

Publication Trends in
Cosmos + Taxis and
*Studies in Emergent
Order* 2011-2022

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Abstract: *Cosmos + Taxis* occupies a unique place among scholarly journals, operating at the intersection of economics, philosophy, political science, and psychology. All readers of this journal will agree that this nexus provides an essential and vibrant part of each discipline, as well as an area that offers special insight into issues of continuing importance in political and constitutional theory, public policy, the theory of knowledge and the philosophy of science. This article uses publications in *Cosmos + Taxis* and *Studies in Emergent Order* to rank institutions by research productivity in Hayekian studies and complex adaptive systems. An incidental byproduct is a ranking of scholars. Ranking methodology is developed based on the established literature for ranking economics and political science programs. Implications for the future evolution of Hayekian interdisciplinary studies are suggested and discussed.

INTRODUCTION

This paper ranks institutions based on scholarly productivity measured by articles published in *Cosmos + Taxis* (C+T) and its predecessor *Studies in Emergent Order* (SIEO) from 2011-2022. This has been a period marked by both political and economic turmoil and renewed interest in emergent order and robust political economy. At the end of the decade, unprecedented lockdown and quarantine responses to the COVID-19 pandemic triggered the sharp, brief 2020 recession. Policy responses have invariably favored inflexible design orders that further concentrate power and influence in an unaccountable bureaucratic elite.

This study looks at publications and downloads from *Studies in Emergent Order* and *Cosmos + Taxis*, the only refereed academic journals devoted exclusively to research in Hayekian spontaneous order. The journals' scholarly impact is indicated by the over 150,000 downloads since 2019. *Studies in Emergent Order*, *Cosmos + Taxis*'s predecessor, was founded in 2008 and first edited by Gus diZerega. *Studies in Emergent Order* was an annual journal which published until 2014, with the final volume presenting five multi-paper symposia, each dedicated to a recent book. Under diZerega's editorship *Studies in Emergent Order* often presented broader and more diverse applications of Hayek's theory of knowledge, spontaneous order, and philosophy of science than would generally be found in any economics journal at that time. *Cosmos + Taxis* has displayed a similarly expansive appreciation for Hayekian insights and the

breadth of their applications. Both journals featured frequent guest-edited special topics issues and symposia discussing relevant books or scholars. *Cosmos + Taxis* initially published three issues in 2014's volume 1, but also published the first issue of volume 2 that same year. Thus C+T has been at least a quarterly journal from the start. The founding editors¹ may not initially have anticipated the quality and number of submissions C+T has attracted from the start. Although 2016 only saw a single combined double issue, 2017 saw six numbered issues, one a double issue. Since 2019, C+T has published at least six times each year, typically in double issues numbered from 1+2 to 11+12.

Rankings of scholars based on solely on publications in the two journals alone may introduce significant bias which comes from disregarding books and other significant publications on spontaneous order appearing in any other journals or venues. Program rankings are more reasonable and subject to less systematic bias, especially since *Cosmos + Taxis* is the leading—if not the only—journal in this important interdisciplinary area. However, while institutions with graduate programs with faculty specializing in complex emergent orders and related areas appropriately and expectedly rank very high, many other academic institutions either do not offer graduate degrees, and of those that do, few offer any distinctive specialization in spontaneous order.

The geographic diversity of authors published in SIEO and C+T is very broad, though dominated by North America first, Europe second, particularly the UK, Italy, and Germany, and Australia third. Government and other non-academic institutions are also well represented, including think tanks, non-profit organizations, and private firms. It is also gratifying to note that because of the open access nature of C+T, underserved territories (Africa, South America and the Far East) have seen a jump in downloads.

METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature ranking academic programs in the social sciences dates to Fusfeld's (1956) study of Allied Social Science Associations annual meeting programs, which led in short order to Cleary & Edwards's (1960) study of publications in the *American Economic Review*, and Yotopoulos's (1961) study adding publications in the *Journal of Political Economy* and the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. These rankings did not aspire to the comprehensiveness of many later studies, and were designed to supplement annual graduate surveys by the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. More recently, similar rankings have been published by the U.S. National Research Council, an affiliate of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, *Maclean's*, and *U.S. News & World Report*.

The second generation of ranking articles, examining roughly the 1960s, were similarly limited to the top three economics journals. Siegfried (1972) and Moore (1973) ranked doctoral programs in economics by the publishing performance of their faculty, also presenting regression analyses attempting to analyze factors that might account for his findings. Hogan (1973) ranked economics Ph.D. programs by the publishing performance of graduates for 1960-1969. Smith and Gold (1976) ranked Southeastern U.S. economic departments for the 1968-1971 and 1970-1974 periods, and Niemi (1975) also ranked them for 1970-1974. This reflected what was then a new emphasis on publishing adopted by leading regional institutions. Ladd and Lipsett (1979) surveyed perceptions of institutional reputation, the approach adopted for *Maclean's* rankings of Canadian universities, but the the ranking literature has always emphasized quantitative approaches.

