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Who Are the Terrorism Researchers? A Study of Scholars in an Evolving Field, 1970–2019

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ABSTRACT

Debates rage about diversity and representation. How diverse is terrorism studies? How has it changed over time? This article analyzes data on the nearly 2,000 terrorism scholars in the Web of Science databases. It also identifies the scholars who have published the most articles. The vast majority of terrorism scholars have worked in a small set of countries (mostly the United States, United Kingdom, and Israel). The list of the most prolific scholars is more homogeneous than the broader sample. In general, however, the field is evolving, with increasing geographic, gender, and racial diversity, as well as professionalization (PhD status).

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Who are the terrorism researchers? Who produces knowledge related to terrorism? Many studies have examined terrorism research, analyzing methodologies employed and topics covered. Far less is known about the individuals producing terrorism research. This is important because it is valuable to know from where information comes, in terms of understanding knowledge generally. Knowing who studies terrorism tells us about how terrorism is studied.¹ More practically, to improve terrorism studies, we need to know more about it. Decades ago, academic terrorism studies were called often “amateurish”² and the field was described as “not in a healthy state.”³ More recently, there are assertions that many terrorism scholars are uncredentialed or without training,⁴ and that the field is Western-centric,⁵ understudies regions like Latin America or Sub-Saharan Africa,⁶ and overfocuses on *jihadi* actors while downplaying the far right.⁷ If these criticisms are correct, terrorism research could be only partially understanding terrorism, missing key aspects of it. To diagnose potential issues or biases in the literature, and simply to understand the field, it is helpful to know who produces the research.

Understanding who produces terrorism research is also important because of broader debates about diversity and representation. Discussions about diversity have occurred regarding many settings (e.g., journalism⁸), including academia. Scholars in disciplines such as economics, epidemiology, and political science increasingly analyze the makeup of their disciplines and consider potential implications.⁹ For example, scholars have pointed out that economics has disproportionately few women or members of historically excluded racial or ethnic groups.¹⁰ A field experiment on over

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6,500 U.S. professors found that they were more likely to respond to emails about potential PhD studies from students with Caucasian male names than any other type of student.¹¹

There has also been concern about a lack of geographic diversity in academia; for example, academic publishing being dominated by scholars in a few wealthy countries.¹² Many journal editorial boards mostly comprise scholars in the United States and a few Western European countries, and this seems to affect who eventually publishes in these journals.¹³ Geographic diversity seems relevant in terrorism studies because much of the violence we study occurs in a certain set of countries (e.g., Afghanistan, Nigeria, Syria), while most terrorism scholars seem to work in other countries or continents.

We have little systematic knowledge about terrorism scholars, especially in the post-11 September 2001 (9/11) era. Some studies primarily on terrorism research have also included information on authors.¹⁴ However, these studies generally only present data such as the discipline or country of residence for a small set of scholars—usually the most prolific. Other studies only look at research in terrorism journals, excluding terrorism research published elsewhere.¹⁵ We know less about the broader universe of terrorism researchers.¹⁶ In which countries are they located? Do most have PhDs? How many are women, or from other historically excluded categories? How has the makeup of the field changed over time?

The current study draws on recently released data on the 1,723 scholars who published at least two articles on terrorism between 1970 and 2019 in the Web of Science archive.¹⁷ This is the source for most of the analyses. Web of Science is a massive set of databases, including more than 21,000 journals over many years. The article also presents a list of the 38 scholars who published the most articles during the period in Web of Science journals—described below as “the most prolific scholars” as shorthand. Comparative information is also introduced on a random sample of the more than 8,000 scholars who wrote one article on terrorism.

Some of the main findings are that terrorism scholars work in many countries, but far more work at institutions in the United States than any other country. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Israel have more terrorism scholars than what might be expected given each country’s population or general scientific production. Taking country terrorist attack history into consideration provides a more nuanced picture. Regarding other findings, most terrorism scholars work in social science disciplines, but many are in health or medicine, studying terrorism’s consequences. Almost 95% of terrorism scholars in recent years have a PhD or MD, suggesting an increasing professionalization of the field. Geographic, gender, and racial diversity have increased in the field over time, but gaps exist between the broader sample and the most prolific scholars. The conclusion summarizes the findings in more detail, considers implications, and suggests additional research that can build on the findings. Overall, the analysis provides the clearest picture yet of the people creating terrorism research.

Research on Terrorism and Terrorism Scholars

Definitions of terrorism are debated,¹⁸ but one widely cited definition by Enders and Sandler is that terrorism is “the premeditated use or threat to use violence by individuals or subnational groups to obtain a political or social objective through the

intimidation of a large audience beyond that of the immediate victims”.¹⁹ Terrorism studies is generally considered an interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary field as opposed to its own discipline.²⁰ Scholars of terrorism often primarily identify as scholars of their discipline (e.g., historians or economists). Scholars who publish only one article on the subject of terrorism might not describe themselves as terrorism scholars. However, there are many people who publish repeatedly on terrorism, and this is what the current article generally describes as “terrorism scholars”. More specific measurement is discussed below.

A substantial amount of research has examined the field of terrorism studies, sometimes reviewing findings of the literature,²¹ and sometimes more critically analyzing methodologies or approaches.²² Scholars examine material published in terrorism journals, and other samples of terrorism research, and have made helpful contributions by finding, for example, that terrorism studies seems to use statistics and primary data far less than comparable fields.²³ More recent work shows that this seems to be improving.²⁴ Other research systematically examines the topics covered in terrorism studies, pointing out that the field is perhaps overfocused on *jihadi* terrorism and geographic areas associated with it.²⁵

Some analyses of terrorism research also mention, in a smaller section of the work, information about the authors of the analyzed research. For example, Haghani et al. seek to analyze all terrorism articles through 2020, mostly discussing topics studied.²⁶ But they also name a few of the most prolific scholars, identify coauthor clusters, and name countries with the most scholars. There are more specific studies. A bibliometric analysis of terrorism research in the 1980s mostly describes substantive information about the articles published (e.g., subjects covered), and the journals they are in.²⁷ However, it also reports the institutional affiliations of some authors, and lists the institutions associated with three or more articles. Another study of research on terrorism, globalization, and culture (1998–2018) reports information on the articles linked to those three topics.²⁸ It also mentions the countries in which the authors are located. Other research on the substance of terrorism research points out that scholars in the field tend to write alone instead of with coauthors.²⁹ A recent study of research on women and terrorism, examining 661 articles, books, and books chapters, provides information about the location and perceived gender of the authors of this work.³⁰

Schmid and coauthors have published a series of articles based on surveys of terrorism scholars, asking them questions like what they think are understudied topics in the field, and how they define terrorism or counterterrorism.³¹ Beyond contributing to the intended substantive debates, the articles report some demographic information on the survey respondents—most are men, and most are from the Anglosphere, for example. However, because the surveys have low response rates (as surveys often do), the samples are unlikely to be representative of terrorism scholars more broadly. As a result, while such surveys provide hints about the makeup of the field, we cannot have high confidence that they inform us accurately about the demographics of terrorism researchers in general.

Several large studies of terrorism research have included lists of the most prominent or high-publishing scholars in the field. Perhaps the first such example was Schmid and Jongman’s massive book *Political Terrorism*, which describes a 1980s survey of terrorism scholars.³² The survey asked respondents to identify who they thought were

the “leading scholars” in the field. This produced a list of 34 names, and it provided information such as the country of residence and discipline of each scholar. For a 2003 book, Silke presents data on terrorism journals in the 1990s and names the 35 scholars with the most articles in those journals.³³ More recently, Reid and Chen use citation analysis to build a sample of terrorism scholars from 1965 to 2003 and present a list of 42 “core” researchers.³⁴

Beyond these lists of prolific researchers, a few recent studies have more information on authors. Mohammed examined a sample of terrorism researchers to see their national identity, location, and gender.³⁵ This is more than most other studies have done, and it showed that most scholars in the sample have a Western heritage and are at Western institutions, and most are male. However, his sample was seven English-language terrorism journals, missing out on the scholars publishing terrorism research in other journals. Also, the sample was 2015 to 2019, providing a good recent snapshot, but it did not indicate changes over time. In an earlier article in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, I introduced data on terrorism articles from 1970 to 2019 and presented information on the articles and their authors.³⁶ The study showed, for example, that the percentage of authors who were psychologists increased over time. However, the article’s main focus was the 9/11 attacks, and how they might have affected both articles and authors. Overall, previous research on terrorism studies lacks an in-depth and recent analysis of scholars of terrorism research across many years.

Data

To share more information about terrorism authors, this article draws on my previously-published data on articles and authors from 1970 to 2019, as well as other data sources described below.³⁷ To gather data on authors, I searched the Web of Science index for articles with “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Web of Science includes more than 21,000 journals on many topics. Most journals are in English, but many non-English journals are also included in Web of Science, and many of those journals use English-language titles and abstracts. Many prominent terrorism journals are included in Web of Science (e.g., *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*), but some are not (e.g., *Perspectives on Terrorism*) if they are not indexed in Web of Science. Thus, the sample includes many terrorism articles—and more than other samples because many terrorism articles are not published in terrorism journals—but it does not include *every* terrorism article published during those years.

The use of a general index search is consistent with how many scholars, including information scientists, have sought to identify terrorism research or scholars.³⁸ Some terrorism scholars have instead only examined authors of articles in terrorism journals.³⁹ Each approach has tradeoffs. Searching broader journals, including nonterrorism journals, takes the risk of possibly including too much information or challenging the boundaries of the field of terrorism studies. The sample I am using will also miss articles in journals not in the Web of Science, as well as articles that do not have “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. These are notable limitations.

