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‘Standing on the shoulders of giants’: Diversity and Scholarship in Intelligence Studies

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ABSTRACT This study takes stock of the field of Intelligence Studies thanks to a quantitative review of all the articles published in the two main journals in the field – *Intelligence and National Security (INS)* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence (IJIC)*. Particular attention is paid to the diversity of the authors publishing in these two journals and the evolution of the issues they discuss. Publications in the field are widely authored by males based in the United States and the United Kingdom who write about Western intelligence and security organizations. Recent years have seen a slight diversification in the field but further efforts will be necessary to develop a more eclectic body of researchers and research on intelligence and national security.

A distinct influence

Isaac Newtown famously said, “If I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of giants” to express the need to build research on previous discoveries.¹ Students of intelligence can now rely on a substantial body of literature to inform their research and contribute to knowledge in this specific field of study.² Beyond a series of books dating back to the aftermath of the Second World War, two flagship journals have had a distinct influence on the field of Intelligence Studies: *Intelligence and National Security* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*. In the last two decades, academic journals have flourished in the field of

Intelligence Studies – relatively new journals include the *International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, the *Journal of Intelligence Analysis*, the *Journal of Intelligence History*, the *Journal of Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence*, the *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and CounterTerrorism*. However, none have more history and centrality in the field than *INS* and *IJIC*. Together these two journals have published close to 2,000 original articles on intelligence. Interestingly, the two flagship journals in *Intelligence Studies* were established the same year, in 1986. According to Professor Richard Valcourt, the editor in chief of *IJIC*, the near simultaneous establishment of these two journals was largely coincidental and a result of the increased awareness of the intelligence community’s work following the US congressional inquiries led by Rep. Otis Pike (D-NY) and Senator Frank Church (D-ID) in the mid-1970s.³

Though they were established at the same time and with a relatively similar purpose – advancing research and debates on intelligence – the two journals differ in the means they have used to reach their end. Established by two Professors, historian Christopher Andrew at Cambridge University and strategist Michael Handel at the US Army War College, *Intelligence and National Security* has played an essential role in the development of the academic field of Intelligence Studies by offering a platform encouraging scholarly debate and serious research on the world of intelligence and its role in international relations.⁴ In accordance with academic standards, the journal editors have used “blind” peer-review, involving two-to-four outside reviewers in each instance, to inform their publication decisions. The *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* is also devoted to the advancement of the academic discipline of Intelligence Studies but its origins and evolution have been marked by a more pronounced desire to include and serve practitioners. *IJIC*’s founding editor in chief, F. Reese Brown, was not an academic.⁵ The current editor-in-chief, Richard Valcourt, points out that *IJIC*

“is aimed primarily at practitioners in the intelligence community, followed by scholars, and the general public.” The journal does not use the double-blind review method. In the words of Professor Valcourt: “We do check with the board members or others as necessary on all articles submitted for our consideration, but make no claim now to utilization of the double-blind method (in fact, strongly doubting its effectiveness and utility), nor have we ever done so.”⁶

Despite these editorial differences, the two journals have both been essential to the development of Intelligence Studies. Over the years, both *INS* and *IJIC* have been increasingly productive, publishing 554 articles from 1986 to 1995, 630 from 1996 to 2005, and 729 from 2006 to 2015.⁷ Altogether these contributions provide a wide variety of insights into the world of intelligence, reinforcing the interdisciplinary nature of Intelligence Studies.

Diversity and the Study of Intelligence

Despite the diversity of approaches used to study intelligence, in recent years, some scholars have started to criticize the lack diversity in the field of Intelligence Studies. This critique of Intelligence Studies reflects similar arguments in the cognate fields of Security Studies and International Relations, where some scholars have decried Western-centrism and questioned the prominence of male authors.⁸ Female authors appear significantly less than their male counterparts in Political Science journals, though the discrepancy between male and female authorship is comparable to the presence of women in the field.⁹ This lack of diversity is problematic to the extent it is a constitutive practice that constrains the discipline, that is to say, the subjects and the objects of Intelligence Studies.¹⁰ To be clear, Western male authors should not stop researching and writing about intelligence, but encouraging a more diverse set of authors to write about intelligence and exploring non-Anglophone cultures might provide new

and important insights into the nature of intelligence.¹¹ As Professor Valcourt explains “scholars of intelligence benefit from knowledge of the services of a range of countries, compelling them to expand their horizons in terms of the types and range of issues they study. Failure to do so leads to severe gaps in understanding the true nature of the global intelligence community and its practitioners.”¹²

In the last few years, a growing number of scholars have sought to remediate the lack of content diversity in the field of Intelligence Studies by researching intelligence outside of the Anglosphere. Though studies of non-Anglophone intelligence agencies date back to the early days of Intelligence Studies, most prominently with publications on Russian and Soviet intelligence,¹³ recent contributions to the field have more actively considered the impact of cultures on the conduct of intelligence.¹⁴ Considering diversity in the authorship of intelligence studies, the role of women has also started to attract more attention. In two recent editorial notes, the editors of *INS* have highlighted the importance of encouraging women to enter this field of scholarship.¹⁵

This article reviews 1913 contributions to *INS* and *IJIC* to measure diversity in the field of Intelligence Studies. For the purposes of this study, the diversity of a journal is defined by the variety of authors being published in the journal including their sex and their country of institutional affiliation (author diversity), and the different issues and geographic location of the organizations they discuss (content diversity). The aim of the article is to generate a better understanding of Intelligence Studies, and use this knowledge as a basis to call for more diversity in the research field – with the hope that further diversity will generate new insights into the practices of intelligence.

