Table 1. The Five Most Highly Cited ASR Articles for Each Decade

	Publication			Number of
Decade	Year	Author	Article Title	Cites
1930s-	1938	Merton, Robert K.	Social Structure and Anomie (ASR 3:672-682)	532
1940s	1940	Mills, C. Wright	Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive (ASR 5:904-913)	505
	1944	Guttman, Louis	A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data (ASR 9:139-150)	451
	1945	Davis, Kinglsey and Wilbert Moore	Some Principles of Stratification (<i>ASR</i> 10:242-249)	440
	1942	Parsons, Talcott	Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States (<i>ASR</i> 7:604-616)	223
1950s	1950	Robinson, W. S.	Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals (ASR 15:351-357)	1,381
	1959	Seeman, Melvin	On the Meaning of Alienation (<i>ASR</i> 24:783-791)	744
	1957	Sykes, Gresham M. and David Matza	Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency (<i>ASR</i> 22:664-670)	702
	1956	Srole, Leo	Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study (ASR 21:709-716)	699
	1955	Duncan, Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan	A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes (<i>ASR</i> 20:210-217)	482
1960s	1960	Gouldner, Alvin W.	The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement (ASR 25: 161-178)	1,319
	1962	Emerson, Richard M.	Power-Dependence Relations (ASR 27:31-41)	923
	1968	Scott, Marvin and Stanford Lyman	Accounts (ASR 33:46-62)	788
	1967	Perrow, Charles	A Framework for Comparative Analysis of Organizations (ASR: 32: 194-208)	721
	1963	Macaulay, Stewart	Non-Contractual Relations in Business: A	717
	1965	Ryder, Norman B.	Preliminary Study (<i>ASR</i> 28:55-67) The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social-Change (<i>ASR</i> 30:843-861)	513
1970s	1979	Cohen, Lawrence E. and Marcus Felson	Social-Change and Crime Rate Trends: Routine Activity Approach (ASR 44:588-608)	587
	1975	Alwin, Duane and Robert Hauser	Decomposition of Effects in Path Analysis (ASR 40:37-47)	558
	1979	Akers, Ronald L.,	Social-Learning and Deviant-Behavior: Specific Test of a General-Theory (<i>ASR</i> 44:636-655)	422
	1970	Labovitz, Sanford	Assignment of Numbers to Rank Order Categories (ASR 35:515-524)	404
	1970	Blau, Peter M.	Formal Theory of Differentiation in Organization (ASR 35:201-218)	386
1980s	1983	DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell	The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields (<i>ASR</i> 48: 147-160)	1,754
	1984	Hannan, Michael T. and John Freeman	Structural Inertia and Organizational-Change (ASR 49: 149-64)	734
	1986	Swidler, Ann	Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies (ASR 51:273-286)	620
	1986	Snow, David, A., E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden and Robert D. Benford	Frame Alignment Processes, Micro mobilization, and Movement (<i>ASR</i> 51:464-481)	530
	1983	Berk, Richard A.	An Introduction to Sample Selection Bias in Sociological Data (ASR 48:386-398)	472
1990s	1996	Uzzi, Brian	The Sources and Consequences of Embeddedness for the Economic Performance of Organizations: The Network Effect (<i>ASR</i> 61:674-698)	225
	1991	Astone, Nan Marie and Sara S. McLanahan	Family Structure, Parental Practices and High- School Completion (<i>ASR</i> 56:309-320)	222
	1993	Orloff, Ann Shola	Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States (<i>ASR</i> 58:303- 328)	215
	1991	Wilson, William Julius	Studying Inner-City Social Dislocations: The Challenge of Public Agenda Research - 1990	213
	1994	Farley, Reynolds and William H. Frey	Presidential Address (<i>ASR</i> 56:1-14) Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a More Integrated Society (<i>ASR</i> 59:23-45)	201

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Further Reflections on ASR's Greatest Hits

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In the "Editor's Comment" published in the February 2005 issue of the *American Sociological Review* (*ASR*), I note that *ASR* has published high-impact papers since its very first issue in 1936. In this brief essay a number of related themes are developed in greater depth. The "greatest hits" approach is contrasted with other citation analyses. I discuss the citation "life course," that is, the period of time over which citations rise and eventually fall. I compare citations to *ASR* articles with those garnered by articles in other journals. The Editor Comment ends with a discussion of the social and intellectual diversity of *ASR*.¹

THE "GREATEST HITS" APPROACH

The analysis employs counts of citations to published articles. Citation counts capture the relationship between disparate studies by indicating how often an article has been included in the bibliography of ensuing publications.

Citations have many limitations, perhaps the most important of which is that they cover journal articles and not books. In other words, when an *ASR* article is cited in a book, that reference is not captured in the ISI Social Sciences Citation Index (Thompson Scientific, 1956-2004a). On the other hand, when a book is cited in a journal article, that reference is captured. If citations that appear in books were counted, the list of high-impact articles would be longer. Conceptually, citations should be viewed as indicating the visibility or influence of an article rather than as an indication of the underlying quality of the research *per se*.

This study differs from most previous research in two ways: by emphasizing the long-term impact of articles, and by focusing on high-impact articles, rather than the average visibility of a articles in a journal. Previous research principally focuses on the visibility of a journal during a particular time period, say one year. For example, one can readily obtain citation counts for scientific journals from the ISI Journal Citation Reports (Thompson Scientific, 1956-2004b). This useful data bank provides an "impact factor" score for each journal, among other statistics. This is a measure of the average citation rate of articles in a given journal during a specified time period. It is calculated by dividing the number of current citations to articles published in the two previous years by the total number of articles published in the two previous years.

Table 1 provides the impact scores for *ASR*, *AJS*, and *Social Forces* for the period 1999–2003. This analysis reveals that *ASR* and *AJS* articles are typically cited between two and three times per year while *Social Forces* articles are typically cited about one time per year.