Only searching terrorism journals provides more control over inclusion criteria, and perhaps provides a sample with more comparable units. However, the analyses

of terrorism journals seem to be missing a great deal of terrorism research because so much is published in other journals. For example, in my sample of more than 6,000 terrorism articles, fewer than 1,000 articles are in terrorism-specific journals (those with terrorism or terrorist in the journal title). Many other journals publish terrorism research, such as *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Defence and Peace Economics*, *Kriminalistik*, and *Crime Law and Social Change*. This is consistent with a recent study of the “top 100 most cited articles in terrorism studies”.⁴⁰ Of the 100 articles, only four were published in terrorism-specific journals. Thus, my sampling method has limitations, but limiting a search to only terrorism journals seems to exclude more relevant content.

The Web of Science search produced 6,880 articles and 9,986 authors. Some duplicate author entries were collapsed, usually when an author was included multiple times due to the inclusion or exclusion of a middle name or middle initial. The decision was made to only focus on authors who had authored or coauthored at least two articles. This was done to capture more accurately “terrorism scholars” in a deeper sense instead of scholars of other topics who simply wrote or cowrote one article on the topic. Reducing the list was also done for practical reasons, as it would have been challenging to gather information on so many scholars. The final list of authors of at least two terrorism articles includes 1,723 scholars.

The data include the following information on each of the 1,723 authors: last name or surname; first name initial; number of articles in the data; if they are female or not; if they have a PhD; if they have an MD or equivalent; year of first article in data; year of final article in data; discipline in which they work; institution of work (in most recent year); country of institution; whether the person was in academia, government, or other; and year of death if found. Smaller samples discussed below have additional information, such as the author’s perceived race. To gather information on authors, such as institutional affiliation, country of institution, discipline, or PhD status, sometimes the article itself contained the data in a footnote. If not, Internet searches were conducted, and sources such as university pages, personal websites, and in some cases, newspaper articles or obituaries were used. Gender was usually assumed from first names and from presentation in photos.⁴¹ Information on these variables was able to be found for the vast majority of scholars.

Beyond the data used in my *Terrorism and Political Violence* article, additional data were collected. For the list of 38 scholars with the most articles in Web of Science, race and ethnicity data were gathered. This was inferred from surnames and photos online. For comparisons with country data, information on country population is used from the World Development Indicators *via* the Quality of Government Data.⁴² The value of the most recent year available, 2020, is used. However, if earlier years are used, figures look similar because the more significant differences are across countries and not across years. For a measure of national scientific production, data were used from the U.S. National Science Foundation for 2018.⁴³ It counts science (including social science) and engineering publications by country. As with population data, there is more variation across countries than over years. For the random sample of 100 scholars with one terrorism article, biographic data are also collected using the methods described above. All of the data will be made available on the author’s personal website upon article publication.

Analysis

Countries of Terrorism Scholars

Figure 1 shows the number of terrorism scholars in each country. Only countries with more than five terrorism scholars are shown because the tail of the distribution is long. The United States has 757 terrorism scholars, 45% of the 1,700 for whom country data were available. There are far more terrorism scholars at U.S. institutions than in any other country.

Some previous analyses of smaller samples have suggested a U.S. dominance in terrorism studies,⁴⁴ but Figure 1 confirms such findings on a larger scale. The United Kingdom (168 scholars, 10% of the total) and Israel (132, 8%) also stand out for having many terrorism scholars. Nearly two-thirds of terrorism scholars, 63%, work in institutions in the United States, the United Kingdom, or Israel. The average number of scholars in the 55 countries with multiple terrorism scholars is 30, and some countries with above-average terrorism scholars include Australia (72), France (67), Germany (66), and Spain (57). Countries with five or fewer scholars are not shown in Figure 1 to make it readable.⁴⁵

Figure 2 shows the distribution of terrorism scholars across the globe—emphasizing the clustering in North America and Western Europe. The scholars are distributed across 55 countries. There is some geographic diversity, with a few scholars each in Indonesia, Iran, and Nigeria. However, there is a clear abundance of terrorism scholars in North America and Western Europe. The figure also further exemplifies the U.S. hegemony in terrorism research—the scale of the coloring had to be adjusted because with more “natural” categories or breaks, the only country that would show up as colored would be the United States.

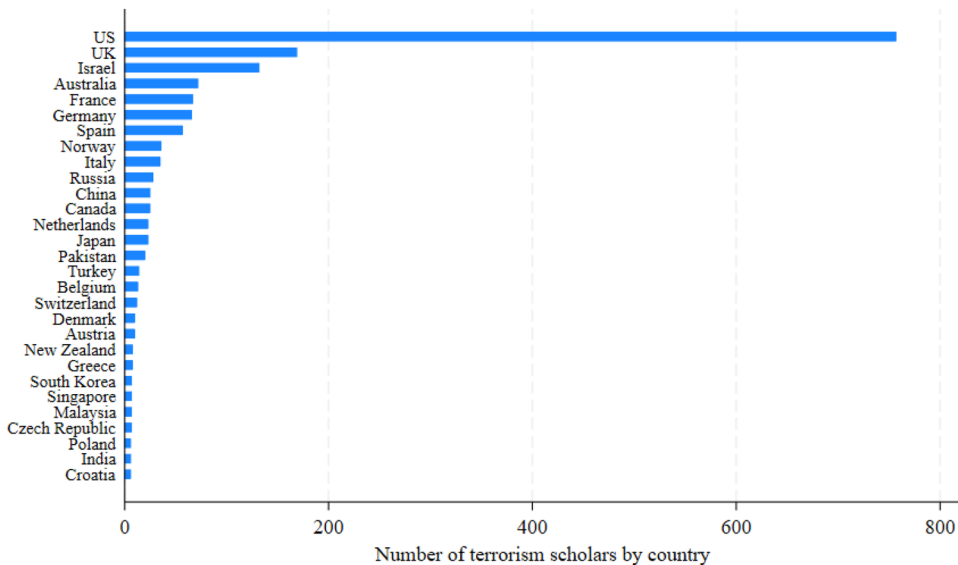


Figure 1. Countries with the most terrorism scholars, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only countries with more than five such scholars are shown for readability.

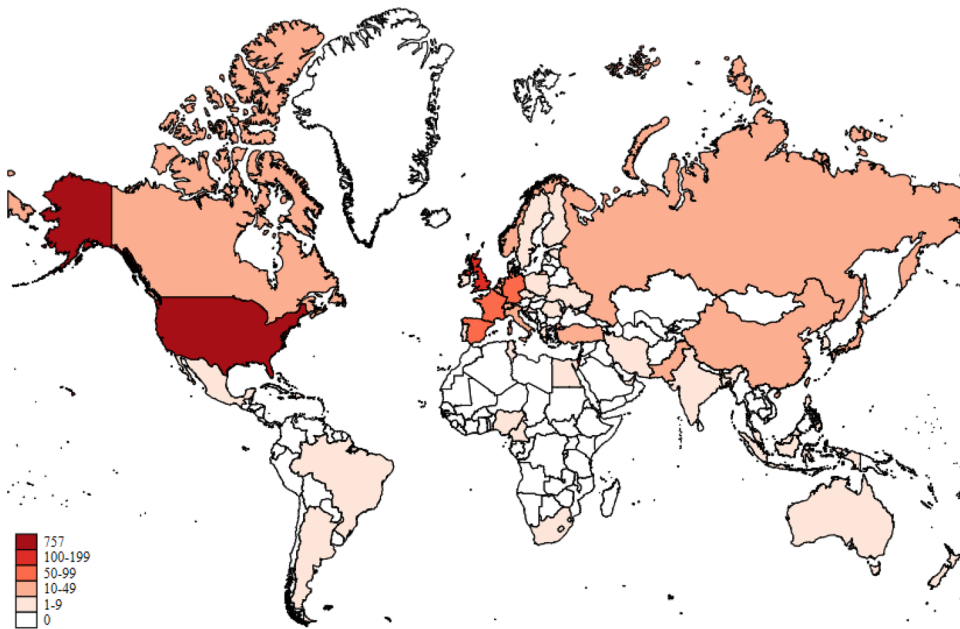


Figure 2. Terrorism scholars per country, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Color categories are not distributed evenly.

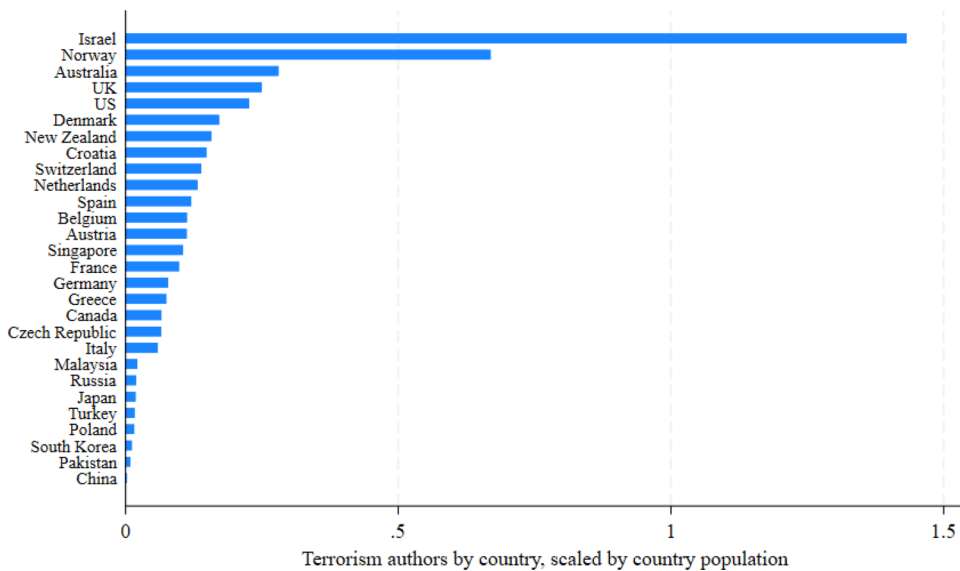


Figure 3. Terrorism scholars per country, scaled by population, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only countries with more than five such scholars are shown for readability.