The third generation of ranking studies typically relied on broader samples of top journals, typically relying on 20-40 publications. These included Graves, Marchand, and Thompson (1982), Medoff (1989), Berger and Scott (1990), Conroy, Dusansky, and Kildegard (1995), Miller (1996), Scott and Mitias (1996), Dusansky and Vernon (1998), and Feinberg, Griliches, and Einav (1998). Like Siegfried (1972) and Moore (1973), Graves, Marchand, and Thompson (1982) provided regression analyses to identify determinants of program rankings. Each of these studies reviewed the growing body of ranking literature, and often attempted to address perceived limitations of earlier papers. Tschirhart (1989) and Tremblay et al (1990)

ranked economics departments by subfield. Medoff (1989) and Durden and Marlin (1990) used 1973-1987 publications in *Public Choice* and the *Journal of Law & Economics*. Miller, Tien, and Peebler (1996) ranked political science departments. Ellison (2002) proposed a model to explain how journal articles evolved over time. The inaugural issue of the *Journal of the European Economic Association* published a number of alternative rankings of European and international programs: Combes and Linnemer (2003), Coupe (2003), Kalaitzidakis et al (2003), and Lubrano et al (2003).

Palacios-Huerta and Volij (2004) ranked individual scholars and their impact, rather than departments. Sobel and Turner (2004) constructed rankings based on thirty years of publications in *Public Choice*, finding that leading authors changed frequently, as would be expected in a rapidly-progressing field. Congleton, Marsella, and Cardazzi (2022) ranked authors and programs publishing in *Constitutional Political Economy*, concluding that downloads provided an equally useful impact measure as an alternative to impact factors, the ratio of citations to publications. This finding is especially important for rankings based on C+T articles, because C+T relies on article downloads as its principal impact measure. The journal provides download statistics by article at <https://cosmosandtaxis.org/masthead-2/download-metrics/>.

This study counted all articles in *Studies in Emergent Order* and *Cosmos + Taxis* over the 2011-2022 period, including book reviews, books reviewed, and interpretive articles contributed by guest editors of special issues. Books reviewed in *Cosmos + Taxis* were treated as equivalent to an article. Unweighted rankings attribute one equal point to each appearance of an author or co-author over the period. As a result, in unweighted rankings, co-authored articles are weighted more heavily, with one full point for each co-author and their institution. Weighted rankings attribute one point divided equally among co-authors and their institutions. This allows comparisons of rankings based on the number of appearances as an author or co-author, with rankings weighting sole authorship more highly. The two journals' twelve volumes (SIEO volumes 5-8 and C+T volumes 1-10, with 64 numbered issues of C+T through volume 10, number 11+12) account for 454 scholarly artifacts contributed by 359 authors, with 542 separate instances of authorship or co-authorship.

RANKING SCHOLARS

Individual scholar rankings are presented in table 1. Both weighted and unweighted rankings are presented. Unweighted rankings weight authors of co-authored and singly-authored artifacts identically. The larger an institution's departments of political science, economics, related social sciences, philosophy, and law school, if any, the stronger represented the institution is likely to be, and the weaker any potential bias from ignoring unreviewed books or scholarship on complex emergent orders published in other journals.

Table 1 shows the top 62 researchers by publications in SIEO and *Cosmos + Taxis*, including everyone who has published two or more sole authored articles or the equivalent over the twelve-year period considered.

Table 1 — Scholar Ranking

Scholar	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
1 Adair-Toteff, Christopher	1	9.00	1	9
2 DiZerega, Gus	1	9.00	1	9
3 Novak, Mikayla	2	8.20	1	9
4 Koppl, Roger	3	6.25	2	7

	Scholar	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
5	Camplin, Troy	4	6.00	2	7
6	Wagner, Richard E.	4	6.00	3	6
7	Boettke, Peter J.	5	5.50	3	6
8	Ikeda, Sanford	5	5.50	3	6
9	Paniagua Prieto, Pablo I.	6	5.33	3	6
10	Coyne, Christopher J.	7	5.00	3	6
11	Frederick, Danny	7	5.00	3	6
12	Turner, Stephen	7	5.00	4	5
13	Klein, Daniel B.	8	4.25	4	5
14	Callahan, Gene	9	4.00	3	6
15	Alexander, James	9	4.00	5	4
16	Andersson, David Emanuel	9	4.00	5	4
17	Dobuzinskis, Laurent	9	4.00	5	4
18	Marsh, Leslie	10	3.50	4	5
19	Block, Walter E.	10	3.50	5	4
20	Butos, William N.	10	3.50	5	4
21	Lewis, Paul	10	3.50	5	4
22	Dekker, Erwin	11	3.00	5	4
23	Fuller, Timothy	11	3.00	6	3
24	Gaus, Gerald	11	3.00	6	3
25	Horwitz, Steven	11	3.00	6	3
26	Hudik, Marek	11	3.00	6	3
27	Mulligan, Robert F.	11	3.00	6	3
28	O'Sullivan, Noël	11	3.00	6	3
29	Scruton, (Sir) Roger	11	3.00	6	3
30	Smith, Brian A.	11	3.00	6	3
31	Jace, Clara E.	12	2.50	6	3
32	Lewin, Peter	12	2.50	6	3
33	Lewis, Ted G.	12	2.50	6	3
34	McQuade, Thomas J.	12	2.50	6	3
35	Scheall, Scott	12	2.50	6	3
36	Potts, Jason	13	2.20	6	3
37	Gordon, Peter	14	2.00	6	3
38	Hardwick, David F.	14	2.00	6	3
39	Lemke, Jayme S.	14	2.00	6	3

