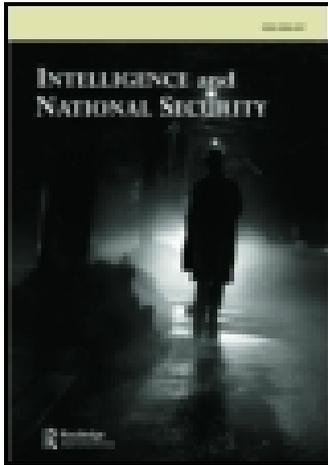


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ARTICLE

Improving Intelligence Studies as an Academic Discipline

STEPHEN MARRIN*

ABSTRACT As the field of intelligence studies develops as an academic complement to the practice of national security intelligence, it is providing a base of knowledge for intelligence practitioners to interpret their past, understand their present, and forecast their future. It also provides the basis for broader understanding of intelligence as a function of government for other government and security officials, academicians, and the general public. In recent years there has been significant growth in the numbers and kinds of intelligence-related educational and training opportunities, with the knowledge taught in these courses and programs derived from the body of intelligence studies scholarship. The question posed here is: to what extent is this body of knowledge sufficient as a basis for the development of intelligence studies as an academic discipline?

Intelligence studies is an academic complement to the practice of national security intelligence; the contribution that higher education makes to interpreting its past, understanding its present, and forecasting its future. It forms a body of knowledge that is academic – frequently embedded within broader studies of government and foreign policy – yet also useful for the intelligence professional. As the literature grows and entire academic degree programs, departments, and even colleges are dedicated to the study and teaching of intelligence, it is becoming more established as an academic discipline.¹ At the same time, there are significant gaps in the literature due to a generalized failure to ensure knowledge accumulation and aggregation over time. Improving intelligence studies as an academic discipline will require reinforcing best practices that exist in academia by identifying, acquiring, storing, creating, and disseminating new knowledge.² More effective

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¹For a recent discussion of intelligence studies as an academic discipline, see Loch Johnson and Allison Shelton, ‘Thoughts on the State of Intelligence Studies: A Survey Report’, *Intelligence and National Security* 28/1 (2013) pp.109–20.

²These recommendations are derived in part from remarks given at the Conference on Learning the Lessons of All-Source Intelligence Analysis sponsored by State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence’s Intelligence Community Lessons Learned Center, Washington, DC, July 2008.

implementation of these practices will strengthen the coherence of intelligence studies as an academic discipline while at the same time increasing its impact on broader scholarship, public understanding, and government practice.

Intelligence Studies Literature: Large and Growing

The intelligence studies literature is quite large, and growing. This was not always true, however. In 1955, Sherman Kent observed that the intelligence profession lacked a literature and as a result was unable to ensure that knowledge about the intelligence business was captured and made accessible to others.³ To address this inadequacy, Kent strongly argued for the self-conscious development of a professional literature. Soon after, in 1957 Washington Platt observed that: ‘the literature dealing specifically with the principles of strategic intelligence is scant, and does not reflect even the best of what is now known’.⁴ Platt attributed this to ‘the newness of the systematic pursuit of strategic intelligence, and in part to the lack of graduate courses and graduate students’ as well as the general paucity of researchers on the subject.

Many of the problems of the 1950s and the early years of intelligence studies have been fixed as both government and academia have contributed to knowledge advancement in the field. The US government has traditionally participated in this process through CIA’s Center for the Study of Intelligence, and National Intelligence University’s Center for Strategic Intelligence Research.⁵ Other governments such as Britain, Romania, Turkey, and Spain have also begun to support intelligence studies research, especially through intelligence studies associations. At the same time, academia has contributed to intelligence studies through the development of a cadre of intelligence studies specialists primarily in political science and history departments. They tend to come together in conferences organized by various academic and professional associations where a good part of the intelligence studies scholarship is developed and presented. Foremost among these are the Intelligence Studies Section portion of the annual International Studies Association conference, the British Study Group on Intelligence and Security and Intelligence Study Group, the Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies, and the Australian Institute of Professional Intelligence Officers, though many others also support intelligence studies research and scholarship.

Once it has been developed, new contributions to the intelligence studies literature are then published in a handful of dedicated journals including the peer-reviewed journal *Intelligence and National Security*, the more policy-oriented *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, and

³Sherman Kent, ‘The Need for an Intelligence Literature’, *Studies in Intelligence* Spring (1955) pp.1–11.

⁴Washington Platt, *Strategic Intelligence Production: Basic Principles* (USA: Praeger 1957) pp.133–4.

⁵Russell G. Swenson, ‘Meeting the Intelligence Community’s Continuing Need for an Intelligence Literature’, *Defense Intelligence Journal* 11/2 (2002) pp.87–96.

the widely-referenced CIA journal *Studies in Intelligence*, in addition to more specialized journals generally produced by various intelligence-related organizations and associations.⁶ While most of the intelligence studies literature exists in the form of journal articles, book publishers have also gotten involved, with Routledge's Studies in Intelligence book series focusing on the research market, Rowman and Littlefield's Professional Intelligence Education Series focusing on the practitioner market, and Georgetown University Press and CQ Press focusing on the academic market. The growing literature makes up the body of knowledge in the field. The accumulation of the literature has become so notable that in 2009 the Chronicle of Higher Education published a profile of intelligence studies as a growing academic discipline.⁷

When one surveys the extensive intelligence studies literature in all its variety, the literature can appear to be quite large indeed. Scholars who have evaluated the intelligence studies literature have focused on general overviews or the state of the literature in specific countries.⁸ Some of these evaluations have even focused on the importance of learning from history, both for its own sake as well as for improving practice in the future.⁹ This is, essentially, the contribution that scholarship can make to practitioner-oriented efforts to learn from past experience in various history and lessons learned centers which are dedicated to avoid the Santayana admonition that 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it'.¹⁰

⁶For more on the value of the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* for conventional scholars and practitioners, see Jason Vest, 'Artificial Intelligence', *Foreign Policy*, 4 January 2006.