It could be pointed out that the United States has a far larger population than most countries, and perhaps that is driving its terrorism research dominance. To try to address this, Figure 3 shows the same information as Figure 1, but scaled by national

population.⁴⁶ As expected, countries with smaller populations move up the ranking in this figure. When adjusted for population, Israel has the most terrorism scholars per capita, far above most others. Norway and Australia are in the second and third places, respectively. The United Kingdom and United States closely follow, suggesting some overlap with the unscaled numbers of Figure 1.

Some countries produce more research in general than other countries, due to research funding and other issues. As a result, it could be helpful to adjust the number of terrorism authors by national scientific production—divide the number of terrorism scholars in the country by the number of scientific articles produced. This is shown in Figure 4. Israel again leads the world in terrorism scholarship. Norway, the United States, and the United Kingdom follow. In a change from the other figures, Pakistan and Croatia score especially high with this metric. Overall, the countries with the most terrorism scholars depend on to what extent population and general scientific production are taken into consideration. But across the three measures, Israel, the United States, and the United Kingdom consistently rank high. Western European countries generally are near the top. Some other countries have many terrorism scholars by the data’s criteria, like Pakistan (19) and Turkey (14), or Singapore (7) relative to population or scientific output.

Countries with More Scholars Are Not Just Those with a High Population or Science Production

To demonstrate further how country prominence regarding terrorism authors is not simply a function of country population or science production, Figures 5 through 8

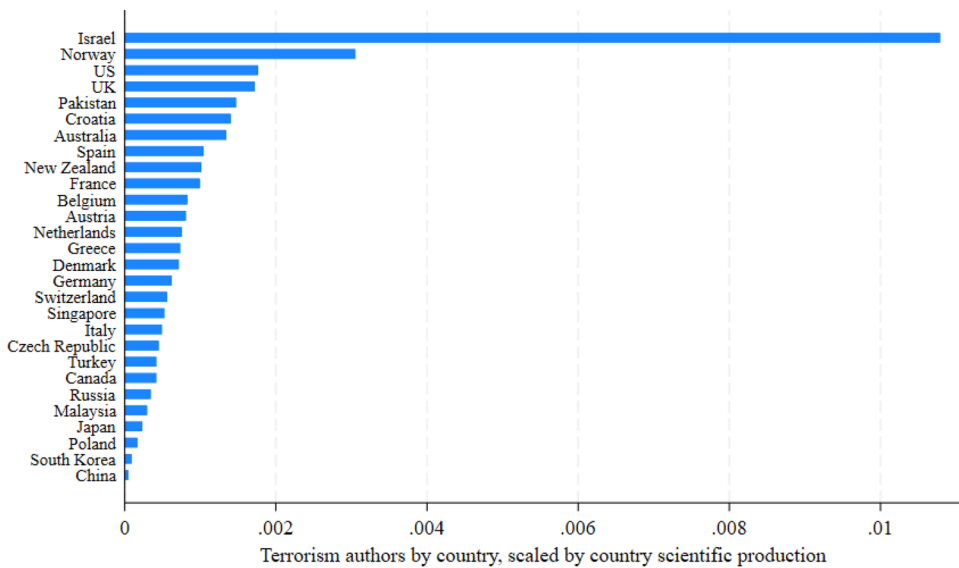


Figure 4. Terrorism scholars per country, scaled by national scientific production, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only countries with more than five such scholars are shown for readability. Scientific production is the number of scientific articles published by scholars in the country in 2018.

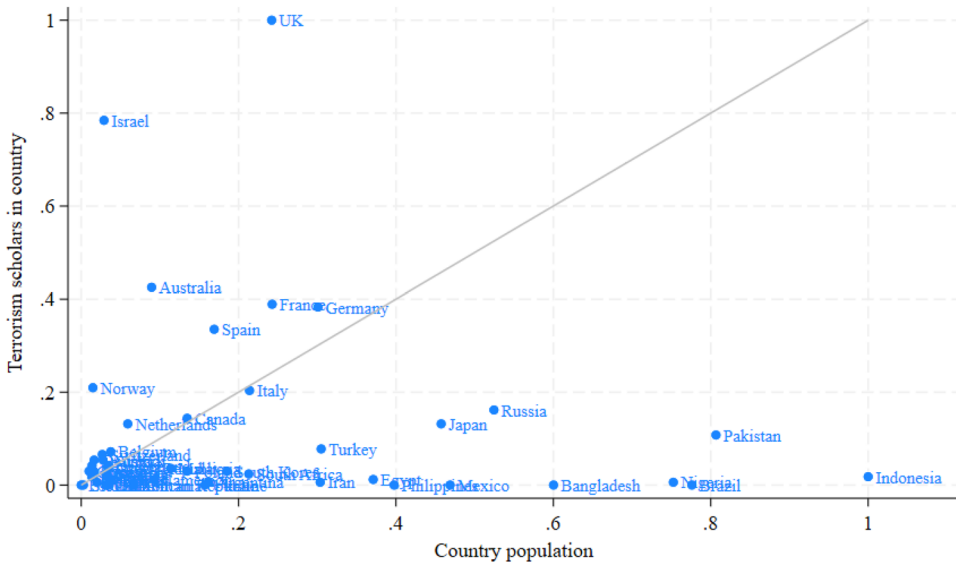


Figure 5. Terrorism scholars per country and country population, 1970–2019. Outliers excluded.

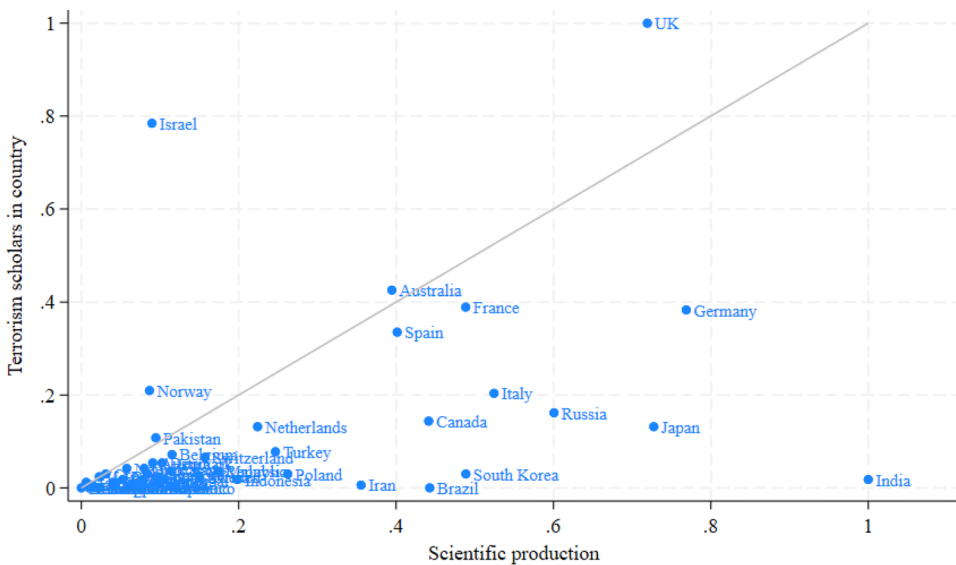


Figure 6. Terrorism scholars per country and country scientific production, 1970–2019. Outliers excluded.

show the number of terrorism scholars per country plotted against the country's population or number of scientific articles. Because the scales of the three variables are quite different, I rescale each from 0 to 1 for comparability.⁴⁷ Each figure includes a 45-degree line, indicating where countries should be if their count of terrorism authors is proportional to their population or scientific production. In Figures 5 through 8, a few outlier countries (e.g., the United States regarding terrorism scholars, or China regarding population) are excluded from each figure because they make the scale so broad that variation among other countries is not visible.

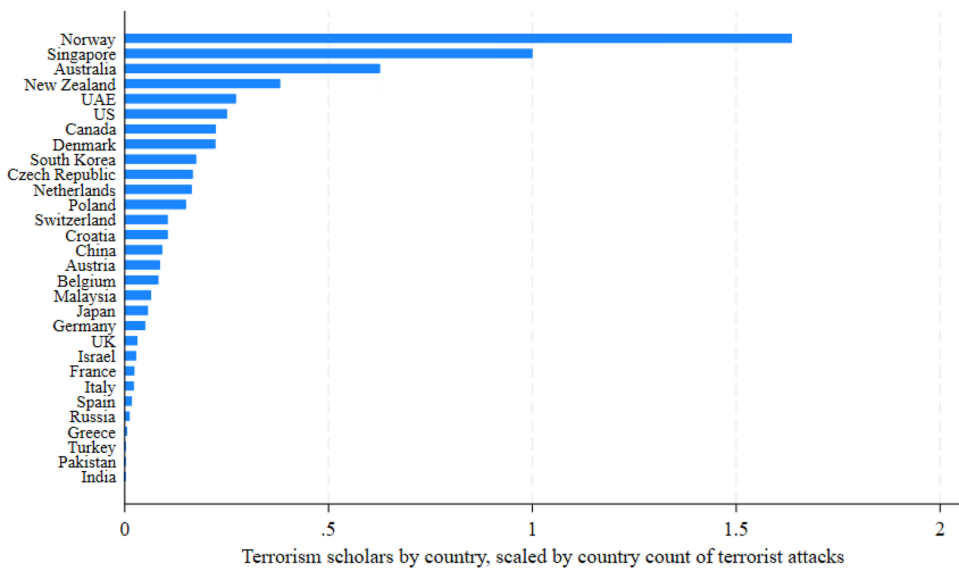


Figure 7. Terrorism scholars per country, scaled by country attack history, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only countries with more than five such scholars are shown for readability. Terrorist attacks are total attacks in the country between 1970 and 2019, according to the Global Terrorism Database.