Research questions

To assess author and content diversity in Intelligence Studies five main research questions were devised:

- Have men/women authored more articles in *INS* and *IJIC*?
- In what countries and regions are authors publishing in *INS* and *IJIC* based?
- Who are the most prolific authors publishing in *INS* and *IJIC* and where are they based?
- Where are the intelligence organizations discussed in *INS* and *IJIC* based?
- What aspects of intelligence do articles published in *INS* and *IJIC* tend to focus on?

Many other study questions could have furthered our understanding of diversity in the scholarship of Intelligence Studies, and could be considered in similar studies. We initially wanted to examine the background of each author to assess the degree to which intelligence practitioners and other non-academic professions, such as journalists or experts working in think tanks and defense companies, have contributed to the literature of Intelligence Studies. However, when coding the data, we realized that many practitioners published in intelligence journals in the latter part of their career, after having operated a transition to academia. Taking their profession at the time of the publication would have resulted in counting them as scholars. Another option would have been to create a specific category of “practitioner-turned-scholar”. However, it is not always possible to determine with enough confidence whether or not authors have worked or do work as an intelligence practitioner. To avoid imprecision we decided not to include a variable on the author’s background in the final study.

We also considered examining the main issues (e.g. terrorism, proliferation of weapons, cybersecurity etc.) covered by each article, and the perspective or academic discipline used by authors to study intelligence (communication studies, history, literary studies, political science, psychology etc.). However, we quickly realized that many issues and approaches overlap, and this situation makes it particularly difficult to reach decisions when coding the data. This is not surprising, as security issues have become increasingly interconnected in recent decades. For example, a terrorist organization can proliferate weapons and seek funding through criminal activities. Likewise, single articles often borrow from multiple disciplines, confirming the multidisciplinary nature of Intelligence Studies.¹⁶ Adding to the challenge, historians do not always publish strictly historical pieces, and social scientists have made significant use of archival research to publish essentially historical pieces on intelligence practices. These overlaps make it difficult to find variables or attributes that are mutually exclusive, and as a result, we preferred not to pursue this track.¹⁷

Attributes and coding

To answer our main research questions, we created six different attributes, or characteristics, of interest for each article published in the journals and created a database that we have decided to make publicly available, should any student of intelligence want to use, expand it, or provide corrections.¹⁸ These attributes and the categories attached to each of them are defined below.¹⁹

- **Year:** the year of publication of each article (from 1986 to 2015). This attribute allows us to evaluate the evolution of other attributes over time.
- **Author's sex:** the sex of the (co-)author(s) of each article (male or female).

- **Author's country:** the country where the author's institution is based at the time of the publication. If the author is an independent writer, the author's country of residence at the time of the publication was used. Co-authorship occasionally led us to count multiple countries for a single article.
- **Intelligence aspect:** the main types of intelligence activities, or activities related to intelligence discussed in the article. We distinguish between nine categories, which are defined below. To code each article's category, we considered their main aim and contribution based on the abstract, the introduction, the conclusion, and the general outline and content of each section. We have tried to remain as consistent as possible, but found that, quite often, the assignment of one or more categories to a specific article is a subjective task.²⁰
 - *Analysis and production:* the process through which raw information is turned into a report. This category includes articles about threat-issues that are of interest to analysts (e.g. biological threats, terrorism etc.).
 - *Accountability and ethics:* the process through which intelligence agencies, their employees and political masters are held to account. This category includes discussions of the ethical, legal, political standards (e.g. discussions about government secrecy v. transparency) to which they are held to account, and the actions that are taken in this context (e.g. declassification, the passage of new laws).
 - *Collection:* the various ways through which raw information is gathered by intelligence and security agencies.
 - *Consumption and policy:* the use that is made of intelligence by its consumers, and the impact of political decisions on intelligence (including policymakers' requirements for

intelligence). This category includes articles that focus on national security and foreign policy priorities.

- *Counterintelligence and security*: activities conducted to protect a regime, its security apparatus, and people against the activities of hostile organizations and individuals, including communication, operational, personnel, and physical security.
- *Covert action and operations*: this category reflects the active role played by intelligence and security organizations; it includes covert action (propaganda, covert political and economic action, paramilitary operations, and lethal action) and military operations as they relate to intelligence (including the use of operations to deceive enemies).
- *Culture*: this category is not about an intelligence function per se, but about the relationship between intelligence and culture. It includes contributions focusing on the literature of intelligence (fiction, textbooks, research and teaching methodology, historiographical debates, new archival sources etc.), and the place of intelligence in the public imaginary (e.g. representation of intelligence in theatre plays and other public spaces).
- *Intelligence liaison*: cooperation between the intelligence services and/or their political masters in two or more countries.
- *Intelligence process*: articles approaching intelligence holistically including requirements, collection, analysis, dissemination, and consumption. This includes articles on the staffing and organization of intelligence systems, and their evolution through reform.
- **Country**: the country(ies) where the main intelligence actors and organizations examined in the article are located. For a country to be considered, at least one paragraph has to focus on its intelligence apparatus. Countries that were mentioned as a brief example were not

included. For theoretical articles, we considered the main examples that were used and the country where the debate takes place as a reference.

- *Name of the country*²¹
- *International Organization* (United Nations, Europol, the European Union etc.)²²
- *N/A*: when an article could not be tied to any specific country or international organization. This includes articles focusing on non-state actors like Al Qaeda.
- **Region**: continent where the actors and organizations are based.²³
 - *Africa*
 - *Asia*
 - *Europe* (including Norway, Switzerland, Russia, Vatican City)
 - *Latin America and the Caribbean*
 - *Middle East*
 - *North America* (the United States and Canada)
 - *Oceania*
 - *N/A*: when an article could not be tied to any specific region of the world.