	Scholar	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
40	Abel, Corey	14	2.00	7	2
41	Bruni, Luigino	14	2.00	7	2
42	Burczak, Theodore	14	2.00	7	2
43	Campagnolo, Gilles	14	2.00	7	2
44	Chamlee-Wright, Emily	14	2.00	7	2
45	Chartier, Gary	14	2.00	7	2
46	Cheung, Chor-Yung	14	2.00	7	2
47	Di Iorio, Francesco	14	2.00	7	2
48	Ellerman, David	14	2.00	7	2
49	Erion, Gerald J.	14	2.00	7	2
50	Graham, Gordon	14	2.00	7	2
51	Hall, Lauren K.	14	2.00	7	2
52	Martin, Adam G.	14	2.00	7	2
53	Mendenhall, Allen P.	14	2.00	7	2
54	Norman, Jesse	14	2.00	7	2
55	Nubiola, Jaime	14	2.00	7	2
56	O'Sullivan, Luke	14	2.00	7	2
57	Paganelli, Maria Pia	14	2.00	7	2
58	Page, Scott E.	14	2.00	7	2
59	Trimçev, Eno	14	2.00	7	2
60	Weimer, Walter B.	14	2.00	7	2
61	Weinstein, Jack Russell	14	2.00	7	2
62	Zúñiga y Postigo, Gloria	14	2.00	7	2

Scholars can also be ranked according to downloads, provided in tables 2 and 3. These rankings are especially valuable because downloads are C+T's principal impact metric. Although C+T only provides download counts since 2019, they are provided for all articles going back to the first issue of SIEO in 2008.

Table 2 gives the twenty most downloaded articles for the years 2019-2022. Individual articles and whole issues of C+T have been downloaded 154,672 times up to the end of 2022. This number would be impressive for any journal.

Table 2—Most Downloaded Articles 2019-2022

	2022	n	2021	n	2020	n	2019	n
1	Horwitz (2015) 3: 1	19,875	Horwitz (2015) 3: 1	1,934	Alexander, (2020) 8: 2-3	1,026	Horwitz (2015) 3: 1	287
2	van de Haar (2022) 10: 11-12	3,869	Finn & Jakobson (2021) 9: 5-6	660	Scheall (2019) 7: 1-2	780	Callahan & Ikeda (2014) 1: 3	257
3	Pegg (2022) 10: 9-10	3,323	DiZerega (2019) 7: 3-4	536	Lewis & Lewin (2015) 2: 2	654	DiZerega (2020) 7: 3-4	252
4	Masini (2022) 10: 11-12	3,044	Callahan & Ikeda (2014) 1: 3	530	Boettek (2020) 7: 5-6	645	Mulligan (2018b) 6: 1-2	191
5	Jonsson (2022) 10: 11-12	3,014	Camplin (2017) 4: 1	523	Callahan & Ikeda (2014) 1: 3	615	Camplin (2017) 4: 1	175
6	Gregg (2021) 9: 9-10	1,377	DiZerega (2021) 9: 7-8	518	DiZerega (2020) 8: 2	544	Smith (2017) 4: 4	152
7	Studebaker (2022) 10: 11-12	1,311	Gregorio (2018) 6: 1-2	463	Lewis (2014) SIEO 4	531	Erion (2017) 4:4	142
8	Nichol & Zellen (2022) 10: 10-10	859	Rayamajhee et al (2021) 9: 5-6	451	Lewis (2020) 7: 5-6	523	Schneider (2017) 4: 4	141
9	Lee (2022) 10: 9-10	770	Devereaux (2019) 7: 1-2	442	Mayorga (2020) 8: 4-5	510	Simons (2017) 4: 4	141
10	Nientiedt (2022) 10: 11-12	767	Cheung (2014) 1:2	364	Frederick (2019) 6: 6-7	481	Guarino (2017) 4: 4	140
11	Burns (2022) 10: 9-10	592	Scheall (2019) 7: 1-2	340	Koppl (2019) 7: 1-2	474	Cheung (2014) 1: 2	139
12	Kunle Oyerinde (2022) 10: 11-12	557	Lewis & Lewin (2015) 2: 2	334	Camplin (2017) 4: 1	464	Kearns (2017) 4: 4	138
13	Callahan & Ikeda (2014) 1: 3	531	Gulker & Magness (2021) 9: 5-6	293	Horwitz (2015) 3: 1	401	Zúñiga y Postigo (2017) 4: 4	137
14	Grassl (2017) 4: 4	504	Haack (2020) 8: 6-7	289	Frantz (2020) 7: 5-6	400	Grassl (2017) 4: 4	136
15	Jace (2018) 6: 1-2	429	Cheung (2014) 1: 2	288	Gregorio (2018) 6: 1-2	381	Lüthe (2017) 4: 4	135
16	Finn & Jakobson (2021) 9: 5-6	411	Novak (2021) 9: 7-8	287	Cowen (2020) 7: 5-6	374	Żełaniec (2017) 4: 4	132
17	Nichols (2022) 10: 9-10	383	Chamberlin & Block (2019) 6: 6-7	268	Novak (2020) 7: 5-6	352	Zúñiga y Postigo & Erion (2017) 4: 4	131
18	Coyne & Hall (2022) 10: 9-10	346	Kearns (2017) 4: 4	261	Mulligan (2018b) 6: 1-2	326	Simons (2017) 4: 4	131
19	Block (2022) 10: 3-4	333	Martin & Storr (2014) SIEO 1	251	DiZerega (2020) 7: 3-4	298	Woleński (2017) 4: 4	130
20	Gregorio (2018) 6: 1-2	324	Alexander (2020) 8: 2-3	242	Cheung (2014) 1: 3	297	Gregorio (2018) 6: 1-2	117
	Total 2022 downloads:	68,701	Total 2021 downloads:	36,281	Total 2020 downloads:	39,581	Total 2019 downloads:	10,109

