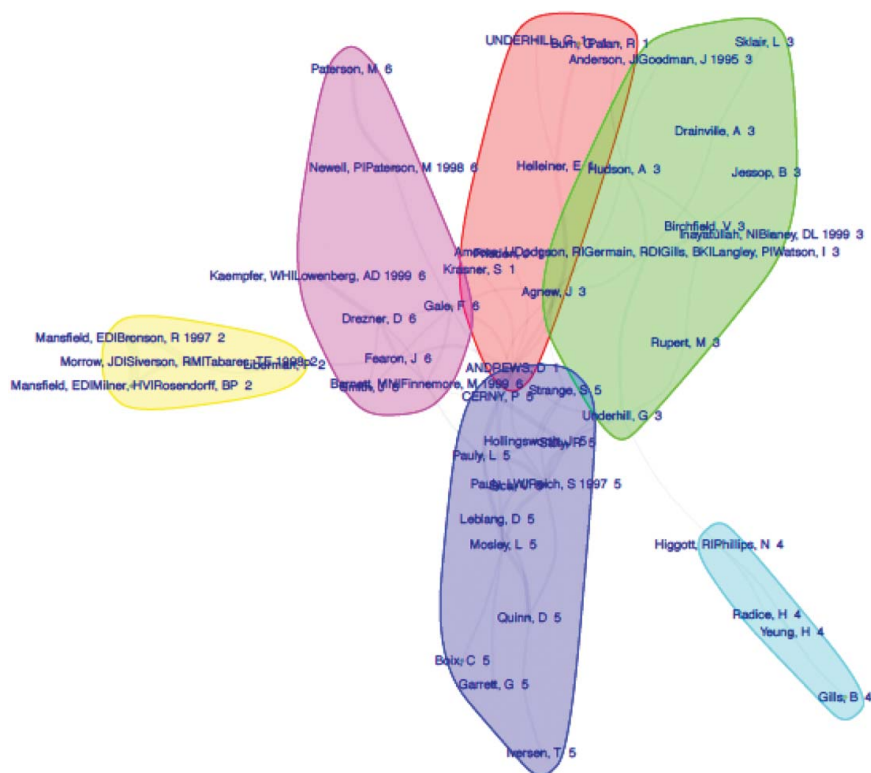


Figure 9 Networks of IPE, 1994–2000.

Environmental Politics (Paterson and Newell) and more ‘global governance’ issues.

Figure 10 shows a more complicated network for the 2001–2008 period. At 12 o’clock, we have a large group (2) of US-based quantitative scholars who crossover between IPE and International Security in their empirical focus (Gartzke, for example). The large group (5) at 3 o’clock is IPE scholars working on International Organizations, central banking, and finance, including qualitative and quantitative methods and with predominantly constructivist (Abdelal, Chwieroth, McNamara, Seabrooke) and Marxist-inspired approaches (van Appeldoorn and Horn, Bieling, Morton). Some rationalist IPE scholarship can also be seen in this group, primarily through Beth Simmons, as well as in IMF-focused research (Stone, for example). At 5 o’clock we have the emergence of the Global Value Chains (GVCs) (Gereffi, Ponte) group (4) in IPE journals, who have a clear empirical focus and ideal types against which to base their work (cf. Seabrooke and Wigan 2017). This group made inroads in the core of IPE during this period. At 9 o’clock there is a large group (3) of US-based or US-trained



Figure 10 Networks of IPE, 2001–2008.

quantitative scholars that concentrate on questions of finance (Mosley), labor (Burgoon), pensions (Brooks), and taxation (Swank). This group has strong links to Comparative Politics in their approach and case development. In this time period, we can indeed see a general methodological split between the dominant clusters in the west (mainly quantitative) and the east (mainly qualitative).

Figure 11 depicts the most recent period. At 12 o'clock is a group (5) dealing with finance and intellectual property issues that is steeped in institutional and organizational theories. At 2 o'clock is a group (3) of 'finance and IPE' scholars that share a common interest in networks (Kahler, Young) and transnational community formation (Baker, Tsingou). The large group at 5 o'clock (2) works on international organizations from a range of methodological approaches (Clift and Tomlinson as opposed to Dreher, for example). It is not unfair to state that these groups are the 'meat and potatoes' of recent research publications in IPE journals, where there is a common foundation of research interested in



Figure 11 Networks of IPE, 2009–2015.

exploring ideas, interests, and institutions through cases. Above group 3 is a small ‘island unto themselves’ of British and Canadian scholars (group 6) interested in development issues and providing mainly qualitative work (Hopewell, Selwyn). At 10 o’clock is a large group (labeled 4) of US-based and US-trained quantitative scholars working on a range of issues, as well as researchers interested in the links between IPE and security. This is the key ‘rationalist’ group in the contemporary network and follows on from group 3 identified in the previous period.

There are some interesting absences from Figure 11. The GVC scholars, present in the previous window, are now off the map, as is the Marxist-inspired IPE that was strongly represented in the former periods. We can think of reasons why.¹² An immediate hunch is that the GVCs literature migrated to ‘Business & Economics’ and Economic Geography, where it found greater institutional support and prestige, as well as widening out to Computer Science, Engineering, and Environmental Studies (see Liu and Mei 2016). Marxist IPE literature has moved to more specialized journals, such as *Capital & Class* and *Globalizations*, which has been supported

by a rejection of ‘mainstream’ IPE. The logic of niche proliferation is at work.

Our community detection visualizations suggest that the fields of IPE differ across time periods as scholars work their way through networks to find some common ground to study particular issue-areas. In research behavior, this is more important than American and British ‘schools’, and even more important than the much-lauded divide between qualitative and quantitative work.