Findings

Male/Female authorship

The findings confirm what is visible to anyone who regularly attends conferences on intelligence and security affairs, a vast majority of the authors who publish in the two flagship journals are males (1959 males or 90.9% of all the authors, 196 females or 9.1%).²⁴ Overall, 138 different female (11.3%) and 1084 different male authors (88.7%) have published articles in *INS* and *IJIC*. The plain trend line in figure 1 shows that, on the whole, the percentage of women publishing in

the two journals has generally increased over the years. Since 1993, each volume has included at least one contribution by a female author or co-author. The post-2010 period counts already four years where at least ten females have authored or co-authored articles in the journals. The gap between the percentage of male and female authors who publish in the two journals every year remains significant and a comparison of the female and male trend lines (respectively plain and dotted) suggests that this gap is diminishing slowly, despite the efforts provided by the editors of *INS*, who have actively encouraged women to submit their article manuscripts and invited some onto the editorial board.²⁵

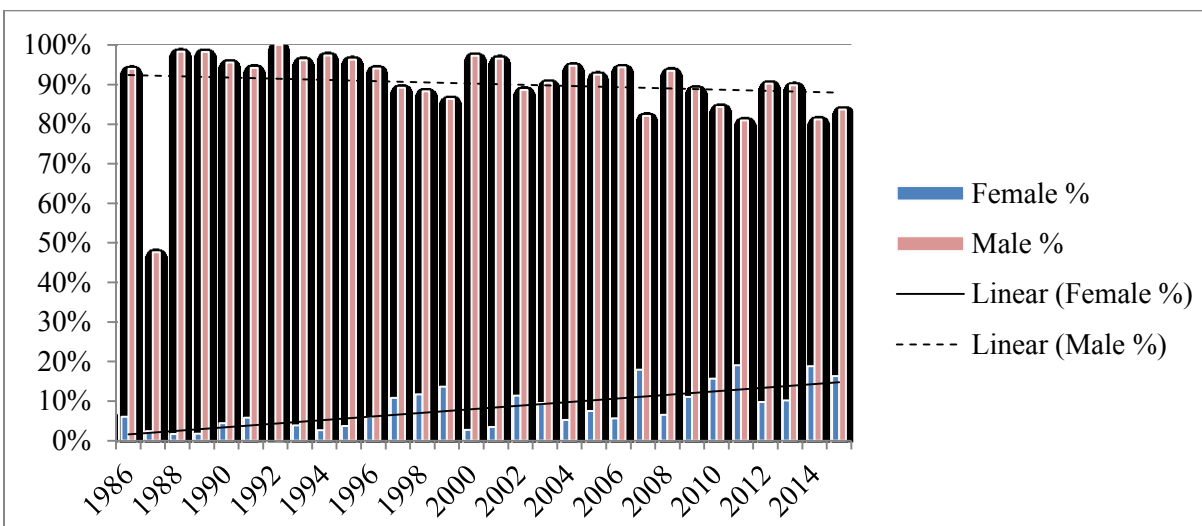


Figure 1. Percentage of female author in *IJIC* & *INS* per year (1986-2015)

In what countries and regions are authors publishing in IJIC and INS based?

- United States (1066)
- United Kingdom (608)
- Canada (167)
- Israel (80)

- Australia (40)
- Netherlands (27)
- Sweden (18)
- Germany (14)
- France (13)
- Spain (12)
- Romania (10)
- Finland, Slovenia (9)
- Denmark, Greece, Norway (8)
- Ireland, Switzerland (7)
- Brazil (6)
- Belgium, Italy (5)
- Hungary, New Zealand, Singapore (3)
- Argentina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Japan, Poland, Russia (2)
- Hong Kong, South Korea, South Africa, Taiwan, Mongolia, Portugal, Mexico (1)

The field is very clearly dominated by authors based in English-speaking countries, with the top three countries – the United Kingdom, United States, Canada – accounting for 1841 or 85.4% of all publication under consideration.²⁶ These three countries are also all part of one of the most influential intelligence partnerships in the world, the five eyes community (in addition to Australia and New Zealand). From a regional perspective, the field remains clearly dominated by scholars based in North America (1233 articles) and Europe (780). Other regions of the world are all represented to a lesser extent, with 80 articles published by authors based in the Middle East

(all from Israel), 43 articles from Oceania (all from Australia and New Zealand), nine from Asia (from Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Mongolia and South Korea), nine from Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico), and only one from Africa (South Africa).

Altogether *IJIC* and *INS* have published research by authors based in 37 countries. The journals can truly claim to be international, even if a vast majority of their articles are published by authors based in the Western world. The trend line on figure 2 shows that, over the years, *IJIC* and *INS* volumes have tended to feature contributions from authors based in an increasingly diverse set of countries. For example, in 1986, the two journals included contributions from authors based in five countries, while their 2015 issues include contributions from authors based in 16 countries. This diversification can be explained by the democratization and increased transparency of intelligence services in a host of countries. Richard Valcourt, the editor in chief for *IJIC*, notes that “We have increasingly ventured beyond the traditional American and British intelligence communities as the opportunities for doing so have become available. For most of even the current era, the operations of secret intelligence services have remained secret. But, slowly but surely, as intelligence democratization through legislative and judicial oversight has gained preference among Western nations—and elsewhere—the Journal’s pages have featured articles by scholars and practitioners from a host of countries”.²⁷ Loch Johnson, the senior editor for *INS*, points out that he has actively encouraged non-Anglo nationals attending academic conferences to submit their pieces for publication in *INS*.²⁸