Note particularly from Table 2 that annual downloads grow significantly larger as time passes. Table 3 provides cumulative download numbers up to 2022. Individual articles were downloaded 130,771 times—in Table 3, these downloads are attributed to the individual authors or coauthors. These numbers are conservative because they exclude the 23,901 downloads of whole issues.

Table 3—Most Downloaded Scholars, 2019-2022

	Scholar	Downloads		Scholar	Downloads
1	Horwitz, Steven	22,853	37	Nicol, Heather N.	859
2	van de Haar, Edwin	3,869	38	Zellen, Barry S.	859
3	DiZerega, Gus	3,684	39	Lüthe, Rudolf	847
4	Pegg, Scott	3,323	40	Turner, Stephen	846
5	Lewin, Peter	3,229	41	Żełaniec, Wojciech	843
6	Lewis, Paul	3,194	42	Marsh, Leslie	829
7	Masini, Fabio	3,044	43	Woleński, Jan	824
8	Jonsson, Hjorleifur	3,014	44	Dekker, Erwin	801
9	Ikeda, Sanford	2,776	45	Jace, Clara E.	784
10	Camplin, Troy	2,342	46	Lee, Michael	770
11	Novak, Mikayla	2,300	47	Nientiedt, Daniel	767
12	Callahan, Gene	2,295	48	Potts, Jason	752
13	Frederick, Danny	2,040	49	Haack, Susan	728
14	Cheung, Chor-Yung	1,970	50	Page, Scott E.	714
15	Alexander, James	1,893	51	Mayorga, Rosa Maria	703
16	Simons, Peter	1,662	52	Devereaux, Abigail N.	697
17	Zúñiga y Postigo, Gloria	1,658	53	Paniagua Prieto, Pablo I.	667
18	Erion, Gerald J.	1,654	54	Kuchař, Pavel	640
19	Gregg, Samuel	1,596	55	Hardwick, David F.	609
20	Scheall, Scott	1,450	56	O’Sullivan, Noël	595
21	Studebaker, Benjamin	1,311	57	Friedman, Mark D.	593
22	Boettke, Peter J.	1,291	58	Burns, Sarah	592
23	Block, Walter E.	1,290	59	Rayamajhee, Veeshan	586
24	Gregório, Inês	1,285	60	Klein, Daniel B.	583
25	Andersson, David Emanuel	1,276	61	Frantz, Roger	579
26	Mulligan, Robert F.	1,253	62	Chamberlin, Anton	566
27	Martin, Adam G.	1,241	63	McQuade, Thomas J.	560
28	Dobuzinskis, Laurent	1,133	64	Kunle Oyerinde, Oyebade	557
29	Grassl, Wolfgang	1,116	65	Cozzolino, Stefano	554
30	Finn, Victoria	1,071	66	Adair-Toteff, Christopher	541
31	Storr, Virgil H.	1,069	67	Butos, William N.	540
32	Koppl, Roger	951	68	Fuller, Timothy	534
33	Kearns, John T.	923	69	Gaus, Gerald	534
34	Smith, Sandra	909	70	Cowen, Nick	533
35	Guarino, Nicola	894	71	Hudik, Marek	533
36	Schneider, Luc	877	72	Rajagopalan, Shruti	530

Scholar	Downloads	Scholar	Downloads
73	Coyne, Christopher J.	87	Wilson, David Sloan
74	Candela, Rosolino A.	88	Murphy, Jon
75	Moroni, Stefano	89	Corey, David D.
76	Desrochers, Pierre	90	Gulker, Max
77	Shera, Marcus	91	Magness, Phil
78	Duncan, Thomas K.	92	Wagner, Richard E.
79	Pakaluk, Christina Ruth	93	Geloso, Vincent J.
80	Lewis, Ted G.	94	Langlois, Richard N.
81	Kolev, Stefan	95	McCloskey, Deirdre N.
82	Hall, Abigail	96	Norman, Jesse
83	Berg, Chris	97	Grube, Laura E.
84	Salter, Alexander W.	98	Haeffele, Stefanie
85	Murtazahsvili, Ilya	99	Lofthouse, Jordan K.
86	Nichols, David A.	100	Bruni, Luigino

RANKING PROGRAMS

The real value in ranking publication output is less to rank individual scholars, but departments and institutions. Institutional rankings are presented in Table 4. In the unweighted ranking, co-authored articles receive one point for each author, and because co-authors often come from the same institution, this might be a source of bias. If so, it is not a very strong, as the eight highest-ranked institutions are the same in both lists.