A somewhat different approach is employed by Michael Allen (2003) in his analysis of core influence in sociology journals. He counts the number of citations to articles in a given year from a given journal by the three leading sociology journals—*ASR*, *AJS*, and *Social Forces*. His approach is designed to highlight the impact of research in sociology rather than to assess the broader impact of research throughout the social sciences and other scholarly communities. Allen's impact scores are thus lower than those reported by the ISI Journal Index because he excludes citations by articles that appear in journals outside of sociology.

These informative impact analyses, whether restricted to core influence in sociology or not, unfortunately do not capture the very skewed nature of scientific influence. In a given year, a few articles are likely to have a far greater impact than will the average article. If the goal is to identify the path-breaking studies that have had tremendous influence on subsequent research, we need to take a different approach than measuring the average influence of articles over a short period of time. If we take 1983 as an example, one quarter of all citations to ASR articles in that year were garnered by just one article-Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell's (1983) essay on "institutional isomorphism."² The highly skewed nature of scientific influence is placed in sharper relief when high impact articles are placed at the center of the analysis.

Examining the most cited articles avoids two of the objections raises against citation analyses: self citations and negative citations.³ It would be difficult to secure a place among the most cited articles based on references in one's own subsequent research. Similarly, it would be rare—although by no means impossible—for studies to achieve this level of recognition principally as a result of critiques of the study in question.

The approach employed here resembles in some ways that of Bott and Hargens (1991). They examined the number of citations garnered by *ASR* articles over a tenyear period. By employing this longer time frame, they show that sociological articles have far more impact than is commonly recognized. However, they focused on the average citation rate rather than the number of highly cited articles. Nonetheless, they do note that "Within-journal variation in article citation rates far exceeds between-journal variation" (1991:147).

Table 2 displays the distribution of cumulative citations to *ASR* articles that were published in 1991, which is a typical year in several ways. The focus here is on articles, and thus comments, replies, letters, notes and

other types of miscellaneous published material are not included. The attention garnered by articles published in 1991 varied markedly. Every article published in *ASR* was cited at least once, but five articles received fewer than 10 references in more than a decade since publication. At the other extreme, seven articles were cited 100 or more times. The median cumulative citation was 27 references; the mean (51.6) is higher because the most highly visible articles pull up the arithmetic average.⁴

The cumulative citation patterns depicted in Table 2 fit broadly with the annual impact data presented in Table 1. In other words, if *ASR* articles are cited roughly 3.5 times per year on average,⁵ then after 13 years one could extrapolate a cumulative citation rate of 45.5. The mean cumulative citation rate of 51.6 exceeds this projection somewhat, perhaps because citations in the first year or two after publication understate the rate at which publications will be cited subsequently. What would be less clear from this type of extrapolation exercise is the number of high-impact articles.

High impact articles (those receiving 100 plus cumulative citations) have appeared consistently since *ASR* was established in 1936. A total of 379 articles meeting this criterion were published between 1936 and 1995, 18 of which were cited 500 or more times. The average volume of *ASR* published between 1955 and 1995 included eight high-impact papers. High impact articles thus represent a small but steady fraction of articles—roughly one in seven of those published in this period.

I refer to the group of articles cited at least 500 times as the "ASR 500 Club" (see Table 3). This list will include articles familiar to many sociologists. In addition to Robert K. Merton's (1938) essay "Social Structure and Anomie," other extremely high-impact articles from the early years of ASR include C. Wright Mills's (1940) "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive", W. S. Robinson's (1950) analysis of "ecological correlations," and Alvin Gouldner's (1960) essay, "Norms of Reciprocity."

At the top of the list of most frequently cited articles in *ASR* history is Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell's (1983) essay on institutional isomorphism, which has been cited more than 1,700 times.

It may be that some citations to prominent articles represent a type of 'ritualistic' reference that helps to situate the current work in a larger stream of scholarship.⁶ Hargens (2000) refers to such references

as constituting an "orienting reference list." While some may discount the significance of such citations, the fact that the article in question has reached this canonical status is itself noteworthy.

On the other hand, it may also be the case that some ideas are so influential that many feel they no longer need to be cited. Thus, Robert Merton's (1936) notion of the "unintended consequences" of social action is often mentioned without reference to his essay on this subject published in the very first volume of *ASR* (see Table 4). Some methods of analysis may also become so widely adopted that their inventors no longer garner credit in this way.

ENDURING INFLUENCE: THE LIFE COURSE OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

When do articles have their largest impact on scholarship? Prior to examining these data, my expectation was that citations would increase over the first several years as word of a new research finding, technique or theory spreads. The influence of an article would increase toward a peak, perhaps five or ten years after publication, endure for a period of time after that, and then gradually decline as other research surpasses the article in question. Figure 1 depicts this expected profile of influence for two hypothetical articles, one cited over 500 times, the other cited over 200 times. In both cases, there is a rapid rise, a period of peak influence, and then a gradual decline in citations. In this hypothetical comparison, the citation "half-life" is much longer for the more cited article (21 years) than for the less-cited article (14 years).

The data on the highest-impact articles are remarkable in showing how long it takes for the full significance of sociological articles to emerge. The impact in the second decade after publication is typically greater than after the first decade, as is shown in Table 3. For 14 of the 15 articles in the 500 club with available data, the citation count for the second decade after publication exceeds that for the first decade after publication.⁷ The exception is revealing: Duane Alwin and Robert Hauser's article, "Decomposing Effects in Path Analysis" was cited 243 times from 1975, when the article was published, through 1984. Citations to this article declined in the next ten years to 204 and to 113 in the following decade. More typical was Hannan and Freeman's (1984) "Structural Inertia and Organizational Change." Citations to this study jumped from 218 in the first decade after publication to 469 in the second decade. Some articles are especially late

bloomers. Gresham Sykes and David Matza's (1957) "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency" was mentioned only rarely in the first decade after publication, with only 27 references recorded. Subsequent decades saw 124, 255, 283 and 312 (projected) references, with no sign yet that the expected decline in impact has begun.

Figures 2 describes the citation history of one widely cited *ASR* article, by Leo Srole in 1956. In this case, there is a clear peak in influence 15 years after publication. There is sharp increase in interest after about year ten, followed by a long and gradual decline extending over a 30-year period. This article comes closest to resembling the expectations mapped out in Figure 1.