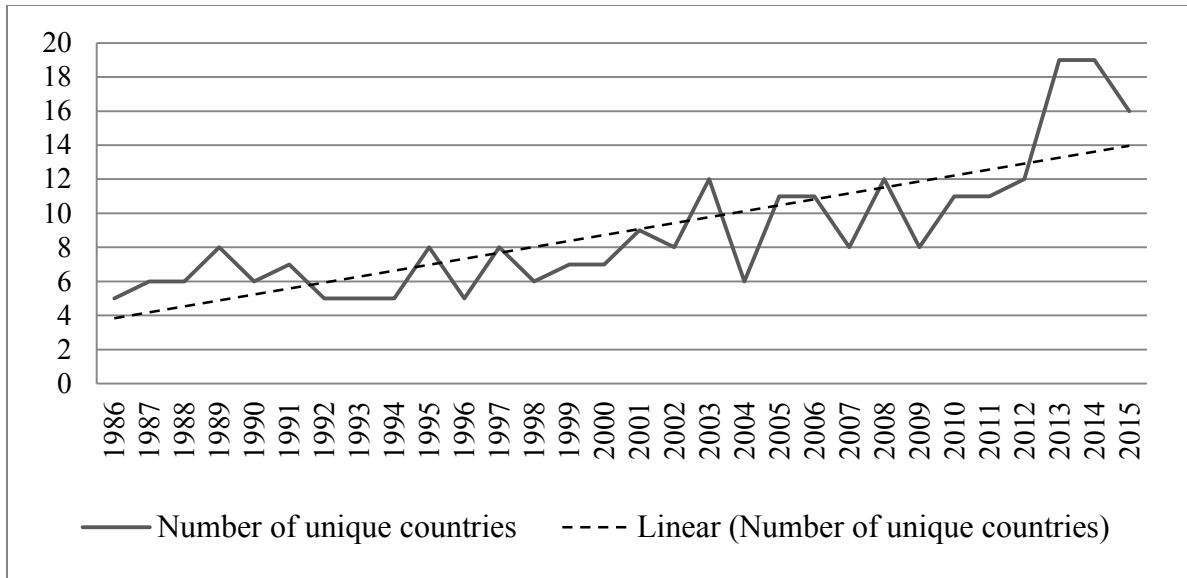


Figure 2. *IJIC* and *INS* author's country of institutional affiliation, cumulative (1986-2015).

The most prolific authors

An examination of the journals' most prolific authors confirms the dominant position of Western male authors. All of the 27 most prolific authors are males, and all but one author (based in Israel) are based in Northern America and Western Europe.

- Christopher Andrew (23 articles)
- Arthur Hulnick, Loch Johnson (21 articles)
- Richard J. Aldrich (18 articles)
- Oleg Gordievsky (17 articles)
- John Ferris (15 articles)
- Jeffrey Richelson (14 articles)
- Stephane Lefebvre, Stephen Marrin (13 articles)
- Uri Bar-Joseph, Martin Rudner (12 articles)

- H. O. Dovey, Ralph Erskine, Glenn Hastedt, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, Robert Steele, Michael Warner (11 articles)
- Matthew M. Aid (10 articles)

Where do the intelligence organizations discussed in IJIC and INS come from?

Overall, *IJIC* and *INS* publications discuss the intelligence systems and organizations of 101 countries. The top ten of these countries by number of articles is:

- United States (996)
- United Kingdom (519)
- Russia (215)
- Germany (140)
- Israel (82)
- France (67)
- Canada (60)
- Japan; International Organization (42)
- China (31)
- Australia (27)

Publications in the journal have focused extensively on the United States (the US Intelligence Community is examined in some detail in 996 articles) and the United Kingdom (the British services are scrutinized in 519 articles). The American and British intelligence communities are mentioned in 1362 articles, that is 71.2% of all the articles under scrutiny in this study. Authors publishing in the field of Intelligence Studies have clearly focused their attention towards

intelligence systems in the great powers of the twentieth century, in addition to Canada and Australia, whose presence can be explained by their membership in the Five Eyes community and the fact that they are Anglophone countries. When reorganizing the data by region, North America is clearly dominant (intelligence organizations based in this region are mentioned in 1036 articles), followed by Europe (893), the Middle East (119), Asia (116), Latin America (34), Africa (31), and Oceania (29). The prominence of European and North American countries is also very clear when considering each region on a yearly basis, and this trend does not appear to be changing. Overall, archival availability, the influence of military history on Intelligence Studies and the Second World War focus of much historical writing about intelligence can explain the prominent place of North America and Europe in the literature. Figure 3 helps visualizing content diversity in the field of Intelligence Studies based on the frequency of publications focusing on the intelligence services of world countries. The lack of publications on African intelligence organizations is apparent.