Table 4— Institution Ranking

Institution	Weighted Rank	Weighted Article Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Article Count	
1	George Mason University	1	37.50	1	49
2	University of South Florida	2	15.00	2	15
3	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology	3	10.00	2	15
4	SUNY Purchase	4	8.50	3	11
5	The University of British Columbia	5	8.00	3	11
6	King's College London	5	8.00	5	9
7	New York University	6	7.75	5	9
8	Syracuse University	7	7.25	6	8
9	UK House of Commons	8	6.00	7	6
10	Troy University	8	6.00	6	8
11	Loyola University New Orleans	9	5.00	7	6
12	American Institute for Economic Research	10	4.50	8	5
13	University of Texas Dallas	10	4.00	8	5

	Institution	Weighted Rank	Weighted Article Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Article Count
14	Bilkent Üniversitesi	10	4.00	9	4
15	Denison University	10	4.00	9	4
16	International Business School Suzhou	10	4.00	9	4
17	Liberty Fund	10	4.00	9	4
18	Simon Fraser University	10	4.00	9	4
19	Università di Torino	10	4.00	9	4
20	University of Hull	10	4.00	9	4
21	Arizona State University	11	3.50	9	4
22	Trinity College	11	3.50	9	4
23	University of Arizona	11	3.50	9	4
24	Politecnico di Milano	12	3.00	8	5
25	Mississippi State University	12	3.00	9	4
26	Australian National University	12	3.00	10	3
27	Carleton University	12	3.00	10	3
28	Colorado College	12	3.00	10	3
29	Metropolitan State University of Denver	12	3.00	10	3
30	Rochester Institute of Technology	12	3.00	10	3
31	SUNY Buffalo	12	3.00	10	3
32	Universidade Católica Portuguesa	12	3.00	10	3
33	University of Queensland	12	3.00	10	3

The distribution of articles by country is given in Table 5. Fifty-eight percent of scholarly artifacts in both journals originated in the U.S., with sixty-four percent from the U.S. and Canada.

Table 5— Geographic Distribution

	Country	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
1	USA	1	266.46	1	324
2	UK	2	44.83	2	49
3	Canada	3	26.50	3	34
4	Australia	4	20.00	4	25
5	Italy	5	19.00	5	23
6	Germany	6	7.83	6	9
7	China	7	7.00	8	7
8	Netherlands	8	5.50	7	8
9	Brazil	9	5.33	7	8

	Country	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
10	Spain	10	4.50	9	5
11	Czech Republic	11	4.00	10	4
12	France	11	4.00	10	4
13	Turkey	11	4.00	10	4
14	Ireland	12	3.00	11	3
15	Israel	12	3.00	11	3
16	Poland	12	3.00	11	3
17	Portugal	12	3.00	11	3
18	Argentina	13	2.00	11	3
19	Austria	13	2.00	12	2
20	Greece	13	2.00	12	2
21	Hong Kong	13	2.00	12	2
22	Singapore	13	2.00	12	2
23	Switzerland	13	2.00	12	2
24	South Africa	14	1.00	12	2
25	Chile	14	1.00	13	1
26	Colombia	14	1.00	13	1
27	Hungary	14	1.00	13	1
28	Iceland	14	1.00	13	1
29	Japan	14	1.00	13	1
30	Malaysia	14	1.00	13	1
31	Mexico	14	1.00	13	1
32	Slovakia	14	1.00	13	1
33	Sweden	14	1.00	13	1
34	Bahrain	15	0.50	13	1
35	Estonia	15	0.50	13	1

Table 6 shows the distribution of U.S.-produced artifacts by state. There appears to be a nearly equal division between red and blue states where most American C+T scholars are located.

Table 6— Distribution by U.S. State

	U.S. State	Weighted Rank	Weighted Count	Unweighted Rank	Unweighted Count
1	Virginia	1	40.50	1	52
2	New York	2	39.50	2	46
3	Texas	3	23.25	3	28
4	Florida	4	20.50	5	21
5	California	5	17.75	4	22