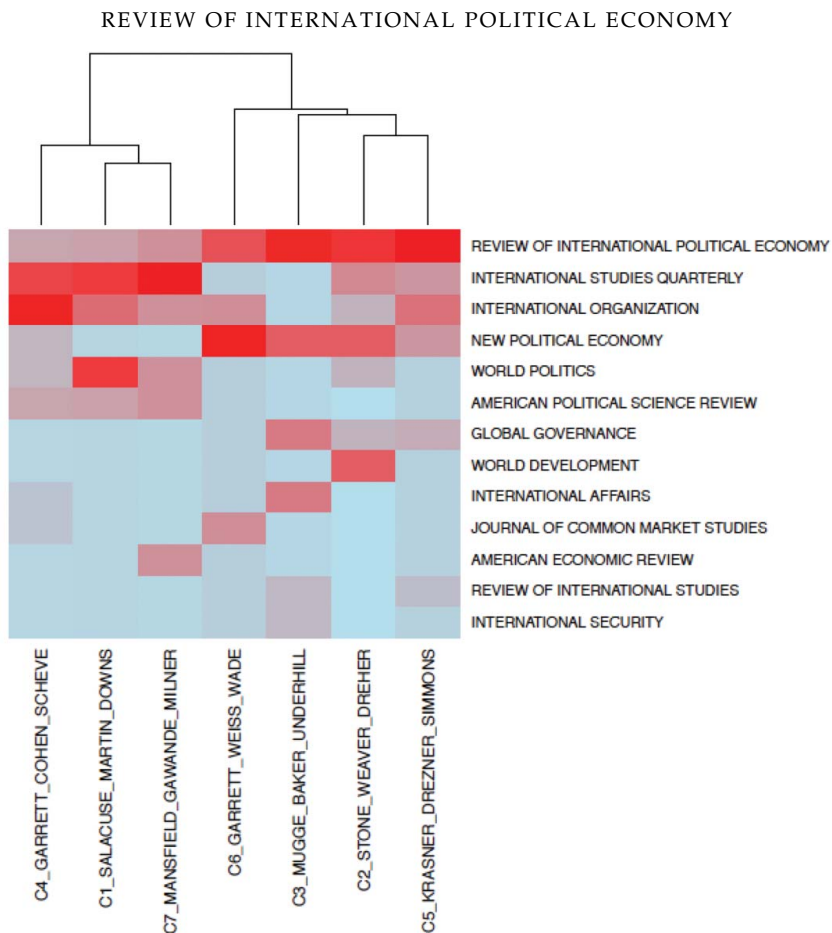
Our findings lead to new questions about the causes of these communities and their potential consequences. Thus, we analyzed the composition of these IPE community clusters from the recent 2009–2015 network. This takes us beyond the simple description of what IPE scholarship looks like and into the exploratory terrain of asking why it looks the way it does, and what it might be doing. Each community contains not only a number of different IPE articles, but also a list of actual scholars, which we can identify and gather information about.

We first sought to understand if the seven clusters are themselves the result of research trajectories in specific journals. No one journal completely dominates any of these clusters. [Figure 12](#) below illustrates the relative composition of different journals in each of the seven communities, through a heatmap. Darker red signifies more representation of a given journal in that cluster’s collection of articles. Communities are organized according to a hierarchical clustering algorithm that sorts communities based on similarity. This clustering does show a fuzzy division between communities that stem from *IO* and *World Politics* more, and another set that stem from *RIPE* and *NPE* more. But this division is not very clear-cut. We labeled communities in [Figure 12](#) in accordance with their group number in [Figure 11](#) as well as the top three most cited scholars within this cluster.¹³

We also explored whether the seven different communities were related to geography: a variable that comes up repeatedly in discussions of IPE’s apparent ‘Atlantic Divide’ into American and British schools. We looked up the PhD granting institution and the current work institution for the scholars in the seven different communities.

[Figures 13](#) and [14](#) below assess the geographic composition of each of community. A few patterns are immediately apparent. Some communities are more diverse than others; the USA generally dominates most communities, with the exception of community#7, which is completely dominated by US-trained scholars but these scholars do not all work in the USA. There is no general observable pattern with respect to the geography of the seven communities. Whatever complex patterns one might divine from these figures, a simple Atlantic divide is hard to come by.

Our exploratory findings suggest that IPE communities may be related to the journals they are published in, but only in a fuzzy



Note: Cluster 'name' represents 3 most frequently cited references in the given community.

Figure 12 Heatmap of journal intensity within communities.

sense. The geography of these communities – in terms of where PhDs were earned and where scholars are currently working – is not a clear guide to community membership. Both of these trends suggest that other forces – such as genuine mutual intellectual interest, perhaps – are driving the sorting of IPE scholars into each of the seven communities highlighted above. But what might these communities *do*?

We investigated how different IPE community affiliations might affect how IPE is *taught* to graduate students. We focused on this area because it is in graduate school that future IPE scholars are being produced, and where particular community norms – everything from what questions to ask to what kinds of answers to give – are reproduced.

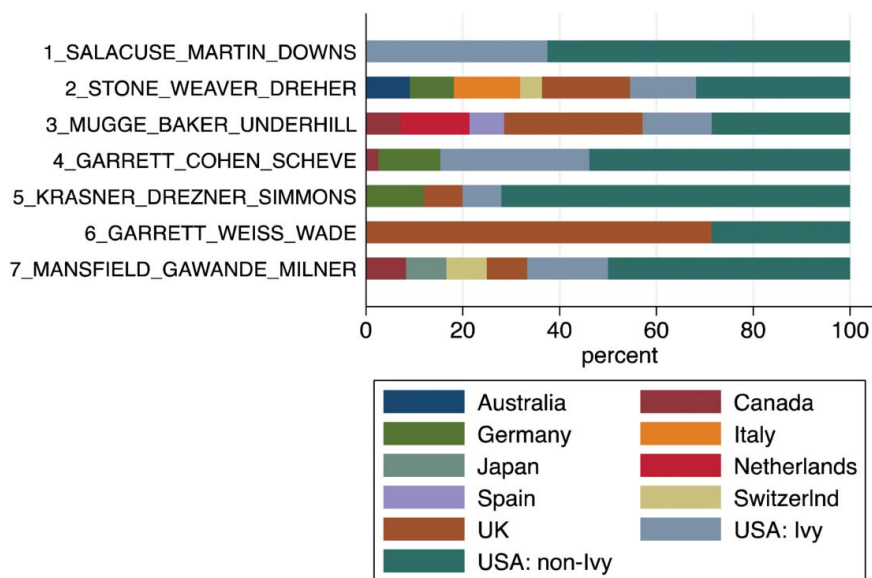


Figure 13 IPE communities and their PhD geographies.