Figures 3, 4, and 5 illustrate examples of the early, middle and late blooming modes of influence. The Alwin and Hauser article (see Figure 3) was influential almost immediately. Citations to this article peeked about a decade after publication, although the graph has a long, gentle downward slope, with this article garnering nearly 10 citations per year over the last decade. Perrow's article (see Figure 4) received a slower response than did Alwin and Hauser's article, but rather than peaking at a well-defined point, Perrow's article rested on a high plateau of over 20 citations per year for about 2 decades. Sykes and Matza's article (see Figure 5) represents the lateblooming mode of influence. This article averaged well under five citations per year for its first decade of publication; it hit 15 citations per year for the first time in 1978, more than 20 years after it was published. Citations to this article since 1998, over 40 years since publication, are higher than ever, averaging about 25 per year.

Compare this pattern to the popularity of contemporary music. Some songs debut at the top of the music charts, while others rapidly make their way to the top of the play lists. However, it is rare for songs to last more than a few months on the top of the best selling lists. These results suggest that sociological articles take much longer to become fully appreciated, and have much more enduring influence than I initially expected. In this respect, sociological research may resemble works of fine art more than popular music, since it often takes a considerable period of time for fine art to become recognized. Undoubtedly there will be a decline in the direct influence of these landmark studies, but in some cases 20, 30 or even 40 years is too short a time frame to capture the full trajectory of this influence. High-impact articles have a longer life course, or career, than low-impact articles. While high-impact articles generally gain more visibility in the years immediately after publication than do low-impact articles, they also tend to have more enduring recognition. I examined the citation midpoint for all of the articles published in ASR in 1970. The average article had a citation half-life of 8.4 years. In other words, half of the citations recorded between 1970 and 2004 occurred by 1978. However, articles with 100 or more cumulative citations have a longer half-life (11.4 years) than do those with fewer than 100 citations (7.5 years). The correlation between the cumulative citation count and the length of the citation half-life was positive (r=.56). Thus, the lengthy visibility and influence of these high-impact articles sets them apart from the average ASR article.⁹

It may be that references to older articles have a different meaning than those to more recent papers. For example, it may be that more recent papers are cited for specific findings while older papers are cited "ritualistically" or as part of the "orienting literature" (Hargens, 2000). This possibility might represent an interesting avenue for future research.

SOCIAL DIVERSITY

The *ASR* 500 Club is dominated by white men. There is only one woman on this list—Ann Swidler—and no minorities. There has been a tremendous influx of female and minority scholars into sociology in recent years, and I am optimistic that their contributions will soon be appearing on this kind of top-article list. However, the lists compiled here look backward rather than forward, and thus reflect the dominance of white men in the leading sociological departments until very recent times.

Women and minorities are more represented on the longer list of 379 articles with 100 or more references (see Tables 4 and 5), but even here the dominance of white male scholars remains pronounced. Mirra Komarovsky published several articles in *ASR* (Komarovsky 1946; 1950) that did not quite reach the 100 citation mark. The visibility of her research is likely understated due to the fact that the citation counts do not begin until 1956, and consequently early references to her work are lost. Women appear in several places during the 1940's and 1950s in coauthored articles. There are several articles published by of husband-wife teams that made it onto this list, including two early ones by Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan (in 1953 and 1955). The first sole-authored article by a female sociologist on this list of high-impact articles was authored by Zena Smith Blau in 1961. Only three other women appear on this list in the 1960s: Diana Crane, with one article in 1965 and another in 1969; Harriett Zuckerman in 1967 and Rosabeth Moss Kanter in 1968. Three high-impact articles by Edna Bonacich appeared in the (1972, 1973, and 1976), but women's representation on the list of authors of high-impact articles crystallized in 1978, when two women published sole-authored articles (Janet Lever and Margaret M. Marini) while four other women were lead authors (Karen Cook, Donna Eder, Sandra Scarr, and Lynn Smith-Lovin). This trend reflects the growing representation of women in academic sociology.

Minority scholarship in sociology dates back to W. E. B. DuBois, but research by minority scholars rarely appeared in the pages of the *ASR*. William Julius Wilson's 1990 ASA Presidential Address, published in *ASR* in 1991, has amassed over 200 citations, and it is likely to be the article that will integrate the *ASR*'s 500 Club. A 1993 article by Lawrence Bobo and James Kluegel also has surpassed the 100-citation mark. Research by Asians and Asian-Americans begins to appear on the list of highly-cited articles by the late 1980s, as represented by such scholars as Nan Lin, Victor Nee, Ross Matsueda, and Lawrence Wu.

Table 4 contains all of the 379 *ASR* articles that have been cited 100 or more times. A corollary to Table 4 can be sorted (e.g., by year, citation, or author) so that those interested in a particular question can re-arrange the data to suit their interests (see corollary to this online supplement on the *ASR* Web site: http://www. asanet.org/journals/asr/2005/ toc043.html).

A COMPARISON WITH OTHER JOURNALS

How does *ASR* stack up compared to other leading journals in terms of the frequency of high-impact articles? Table 6 reports the number of high-impact articles since 1970 of a number of other leading socialscience journals. High impact articles are more common in *ASR* than in *Social Forces*. The relative position of *ASR* and *AJS* has varied over time. During the period 1970 through 1984, *ASR* consistently surpassed *AJS* in terms of the number of high-impact articles. Since 1985, *AJS* and *ASR* have been essentially tied on this indicator. On a per-article basis, *AJS* is probably ahead, since the continued publication of book reviews by *AJS* leaves fewer pages for articles.

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ASR has published more high-impact articles than appear in several specialty journals: Criminology, Demography, and the Journal of Marriage and the Family. It is notable that Administrative Science Quarterly (ASQ), which has in recent years been publishing high-impact articles at a rapid pace, has rivaled or exceeded ASR in this respect since 1990. ASQ also scored well in the analysis conducted by Bott and Hargens (1991) for the period of the 1970s.