6	Indiana	6	9.00	9	9
7	New Mexico	6	9.00	9	9
8	Massachusetts	7	8.44	7	11
9	North Carolina	8	7.67	8	10
10	Alabama	9	7.49	8	10
11	Arizona	10	7.00	10	8
12	Louisiana	10	7.00	10	8
13	Colorado	11	6.00	12	6
14	District of Columbia	12	5.83	11	7
15	Michigan	12	5.83	11	7
16	Wisconsin	13	5.75	11	7
17	Connecticut	14	5.50	12	6
18	Pennsylvania	15	5.38	6	14
19	Ohio	16	5.00	13	5
20	Georgia	17	4.50	13	5
21	North Dakota	18	3.33	14	4
22	Mississippi	19	3.00	14	4
23	Illinois	19	3.00	15	3
24	Rhode Island	20	2.00	15	3
25	Oklahoma	20	2.00	16	2
26	Washington	20	2.00	16	2
27	Nebraska	21	1.00	16	2
28	Tennessee	21	1.00	16	2
29	Maryland	21	1.00	17	1
30	Maine	21	1.00	17	1
31	Minnesota	21	1.00	17	1
32	New Hampshire	21	1.00	17	1
33	Utah	21	1.00	17	1
34	Kentucky	22	0.50	17	1
35	Missouri	22	0.50	17	1
36	Kansas	23	0.25	17	1

DISCUSSION

The top of the lists offer no surprises—George Mason University produces a large number and quality of Hayek scholars and Hayekian scholarship is clearly held in high regard there. GMU averages more than three artifacts each year. The University of South Florida publishes more than one annually on average. Scholars from the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, the State University of New York at Purchase, The University of British Columbia, which publishes *Cosmos + Taxis*, King’s College London, Syracuse University, New York University, the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, and Troy University have averaged more than one artifact every two years.

Some institutions are lower ranked here also because Hayek scholars are not well represented on their faculties of political science, economics, philosophy, psychology, law, or related fields. This bias tends to be reinforced because faculty on hiring committees have a natural tendency to overvalue their own subfields

and schools of thought, thus focusing searches on supporting established areas of emphasis, as opposed to remedying existing weaknesses, or exploiting opportunities to expand into a growing field.

The geographic and institutional diversity is particularly staggering. These findings highlight the importance of C+T and its conferences. Such fora offer essential feedback, support, and networking opportunities, but also contribute to constituting an intellectual community of interdisciplinary Hayek scholars.

CONCLUSION

Clear trends are evident that research performance within Hayek scholarship is dominated by a small number of strong and increasingly vibrant graduate programs and a number of public policy research foundations and think tanks. Further growth in the study and application of complex emergent orders will likely come from continued progress from these institutions and the expansion of competing graduate programs with faculty and allied researchers who are active Hayek scholars.²

APPENDIX: ALL SCHOLARS REPRESENTED BY COUNTRY AND INSTITUTION

Argentina

Universidad Austral Buenos Aires
Crespo, Ricardo F.

Universidad Nacional de Rosario
Chaumet, Mario Eugenio
Meroi, Andrea A.

Australia

Australian National University
Novak, Mikayla
Shearmur, Jeremy

Macquarie University
McIlwain, David

Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
Allen, Darcy W.E.
Berg, Alastair
Berg, Chris
Jowett, Kiersten
Novak, Mikayla
Potts, Jason

University of Queensland
Crowe, Jonathan
D'Agostino, Fred
Markey-Towler, Brendan

University of Technology Sydney
Lozano-Paredes, Luis Hernando

Austria

Austrian Economics Center
Nelson, Scott B.

Universität Wien
Kelsen, Hans

Bahrain

Bahrain Ministry of Defense
Al Mannai, Waleed I.

Brazil

Fundación Para el Progreso
Paniagua Prieto, Pablo I.

Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos
Albornoz Stein, Sofia Inês
De Brito, Adriano Naves
Naves de Brito, Adriano

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
Herdy, Rachel

Canada

Blockchain for Social Impact Coalition
Hrelja, Marko

Carleton University
Marriott, Shal
Pender, Casey
Peralta-Greenough, Quinton V.

Parks Canada
MacDonald, Graham A.

Ryerson University
Valliere, Dave

Simon Fraser University
Dobuzinskis, Laurent

Supreme Court of Canada
Brown, Russell

Trent University
Nicol, Heather

Trinity Western University
Havers, Grant

Université du Québec Montréal
Nadeau, Robert

The University of British Columbia
Cho, John

Cockram, Nathan Robert
Hardwick, David F.
Marsh, Leslie
Simard, Suzanne

University of Calgary
Migotti, Mark

University of Ottawa
Jacobsen, Peter J.
Lazar, Nomi Claire
Robitaille, Christian

University of the Fraser Valley
Dart, Ron

University of Toronto
Desrochers, Pierre
Szurmak, Joanna

Chile

Pontifica Universidad Católica de Chile
Carrasco, Maria Alejandra

China

International Business School Suzhou
Andersson, David Emanuel

Southeast University China
Di Iorio, Francesco

University of Nottingham
Scheffel, Eric M.

Colombia

Universidad de Medellín
Vargas-Vélez, Orión

Czech Republic

CEVRO Institute
Kosec, Jernej

Charles University Prague
Hudik, Marek

University of Economics Prague
Hudik, Marek

Estonia

Tallin University
Jakobson, Mari-Liis

France

Aix-Marseille Université
Campagnolo, Gilles

École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
Petitot, Jean

Université Paris Cité
Bronner, Gérald

Germany

Bavarian Academy of Sciences & Humanities
Hanke, Edith

ILS Research Institute of Regional & Urban Development
Cozzolino, Stefano

Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen
Lüthe, Rudolf

Universität des Saarlandes
Schneider, Luc

Universität Greifswald
Trimčev, Eno

Universität Leipzig
Hoffmann, Andreas

Westfälische Hochschule Zwickau
Kolev, Stefan

Greece

University of Crete
Tegos, Spiros

University of Ioannina
Drosos, Dionysis G.