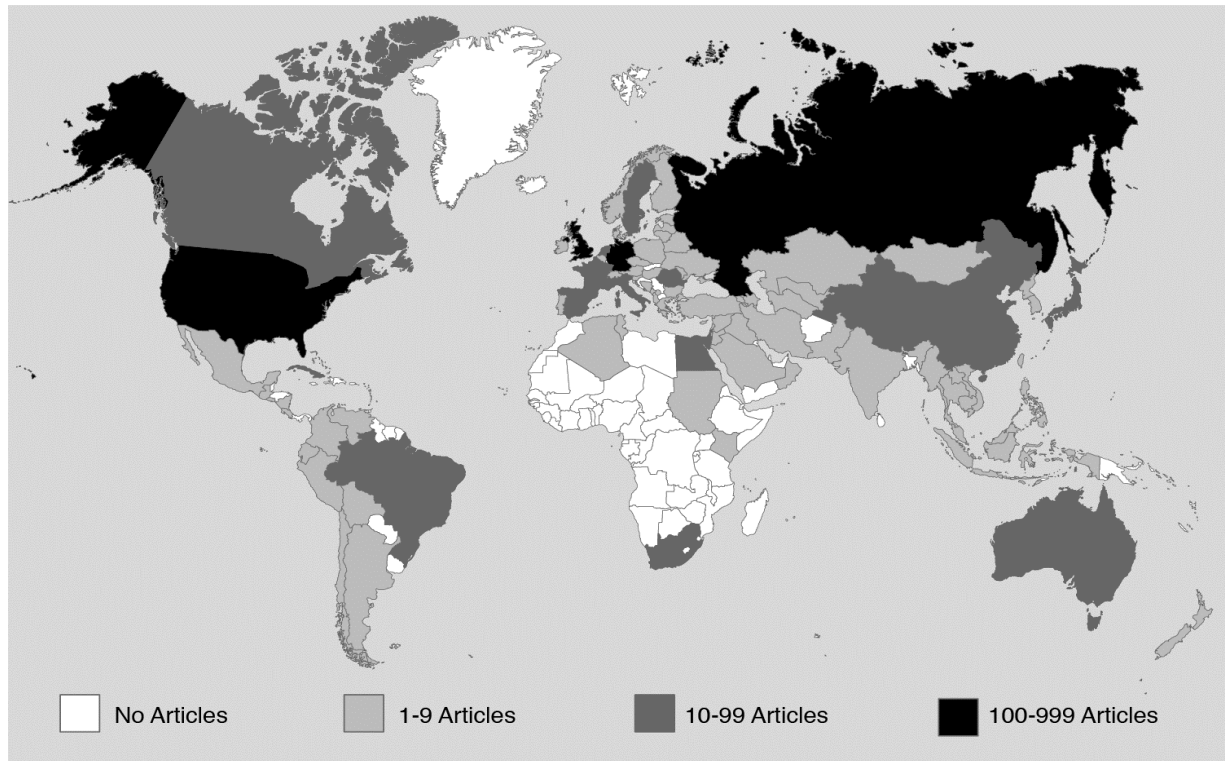


Figure 3. Frequency at which world countries' intelligence organizations are examined in *IJIS* & *INS* articles²⁹

What aspects of intelligence do articles published in IJIC and INS tend to focus on?

- Intelligence process (479)
- Analysis and production (361)
- Consumption and policy (352)
- Collection (296)
- Counterintelligence and security (291)
- Covert action and operations (251)
- Accountability and ethics (201)
- Culture (167)
- Intelligence liaison (118)

On the whole, *IJIC* and *INS* authors have expressed a continuing interest in all the intelligence aspects under scrutiny. The findings in this domain show that the intelligence process is generating the most interest. In addition, the core intelligence activities forming the intelligence cycle (collection, analysis and production, consumption and policy) account for a significant part (40.1%) of the issues discussed in the journals.³⁰ Figure 4 shows the evolution of some of the main issues discussed in the journal articles over the years.³¹ Shifts from the 1990s to the 2000s are particularly visible with declining numbers of articles examining intelligence collection and consumption and policy (plain lines), and a growing number of publications covering issues of analysis and production, accountability and ethics, and the intelligence process (dotted lines) from 2001-2005 onwards. The increasing interest in these issues can be related to some of the main debates that have animated the field of Intelligence Studies at the turn of the twenty-first century, including the US failure to prevent the 9/11 attacks, the controversy surrounding intelligence analysis before the 2003 war in Iraq, discussions about intelligence reform in democracies, and the ruthless intelligence practices deployed by Western intelligence and security organizations in the global war on terrorism.³²

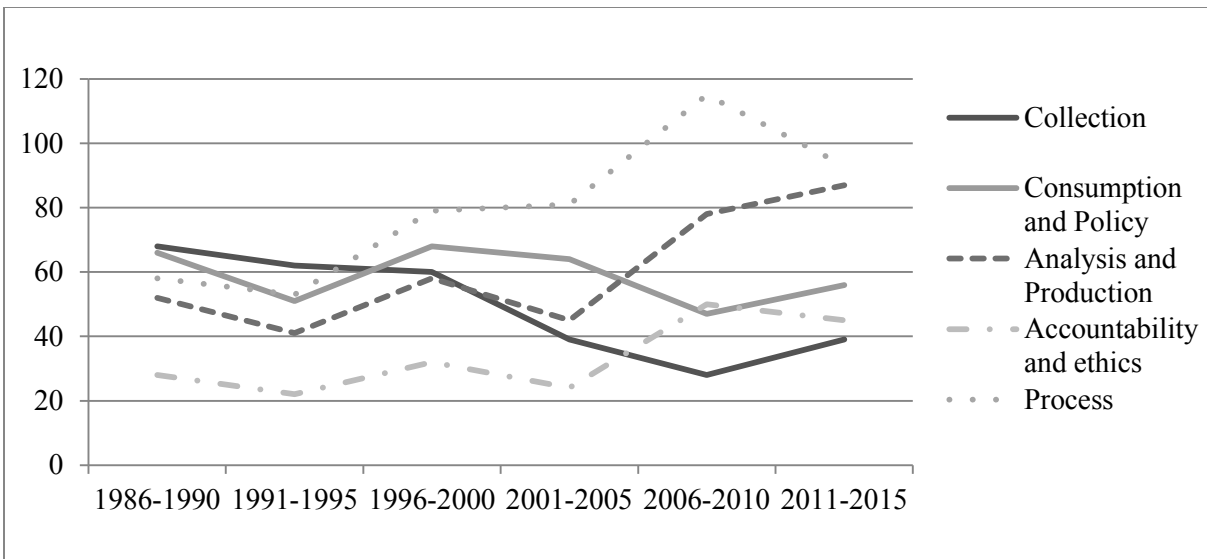


Figure 4. Five intelligence aspects in *IJIC* and *INS* scholarship, per 5 years (1986-2015).