Table 6 also includes the leading journals in the neighboring disciplines of economics and political science. *ASR* consistently surpasses the *American Political Science Review* in high-impact articles, but trails beyond the *American Economic Review* in the much larger discipline of economics. The greater number of high-impact articles in economics in part reflects the larger size of the economics profession. On the other hand, the gap vis-a-vis economics is even larger than it appears because economics publications tend to have shorter bibliographies, and thus garnering 100 citations is more difficult in this field.

How does *ASR* compare with books?¹⁰ One convenient point of comparison is to juxtapose books reviewed in *ASR* with articles published at the same time. Book reviews in *ASR* ended in 1971, when the journal *Contemporary Sociology* was established. A sample of half of the books that were reviewed in *ASR* in 1970 was examined. Citations to these books since 1970 were counted, and were compared to a citation count of *ASR* articles in 1970. We found 32 books in our sample that were cited 100 or more times since 1970. A complete counting of books reviewed in *ASR* thus would likely produce about 60 to 70 highly cited books, compared with 14 highly cited *ASR* articles published that year.

What this exercise suggests is that books have a greater impact on the discipline than do the journals, even when indexed by what is cited in journal articles. That is because there are far more books than articles. Thus, while those associated with *ASR* are entitled to be proud of the prominence of the research published in these pages, it must be remembered that *ASR* articles represent only a relatively small proportion of the most visible research appearing in any given year.

INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY

The lists included here highlight the success of articles that were published in *ASR*. What of the articles and ideas that were not represented in *ASR*? Just as *ASR*

publications have featured some demographic groups more than others, *ASR* has represented some styles of research and some lines of inquiry more than others. What about the roads not taken?

This is an important question, but it is a large question beyond the scope of this brief essay. A full answer would also require more in-depth analysis of the intellectual history of sociology than I have had the time to undertake. Nonetheless, a few brief comments are in order.

We can answer this question in a general, comparative way by saying that *ASR* has done well relative to other journals in attracting and identifying high-impact articles to publish. On the other hand, there are clearly many more high-impact books in a given year than there are high-impact *ASR* articles. Thus, if we focus on the role of the journal in communicating the most significant scholarly developments of the day, then one might say that there is room for improvement.

On the other hand, ASR advances a number of goals. While facilitating communication among scholars is an essential goal, so too is the role ASR plays in certifying certain research findings as reliable. So editors may well in some circumstances prefer to pass over the initial publication of an innovative and provocative theory while waiting for a rigorous test of this idea. To take a case with which I am familiar, Barbara Reskin and Patricia Roos's 1990 Job Queues, Gender Queues has received some 300 citations since it was published in 1990 (Reskin and Roos 1990). My ASR article with Rosemary Wright that attempted to test some of Reskin and Roos's propositions has been cited 14 times since it was published (Wright and Jacobs 1994). In this example, ASR could have garnered more citations had it published a distillation of Reskin and Roos's theory. This is not to criticize the choices of any editor, since Reskin and Roos may not have submitted anything from this project to ASR, and some of their case study material may not have lent itself to a journal-article format. Nonetheless, this case suggests that in some instances there may be opportunities for authors to pursue publication of new ideas in ASR in addition to rigorous tests of ideas that have been developed elsewhere.

The goal is not simply maximizing *ASR*'s citation count but rather disseminating important new ideas, in some cases well before a book-length treatment of the topic will become available. Thus, Rosabeth Moss Kanter published a highly-cited article on commitment mechanisms in utopian communities in *ASR* in 1968

four years before her book on the same topic was published (Kanter, 1972).

Should editors take citation patterns into account in making decisions? The focus on high-impact article raises questions about priorities. Does publishing a few high-impact articles represent a successful year? In other words, should the success of a journal be judged on the number of great articles or on the number of clunkers and duds that it publishes?

Publishing articles of enduring influence is clearly a laudable goal, yet the long-term influence of these highly cited articles should give pause. One might want to consider not how an article is likely to be received today or tomorrow, but a decade or more hence. In other words, a focus on the likely reception of an article in the short-term may well not be indicative of the longterm impact of that research.

A final consideration is the relationship between visibility and quality. Surely a minimum degree of influence is a prerequisite for a high quality article, but of course citation counts do not directly index quality. My assumption is that over the long haul there is a significant positive relationship between quality and visibility.

Another way to think about publishing high-impact papers focuses less on variability among articles and more on the relationship among articles that appear in the journal. One can make the case that the editorial policy which shapes the overall tenor of the journal influences the reception of both high-impact and lowerimpact papers. This formulation highlights the tension between certification and communication as partly competing goals. Consider the following case for publishing only the most carefully vetted articles. It may well be that general regard for ASR reflects the rigorous review process that all articles undergo. Thus, it may be that the large number of careful research reports increases the confidence readers have in all articles published in the journal. From this point of view, high-impact theoretical papers are influential not only because they are rare but also because they benefit from the generalized credibility accorded to the journal. If this reasoning were correct, a strategy of increasing the number of higher risk papers could reduce the respect and in turn the influence of the journal as a whole.

In contrast, the communication strategy emphasizes the importance of readership. Because there are many specialized outlets that compete for readers' attention, the generalist journals must publish exciting new papers in order to maintain and enhance readership. From this point of view, the high impact articles help to generate a readership for the more routine research reports, and thus would increase the number of readers likely to consult papers outside their specialties. Thus, increasing the number of widely-read papers would help to make *ASR* even more intellectually central, would stimulate more submissions, would facilitate more exchange between specialties, and would lead to a virtuous circle of intellectual dynamism.

Both of these perspectives argue for an assessment of editorial policies as a whole rather than the comparison of high-impact and low-impact papers, because in both cases it is assumed that the reception of a paper is in part conditioned by the other papers included in the journal. These are just of a few of the possibilities that arise when one considers how data on high-impact papers might be related to editorial policies.

CONCLUSION

This brief inquiry suggests that there is much to celebrate in *ASR*'s history. Throughout its history, *ASR* has published many high-impact articles with enduring influence. It has done so year in and year out, decade after decade. High impact articles in sociology often are not fully appreciated for a number of years after publication, and thus the question of how to assess the decisions being made at a given point in time cannot be answered comprehensively until the long-term reception of the articles in question can be considered. I hope this brief discussion of *ASR*'s "greatest hits" stimulates conversation and analysis regarding how the leading generalist journals can best advance sociological scholarship.