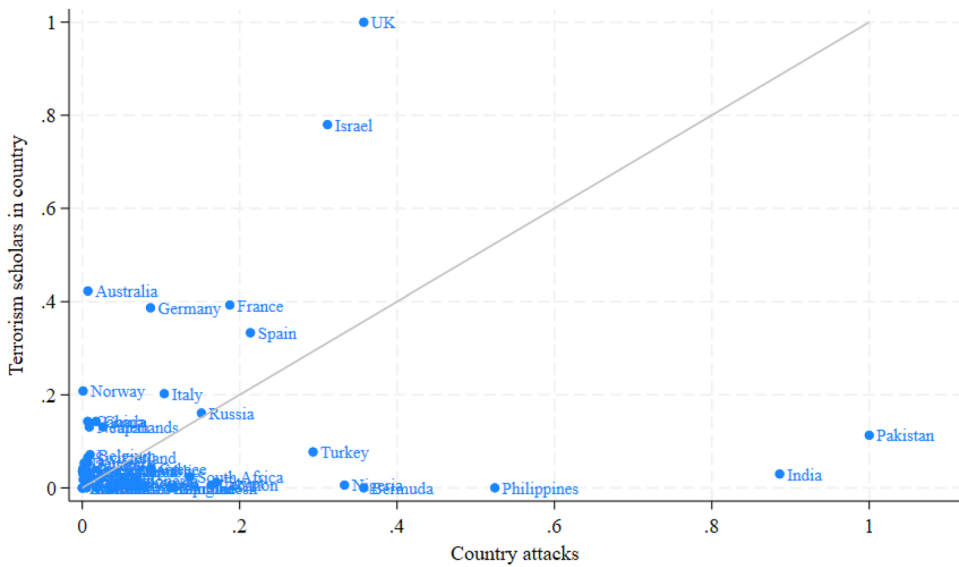


Figure 8. Terrorism scholars per country and country terrorist attacks, 1970–2019. Outlier excluded.

Both variables are scaled 0 to 1 for comparability. A 45-degree line is shown as a reference line. China, India, and the United States, as outliers, are excluded to show variation among other countries.

Figure 5 suggests that Canada and Italy (on the 45-degree reference line) have about as many terrorism scholars as their population might indicate. Germany is close to

the line. Countries that stand out for their terrorism scholars relative to population are Israel and the United Kingdom. (The United States, excluded as a scale-breaking outlier for its number of terrorism scholars, would be at the top and left of center.) Countries that have fewer terrorism scholars than their population might suggest include Indonesia, Japan, and Russia. (China and India would appear at the bottom-right.) Pakistan is also on the low side of the 45-degree line, which might be surprising given it does have nearly 20 terrorism authors in the sample, but its population is also large at more than 200 million people. Pakistan's place on the figure suggests perhaps there should be more Pakistani scholars researching terrorism.

Scientific production is perhaps a better comparison metric for scholar numbers. Figure 6 shows that Australia and Pakistan have about as many terrorism researchers as their national scientific production would suggest. As with population, Israel and the United Kingdom have far more terrorism scholars than what their country knowledge production would suggest. Norway is also above the 45-degree line. Countries with lower-than-expected terrorism researcher numbers include Brazil, India, Iran, Japan, and South Korea. Most of these countries do not experience much terrorism, which would seem to explain the lack of terrorism researchers. The low number of terrorist researchers for India, however, is surprising given its history of experiencing terrorism. Perhaps, as a developing country, its researchers are more focused on economic development than security issues.

Both variables are scaled 0 to 1 for comparability. A 45-degree line is shown as a reference line. Scientific production is the number of scientific articles published by scholars in the country in 2018. China and the United States, as outliers, are excluded to show variation among other countries.

Does Country Terrorism History Explain Why Some Have More Terrorism Researchers?

Figures 7 and 8 plot country terrorism scholar numbers relative to each country's count of terrorist attacks from 1970 to 2019 from the Global Terrorism Database. Figure 7 shows the ranking of countries with the most terrorism scholars—with the number of terrorism scholars divided by the count of terrorist attacks. The countries at the top of this figure are rather different than those in earlier ones. Norway and Singapore top the list and illustrate how the small denominator (a small number of attacks in the country) in the formula affects the distribution. Norway has 36 terrorism scholars in the sample, but it has had only 22 terrorist attacks, according to the Global Terrorism Database. Singapore has an interesting ratio: seven terrorism scholars and seven terrorist attacks. Israel and the United Kingdom are further down the list in Figure 7 due to their relatively high numbers of terrorist attacks. Overall, this figure puts some perspective to the findings earlier that showed the United States, the United Kingdom, and Israel as the leaders in the absolute numbers of terrorism researchers (e.g., Figure 1). But note that the United States is still ranked near the top in Figure 7, at sixth.

Figure 8 compares terrorism scholar counts with country attacks, with both scaled from 0 to 1, as have been other variables. The figure shows that the United Kingdom

and Israel—along with a substantial number of Western European countries—have more terrorism scholars than we might expect given their experience with terrorism within their borders. As with other comparable figures, the United States is excluded, or otherwise it would appear at the top-left, far off the diagonal.

Both variables are scaled 0 to 1 for comparability. A 45-degree line is shown as a reference line. Terrorist attacks are total attacks in the country between 1970 and 2019, according to the Global Terrorism Database. The United States, as an outlier, is excluded to show variation among other countries.

While terrorism scholars seem to come from a small set of countries, how has this changed over time? [Figure 9](#) shows the percent of terrorism scholars working in “higher-income” countries, here operationalized as countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). Until 2010, almost every year more than 95% of terrorism scholars worked in higher-income countries. (The vertical axis is highly truncated to show variation.) In the early 1980s, it was 100%. Before 2010, the average was 97%. Starting in the late 2000s, however, there was a change. The percentage of terrorism scholars in these more developed countries started to decline steadily, and reached 87% by 2019. The vast majority of terrorism scholars are still in higher-income countries, but a marked decrease, about 10 percentage points, occurred between 2010 and 2019.

Higher-income countries is a rather broad category, and earlier it was found that the majority of terrorism scholars are in just three countries. [Figure 10](#) graphs the percentage of terrorism scholars in either the United States, the United Kingdom, or Israel. This figure also indicates a marked decline. Scholars in these countries made up, on average, about 79% of terrorism scholars until 2010. However, the percentage started dropping in the late 2010s, and to 49% in both 2018 and 2019. Thus

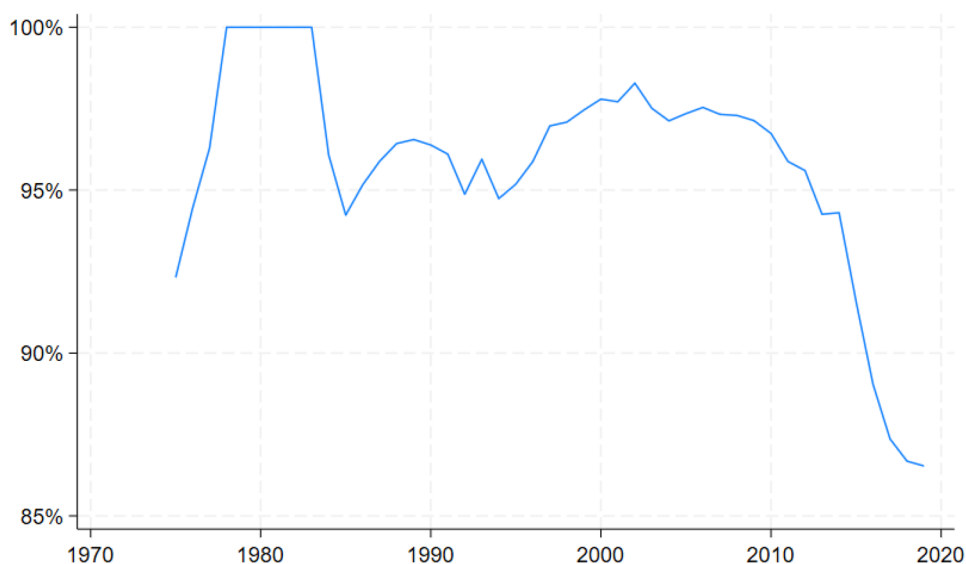


Figure 9. Percent of terrorism scholars located in higher-income countries, 1975–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Higher-income countries are those in the OECD. The line starts at 1975 because previous years had so few scholars that outliers change the line scale dramatically.

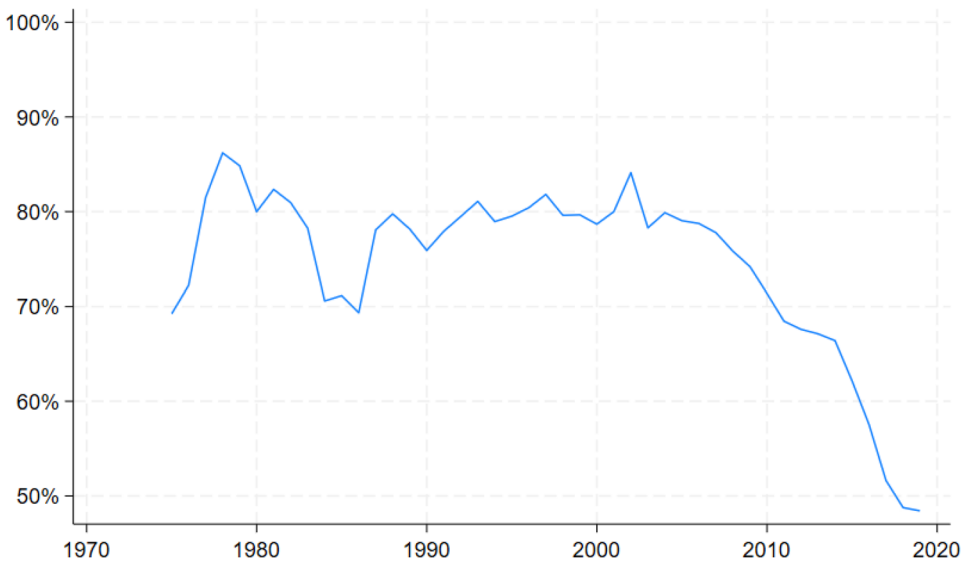


Figure 10. Percent of terrorism scholars located in either the United States, United Kingdom, or Israel, 1975–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. The line starts at 1975 because previous years had so few scholars that outliers change the line scale dramatically.