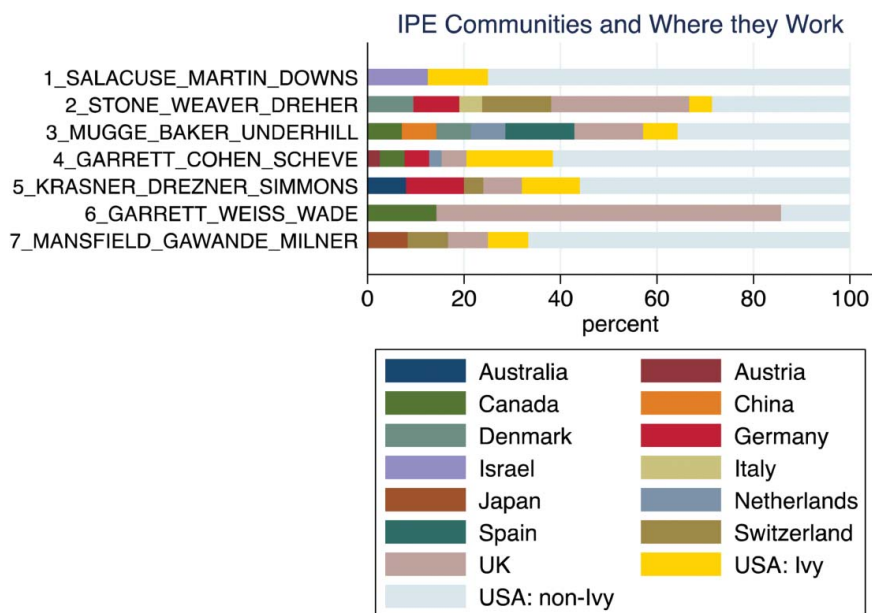


Figure 14 IPE communities and where they work.

We reached out to the individual scholars in the seven communities described above, and asked for their most recent IPE graduate syllabi, or closest equivalent. In some cases, scholars in the community did not teach IPE at all. This was especially the case among co-authors on quantitatively driven articles. In a few cases, the scholar taught a general 'global governance' or 'IR theory' course that had substantive IPE content, and did not teach a separate IPE course. We accepted such cases into the IPE graduate student corpus.

We collected 44 graduate syllabi in total.¹⁴ For each syllabus, we recorded the articles in the required reading list for graduate students. This provides, for each instructor, a list of journals that the scholar thinks are important enough to assign to graduate students, and a relative weight for each. For example, if an instructor has 20 journal articles assigned, and 18 of them are from *International Organization*, then *IO* represents 90% of the journals they are assigning. These weights are different from journal to journal and from scholar to scholar. Figure 15 below shows a heatmap representation of the importance of different journals among the list of IPE scholars for whom we have graduate syllabi. The list of the 50 most frequently used journals in the graduate syllabus corpus are shown.

In a similar manner to the heatmap of IPE articles within each distinct community, there are two central focal points of clustering. One set of IPE scholars clearly prioritizes *IO* in their graduate teaching, with weight also given to *APSR*, *World Politics* and *ISQ*. Another cluster prioritizes *RIPE*, *NPE*, *IO*, and a range of other journals, with less centrifugal concentration on any one journal.

The frequency by which individual scholars refer to different journals within graduate syllabi can also be represented as a network. From the data described above, we generated an edgelist consisting of scholars and the journals that they prioritize for their graduate students. Because many syllabi have a spattering of a few journals that they cite only once or twice, we omitted all journals below a 5% weight as a proportion of the total, for a given syllabus. These data allow us to construct a 1-mode network based on mutual ties of common referents between scholars, and to detect communities within this network. We used the same algorithms and thresholds for tie strength and community detection described above for the IPE article network. Figure 16 shows the result of this process. This generates a network unlike the complex one for scholars' common referents. This network clustering is relatively simple: there are two communities – a community centered around *IO* and another centered around *RIPE*.

The network in Figure 16 suggests that there is a reduction to polarity dynamic at work when it comes to graduate-level teaching, even though there is a very different logic at work in the production of scholarly



Figure 15 Heatmap showing the intensity of journals assigned to graduate students for different IPE scholars.

work. If the network of published IPE scholarship is akin to niches and niche proliferation, teaching is more like tribes. The question inevitably arises as to why this asymmetry exists between IPE in the world of written work and IPE in the graduate classroom. In this context, we note that we were unable to locate graduate syllabi for many scholars in the article network and, as mentioned below, there were several scholars who did