ENDNOTES

1. The research assistance of Arielle Kuperberg and Kristin Turney is greatly appreciated.

2. The skew in citations was particularly pronounced in *ASR* articles published in 1983. The skewness of citations will vary with the popularity of the top-cited article. For example, in 1970, no article achieved 500 citations, and the top article received only 10.8 percent of citations.

3. Bott and Hargens (1991) show that self citations account for only a small fraction of cumulative citations.

4. Two points need to be made about these data. First, these data include "near miss" citations for which page numbers and other identifying information were not completely accurate. For example, Robert J. Samson's article "Crime and Deviance over the Life Course" was cited correctly 120 times. There were 2 citations to "R Sampon" and 3 citations to "RJ Sampson" that did not match the page numbers of the article. I credit this article with 125 citations. Second, these citation totals accumulate over time. More than half of citations to *ASR* articles occur more than 10 years after publication. Thus, replication of this analysis will not produce these same data, though the patterns will be similar.

5. The figure of 3.5 is the author's calculation of the citation impact for *ASR* in 1991.

6. Ann Swidler (personal communication, November 2004) suggested the term "ritualistic citation."

7. This analysis considers articles published before 1956 separately, because it is not possible to identify the number of citations received in the years immediately following publication. This analysis also excludes the "near misses" discussed in note 4, and thus the sum of all of the decades may not match the total cumulative citations.

8. Another type of impact not considered here is the indirect influence an article can have via the articles it influenced. Thus, the work of Blau and Duncan inspired that of Hauser and Featherman, Hout, Grusky, and other authors. A full accounting of the influence of Blau and Duncan would count not only the citations to their work but the citations to the work of those who followed their lead directly. Thus, in principle, one could map a chain of influence representing a broader sense of impact than is reflected in the counts examined here.

9. Cozzens (1985) examines whether content of citations to a given article changes over time. She reports change in content of citations to an article in neuropharmacology from a more specific report on the study and its techniques to more a general report on its main finding, but she reports no change in the one social-science paper she studied. However, perhaps the 13-year period Cozzens considered was too short to capture the full trajectory of this transformation. Another possibility is that the one article she studied, while influential, did not achieve the kind of iconic status that would lead to its use as part of the "orienting literature." (The sociological article Cozzens examined,

by Ben David and Collins, which was published in *ASR* in 1966 [see Table 4]).

10. Studies that compare citations of journal articles and books include Stack (1994) and Bott and Hargens (1991). The matter of defining the appropriate pool of books is of concern in both studies. Because the present analysis focuses on the volume or number of highly cited books rather than the rate or chances of obtaining high citations, the problem of large numbers of obscure books is less relevant for these purposes.

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TABLES & FIGURES

 Table 1. Journal Citation Reports Impact Scores, by Journal and Year

	ASR	AJS	Social Forces
1999	3.127	2.407	1.515
2000	3.255	2.829	1.215
2001	2.767	2.716	1.09
2002	2.849	2.123	1.272
2003	2.383	2.333	1.057

Note: ASR = American Sociological Review; AJS = American Journal of Sociology.

Source: ISI Science Citation Index

Table 2.	Cumulative Citations to ASR Articles Published
	in 1991

Number of Citations	Number of Articles
0	0
1–9	5
10-24	13
25-49	19
50-74	6
75–99	6
100+	7
Total	56
Median citations	27.0
Mean citations	51.6

(Tables and Figures continue on following pages.)

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Table 3. Citations for ASR's 500 Club Articles, By Years after Publication

					Decade After Artic	cle Was Published	
Year	Author	Abbreviate Article Title	Total*	First Decade	Second Decade	Third Decade	Fourth Decad
1983	Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell	The Iron Cage Revisited	1753	317	1160	_	_
1960	Alvin W. Gouldner	The Norm of Reciprocity	1320	85	309	280	376
1962	Richard M. Emerson	Power-Dependence Relations	925	44	203	285	208
1968	Marvin Scott and Stanford Lyman	Accounts	790	73	220	286	300*
1959	Melvin Seeman	On the Meaning of Alienation	749	103	303	178	123
1967	Charles Perrow	Comparative Analysis of Organizations	743	121	237	244	176*
1984	Michael Hannan and John Freeman	Structural Inertia and Organizational-Change	733	218	469	_	_
1957	Gresham Sykes and David Matza	Techniques of Neutralization	709	27	124	255	283
1956	Leo Srole	Social Integration and Certain Corollaries	699	83	278	206	93
1963	Stewart Macaulay	Non-Contractual Relations in Business	699	4	70	170	360
1986	Ann Swidler	Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies	619	197	446*	_	_
1979	Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson	Social-Change and Crime Rate Trends	586	115	236	392*	_
1975	Duane Alwin and Robert Hauser	Decomposition of Effects in Path Analysis	562	243	204	113	_
1986	David Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Jr.,	Frame Alignment Processes & Social Movements					
	Steven K. Worden, and Robert D. Benford	-	525	128	441*	_	
1965	Norman B. Ryder	Cohorts and Social-Change	513	80	145	154	134
Citation	s to Articles Published Before 1956			1956–1965	1966–1975	1976–1985	1986–1995
1950	W.S. Robinson	Ecological Correlations	1261	69	208	291	301
1938	Robert K. Merton	Social Structure and Anomie	532	11	60	130	137
1940	C. Wright Mills	Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive	509	7	47	136	167

Source: ISI Citation Index, November, 2004

* The total count may not match the sum of the decade scores because the total includes close misses (see endnote 4); and because the final decade score may be truncated or projected.

** The final decade of citations was projected if data for more than five years were available.

For example, Snow et al.'s article was cited 397 times between 1996 and 2004, or 44.1 times per year for a decade-long projection of 441 citations.