U.S.–U.K.–Israel scholars went from being the vast majority for most years to the *minority* of terrorism scholars by 2018.

What led to the sudden relative globalization of terrorism researchers in the 2010s? It might require a separate article to explore this in detail, but several factors seem likely. First, the absolute number of U.S.-based terrorism scholars declined substantially during the 2010s, as the post-9/11 attention to the topic declined in that country. This somewhat occurred in the United Kingdom and Israel as well. Second, in general, less-developed countries have produced a growing share of research in recent decades.⁴⁸ Third, and related, the growth of the subfield of critical terrorism studies has probably played a role, as this line of research explicitly emphasizes alternative perspectives such as those from lower-income countries.⁴⁹ The journal *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, which is in the sample used here, was launched in 2008, which maps up with [Figures 9 and 10](#). Fourth, several countries in particular have been important in the increasing globalization of terrorism studies. China and Pakistan had the largest increases in the share of terrorism authors in recent years. [Figure 11](#) indicates that the percent of terrorism scholars in each country went from 0 for many years to 3% (Pakistan) or nearly 4% (China) by 2019. About 7% of terrorism authors in the sample were from these two countries by 2019. The increases for these countries are due to a variety of factors, from increasing terrorism in Pakistan (and related security and research investment) to China’s general economic growth and research investment.

There has been increasing diversity in the countries in which terrorism scholars work, but it is important to note that even in recent years a disproportionate share come from a few countries. In the post-2010 subsample of scholars, about 35% are from the United States, far more than any country. Furthermore, while the share of

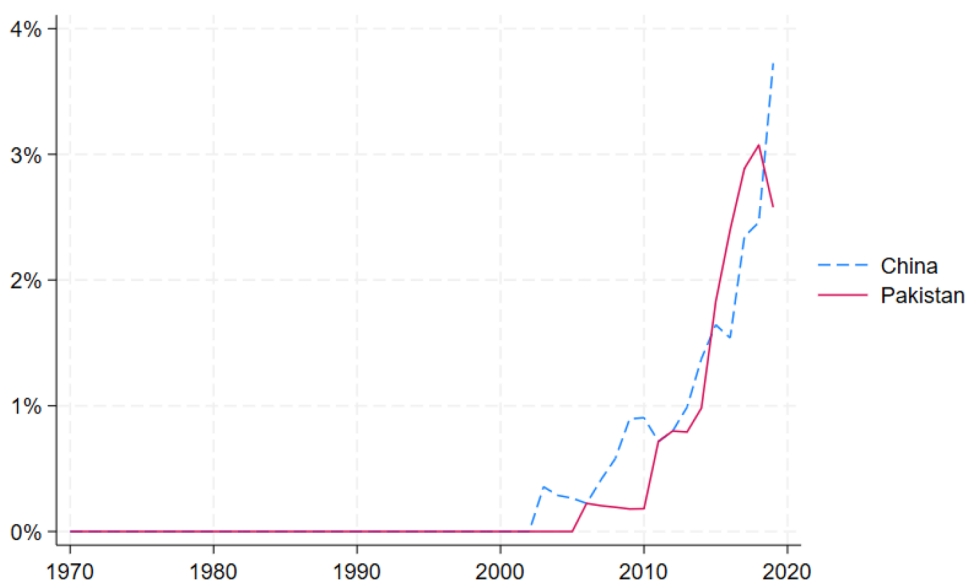


Figure 11. Percent of terrorism scholars in China or Pakistan, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title.

the top-three countries has declined, other highly developed and Western countries increased their share of terrorism scholars in the 2010s. Australia, France, Italy, and Norway stand out with substantial increases. Thus, terrorism scholars are from more countries than they used to be, and not as concentrated in the United States (and a few other countries) as they used to be, but terrorism scholars are still mostly in high-income countries.

Disciplines of Terrorism Scholars

Figure 12 shows the distribution of terrorism scholars across disciplines. There are more terrorism scholars in psychology (281) and political science (257) than other disciplines. It is debatable which should be “first” because, in some countries, international relations (84, separate here) is a part of political science. If political science and international relations are considered the same discipline, there would be more terrorism scholars in this field than any other. It is noteworthy that terrorism scholars hail from many types of disciplines, such as medicine, law, engineering, and computer science.

The diversity of disciplines represented in Figure 12 is rather different from the mix shown in some other studies, such as Schuurman or Silke. This is because those authors used terrorism journals as their sample, while I searched more broadly for terrorism-related articles in any journal. Silke found that about half of the scholars in his sample were political scientists. In my sample, political scientists are about 17%. Other authors in terrorism journals are likely to be sociologists, psychologists, historians, or criminologists. However, in this larger sample, other entire categories of scholars appear—medicine (172 scholars), business (50), and epidemiology (21), for example. These scholars are more likely to be looking at the *consequences* of terrorism,

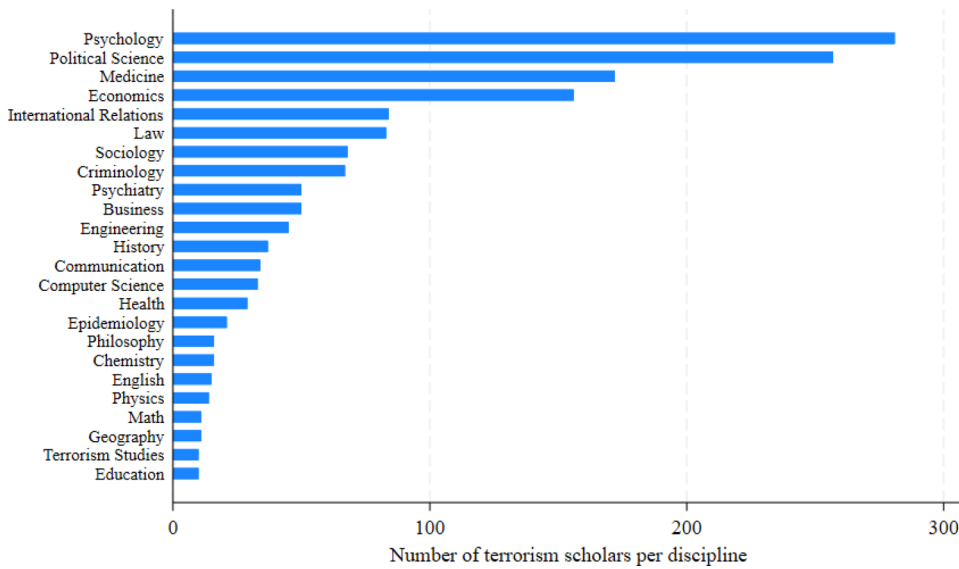


Figure 12. Terrorism scholars per discipline, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only disciplines with at least 10 scholars are shown for readability.

as opposed to the researchers in terrorism journals that often examine *causes* of terrorism. The figure indicates that a wide range of scholars conduct research on terrorism. This raises questions about the true boundaries of terrorism studies.

Gender and Terrorism Scholars

Previous studies have not discussed much about the gender distribution among terrorism scholars.⁵⁰ This is perhaps surprising given the literature on gender and terrorism,⁵¹ as well as work on women in academia.⁵² About 72% of the scholars in the dataset are male, of those for whom I could find information. As others have noted, this percentage has decreased steadily over time. **Figure 13** shows the percentage of terrorism scholars who are male. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was usually over 90%. By the late 2010s, it was 68 or 69%. This shift is similar to, although less gradual than, developments in social science fields like political science.⁵³

Figure 14 shows the gender distribution by country.⁵⁴ In none of the countries do women make up 50% or more of the scholars. Malaysia is at the top of the list: 43% of its terrorism scholars are female. It does have a relatively small group of scholars in the sample, but three of the seven are women. The two other countries with a similar percentage (42% women) are Italy with 33 total scholars and Norway with 36. Most countries in the top half of the list are European. At the bottom, there are three countries where zero of their terrorism scholars are female: South Korea, Switzerland, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). South Korea and the UAE have a relatively small total numbers of scholars (seven and six), but it is notable that all 12 Swiss scholars in the sample are male.⁵⁵

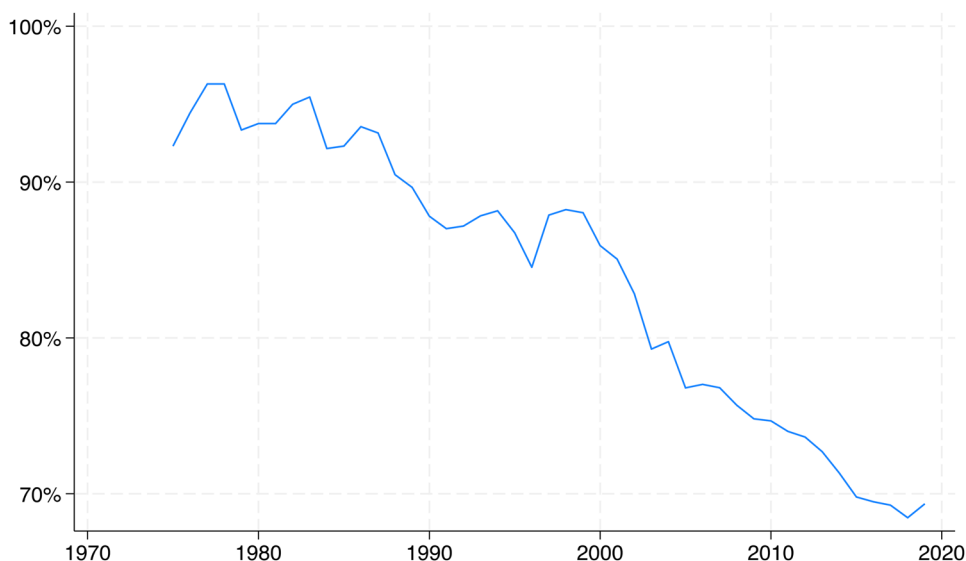


Figure 13. Percent of terrorism scholars who are male, 1975–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. The line starts at 1975 because previous years had so few scholars that outliers change line scale dramatically.