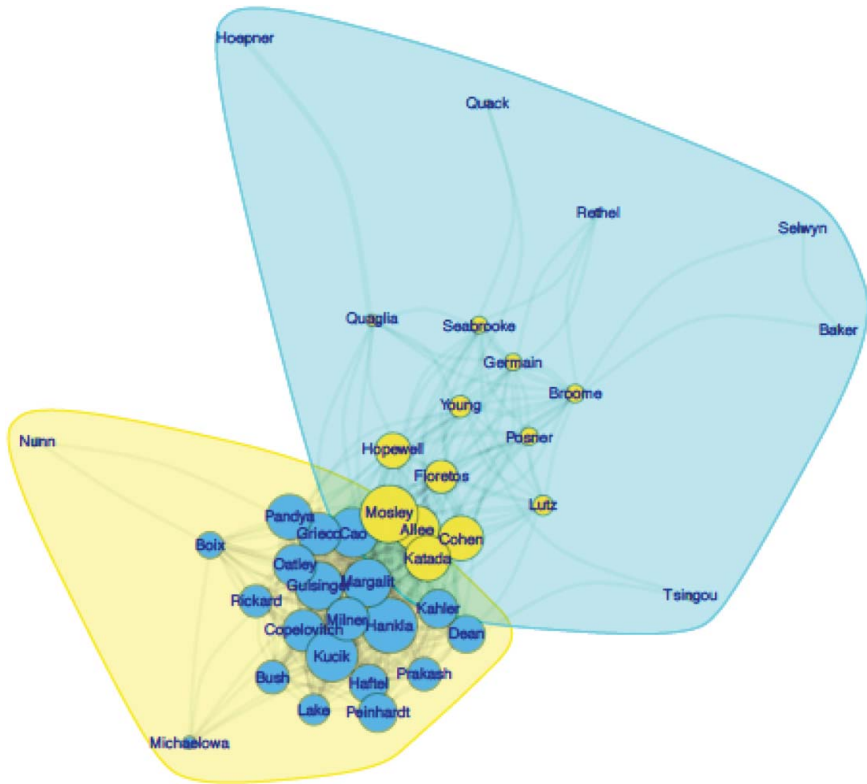


Figure 16 Network of IPE scholars and ties representing common journals assigned to graduate students.

not have IPE syllabi at all. Despite these data limitations, it is still possible to assess which scholars end up in which kinds of social clusters.

In Figure 17, we present the flow system from where scholars obtained their doctorates, to where they work, what article cluster they belong to, and what kind of IPE they teach. The red stream of US-trained scholars and the blue streams of non-US-trained scholars can be seen in the figure. The red streams are particularly notable for staying in the USA and tending to teach *IO*-based courses, while the blue streams tend more to *RIPE*. While the article clusters certainly suggest niche proliferation, graduate teaching demonstrates a reduction to polarity.

PARTICIPATION IN IPE CONFERENCES

How do these fields sustain institutional support? Participation at academic conferences is one form of interaction. It is different from, but related to, published articles. Because it represents a series of

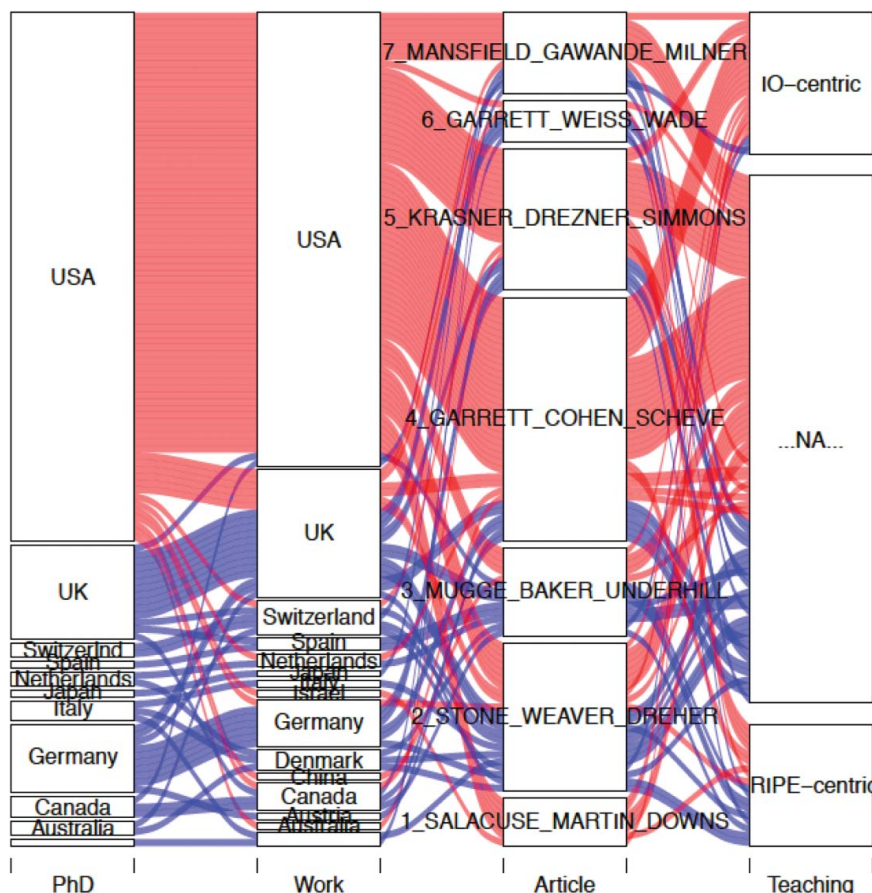


Figure 17 Flow system from PhD and work geographies to article niches to teaching.

differentially linked relationships among actants (papers/articles) or among actors (individual people), it can be analyzed as a network. Professional associations and the conferences they support also provide us with an informal measure of how fields of study are controlled and reproduced.

Conferences also act as a form of socialization and are important in providing early career scholars exposure and access to networks (De Leon and Mcquillin 2015). Conference participation has also been part of academic discussion of IPE as a professional field. Mark Blyth has discussed how participating at conferences has challenged his presumption of divisions within IPE. For example, the IPES conference was noted as being primarily quantitative scholarship yet 'beneath the hegemonic technique I found a lot of genuine intellectual curiosity about the way the

world works', while at a British conference on 'critical IPE' he found many 'unquestioned answers' (Blyth 2009: 339). This intervention has been rejected as 'self-satisfied', and indicative of scholarship that has failed to 'ameliorate the conditions that make some of us critics of the status quo' (Murphy 2009: 364). Conferences and professional interactions can ignite such passions, which is why they are important opportunities for actors to structure fields of academic engagement around what is considered best practice.

We explore the professional networks at play within IPE conferences. We assessed how much cross-over there is between major conference venues (as opposed to individuals participating at only one conference venue), and whether this was reflected in geography or other factors related to the variation in conference venues. To do so, we collected systematic information on four different major specialized conferences in the field of IPE. For each conference program, we coded information on the authors of the papers (which in the majority of cases we take to be the presenter(s)), their institutional affiliations at the time of the conference, and the title of the paper. We did not include information on chairs or discussants of panels, or of individuals giving keynote addresses and the like.