Diversifying Intelligence Studies

This study has highlighted a number of trends in *INS* and *IJIC* publications. A vast majority of authors publishing in the two flagship journals of Intelligence Studies are males affiliated with institutions based in the United Kingdom and the United States. Looking at the content of the publications, most of them focus on intelligence organizations based in these two countries, and more generally in North America and Europe. On the whole, the contribution made by *IJIC* and *INS* to the field of Intelligence Studies is undeniable. Some of the most important discoveries and debates about the role of intelligence in domestic and international affairs have been published in the journals. However, despite the efforts of the journal editors, these discoveries and debates are often restricted to Western scholarship about Western intelligence agencies. This study found notable, though limited, trends towards the diversification of the journals' author base. This is encouraging but the diversification of Intelligence Studies should not remain confined to the efforts pursued by the editors of its two flagship journals. Multiple actors have a stake in and a

responsibility to make Intelligence Studies a more diverse research field that is reflective of the world “out there”. A more eclectic author base, representing a host of cognitive styles and experiences, can enrich and deepen our understanding of intelligence organizations, processes and cultures.³³

At the most basic level, scholars can research other intelligence cultures and systems.³⁴ In *IJIC* and *INS* alone, research has been published on intelligence agencies based in 101 countries. This is significant but it also means that over 90 countries remain “unexplored”. Some of the issues students of intelligence may face at this level include the difficulty to research agencies on which very little has been written, and, as a result, on which academic engagement (and citations) is likely to remain limited. Intelligence scholar Richard Aldrich notes that the British and American intelligence communities act as “black holes” in the universe of Intelligence Studies.³⁵ There is a considerable amount of research on these intelligence systems, and this mass naturally attracts further research following relatively well-established pathways. The Anglo-American “black hole” also influences the rest of the universe of Intelligence Studies as research on other intelligence systems tends to position itself in reference to the British and American cases, which offer a solid basis for comparison. For those of us who have been sucked into this black hole, exploring intelligence beyond this horizon can seem difficult.

Building a significant body of research on intelligence outside of the Anglosphere has the potential to create new “black holes” driving the evolution of the wider universe of Intelligence Studies away from cultural biases. This diversification will require skilled and driven researchers who understand non-Anglophone cultures and are ready to explore intelligence practices and cultures in countries where their research may not be particularly welcome. Cooperation between authors from different countries and the efforts of multi-lingual scholars can also open new

windows into under-researched intelligence cultures. Intelligence Studies should not be limited to literature written in English. In practice, the field is much larger as publicly available literature on intelligence practices and organizations is readily available in other languages including Dutch,³⁶ French,³⁷ Hebrew,³⁸ Japanese,³⁹ and Spanish,⁴⁰ to name a few.

Journals and their editors have a responsibility towards their field of study. Research points out the role model effect and the gatekeeping power of editors who oversee review and acceptance practices.⁴¹ Political scientists Mary Stegmaier, Barbara Palmer, and Laura van Assendelft argue that the greater inclusion of women and “others who bring different perspectives to research could result in a more vibrant range of research topics and methodological approaches published in a journal”.⁴² The editors of *IJIC* and *INS* are well aware of the importance of diversifying the pool of authors and the content of Intelligence Studies. The inclusion of female scholars on the two journals’ editorial board is a positive sign but this logic could be brought further and, in the future, a woman will perhaps become editor of an intelligence journal. Whatever their origins and sex, editors are in an ideal position to encourage scholars to contribute to the study of intelligence and shape the field. Two key instruments they can use to seek to diversify intelligence research are special issues and calls for papers.

Further diversifying editorial boards is important to make a statement and give a greater place to different perspectives. The editorial boards of *IJIC* and *INS* are currently composed of a vast majority of male experts (86 males and 9 females) who are primarily based in the US (54 members) and the UK (21). Altogether *IJIC* and *INS* editorial board members are based in eleven different countries.⁴³ In turn, editorial boards and journals can only do so much, as their diversity depends on the pool of researchers in the field. In 2016, the Intelligence Studies Section (ISS) of the International Studies Association, one of the main hubs for intelligence scholars, counted 261

male (77%) and 78 female (23%) members.⁴⁴ At the 2016 ISA Convention, 31 female (22%) and 108 male (88%) scholars featured on the ISS program.⁴⁵ ISS membership and program suggest that the number of females actively involved in the field is limited. This situation can be related to broader societal issues including gender biases. For example, research in the field of Science has showed that subtle gender biases make female students less likely to be hired because they are “viewed as less competent.”⁴⁶ A study on the political impact of gender finds that political candidates displaying more traditional female traits such as warmth and compassion were rated lower on their perceived ability to handle military matters.⁴⁷ Similar biases might be limiting the inclusion and career advancement of female scholars in Intelligence Studies, and further research is needed to better understand the obstacles to further diversification of the field’s author base.

At the systemic level, the lack of content diversity in the field of Intelligence Studies can be related to broader trends in the field of International Relations, including the dominance of American scholars and institutions, and the decline of Regional Studies in the last few decades.⁴⁸ Occasional efforts, like the publication of *Intelligence Elsewhere: Spies and Espionage Outside the Anglosphere*, are notable and need to be replicated to expand the field.⁴⁹ Other systemic effects are found at the university and national levels, where the requirements of the tenure clock in the United States, and the government’s Research Excellence Framework (REF) cycle in the United Kingdom encourage researchers to produce research outputs within a five year timeframe. Researching intelligence in countries that have hitherto remained unexplored is likely to require significantly more time. To counter these effects, incentives can be created, especially by established academic and professional associations, to foster a more diverse body of research.⁵⁰ For example, intelligence associations could offer awards and grants aiming to

support research by a more diverse set of scholars on intelligence in under-researched countries and contexts.