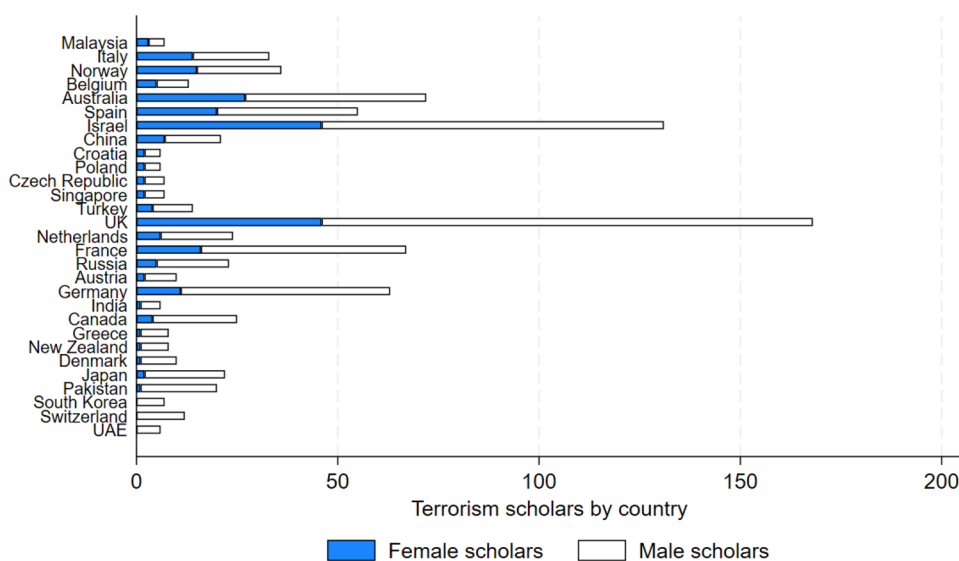


Figure 14. Female and male terrorism scholars by country, sorted by percent female, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Only countries with more than five such scholars are shown, and the United States is excluded, for readability.

Professionalization over Time

The data allow us to see the education status of terrorism scholars. A growing number of scholars with PhDs indicates a level of professionalism in the field, authors trained and professionalized as researchers. Figure 15 shows the percentage of terrorism scholars

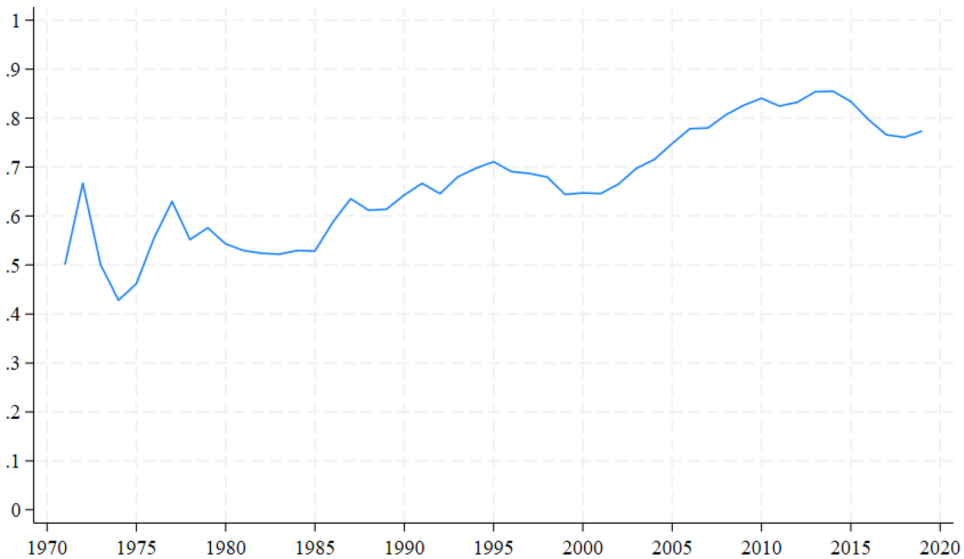


Figure 15. Percentage of terrorism scholars with a PhD, 1970–2019. Scholars are those with at least two articles with the term “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title.

who have a PhD and how it has changed over time. In the 1970s, just over 50% of terrorism scholars had a PhD. In each subsequent decade, the percentage went up about 10 percentage points. By the 2010s, the percentage was 80% or greater most years. This finding is consistent with some other research. For example, a study of terrorism research in the 1980s found that the institutions with researchers producing the most terrorism articles in that period were the U.S. Department of State, RAND Corporation, and the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation—each more than any single university.⁵⁶ Some of these scholars were PhDs, but many were not. The “ideal” percentage of terrorism scholars with PhDs is debatable. It is valuable to have non-PhD counterterrorism practitioners, for example, conducting terrorism research and engaging with full-time researchers. However, in general, it is probably a sign of progress for terrorism research that the vast majority of terrorism scholars now have research degrees.

The Terrorism Researchers with the Most Articles in the Sample

Some previous analyses of terrorism research have discussed lists of the most “prominent” or “prolific” scholars in the field. Schmid and Jongman identified 35 top scholars of terrorism research based on a 1985 survey asking terrorism scholars who were leading researchers in the field. Silke presented a list of the 30 most prolific terrorism scholars of the 1990s in terrorism journals. Reid and Chen listed 42 top scholars according to publications through 2003. These lists have been helpful to identify some of the most visible names, and to see what these scholars might have in common. Comparing the lists is valuable to see which scholars have remained prominent across multiple periods, and to see how the field has changed with time. Looking at a similar subsample from the 1,723 authors in the present data is also helpful because it permits data collection not feasible on the full sample.

Table 1 shows the list of scholars with more than 10 terrorism articles published in Web of Science between 1970 and 2019. The cutoff of 10 is chosen because this produces a list of 38 names, comparable with the lists discussed above. One is hesitant to report such a list because we know that any rankings include inherent biases. Article quantity is not an indication of article quality or research quality. Furthermore, there are influential terrorism scholars not included on this list, perhaps because they wrote more books (or chapters or working papers or policy reports) than articles, or they published a smaller number of highly influential articles. Additionally, as noted, Web of Science does not index all journals. Some examples of prominent terrorism scholars *not* on this list are Mia Bloom, Martha Crenshaw, Robert Pape, and Alex Schmid. Readers should be advised that the list in Table 1 is *not* a list of the “best” or most well-known terrorism scholars. However, it is helpful to know which scholars have produced the most research by this metric to think about how the body of scholars producing the most research according to Web of Science might have changed over

Table 1. Scholars with the most terrorism articles published in Web of Science, 1970–2019.

	First name	Surname	Articles	Country	Discipline
1	Todd	Sandler	60	USA	Economics
2	Sandro	Galea	35	USA	Epidemiology
3	James	Piazza	29	USA	Political science
4	Betty	Pfefferbaum	26	USA	Psychiatry
5	John	Horgan	19	USA	Psychology
6	Walter	Enders	17	USA	Economics
7	Paul	Gill	17	UK	Political science
8	Bruce	Hoffman	17	USA	International relations
9	Poonam	Mann	16	India	International relations
10	Robert	Brackbill	15	USA	Epidemiology
11	Grete	Dyb	15	Norway	Psychiatry
12	Khusrav	Gaibulloev	15	UAE	Economics
13	Daniel	Meierrieks	15	Germany	Economics
14	Daphna	Canetti	14	Israel	Political science
15	James	Cone	14	USA	Medicine
16	Stevan	Hobfoll	14	USA	Psychology
17	Joseph	Young	14	USA	Political science
18	Victor	Asal	13	USA	Political science
19	Daniel	Byman	13	USA	Political science
20	Kjell	Hausken	13	Norway	Economics
21	Gary	Lafree	13	USA	Criminology
22	Jerrold	Post	13	USA	Psychiatry
23	Jennifer	Ahern	12	USA	Epidemiology
24	Mark	Farfel	12	USA	Global health
25	Avishag	Gordon	12	Israel	Computer science
26	Arie	Kruglanski	12	USA	Psychology
27	Walter	Laqueur	12	USA	History
28	Kobi	Peleg	12	Israel	Emergency and disaster management
29	David	Vlahov	12	USA	Epidemiology, nursing
30	Paul	Wilkinson	12	UK	Political science
31	Simplice	Asongu	11	Cameroon	Economics
32	Claude	Berrebi	11	Israel	Economics
33	Hsin Chun	Chen	11	USA	Information systems
34	Ali Nawaz	Khan	11	Pakistan	Economics
35	Andrew	Silke	11	UK	Psychology, Criminology
36	Roxane	Silver	11	USA	Psychology
37	Clive	Walker	11	UK	Law, Criminal justice
38	Jun	Zhuang	11	USA	Engineering

Note. Article counts include articles with “terrorism” or “terrorist” in the title. Country refers to country of institutional affiliation. Discipline usually refers to the scholar’s PhD field. Not all journals appear in Web of Science, so the article counts are not exhaustive. See text for more information.

time. Looking at these individual scholars can also provide a human face, or illustrative examples, to complement the numbers of the rest of the article.