Mark Blyth asked, with reference to the IPES conference series, 'is it fair to define US IPE by reference to the perhaps one hundred scholars who attend the IPES as opposed to the thousands who attend the International Studies Association (ISA) meetings?' (Blyth 2009: 330). This question captures an important facet of IPE as a professional field: there are multiple venues where IPE scholars engage each others' work and yet the ISA is probably the most likely venue for a central one. Consequently, we gathered participant information on every session of the ISA from 2006 until 2014 that was sponsored by the International Political Economy section.¹⁵

We also gathered participant information on every session of the IPES from 2006 (when it began) until 2014. Outside of the USA, major IPE conferences take place in a variety of venues. One central venue is the International Political Economy Group (IPEG) within the British International Studies Association (BISA), which represents a major annual gathering of IPE scholars. We obtained full conference programs from 2011 to 2014. We collected programs from the Critical Political Economy Research Network (CPERN), which is a conference series that usually meets under the auspices of the European Sociological Association (ESA), though sometimes holds its own stand-alone workshops. We also collected information on the participants at all sessions of the Australian International Political Economy Network (AIPEN), since its beginning in 2008 until 2014, and the Political Economy of International Organizations (PEIOs) from 2008 to 2015. The inclusion of each of these conferences is warranted

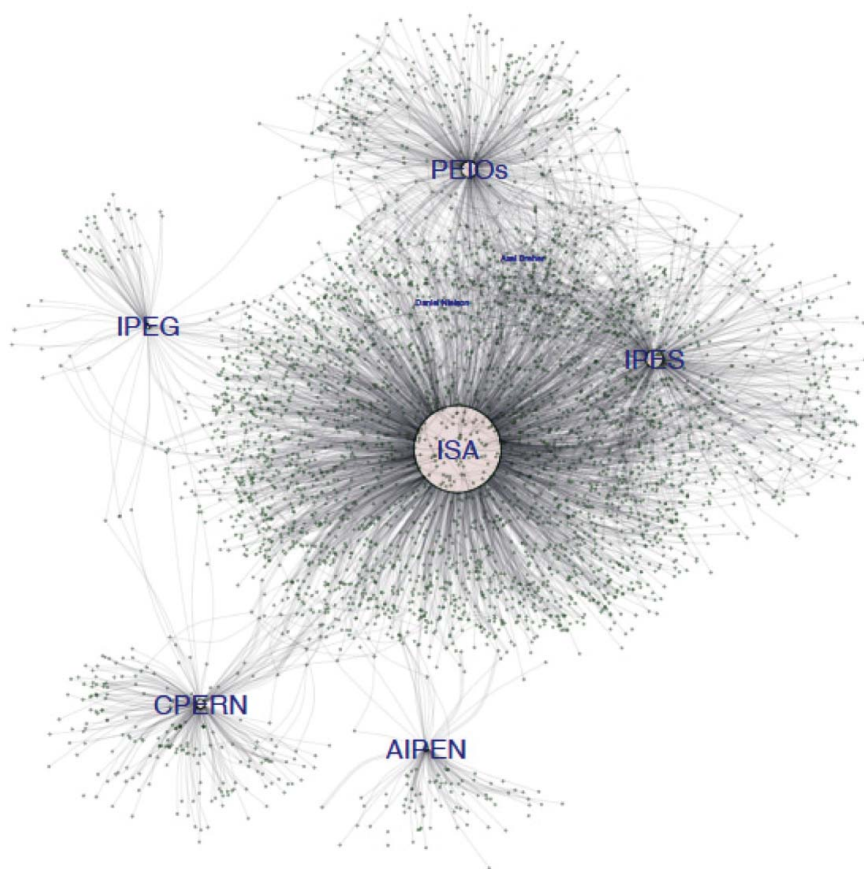


Figure 18 Network of scholars presenting at IPE conference series, including co-authorship ties, 2006–2015.

on the basis that they are recurring events where professional socialization takes place.¹⁶

Each presenter at these conferences is represented as a node, and each edge is a relationship between those presenters at an IPE conference. We include links between co-authors in this network. Figure 18 below illustrates the visualization of these complex relationships. The ISA clearly acts as the central interlocutor between the diversity of conferences in the field, and many scholars present at both the ISA other conferences. The vast majority of scholars in this network, however, present at only one of these IPE conferences. The presenters at IPES and PEIOs have frequent participation with one another and within the ISA. Participants at the IPEG, the AIPEN, and the CPERN have a small sub-community that

present at a variety of conferences; yet virtually no crossover with the IPES or the PEIOs. The inclusion of the AIPEN is instructive here, as it suggests that geography is not a limiting factor for scholars participating at multiple conferences. Australia is much farther away from Europe than the USA is from Western Europe, yet there is very little crossover participation over the Atlantic except for the ISA. This form of geographical segregation over the Atlantic is close to what existing narratives would expect.

Studies of research collaboration show powerful effects of geography both in collaboration and in citation patterns. Studies of other fields suggest geographic ‘gravity’ forces are still important for collaboration and citation within a scientific community, despite recent advances in communication and transportation (Pan, Kaski and Fortunato 2012). Given that IPE is a field that often has claims to understanding the governance of the *global* economy, geography seems relevant here.

Geography affects IPE conference participation in some ways and not others. If each of the different IPE conference series represents distinct niches as a result of competitive exclusion pressures, some are more inclusive niches than others. Figure 19 shows a crude representation of the geography of IPE conference participation. This figure is ‘crude’ because for explicative purposes we have separated participants at US institutions from all other countries. All other countries are such ‘thin slices’ that they do not appear on this alluvial diagram.

To reveal the geographic diversity of participation, Figure 20 shows a two-mode network representation showing the connections between authors’ institutional geography and participation at five of the six IPE conferences. We log scaled the size of the ties, as connections between countries like the USA are so dense they would overwhelm the network. We have also excluded the ISA IPE section in this visualization because the ISA clearly beats all other conferences in its geographical diversity. IPES, PEIOs, and CPERN all have much more diverse participation, in terms of country geographies, than the IPEG or AIPEN. To get a sense of the global array of participation across all conferences, Figure 21 provides an opportunity for a reflection on the geographic diversity of participation within a field that purports, in one way or another, to make sense of the political economy of the entire planet.