Governments also have a responsibility and interest in diversifying the field of Intelligence Studies. Intelligence agencies, and in particular those organizations working on issues of counterintelligence and security, would benefit from a wider pool of knowledge on the inner working and cultures of other countries' intelligence apparatuses. In fact, a parallel universe of research and academic expertise on intelligence cultures may already exist behind the closed doors of government agencies. Making some of this research publicly accessible, though challenging from a security perspective, would open new avenues of research and ease the diversification of Intelligence Studies.

One of the main reasons why so many intelligence scholars focus their research on the American and the British communities is because of the archival resources these countries have made available.⁵¹ Governments should consider the utility of increased transparency and archival disclosures, the primary ingredients of a healthy national debate over the role of intelligence and security services in a democracy. Another means to foster intelligence research is to establish clear bridges between academia and government intelligence agencies, for example through the use of scholars in residence (scholars teaching and researching at intelligence agencies) and officers in residence (intelligence professionals teaching and researching at universities).⁵² Fostering national communities of scholars specialized in intelligence can provide a useful, if occasional, source of advice to government decision-makers, and more generally inform the public about the role of intelligence agencies in a variety of contexts.⁵³ From this perspective the diversification of Intelligence Studies could benefit to the tune of more than a few hundred intelligence scholars.

Notes

¹ Newtown, "Letter to Hooke," 416.

² For a bibliography, see: Clark, "The Literature of Intelligence." On the development of Intelligence Studies see: Dujmovic, "Fifty Years of Studies in Intelligence," 1-13; Johnson and Shelton, "Thoughts on the State of Intelligence Studies," 109-120; Johnson, "The Development of Intelligence Studies," 4-9; Johnson and Phythian, "Intelligence and National Security at Thirty," 1-7.

³ Richard Valcourt, e-mail to the lead author, November 20, 2015. For more on the Church and Pike committees' work, see: Johnson, *A Season of Inquiry*; Johnson, "Establishment of modern intelligence accountability," 37-56.

⁴ The *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* was also established in 1986. The Central Intelligence Agency's in-house journal *Studies in Intelligence* was established in the mid-1950s.

⁵ Dowden and Valcourt, "A Gentlemen's Gentleman," 570-573; Editorial board, *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* 1, no.1.

⁶ Valcourt, e-mail to the lead author, November 20, 2015. For a discussion of peer review practices and their effects, see: Lee et al., "Bias in peer review," 2-17.

⁷ The universe for this study focuses on significant contributions to the literature. This universe is composed of all the articles listed on the two journals' website as "original articles", "review articles", "commentary", "reminiscence", "research notes", "interview", "special dialogue", and "forum". Introductions and contributions listed under "miscellany" were included when they were substantial (longer than four pages) and did not simply provide a copy or translation of a historical document. Book reviews and roundtable reviews were not included in the dataset.

⁸ Waever, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline," 687-727; Maliniak and Oakes, "Women in International Relations," 122-144; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter, "The Gender Citation Gap in International Relations," 889-922; Østby, Strand, and Nordås, "Gender Gap or Gender Bias in Peace Research?," 493-506; Colgan, "Where Is International Relations Going?," 10.

⁹ Evans and Moulder, "Reflecting on a Decade of Women's Publications in Four Top Political Science Journals," 797; Breuning and Sanders, "Gender and Journal Authorship in Eight Prestigious Political Science Journals," 319-326.

¹⁰ Bilgin, "The 'Western-Centrism' of Security Studies," 615. On competing national ideas of intelligence see: Davies, "Ideas of Intelligence," 62-66.

¹¹ Research in the field of business administration shows that workforce diversity is a key driver for creativity. See: Hong and Page, "Groups of diverse problem solvers can outperform groups of high-ability problem solvers," 16385-16389. On workforce diversity in the U.S. Intelligence Community, see: Callum, "The Case for Cultural Diversity in the Intelligence Community," 25-48; Van Puyvelde and Coulthart, "The Intelligence Community Must Remove Barriers to Minority Recruitment."

¹² Richard Valcourt, email to the lead author, March 2, 2016.

¹³ Krasnov, *Soviet Defectors*; Andrew and Neilson, "Tsarist codebreakers and British codes," 6-12; Grant, "Deception on a grand scale," 51-77.

¹⁴ Aldrich and Kasuku, "Escaping from American Intelligence," 1009-1028; Davies and Gustafson, *Intelligence Elsewhere*; de Graaff and Nyce, *Handbook of European Intelligence*

Cultures. The Annual Convention of the International Studies Association in 2014 and 2015 both hosted panels on “Intelligence Beyond the Anglosphere.”

¹⁵ Johnson, “Editorial Note,” 421; Johnson and Phythian, “Intelligence and National Security at Thirty,” 7.

¹⁶ Scott and Jackson, “The Study of Intelligence in Theory and Practice,” 139-169.

¹⁷ For similar efforts, see: Johnson, “The Development of Intelligence Studies,” 10-11; Varouhakis, “What is Being Published in Intelligence?,” 180, 183.

¹⁸ Van Puyvelde and Curtis, “Database of contributions to *Intelligence and National Security* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* (1986-2015),” on file with authors and available on demand.