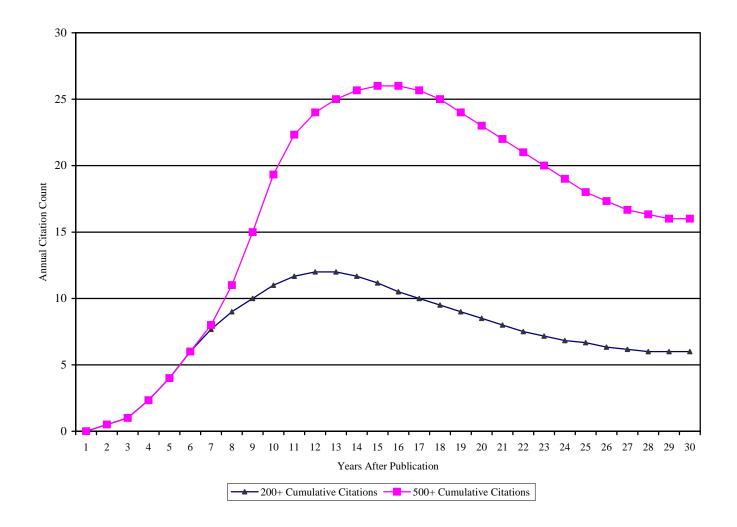


Figure 1. The Life Course of Scientific Influence: Two Hypothetical Examples

ONLINE APPENDIX SUPPLEMENT to article in American Sociological Review, 2004, Vol.70 (February:1–4)

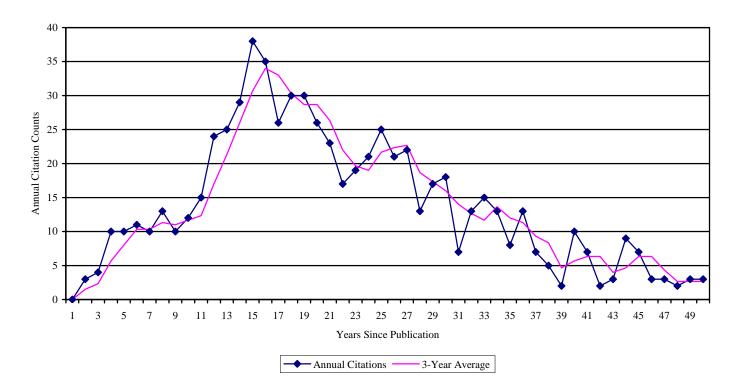


Figure 2. Citations to Srole (1956)

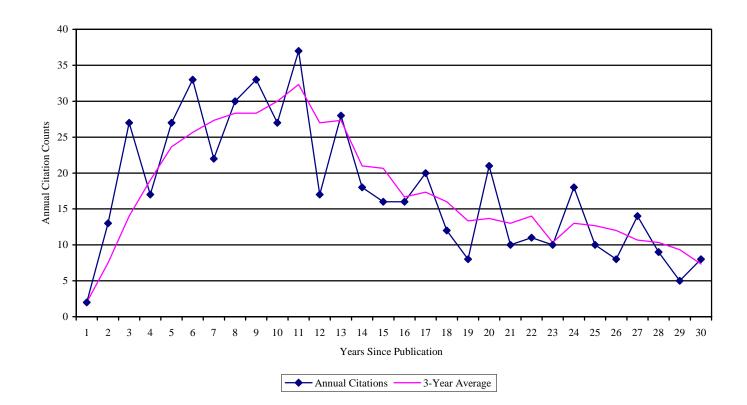


Figure 3. Citations to Alwin and Hauser (1975)

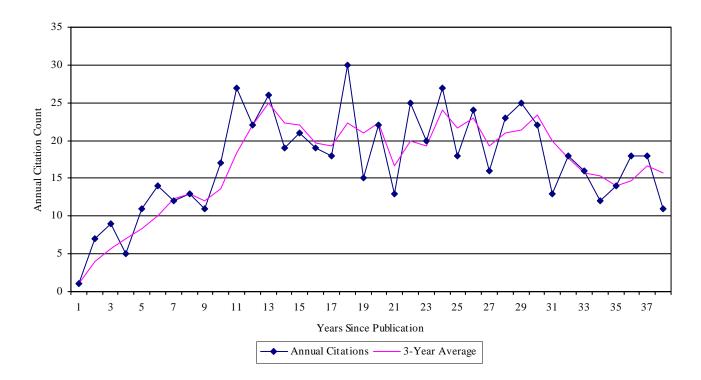


Figure 4. Citations to Perrow (1967)

ONLINE APPENDIX SUPPLEMENT to article in American Sociological Review, 2004, Vol.70 (February:1–4)

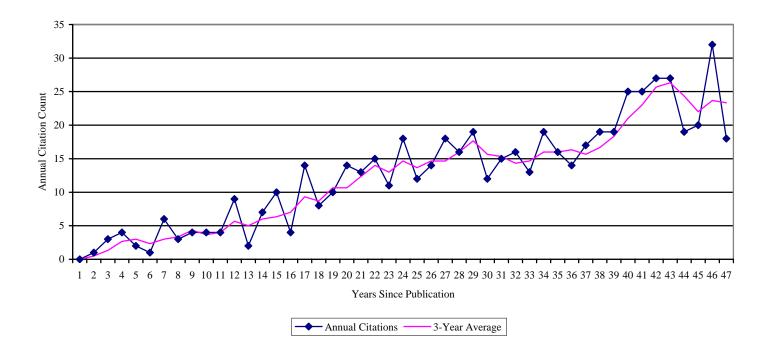


Figure 5. Citations to Sykes and Matza (1957)

to article in

American Sociological Review, 2004, Vol.70 (February:1-4)

Table 4. ASR Articles with 100 or More Cumulative Citations, By Year of Publication

