

Relative Ranking of a Selected Pool of Leading Scholars in the Social Sciences by Number of Citations in the Social Science Citation Index, 2000-2015*

	Citations 2000-2015	Rank 2000-2015	Citations Jan. 2015- Dec. 2015	Rank Jan. 2015-Dec. 2015
Anthony Giddens	14422	1	36	13
Robert Putnam	12715	2	47	10
Jurgen Habermas	10878	3	64	7
Douglas Massey	7963	4	253	1
Manuel Castells	7847	5	42	12
Mark Granovetter	7421	6	51	8
Bruno Latour	6796	7	36	13
Saskia Sassen	4630	8	175	3
Doug McAdam	3080	9	48	9
Amitai Etzioni	3036	10	27	15
Joseph Nye	2966	11	190	2
Theda Skocpol	2958	12	146	4
Immanuel Wallerstein	2522	13	140	5
Richard Sennett	2500	14	5	16
Martha Nussbaum	2175	15	0	17
Claus Offe	1742	16	74	6
Slavoj Zizek	1059	17	45	11
Alain Touraine	983	18	0	17
Arjun Appadurai	249	19	33	14
Fernando Calderon	222	20	33	14

* Refers only to living scholars as of December 2015. Complete data for 2016 are not yet available.

** For frequently cited scholars with common names and several publications, searches brought up hundreds of citations and it was not always possible to distinguish every single citation to confirm whether it was authored by the required author or another with the same last name and initial. In such cases, it is possible that some citations were erroneously included or excluded. Where there was doubt, the preference was for inclusion rather than exclusion. Therefore, citations for these scholars are more likely to have been overestimated than underestimated. This provision applies especially to the results for these scholars.