Table 1 indicates that a handful of scholars have published far more than the rest: Todd Sandler, Sandro Galea, James Piazza, and Betty Pfefferbaum. Additionally, the scholars on the list come from a broad mix of disciplines. There are many political scientists, like Piazza, and other social scientists, like Sandler, who has a PhD in economics. But Galea is a physician and epidemiologist, and Pfefferbaum is a psychiatrist. Both study health consequences of terrorism. Of these 38 scholars, nine are in political science or international relations, eight are economists, and seven are psychologists. There are nine scholars in the combined health-related disciplines (epidemiology, medicine, nursing, or psychiatry). The scholars of Table 1 are from a diverse set of countries, but disproportionately from several. A clear majority, 23 (61%), are in U.S. institutions. This is a much higher percentage than the U.S. portion of the full sample of authors (45%). The only other countries with more than one “prolific” terrorism scholar by this metric are the United Kingdom (four scholars), Israel (four), and Norway (two).

Regarding gender, 18% of the prolific scholars are female, which is lower than the full sample. However, this list is more gender diverse than earlier lists of prolific scholars. On the Schmid and Jongman 1985 list, only 7% of the authors were female. On Silke’s list of 1990s scholars, 10% were women. The Reid and Chen citation-based list of scholars from 1965 to 2003 only includes three women, 7% of that sample. The higher percentage of women on the 1970 to 2019 list is consistent with the general increase in the proportion of women in terrorism studies over time.

Regarding other demographics, I was able to infer the race and/or ethnicity of the 38 scholars, something not done for the full sample. About 13% of the most prolific terrorism scholars are not white—here meaning not from a European background.⁵⁷ Two are South Asian, two are of East Asian descent, and one is from an African country. Regarding intersectionality, the only nonwhite woman on the list is Poonam Mann. On the one hand, given that this is a sample of scholars going back to 1970, the list could be seen as somewhat diverse for its era. The list of 38 scholars has a slightly higher percentage of nonwhite scholars than what we see in a sample of full-time U.S. political science faculty in 2010 (11%). The list is much more racially and ethnically diverse than the earlier prominent-scholar lists, where every scholar but one was white.⁵⁸ On the other hand, given that this is a global sample, the fact that almost all the leaders in terrorism publishing are white raises questions about how this might affect the nature of what is published.⁵⁹

Regarding specific individuals, how does this list of 38 scholars compare to the lists of scholars from the 1980s and 1990s? There is not a great deal of overlap. Scholars also on the Reid and Chen list through 2003 are Hoffman, Horgan, Laqueur, Post, and Wilkinson. The overlap with Silke’s 1990s list is Hoffman, Horgan, Sandler, Silke, and Wilkinson. There is even less overlap with the Schmid and Jongman 1985 list: only Laqueur and Wilkinson. Only one person appears on all four prolific/prominent terrorism scholar lists: Paul Wilkinson. The differences across lists are in part due to the abundance of post-9/11 scholars who would not have been included in the earlier lists. Additionally, some differences are likely due to the distinct methodologies employed.⁶⁰ Overall, the lists of prominent terrorism scholars provide valuable points of comparison.

Comparison across Three Types of Terrorism Scholars

As a final analysis of terrorism scholars, Table 2 includes information on the 38 scholars with the most articles in the database, with comparative information on the primary sample, the 1,723 scholars with at least two terrorism articles. It also includes information on a random sample of the terrorism scholars that only published one article.⁶¹ There are some similarities across the samples. In all groups, the vast majority of scholars work in institutions in higher-income countries (again defined through OECD membership). Depending on the sample, between 87 and 92% of terrorism scholars work in institutions in such countries. Another similarity is that the percentage of scholars who are medical doctors is consistent across samples—13 or 14%. Additionally, the mix of disciplines across the samples is mostly similar.

There are also some differences. Prolific terrorism scholars are much more likely to be U.S.-based compared to other terrorism scholars. Of the prolific scholars, 61% are at U.S. institutions, while only 45% or 40% of multiple-article or single-article scholars are U.S.-based. The group of single-article scholars is more diverse in terms of countries represented than the other groups. Another difference is that the prolific terrorism scholars are more likely to have a PhD: 82% of them have doctorates, while other multiple-article scholars have a slightly lower rate (78%) and 71% of one-time terrorism scholars have a PhD. This makes sense, as PhDs are trained researchers who often have research time as part of their work responsibilities. Finally, there are differences regarding gender and race. Men make up about 70% of the scholars with one terrorism article, or multiple-article scholars (72%), but they are 82% of the prolific scholars. Regarding race, 72% of scholars of one terrorism article are white by a European background definition, and 79% are white by the U.S. Census definition, which includes people from the Middle East and North Africa.⁶² However, the prolific scholars list is 84 to 87% white, depending on definition. (Race data were not gathered on the sample of multiple-article authors.) Prolific scholars are more likely to be white,

Table 2. Comparing three samples of scholars.

	Scholars with only one terrorism article	Scholars with at least two terrorism articles	The most prolific terrorism scholars
Number of scholars	100 (random sample of 8,211)	1,723	38
Top countries of residence	United States, 40% United Kingdom, 12% Italy, 8%	United States, 45% United Kingdom, 10% Israel, 8%	United States, 61% Israel, 11% United Kingdom, 11%
In higher-income countries	87%	92%	89%
Top disciplines represented	Political science, 13% Psychology, 9% Law, 8% Medicine, 7%	Psychology, 17% Political science, 16% Medicine, 10% Economics, 9%	Economics, 21% Political science, 18% Psychology, 13% Epidemiology, 10%
Percent with PhD	71%	78%	82%
Percent with MD (or equivalent)	14%	14%	13%
Percent male	70%	72%	82%
Percent white (of European descent)	72%	No data	84%
Percent white (U.S. Census definition)	79%	No data	87%

Note. Higher-income countries are defined as OECD members. The U.S. Census definition of “white” is people “having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa”. See the text for more details.

male, with a PhD, and in the United States compared to authors of fewer articles. Overall, the table shows some similarities across the three samples, but the differences are also striking.

Discussion and Conclusion

Who are the terrorism scholars? This article has pointed out that, while we understand a great deal about terrorism research, we know less about terrorism researchers. Previous studies presenting information on terrorism scholars have mostly focused on small sets of the most prolific scholars. Others have made conjectures about terrorism scholars without much systematic-collected evidence. This article has emphasized that it is important to understand who is involved in our field. It has drawn on recently introduced data to share information about the 1,723 scholars who published at least two terrorism articles in Web of Science between 1970 and 2019. It also presented a list of the 38 most prolific terrorism scholars by this metric and it analyzed a comparative sample of single-article authors.

The findings, drawn mainly from the database of authors of multiple terrorism articles, indicate that while terrorism scholars work in institutions around the world, far more work in the United States than any other country. A few other countries, such as the United Kingdom and Israel, also have many terrorism scholars, beyond what might be expected given their population or amount of scientific production. Most terrorism scholars are from higher-income countries. A solid majority of terrorism scholars, around 80% in recent years, have PhDs. An additional 14% are medical doctors. This suggests a corps of trained researchers. Regarding disciplines of study, most terrorism researchers are in the social sciences, with political science, psychology, and economics strongly represented. However, terrorism researchers come from many disciplines. A substantial number of scholars in the hard and applied sciences—particularly medicine and health-related disciplines—study consequences of terrorism. The article also provided one of the first analyses of the gender and racial makeup of the people researching terrorism. About 70% of terrorism scholars are male and about three-quarters are white, although both percentages have decreased with time.

An analysis of the 38 most prolific terrorism-article authors sheds light on additional aspects of terrorism scholarship. This group comes from a diverse mix of disciplines and countries, but it is more U.S.-based (61%), male (82%), and white (84–87%) than the broader sample of terrorism scholars. This suggests continuing asymmetries. The list of 38 prolific scholars is also valuable for providing a face for the many terrorism researchers described with data throughout the rest of the article. Readers are probably familiar with some of these scholars, but we might not be familiar with scholars from other disciplines or working on aspects of terrorism that we do not research ourselves.

A look at a sample of authors of only one terrorism article provided information about this somewhat-maligned group of scholars—the “transients”, as Silke has called them.⁶³ A scholar who only writes one article on terrorism is less likely than multiple-article terrorism scholars to have a PhD (71% compared with 78%), and they are more diverse in terms of disciplines and the countries in which they work. The single-article authors work in disciplines ranging from art to engineering, and film studies to physics.

The findings help assess some criticisms of terrorism studies. It has been noted that many people writing about terrorism are visitors. This remains true, with nearly 8,000 people having written only one article on terrorism, and fewer than 2,000 having written multiple articles. But it could be seen as good news that there is a corps of around 1,700 multiple-article terrorism scholars. Related to this, scholars like Merari and some of those interviewed by Stampnitzky remarked on the many amateur or uncredentialed terrorism scholars.⁶⁴ The growing rate of PhDs and MDs in the field—almost 95% of terrorism scholars in recent years have at least one of these degrees—suggests a highly professional group of trained researchers. It is also true that many of these researchers work primarily on another subject beyond terrorism, and they might not know the topic or broader literature well. More precise analysis of terrorism research and researchers can sort out to what extent this is still an issue.