Year Author's Name	Article Name	CumulativeCitations as of 12/01/2004 (n)
1936 Merton, Robert K.	The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action (ASR 1:894-904)	216
1937 Waller, Willard	The Rating and Dating Complex (ASR 2:727-734)	107
1938 Merton, Robert K.	Social Structure and Anomie (ASR 3:672-682)	532
1940 Davis, Kingsley	The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict (ASR 5:523-535)	128
1940 Stouffer, Samuel A.	Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance (ASR 5:845-867)	221
1940 Mills, C. Wright	Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive (ASR 5:904-913)	505
1942 Parsons, Talcott	Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States (ASR 7:604-616)	223
1944 Benoit-Smullyan, Emile	Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations (ASR 9:151-161)	121
1944 Guttman, Louis	A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data (ASR 9:139-150)	451
1945 Firey, Walter	Ecological Considerations When Planning for Urban Fringes (ASR 10:140-148)	101
1945 Davis, Kinglsey, and Wilbert Moore	Some Principles of Stratification (ASR 10:242-249)	440
1946 Zipf, George K.	The P1 P2/D Hypothesis: On the Inter-City Movement of Persons (ASR 11:677-685)	112
1946 Davis, Allison, and Robert J. Havighurst	Social Class and Color Difference in Child Rearing (ASR 11:698-709)	144
1948 Selznick, Phillip	Foundations of the Theory of Organization (ASR 13:25-35)	155
1950 Hollingshead, August B.	Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates (ASR 15:619-627)	105
1950 Robinson, W. S.	Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals (ASR 15:351-357)	1381
1951 Reiss, Albert J., Jr.	Delinquency as the Failure of Personal and Social Controls (ASR 16:196-206)	111
1951 Foote, Nelson N.	Identification as a Basis for a Theory of Motivation (ASR 16:14-21)	157
1951 Bales, Robert, Fred L. Strodtbeck, Theodore McMills, and Mary E. Roseborough	Channels of Communication in Small Groups (ASR 16:461-67)	162
1951 Strodtbeck, Fred L.	Husband-Wife Interaction over Revealed Differences (ASR 16:468-473)	238
1952 Stephan, Frederick, and Elliot F. Mishler	The Distribution of Participation in Small Groups: An Exponential Approximation (ASR 17:598-608)	116
1953 Duncan, Otis Dudley, and Beverly Davis	An Alternative to Ecological Correlation (ASR 18:665-666)	100
1953 Goodman, Leo A.	Ecological Regressions and Behavior of Individuals (ASR 18:663-664)	118
1953 Hollingshead, August B., and Fredrick C. Redlich	Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders (ASR 18:163-169)	127
1954 Blumer, Herbert	What is Wrong with Social Theory? (ASR 19:3-9)	102
1954 Lenski, Gerhard E.	Status Crystallization: A Nonvertical Dimension of Social Status (ASR 19:405-413)	358
1954 Kuhn, Manford, and Thomas S. McPartland	An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes (ASR 19:68-75)	359
1955 Kahl, Joseph A., and James A. Davis	A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status (ASR 20:317-325)	111
1955 Slater, Philip E	Role Differentiation in Small Groups (ASR 20:300-310)	150
1955 Morse, Nancy C., and Robert S. Weiss	The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job (ASR 20:191-198)	168
1955 Duncan, Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan	A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes (ASR 20:210-217)	482
1956 Greer, Scott	Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis (ASR 21:19-25)	107
1956 Caplow, Theodore	A Theory of Coalitions in the Triad (ASR 21:489-493)	165
1956 Axelrod, Morris	Urban Structure and Social Participation (ASR 21:13-19)	180
1956 Rosen, Bernard C.	The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification (ASR 21:203-211)	225
1956 Srole, Leo	Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study (ASR 21:709-716)	699
1956 Reckless, Walter C., Simon Denitz, and Ellen Murray	Self-Concept as an Insulator Against Delinquency (ASR 21:411-414)	121
1957 Nye, F. Luan, and James F. Short, Jr.	Scaling Delinquent Behavior (ASR 22:326-331)	102
1957 Goffman, Iriwin W.	Status Consistency and Preference for Change in Power Distribution (ASR 22:275-281)	105

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1957	Blalock, H.M., Jr.	Percent Non-White and Discrimination in the South (ASR 22:677-682)	118
1957	Nettler, Gwynn	A Measure of Alienation (ASR 22:670-677)	120
1957	Robinson, W.S.	The Statistical Measurement of Agreement (ASR 22:17-25)	126
1957	Strodtbeck, Fred L., Rita M. James, and Charles Hawkins	Social Status in Jury Deliberations (ASR 22:713-719)	151
	Sewell, William H., Archie D. Haller, and Murray A. Straus	Social-Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration (ASR 22:67-73)	162
	Merton, Robert K.	Priorities in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science (ASR 22:635-659)	235
1957	Goode, William J.	Community Within a Community: The Professions (ASR 22:194-200)	290
	Sykes, Gresham M., and David Matza	Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency (ASR 22:664-670)	702
	De Fleur, Melvin L., and Frank R. Westie	Verbal Attitudes and Over Acts: An Experiment on the Salience of Attitudes (ASR 23:253-254)	116
	Becker, Howard S.	Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation (ASR 23:652-660)	128
	Becker, Howard S., and Blanche Geer	The Fate of Idealism in Medical-School (ASR 23:50-56)	143
1958	Wright, Charles R., and Herbert H. Hyman	Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence From National Sample-Surveys (ASR 23:284-294)	197
	Powell, Elwin H.	Occupation, Status and Suicide: Toward a Redefinition of Anomie (ASR 23:131-139)	209
1958	Thompson, James D., and William McEwen	Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal-Setting as An Interaction Process (ASR 23:23-31)	249
1959	Wilson, Bryan R.	An Analysis of Sect Development (ASR 24:3-15)	103
1959	Goode, William J.	The Theoretical Importance of Love (ASR 24:38-47)	109
1959	Cloward, Richard A.	Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior (ASR 24:164-176)	112
1959	Meier, Dorothy L. and Wendell Bell	Anomie and Differential Success to the Achievement of Life Goals (ASR 24:189-202)	130
1959	Wilson, Alan B.	Residential Segregation of Social-Classes and Aspirations of High-School Boys (ASR 24:836-845)	162
1959	Rosen, Bernard C.	Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome (ASR 24:47-60)	281
1959	Seeman, Melvin	On the Meaning of Alienation (ASR 24:783-791)	744
1960	Goode, William J.	Illegitimacy in the Caribbean Social Structure (ASR 25:21-30)	101
1960	Litwak, Eugene	Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion (ASR 25:9-21)	104
1960	Blau, Peter M.	Structural Effects (ASR 25:178-193)	207
1960	Goode, William J.	Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology and Medicine (ASR 25:902-914)	222
1960	Litwak, Eugene	Geographic-Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion (ASR 25:385-394)	229
1960	Turner, Ralph H.	Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School-System (ASR 25:855-867)	264
1960	Goode, William J.	A Theory of Role Strain (ASR 25:483-496)	476
1960	Gouldner, Alvin W.	The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement (ASR 25: 161-178)	1319
1961	Anderson, Theodore R., and Seymore Warkov	Organizational Size and Functional Complexity: A Study of Administration in Hospitals (ASR 26:23-28)	104
1961	Matza, David and Gresham M. Sykes	Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values (ASR 26:712-719)	107
1961	Davis, James A., Joe L. Spaeth and Carolyn Huson	A Technique for Analyzing the Effects of Group Composition (ASR 26:215-225)	110
1961	Russen Bernard C.	Family Structure and Achievement Motivation (ASR 26:574-585)	116
1961	Blau, Zena Smith	Structural Constraints on Friendship in Old Age (ASR 26:429-439)	119
1961	Reiss, Albert J., Jr., Albert Lewis Rhodes	The Distribution of Juvenile Delinquency in the Social Class Structure (ASR 26:720-732)	130
1961	Wilensky, Harold L.	Orderly Careers and Social Participation: The Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass (ASR 26:521-539)	132
1961	Wheeler, Stanton	Socialization in Correctional Communities (ASR 26:697-539)	145
	Perrow, Charles	The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations (ASR 26:854-866)	212
1961	Mechanic, David and Edmund H. Vokart	Stress, Illness, Behavior and the Sick Role (ASR 26:51-58)	234
	Richardson, Stephen A., Norman Goodman, Albert H. Hastorf,	Cultural Uniformity in Reaction to Physical-Disabilities (ASR 26:241-247)	242
	and Sanford M. Dornbusch	• • • • · · · · · · · ·	
1961	Gamson, William A.	A Theory of Coalition-Formation (ASR 26:373-382)	311