Some conferences matter more in how geography supports niche proliferation. Cultural and methodological divisions are one other explanation, but there are also known organizational differences that may be driving these results. There is a clear difference in how senior scholars manage the professional associations. An easy contrast can be drawn between the leading association, the ISA, and economics. A recent study shows that 72% of the non-appointed council members in the American Economics Association are from the top five departments, in contrast to

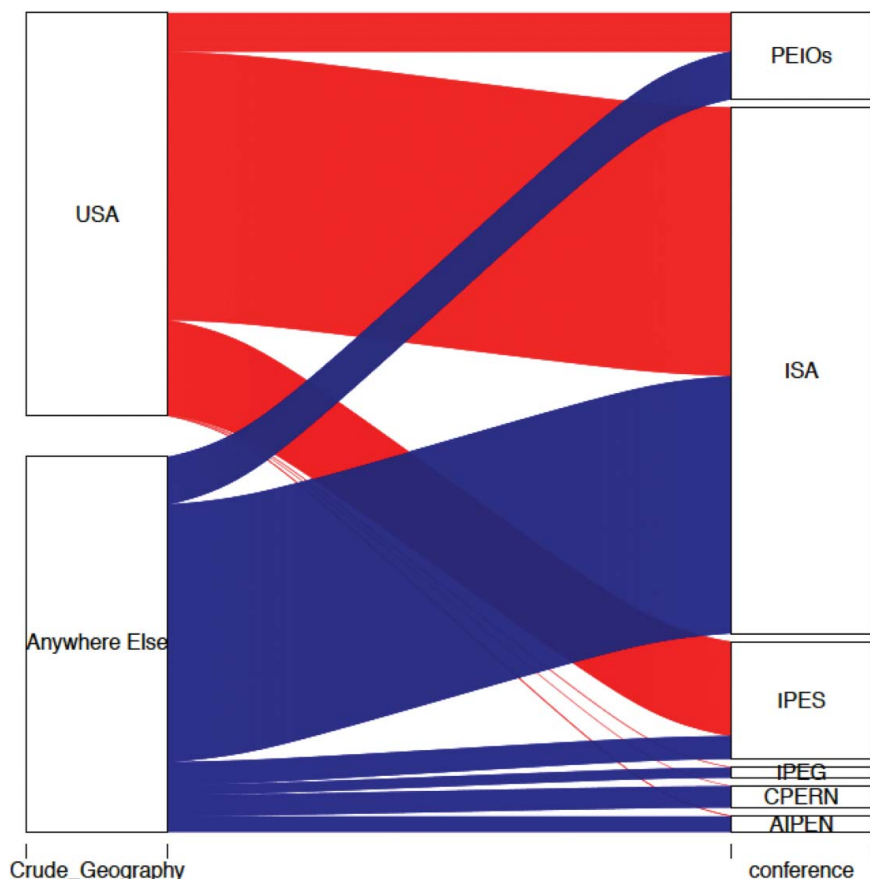


Figure 19 Crude geographic representation of participation at six IPE conferences, 2006–2015.

12% from the American Political Science Association (Fourcade, Ollion, and Algan 2015: 100). The economics profession is tightly controlled by professors from elite institutions. The IPE section at the ISA demonstrates the inverse, where those leading are not from resource-rich institutions.¹⁷

Rather than work through the ISA, the IPES group has been led by a series of senior professors in chiefly Ivy League institutions, accepting papers for the use of international factors in either explanatory or dependent variables and adherence to what other areas of IPE would consider a positivist stance to social inquiry. IPES has established coherence around methodological commonalities and has been fairly centrally organized, under the auspices of Princeton University. This has led to considerable institution building, of which IPES represents a good example. PEIOs demonstrate a similar dynamic, with European universities

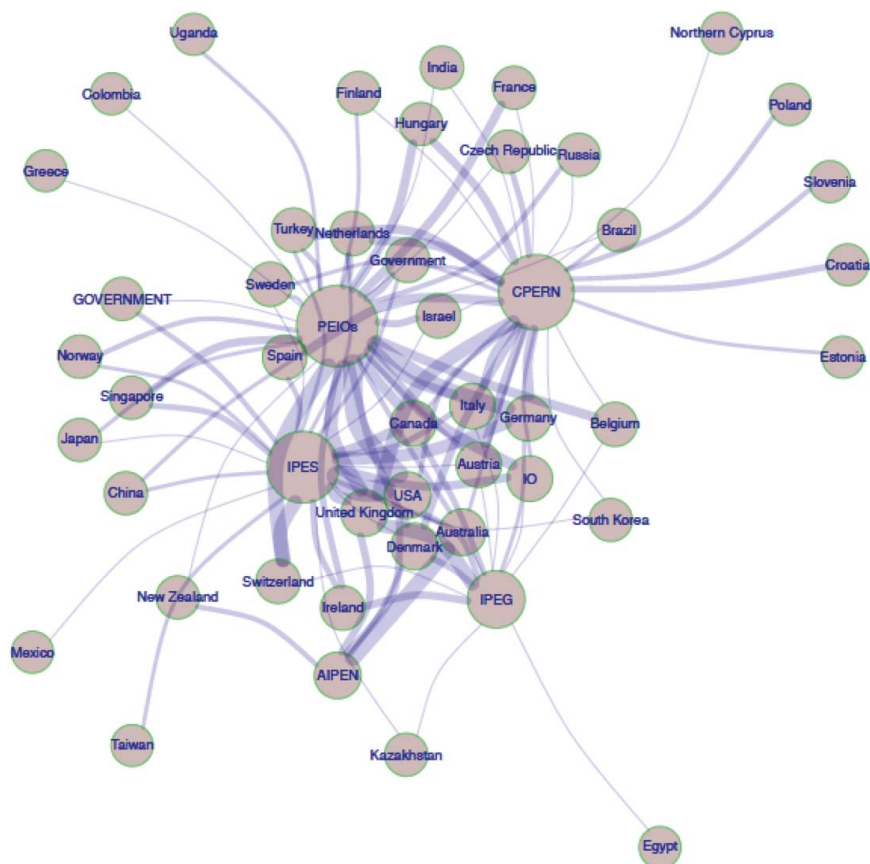


Figure 20 Network of participation at five IPE conferences (excludes the ISA IPE section), 2006–2015.