Hong Kong

City University of Hong Kong
Cheung, Chor-Yung

Hungary

Pázmány Péter Catholic University
Hörcher, Ferenc

Iceland

Reykjavík University
Mallett, Jacky

Ireland

Irish Centre for Poetry Studies
Williams, Kevin

Trinity College Dublin
Simons, Peter

University College Cork
Dockstader, Jason

University College Dublin
Crowley, Timothy J.

Israel

Hebrew University
Podoksik, Efraim

Shalem College
Lifshitz, Joseph Isaac

University of Haifa
Landau, Iddo

Independent
Nathaniel Wolloch

Italy

ISTC-CNR Laboratory for Applied Ontology Trento

Guarino, Nicola

Istituto Bruno Leoni
Mingardi, Alberto

Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli

Antiseri, Dario
Infantino, Lornezo

Libera Università Maria SS. Assunta Roma

Bruni, Luigino

Politecnico di Milano

Cozzolino, Stefano
Minola, Luca Andrea
Moroni, Stefano
Porqueddu, Elena

Sapienza Università di Roma
Garzarelli, Giampaolo

Università del Molise
Di Nuoscio, Enzo

Università di Firenze
Ciampini, Gabriele

Università di Pisa
Cubeddu, Raimondo
Menon, Marco

Università di Torino
Becchio, Giandomenica

Birner, Jack
Mornati, Fiorenzo
Zanetti, Roberto

Università Gabriele d'Annunzio

Chieti-Pescara
Oliverio, Albertina

Università Roma Tre
Masini, Fabio

Japan

Ritsumeikan University
Dumouchel, Paul

Malaysia

Center for Market Education
Ferlito, Carmelo

Mexico

Universidad Anáhuac
Miotti, Ana Luisa Ponce

Netherlands

Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
Dekker, Erwin

PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency
Buitelaar, Edwin
Sorel, Niels

Universiteit Leiden
Finn, Victoria

Universiteit Amsterdam
Schliesser, Eric

Poland

Jagiellońian University Kraków
Brożek, Bartosz
Woleński, Jan

University of Gdańsk
Żelaniec, Wojciech

Portugal

Universidade Católica Portuguesa
Espada, João Carlos
Gregório, Inês
Sampieri-Cabál, Rubén

Singapore

National University of Singapore
O'Sullivan, Luke

Slovakia

F. A. Hayek Foundation Bratislava
Posvanc, Matus

South Africa

Free Market Foundation
van Staden, Martin

Rational Standard
Woode-Smith, Nicholas

Spain

Universidad de Alicante
González Lagier, José Daniel

Universidad de Navarra
Nubiola, Jaime

Universitat de Girona
Ferrer, Jordi Beltrán
Ramos, Vítor Lia de Paula

Sweden

*Institutionen för Industriell Ekonomi
Och Organisation Stockholm*
Palmberg, Johanna

Switzerland

*Università della Svizzera Italiana
Lugano*
Mulligan, Kevin
Universität Zürich
Beckstein, Martin

Turkey

Bilkent Üniversitesi
Alexander, James

United Kingdom

Cambridge University
Bourke, Richard
Skjönsberg, Max
Studebaker, Benjamin

Cardiff University
Boucher, David

Edinburgh Sacred Arts Foundation
Graham, Gordon

King's College London
Kuchař, Pavel
Lehto, Otto
Lewis, Paul
Paniagua Prieto, Pablo I.

Liverpool University
Kuchař, Pavel

*London School of Economics &
Political Science*
Meierhenrich, Jens
Hodgson, Geoffrey M.

Open University
Plassart, Anna

UK House of Commons
Letwin, (Sir) Oliver
Norman, Jesse (Rt. Hon)
Scruton, (Sir) Roger

UK House of Lords
Ridley, Matthew White (Viscount)

University of Brighton
Bohnert, J.

University of Exeter
Hampsher-Monk, Iain

University of Glasgow
Grant, Robert
Smith, Craig

University of Hull
Fear, Christopher
O'Sullivan, Noël

University of Kent
Pabst, Adrian

University of Lincoln
Cowen, Nick

University of Manchester
Jones, Emily

University of Southampton
O'Hara, Kieron

University of St. Andrews
Whatmore, Richard

United States

Acton Institute
Gregg, Samuel

Albany State University Georgia
McCabe, Joshua Thomas

Alexander Hamilton Institute
Cheeseman, Thomas J.

American Enterprise Institute
Rohac, Dalibor

*American Institute for Economic
Research*
Davies, Stephen
Magness, Phil
Mulligan, Robert F.

American University
Mussler, Alexandra L.

Arizona State University
Jonsson, Hjorleifur
Scheall, Scott

Ashford University
Zúñiga y Postigo, Gloria

Assumption University
Wheatland, Thomas

Austin Community College
Briggeman, Jason

Ball State University
Horwitz, Steven

Bard College
Kettler, David

Bates College
Geloso, Vincent J.