Is the field too focused on higher-income countries—such as those in the Global North or the West? This article studied authors, not research subjects, but the fact that so many scholars are from a few wealthy states suggests a reason why such a bias might exist.⁶⁵ The field is diversifying geographically with time. For example, the list of the most prolific scholars includes colleagues from Cameroon, India, and Pakistan. However, there is also clearly much work to be done for a more global field of terrorism studies, a global set of scholars studying this important topic. Similarly, the list of prolific scholars is mostly white and male—more so than the general sample of terrorism scholars—but it is more diverse than lists of prolific scholars published in earlier years.

The white maleness of terrorism studies could be part of the reason for the field's noted underemphasis on the far right.⁶⁶ The far right often directly threatens women and people of color, so perhaps scholars who are not women or people of color are generally less concerned (at least subconsciously) about this type of terror. Further studies could investigate if there are relationships between the demographics of terrorism scholars and the subjects of their research. There is already some evidence of this. For example, even though men are the majority of terrorism scholars, male authors make up less than one-third of the scholars writing about women and terrorism.⁶⁷

The findings raise additional questions. Because most terrorism research is produced by authors in a small set of countries, how might this affect terrorism research? What biases are likely to exist? Do scholars tend to produce research on their own countries—suggesting overcoverage of these same countries, and far less understanding of other countries? How would the body of terrorism research differ if there were more scholars from, for example, Africa, South Asia, or lower-income countries in general? How can the field of terrorism studies encourage more scholarship from these areas, or from countries producing less terrorism research than others? Beyond geographic location, it was noted that female and nonwhite scholars are especially underrepresented on the list of the most prolific scholars. To what extent are structural barriers behind this fact? How can terrorism studies be more welcoming to scholars who are not white men from the United States or a few other countries? More broadly, this study focused on a few types of diversity (and empirically, mostly on geographic diversity), but what other types of diversity could be studied?

Additionally, can fruitful connections be found between scholars working on causes of terrorism and those working on consequences of terrorism? Can bridges be built between the social scientists studying terrorism (causes or consequences) and the medical doctors and others studying health-related effects of terrorism? Instead of two sets of terrorism researchers working independently, different types of terrorism scholars could learn more from each other's work. One way to bridge the gap would be editors of terrorism journals encouraging scholars working on health effects of terrorism to submit manuscripts.

While more research can help address the above questions, institutions can take further action. Terrorism studies, as a field, does not seem to have the infrastructure of traditional academic disciplines. There is a Society for Terrorism Research and a growing number of terrorism-specific journals. However, academic disciplines usually have journals or at least magazines focused on professional issues within their discipline, such as *History of Psychology*, *PS: Political Science*, or *Perspectives on History*. One step forward would be an existing journal starting a section or special issue for articles on within-field issues. A more substantial step would be the founding of a journal, such as one of those mentioned, that focuses on professional issues within the field—for example, terrorism research methodologies, terrorism research ethics, and teaching about terrorism. At the very least, scholars should continue to discuss these important topics and try to understand them better.

Notes

1. I thank Deborah Margolin for making this point.
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41. This is consistent with how other authors have gathered this information. See Devorah Margolin and Joana Cook, “Five Decades of Research on Women and Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2024) Ahead of print.
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43. <https://nces.nsf.gov/pubs/nsb20206/executive-summary>.
44. For example, Ivanova and coauthors examine a sample of 79 articles from 1998 to 2019 on terrorism, culture, and globalization, and they find that the plurality of authors (27) are in the United States, and other states with many authors are Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Aleksandra G. Ivanova, Inna N. Burganova, and Galina V. Sheshukova, “Perspectives on Terrorism, Culture, and Globalization: A Comprehensive Review of the Contemporary Scholarship,” *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 9, no. 1 (2020): 182–94.
45. Countries with five authors in the data: South Africa and Sweden. Four authors: Finland, Indonesia, Ireland, Portugal. Three authors: Cameroon Egypt, Taiwan, Tunisia. Two authors: Argentina, Iran, Lebanon, Nigeria. One author: Bangladesh, Bermuda, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Mexico, Philippines, Romania, Slovenia, Ukraine.
46. The number of scholars is divided by the population in hundreds of thousands.
47. The formula for rescaling a variable x to 0–1 is $(x_i - x_{\text{minimum}})/(x_{\text{maximum}} - x_{\text{minimum}})$.
48. Veronica Amarante and Julieta Zurbrigg, “The Marginalization of Southern Researchers in Development,” *World Development Perspectives* 26 (2022): 100428; Florencia Montal, Gino Pauselli, and Patricio Yamin, “Segmented Communities in the Global South: Where Do IR Argentine Scholars Publish and Why?,” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 55, no. 3 (2022): 519–24; Simon Marginson, “Global Science and National Comparisons: Beyond Bibliometrics and Scientometrics,” *Comparative Education* 58, no. 2 (2022): 125–46.
49. Priya Dixit, “Critical Scholarship on Terrorism,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies* (2021); Rabea Khan M. “A Case for the Abolition of “Terrorism” and Its Industry,” *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 17, no. 4 (2024): 1019–42.
50. One exception is my 2023 article, which found an increase in female terrorism scholars over time and argued that this seemed to be in part due to scholars from more gender-diverse fields starting to work on terrorism in the 2000s. Brian J. Phillips, “How Did 9/11 Affect Terrorism Research? Examining Articles and Authors, 1970–2019,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 35, no. 2 (2023): 409–32. Another important exception is Margolin and Cook. Devorah Margolin and Joana Cook, “Five Decades of Research on Women and Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2024) Ahead of print.
51. Mia Bloom, *Bombshell: Women and terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Jessica Davis, Leah West, and Amarnath Amarasingam, “Measuring Impact, Uncovering Bias? Citation Analysis of Literature on Women in Terrorism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 15, no. 2 (2021): 58–76; Alexandra Phelan, “Special Issue Introduction for Terrorism, Gender and Women: Toward an Integrated Research Agenda,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 46, no. 4 (2023): 353–61; Laura Sjoborg, “Feminist Interrogations of Terrorism/ Terrorism Studies,” *International Relations* 23, no. 1 (2009): 69–74.
52. Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney, “Women in International Relations,” *Politics & Gender* 4, no. 1 (2008): 122–44.
53. About 10% of full-time political science faculty were female in 1980. In 2010, it was 28.6%. See American Political Science Association, 2011, “Political Science in the 21st Century,” https://www.apsanet.org/portals/54/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/TF_21st%20Century_AllPgs_webres90.pdf.
54. The United States is excluded because the bar is so long it makes the other bars unreadable. If the U.S. bar is included, it is about in the middle of the graph, with women making up about 27% of its terrorism scholars.

55. The Swiss sample is disproportionately from economics, a field with less gender balance than some others, so that could partly explain this finding.
56. A. Anwar Mumtaz, and Al-Daihani Sultan, "Literature on Terrorism: A Bibliometric Analysis of Articles Published during 1981–1990," *Malaysian Journal of Library and Information Science* 16, no. 2 (2011): 33–43.
57. See, for example, the Oxford English Dictionary: https://www.oed.com/dictionary/white-man_n?tab=meaning_and_use#14382674.
58. The one exception is Egyptian-American scholar Mahmoud Cherif Bassiouni on the Schmid and Jongman list. However, by some definitions (the U.S. Census), people from North Africa and the Middle East are white, which would make all the older prolific terrorism scholar lists 100% white. Racial definitions are socially constructed and therefore context dependent, but overall the more recent list contains more members of historically excluded groups than the lists from previous years.
59. Anna A. Meier, "Whiteness as Expertise in Studies of the Far Right," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (2024): 1–23.
60. Other efforts to compare lists have found relatively low overlap, even when the lists covered the same eras. Reid (1997) reports that of Schmid and Jongman's 1985 survey-based list of leading scholars, only 47% of the names also appeared on the citation-based list she had generated for her 1982 dissertation. Edna O.F. Reid, "Evolution of a Body of Knowledge: An Analysis of Terrorism Research," *Information Processing & Management* 33, no. 1 (1997): 91–106.
61. To generate the random sample, the *runiform* function in Stata was used to create random values for each author with only one publication. The authors with the lowest 100 values were selected.
62. The U.S. Census definition of "white" is "any person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa." See <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>.
63. Andrew Silke, "The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13, no. 4 (2001): 1–14. See also Ariel Merari, "Academic Research and Government Policy on Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3, no. 1 (1991): 88–102.
64. Ariel Merari, "Academic Research and Government Policy on Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3, no. 1 (1991): 88–102; Lisa Stampnitzky, "Disciplining an Unruly Field: Terrorism Experts and Theories of Scientific/Intellectual Production," *Qualitative Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2011): 1–19; Lisa Stampnitzky, *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
65. Brian J. Phillips and Kevin T. Greene, "Where Is Conflict Research? Western Bias in the Literature on Armed Violence," *International Studies Review* 24, no. 3 (2022): 1–25.
66. Yasmine Ahmed, "Ceci n'est pas du terrorisme: This Is Not Terrorism": Representation of Far-Right and Jihadi Terrorism in the Terrorism Studies Literature" (PhD diss., University College Cork, 2021); Yasmine Ahmed and Orla Lynch, "Terrorism Studies and the Far Right—The State of Play," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 47, no. 2 (2024): 199–219; Bart Schuurman, "Topics in Terrorism Research: Reviewing Trends and Gaps, 2007–2016," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 12, no. 3 (2019): 463–80. There are a variety of reasons for the argued undercoverage of the far right, including funding sources and relatively few far right high-casualty attacks.
67. Devorah Margolin and Joana Cook, "Five Decades of Research on Women and Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (2024) Ahead of print.

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Data Availability Statement

All data will be made available at my website upon publication.