¹⁹ We have tried to use clear and widely accepted definitions, but realize that other intelligence scholars will disagree with them.

²⁰ Numerous scholars will probably disagree with our decisions to categorize specific articles. We are aware that subjectivity may limit the validity of our findings for this specific variable.

²¹ Historic countries have been referenced under their modern name (Germany for Prussia, East and West Germany, Myanmar for Burma, Russia for the Soviet Union). For historic countries or empires that are now separated, we kept the historic name (Austro-Hungary, Carthage, Czechoslovakia, Rome, and Yugoslavia). This decision was made so that the number of countries discussed in the articles under review would not be inflated.

²² This category is still visible in the database, but we decided not to use it in our final analysis, as it does not help measuring geographic diversity.

²³ Geographic belonging to a region/continent is based on the Central Intelligence Agency’s World Factbook. South America and Central America have been merged to form Latin America. Central South, South East and East Asia are all under the category Asia, except for Russia which has been included in Europe.

²⁴ Johnson, “The Development of Intelligence Studies,” 15-16.

²⁵ Loch K. Johnson, email to the lead author, 8 September 2015. The editorial board of *Intelligence and National Security* currently includes five women (11%) and forty men (89%).

²⁶ For a similar finding, see: Johnson, “The Development of Intelligence Studies,” 14-15.

²⁷ Valcourt, email to the lead author, March 2, 2016.

²⁸ Johnson, email to the lead author.

²⁹ Historic countries were not included.

³⁰ Johnson, “The Development of Intelligence Studies,” 10. Johnson distinguishes between Collection (19% of all articles published in *INS* from 1986 to 2011), Analysis (9%), and Dissemination (3%). The categories used by Johnson to answer a similar question are relatively different to those used in this article, and this difference limits further comparison.

³¹ The categories “intelligence process as a whole”, “consumption and policy”, “covert actions and operations”, “intelligence liaison” and “intelligence culture”, were left out because their evolution over time did not show any significant shift. Including all of the categories for this variable in a single graph would have created a confusing representation.

³² See for example: Fitzgerald and Ned Lebow, “Iraq: The Mother of all intelligence failures,” 884-909; Kern, “Torture and Intelligence in the Global War on Terror,” 429-457.

³³ This argument is supported by research in number of fields. On differences of cognitive styles, see: Head, “Gender Identity and Cognitive Style,” 59-70. On the value of diversity, see: Page,

The difference; Jain, Bearden, Filipowicz, *Diverse Personalities Make for Wiser Crowds*; Phillips, Kim-Jun, Shim, “The Value of Diversity in Organizations,” 253-271.

³⁴ See for example: Davies and Gustafson, *Intelligence Elsewhere*.

³⁵ Richard Aldrich, phone conversation with lead author, September 16, 2015.

³⁶ Belgian Intelligence Studies Center, “Cahiers Inlichtingenstudies.” The BISC also publishes studies in English.

³⁷ Sébastien Laurent, “Promouvoir une authentique communauté épistémique d’analystes du renseignement.” For an attempt to build a bridge between the French and English speaking literature on French intelligence, see: Van Puyvelde, “Intelligence, Democratic Accountability, and the Media in France,” 287-305.

³⁸ Dr. Steven Wagner (McGill University), a specialist in Israeli intelligence, points out the existence of the Centre for Intelligence Heritage’s journal entitled *mabat malam* (<http://www.intelligence.org.il/MabatMalam.aspx>) and the Institute for National Security Studies publications (<http://heb.inss.org.il/index.aspx?id=4348>), including the journal *‘iyunim b’modi’in* (Studies in intelligence) published in 2007.

³⁹ See the Japan Military Review (<http://gunken.jp/blog/>), where Dr. Chikara Hashimoto (University of Sharjah), the Assistant Editor for *INS*, has published numerous articles on intelligence.

⁴⁰ See the journal: *Inteligencia y Seguridad: Revista de Analisis y Prospectiva* (<http://www.plazayvaldes.es/libro/inteligencia-y-seguridad-revista-de-analisis-y-prospectiva-no-16/1565/>).

⁴¹ McMurtrie, “Political Science is Rife With Gender Bias, Scholars Find.”

⁴² Stegmaier, Palmer, and van Assendelft, “Getting on the Board,” 799.

⁴³ International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence. “Editorial board.”; Intelligence and National Security. “Editorial Board.” The countries represented on the two journals’ editorial board include: Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

⁴⁴ International Studies Association, “Gender Distribution of ISA Membership.” For broader trends in academic employment, see: Curtis, “Persistent Inequity.”

⁴⁵ International Studies Association, 57th Annual Convention, Full Program.

⁴⁶ Moss-Racusin et al., “Science faculty’s subtle gender biases favor male students,” 16474.

⁴⁷ Huddy and Terkildsen, “Gender Stereotypes and Perception of Male and Female Candidates,” 119.

⁴⁸ Fukuyama, “How Academia Failed the Nation”; Waever, “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline,” 687-727.

⁴⁹ Davies and Gustafson, *Intelligence Elsewhere*, 8-10.

⁵⁰ For a list of some of these associations, see: Johnson, “The Development of Intelligence Studies,” 18-19.

⁵¹ Aldrich, “Grow your own,” 135-152; Hughes, Jackson and Scott, *Exploring Intelligence Archives*.

⁵² Hedley, “Twenty Years of Officers in Residence,” 31-39; Scott, “Sources and methods in the study of intelligence,” 200; Marrin, “Intelligence Studies Centers,” 415.

⁵³ Gill, Marrin, and Phythian, *Intelligence Theory*, 212-213; Van Puyvelde, “We need to fix the way we talk about national intelligence.”

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