Baylor University
Bodeau, Abigail
Corey, David D.

Bellevue College
Padvorac, Meggan

Belmont Abbey College
O'Gorman, Farrell

Beloit College
Chamlee-Wright, Emily
Grube, Laura E.

Berry College
Salter, Alexander W.

Boston College
Hanley, Ryan Patrick

Bowling Green State University
Vallier, Kevin

Bridgewater State University
Skoble, Aeon J.

Brown University
Lemke, Jayme S.

Catholic University of America
Pakaluk, Christina Ruth

Chapman University
Ott, Jordan

Clark Atlanta University
Oyerinde Kunle, Oyebade

College of the Holy Cross
Schaefer, David Lewis

Colorado College
Fuller, Timothy

Columbia University
Simons, Oliver

Connecticut College
Coats, W.J.

Creighton University
Thomas, Diana W.
Thomas, Michael D.

CUNY Hunter College
Lee, Michael

Demographia
Cox, Wendell

Denison University
Burczak, Theodore
McHugh, John
Slaboch, Matthew W.

Duke University
Caldwell, Bruce

<i>East Carolina University</i> Currie-Knight, Kevin	<i>Indiana University East</i> Bose, Feler	<i>Oklahoma State University</i> Bylund, Per L.
<i>Elmira College</i> Seybold, Matt	<i>Indiana University Indianapolis</i> De Waal, Cornelis	Monteiro C. d'Andrea, Fernando A.
<i>Eureka College</i> Eisenberg, David A.	Pegg, Scott	<i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Weimer, Walter B.
<i>Fayetteville State University</i> Wenzel, Nikolai G.	<i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Rosenthal-Pubúl, Alexander	<i>Radford University</i> Duncan, Thomas K.
<i>Florida International University</i> Xerohemona, Kiriake K.	<i>La Sierra University</i> Chartier, Gary	<i>Rhodes College</i> Carden, Art
<i>Florida State University</i> Benson, Bruce L.	<i>Liberty Fund</i> Den Uyl, Douglas J.	<i>Rochester Institute of Technology</i> Burns, Sarah
Ruse, Michael	Smith, Brian A.	Hall, Lauren K.
<i>Gardner-Webb University</i> Amato, Elizabeth	<i>Loyola University New Orleans</i> Block, Walter E.	<i>Sam Houston State University</i> McIntyre, Kenneth B.
<i>George Mason University</i> Bedi, Joshua K.	Capaldi, Nicholas	<i>Samford University</i> Trepanier, Lee
Boettke, Peter J.	Chamberlin, Anton	<i>San Diego State University</i> Frantz, Roger
Candela, Rosolino A.	<i>MarketUrbanism.com</i> Hamilton, Emily	<i>San Jose State University</i> Foldvary, Fred E.
Coyne, Christopher J.	<i>Medaille College</i> Erion, Gerald J.	Skarbek, Emily C.
Crepelle, Adam	<i>Metropolitan State University of Denver</i> Abel, Corey	<i>Savannah Technical College</i> Granado, Michael
Dekker, Erwin	Cachanosky, Nicolás	<i>Seattle University</i> Risser, James J.
Geloso, Vincent J.	<i>Miami Dade College</i> Mayorga, Rosa Maria	<i>South Texas College</i> Wilson, Aaron Bruce
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High, Jack	<i>New York University</i> Callahan, Gene	<i>SUNY Buffalo</i> Kearns, John T.
Jace, Clara E.	Devereaux, Abigail N.	Muldoon, Ryan
Jones, Garrett	Kirzner, Israel M.	Smith, Sandra
Klein, Daniel B.	McQuade, Thomas J.	<i>SUNY Purchase</i> Callahan, Gene
Lambert, Karras J.	Morrone, Francis	Ikeda, Sanford
Lavoie, Don	Nientiedt, Daniel	Rajagopalan, Shruti
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Sutter, Daniel

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Shrestha, Shikhar

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University of Mary
Jankovic, Ivan

University of Miami
Haack, Susan

University of Michigan
Page, Scott E.

University of Minnesota
Bix, Brian H.

University of New Hampshire
Wible, James R.

University of North Carolina
Charlotte

Carmichael, Ted
Hadžikadić, Mirsad

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Weinstein, Jack Russell

University of Pittsburgh
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Gomez, Marcela
Krisnamurthy, Prashant
Madison, Michael J.
Murtazashvili, Ilia
Murtazashvili, Jennifer
Mylovanov, Tymofiy
Weiss, Martin

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Rueda, Beckett

University of Texas Dallas
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Wright, Erik Olin

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Neufeld, Blain

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Plotica, Luke Philip

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Whaples, Robert M.

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Watson, Lori

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Crutchfield, Parker

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Wichita State University
Devereaux, Abigail N.

NOTES

- 1 C+T's honorary founding editors were Joaquin Fuster of UCLA, the late David F. Hardwick of The University of British Columbia, Lawrence Wai-Chung Lai of the University of Hong Kong, and Frederick Turner of the University of Texas at Dallas.
- 2 It should be noted that this paper was *not* solicited by anyone associated with *Cosmos + Taxis*.

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