(German and Swiss) providing institutional support for conferences with limited participation to ensure thematic and methodological coherence. Notably, PEIOs has senior professors from Europe and the USA involved in its governing committees and is the only genuine transnational, or transatlantic, IPE scholarly group.

In contrast to IPES and PEIOs, IPEG has moved from its foundations in Susan Strange to evermore-junior scholars, passed down from full professors to associate to assistant professors, and mixes thereof. Here, a 'red poppies' approach flourishes, with an informal peer-review of what is sufficiently 'critical' scholarship acting as a governance proxy. Professors have shied away from providing consistent institutional or intellectual guidance. Rather, British and European IPE professors have often sought to expand their understanding of IPE through their home

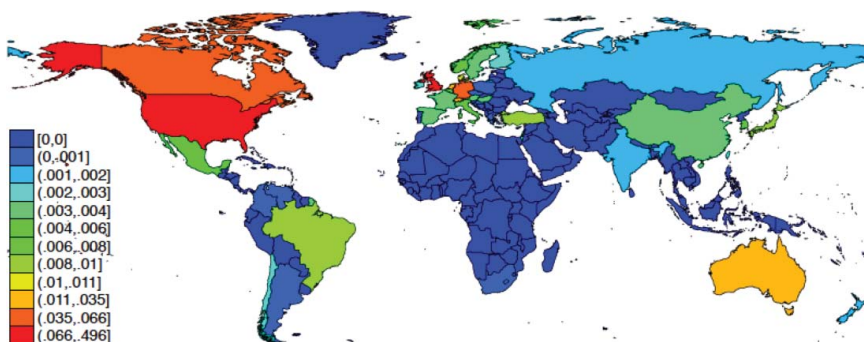


Figure 21 Geography of participation at six IPE conferences, 2006–2015.

institutions rather than collectively through professional associations. Instead of fostering cross-institutional professionalization there is a tendency for replication within institutions, including ontological, epistemological, and methodological biases. CPERN is similar to IPEG, but more active – and more organized – in relying on peer judgments about normative commitments, rather than methodological positions, to center its scholarly community. Predictably, AIPEN sits in-between these types, where there has been some professorial direction but no firm institutional support or agreement on what constitutes ‘proper’ methods. Following our earlier view on niche proliferation, the range of professional associations being created since 2008 demonstrates that IPE is evolving into non-competing self-affirming entities.

CONCLUSIONS

In this article, we have sought to understand whether the organizational logic of IPE is one of reduction to polarity or if it is reminiscent of a more pluralist pattern of niche proliferation. In mapping the intellectual and social spaces of IPE, we find evidence for an overarching logic of *both* organizational logics at work. The evidence suggests the existence of multiple communities – usually between 5 and 7 at any given point in time, reflecting the logic of niche proliferation. In the most recent window, we analyze there are seven distinct niches of intellectual activity in journal publications based on common referents.

While niches proliferate in the way IPE scholars publish, when it comes to how the field of IPE is reproduced, through the training of new scholars in the graduate-level teaching process, the organizational logic of reduction to polarity is at work. The American and British school, or quantitative vs. qualitative, divide does not dominate the world of publications, but it certainly is present in the classroom. We find a more complex logic at work within professional conference participation, though

niche proliferation has certainly been on the rise. There are, inevitably, a large series of follow-on questions from these findings. Future studies might probe the process of niche creation itself, or assess more analytically, perhaps in a competitive hypothesis testing setting, the reasons for the particular niches we have found.

Our findings support the recent interventions on the development of IPE as a plural field with often unacknowledged diversity (see Cohen 2014). Existing narratives that represent the field in terms of dualisms are misleading in some ways but not others. In intellectual production, the field of IPE is a place with many flowers blooming, not a cold war. This is also no great problem, and the absence of 'hegemony' in IPE can also be viewed as potentially productive. Histories of scholarly disciplines remind us that particular fields often need an opposing one to justify their existence (Kristensen 2015; Samman and Seabrooke 2017). 'Historical Sociology', for example, would find it hard to justify itself if not opposed to elements of 'Social History' (Skocpol 1987). Still, while there has been some emphasis on 'bridge building' in IPE (Farrell and Finnemore 2009; McNamara 2009), there are pragmatic reasons why IPE scholarly networks need to recognize each other and cohere, rather than drift into different species altogether: survival. For example, should the IPES community become isolated from the ISA community it will need mainstream American Political Science and, harder still, Economics to care for it and provide it with intellectual and institutional support. The same goes for IPEG – if everything is permitted then what can one stand against, other than opposing American scholarly domination, or a common will to remind economists (who are not paying attention) that markets have moral aspects?

The most recent TRIP survey includes an assessment that American domination of IR is well established globally and opposed in the 'West' and 'non-West', with a little less reluctance from US-based scholars (Wemheuer-Vogelaar, et al. 2016: 21–23). Countering American domination is a global rather than British concern. The survey of 32 countries also affirms that, after international security, IPE is the largest 'main area of research' among IR scholars around the world. Given the size and scope of activity, should we be worried about niche proliferation? Again, different traditions of IPE should recognize each other, if only for pragmatic reasons. Some have warned that if IPE follows the path of mainstream economics it will exhaust and detach itself from its core concerns and productive potential (Wade 2009). There is little point in being the 'B' team in scholarship on international economics, especially given that economics has a coherent self-defense system in protecting their research funding, while political science funding is more gang-like (Lamont 2010).

