

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\*

	<b>Citations 2000-2015</b>	<b>Rank 2000-2015</b>	<b>Citations Jan. 2015- Dec. 2015</b>	<b>Rank Jan. 2015-Dec. 2015</b>
Anthony Giddens	14386	1	21	17
Robert Putnam	12668	2	403	3
Jurgen Habermas	10814	3	157	8
<b>Manuel Castells</b>	<b>7805</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>9</b>
Douglas Massey	7710	5	609	1
Mark Granovetter	7370	6	458	2
Zygmunt Bauman	5604	7	40	16
Saskia Sassen	4455	8	287	4
Doug McAdam	3032	9	193	7
Amitai Etzioni	3009	10	93	11
Theda Skocpol	2812	11	82	12
Joseph Nye	2776	12	283	5
Richard Sennett	2495	13	66	14
Immanuel Wallerstein	2382	14	94	10
Martha Nussbaum	2175	15	218	6
Claus Offe	1668	16	59	15
Slavoj Zizek	1014	17	80	13
Mary Kaldor	984	18	14	18
Alain Touraine	983	29	10	19

\* Refers only to living scholars as of December 2015

\*\* 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.