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1961 Dean, Dvight G. Alicenation: En Meaning and Measurement (ASZ 2693-938) 412 1961 Wrong, Demis H. The Oversoichider Conception of Man in Modern Sociology (ASZ 2618-193) 412 1962 Gibbs, Jack P. and Walter T. Martin Urbanization, Technology and the Division of Man in Modern Socioliton (ASZ 27:59-31) 181 1962 Scretchaft, Alan and Keith E. Davis Value Consensus and Meed Compelmentary in Mate Solection (ASZ 27:59-31) 181 1962 Scretchaft, Alan and Keith E. Davis Alicenation and Learning in A Hoopial Setting (ASZ 27:72-782) 206 1962 Scretchaft, M. Toward Theory of Revolution ASZ 27:3-19) 203 1963 Johnson, Eleanon On Charch and Sec (LSX 28:3-5-349) 000 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-737) 190 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-379) 191 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-379) 191 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-379) 191 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-379) 191 1963 Schachter, Staaley Bittis Conseignee and Bittis (LSX 28:375-379) 191 1963 Schachte			
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1953 Duncan, Otis Dudley, and Beverly Davis	An Alternative to Ecological Correlation (ASR 18:665-666)	100
1969 Lieberson, Stanley	Measuring Population Diversity (ASR 34:850-862)	100
1971 Spilerman, Seymour	Causes of Racial Disturbances: Tests of an Explanation (ASR 36:427-442)	100
1984 Mutran, Elizabeth, and Donald C. Reitzes	Intergenerational Support Activities and Well Being Among the Elderly: A Convergence of Exchange and Symbolic Interaction Perspectives (ASP 40:117-120)	100
1987 DiMaggio, Paul	Interaction Perspectives (ASR 49:117-130) Classification in Art (ASR 52:440-455)	100

Source: ISI Citation Index, November 2004

ONLINE APPENDIX SUPPLEMENT to article in American Sociological Review, 2004, Vol.70 (February:1–4)

Table 6.	High Impact	Articles by	Journal,	1970-1995

			Number of A	Articles Published with Cu	mulative Citation Counts	of 100 or More	•		
Year	ASR	AJS	Social Forces	Criminology	Demography	JMF	ASQ ^a	APSR	AER
1970	11	4	0	1	1	9		5	10
1971	4	0	0	0	0	2		4	10
1972	8	6	1	0	0	0		3	11
1973	5	7	1	0	0	2		3	10
1974	14	4	0	1	1	5		5	8
1975	10	5	0	0	2	2		5	9
1976	13	7	2	2	1	4		2	11
1977	15	10	4	0	1	5		3	13
1978	19	9	1	1	1	1		3	5
1979	11	11	0	0	1	5		4	13
1980	9	4	0	0	1	4		4	10
1981	9	6	0	0	1	2	_	4	17
1982	9	2	2	1	0	2		4	14
1983	14	4	1	0	1	4	11	5	16
1984	8	2	1	0	2	1	10	1	12
1985	6	8	1	2	2	1	4	3	16
1986	5	6	1	1	0	6	7	6	21
1987	9	8	2	2	1	4	2	5	14
1988	4	7	1	2	2	4	2	5	10
1989	7	2	0	1	3	5	4	3	11
1990	2	6	1	2	2	10	11	3	14
1991	7	3	0	0	0	3	5	2	9
1992	2	3	0	2	1	1	8	2	14
1993	4	8	0	1	1	1	6	3	6
1994	5	2	0	2	1	0	3	4	2
1995	4	1	0	0	1	1	5	2	2

Source: ISI Science Citation Index, November 2004

Note: ASR = American Sociological Review; AJS = American Journal of Sociology; APSR = American Political Science Review; AER = American Economics Review;

JMF = Journal of Marriage and the Family; ASQ = Administrative Science Quarterly

^a ASQ data not available before 1982