Related here is a widespread perception that IPE is becoming less policy relevant, either through abstracted scientific rigor or by viewing

policy engagement as, in itself, unworthy of intellectual interest for 'critical' scholars (Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner 1998: 684). Ravenhill's (2009) 'missing middle' is interested in such matters, and one preliminary finding from our study is that this group is central to the networks of IPE. They are not lone wanderers but active community builders. IPE is interdisciplinary and, as we have shown, has freedom of association across seeming geographical and methodological borders. The key inhibition to such community building is the myth that the Atlantic is a true intellectual boundary. The incongruence between how we teach IPE and how we actually 'practice' matters for how we seek to build IPE in the future. It shapes how we communicate IPE to students, and how the next generation of scholars understand their own field.

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NOTES

1. In a similar vein, Cohen (2014) utilizes the concept of competing 'discourse coalitions' that usually do not encounter one another, but could productively do so.

2. Colgan (2016) provides a study of graduate teaching in International Relations, but it is restricted to the United States and based on 42 syllabi.
3. Hobson (2013) and Helleiner (2015) both demonstrate how the classical foundations of IPE were contributed to by thinkers beyond Europe and the USA, before 1939. Indeed a whole recent Special Issue of *RIPE* was dedicated to IPE scholarship in China (see Chin, Pearson and Yong 2014), a country whose scholarship is frequently elided.
4. The first was a list maintained by the IPE field group within the International Studies Association (ISA), which contained 19 syllabi. The second was a list maintained by the Society for Women in IPE (SWIPE) and contained four syllabi. The third list was a list of IPE syllabi collected for a previous qualitative comparison of IPE syllabi (see Paul 2006) and contained 27 syllabi – which were collected between 2004 and 2008. Of the total sample, 32 were ‘historic’ syllabi – i.e. not used in the last few years. Specifically, 2 were from 2001, 3 from 2003, 10 from 2004, 7 from 2005, 8 from 2006, and 2 from an unknown date year prior to 2009.
5. An alternative would have been to collect journals from the syllabi – an approach adopted by Colgan (2016). We did not opt for this method to define the journal space, simply because journal articles are not always the dominant kind of publication in syllabi, especially for undergraduates.
6. We added a small constant, 1, to all values to ensure we did not lose values. Note that in Figure 3 we included a small ‘jitter’ in the plotted points to give an indication of the number of article at each level.
7. Specifically, we constructed key term lists for three different categories that represent the key concepts within the vast majority of IPE scholarship: terms that reflect politics and governance, terms that reflect economic phenomena, and terms that reflect global or international dimensions. These were based on term lists that included both whole terms and stem words (for example, ‘financ’ then encompasses all of ‘finance’, ‘financial’, ‘financialization’, etc.). For an article to be classified as an IPE article, it had to meet the criteria of reflecting all three of these categories.
8. We used a model of inter-coder agreement that adjusts for the probability of chance agreement based on the number of potential coding choices, known as a ‘Kappa’ score. We had a raw level of agreement of 97.93%. Our Kappa score was 79% (with a standard error of .023), which reflects a very high level of agreement after controlling for chance. We included all articles into our IPE article corpus when we had complete agreement.
9. In response to a reviewer, we considered whether the elimination of articles based on the regional or country case studies inadvertently eliminated scholarship from authors in countries in Southeast Asia, MENA and South America, potentially marginalizing scholarship from these areas of the world (see Acharya 2011). We found that only a very small percentage of articles to begin with within our master corpus (2.17%) had at least one author from these regions. Our final corpus contained 1.42%, which is not a significant difference; we also inspected those that were eliminated and the regional/country criteria did not appear to eliminate more than two of them.
10. We did this by searching specifically for all those texts that were cited more than once before 1970 and sought to find differences in the dates and titles of books. This includes non-English versions of the same text – for example, Adorno and Horkheimer’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) in its original

German (*Dialektic Aufklärung*) was replaced to the English-language version for consistency.

11. Modes represent different kinds of entities in a given network. For example, if Helleiner (1994) and Mansfield (1997) both cited Strange (1970), then this would constitute one link or 'edge' between Helleiner (1994) and Mansfield (1997). Thus, a two-mode network would have two edges: one from Helleiner to Strange, and another from Mansfield to Strange. A one-mode network, however, would have one edge, connecting Helleiner and Mansfield. Edges in a network can be unweighted (a link exists or it does not) or weighted (a link can be of varying intensities). We chose to model edges of common references in a weighted fashion because this differentiates 'strong' links from 'weak' ones. An example of this would be if Helleiner (1995) and Mansfield (1997) both cited Strange (1970), Foucault (1982) and Milner (1988) for example, they would have an edge weight of three between them, because they have three common referents between them.
12. We checked for the possibility that our temporal windows, and changes across them, are associated with changes in the editorial leadership of journals. These sets of changes do not map on one another well, and the notion that the shifts between windows represent shifts of editorial discretion seems inadequate.
13. These are common referents that bind a given community together, and as such they are not necessarily 'on' the network in Figure 12. For example, the scholars composing 'C4' represent a niche that is drawing on raw material most heavily (but by no means exclusively) from Garrett, Cohen and Scheve to construct that niche.
14. This is out of 127 individuals in the last network cluster, so we are capturing of 34.6% of total individuals. Not all of these individuals actually taught IPE classes, and others were simply non-responsive.
15. This included panels that were co-sponsored between the International Political Economy section and other organized sections. We included poster sessions but did not include 'panels' where a series of scholars commented around a given topic or theme, as other conferences do not have this format and we wanted to ensure high comparability. We also excluded 'keynote' addresses and award ceremonies.
16. We are aware of several IPE conferences that are clearly specialized retro/prospective views on the field and expositions of knowledge – for example, the Warwick 40th Anniversary conference held in 2015. We have not included the 'Turkish International Political Economy Society' (TIPES) conference as it has had one conference to date, or the 'IPE Øresund/Øresund' network based in Denmark and Sweden given that it commenced in 2012 and had its second annual conference in 2015. We did not include the European International Studies Association as it only began in 2013.
17. The previous IPE section chairs have come from, in reverse order: University of Warwick, Copenhagen Business School, Griffith University, George Washington University, George Mason University, University of Washington, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Indiana University, University of Miami, and University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

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