⁷Peter Monaghan, 'Intelligence Studies', *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 20 March 2009.

⁸Loch K. Johnson, 'An Introduction to the Intelligence Studies Literature' in Loch Johnson (ed.) *Strategic Intelligence* (Westport, CT: Praeger 2007) pp.1–20; Kenneth G. Robertson, 'The Study of Intelligence in the United States' in Roy Godson (ed.) *Comparing Foreign Intelligence: The US, USSR, UK and the Third World* (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's 1988) pp.7–42; Geoffrey R. Weller, 'Assessing Canadian Intelligence Literature: 1980–2000', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 14/1 (2001) pp.49–61; Len Scott, 'Sources and Methods in the Study of Intelligence: A British View' in Loch Johnson (ed.) *Strategic Intelligence* (Westport, CT: Praeger 2007) pp.87–108; Eric Denécé and Gérald Arboit, 'Intelligence Studies in France', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 23/4 (2010–11) pp.725–47; Gustavo Díaz Matey, 'The Development of Intelligence Studies in Spain', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 23/4 (2010–11) pp.748–65.

⁹Christopher Andrew, 'Intelligence Analysis Needs to Look Backwards Before Looking Forward', paper given at the New Frontiers of Intelligence Analysis Conference, 'Shared Threats, Diverse Perspectives, New Communities', 31 March–2 April 2004. Stephen Marrin, 'Preventing Intelligence Failures By Learning From the Past', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 17/4 (2004) pp.655–72; John Hedley, 'Learning from Intelligence Failures', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 18/3 (2005) pp.435–50; Len Scott and R. Gerald Hughes, 'Intelligence, Crises and Security: Lessons from History?', *Intelligence and National Security* 21/5 (2006) pp.653–74.

¹⁰George Santayana, *The Life of Reason* (NY: Scribner's 1905–6).

At the same time, there are some significant problems with the intelligence studies literature which is impeding the field from developing as a coherent academic discipline. In general the intelligence literature is rich in history but both insular and theoretically thin perhaps because of a generalized failure to ensure knowledge accumulation and aggregation over time.

Failing to be Cumulative

The primary problem with the intelligence studies literature specifically is that it is anything but cumulative regarding its own intellectual history. Intelligence studies as a field of knowledge has books and journals to document 'lessons identified' but it does not have a structured process for compiling and evaluating the literature so that it is aggregated and made cumulative.

Referencing prior work on the same or similar subjects, a technique used to layer new knowledge on top of old as a way to ensure knowledge is cumulative, is infrequently done by intelligence studies' authors. Even those who should cite relevant contributions from the three core journals in the field frequently fail to do so. The end result is the repetition of ideas and knowledge rather than the creation of new knowledge. To mix a couple of metaphors, instead of standing on the shoulders of giants and creating an academic discipline, intelligence scholars seem to be re-inventing the conceptual wheel every 15 years or so without really making advances in terms of disciplinary knowledge. While this kind of conceptual repetition occurs in other academic fields as well, frequently characterized by the phrase 'old wine in new bottles', it is especially noticeable in the intelligence studies domain.

Failing to Learn from Sherman Kent

This is not to imply that past knowledge has been forgotten completely. For example, over the past 25 years Sherman Kent has been established as one of the giants in the field partly due to the efforts of Jack Davis, who has raised Sherman Kent's profile significantly through his writings.¹¹ This higher profile helps in the knowledge aggregation process because it provides a touchstone in the literature that later scholars and practitioners can refer back to. They can then use it as a jumping off point to make additional observations and contributions to the body of knowledge. But even then, sometimes key ideas fail to be picked up by modern scholars.

¹¹Jack Davis, 'The Kent-Kendall Debate of 1949', *Studies in Intelligence* 36/5 (1992) pp.91–103; Jack Davis, 'Sherman Kent and the Profession of Intelligence Analysis', Occasional Papers 1, no. 5, Washington, DC, Central Intelligence Agency, The Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis, November 2002; Jack Davis, 'Sherman Kent's Final Thoughts on Analyst-Policymaker Relations', Occasional Papers 2, no. 3, Washington, DC, Central Intelligence Agency, The Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis, June 2003.

As an example, Sherman Kent's 1949 distinction between intelligence and strategic intelligence is not widely referenced in the literature.¹² As Kent put it: 'Intelligence is a simple and self-evident thing. As an activity it is the pursuit of a certain kind of knowledge. In a small way it is what we all do every day ... But no matter whether done instinctively or with skillful conscious mental effort intelligence work is in essence nothing more than the search for the single best answer'.¹³ Kent then goes on to distinguish this definition of 'intelligence' from 'strategic intelligence' which he says is 'knowledge vital for national survival' and what he considers to be unique problems related to this effort.

Yet modern efforts to define intelligence do not include Kent's 1949 distinction between intelligence and strategic intelligence. In fact, there is as of yet no consensus on the definition or purpose of intelligence. Perhaps a consensus is not required; other fields do not have unanimity on core concepts either. But the development of schools of thought around different kinds of definitions would provide taxonomies of concepts that could be used to evaluate each definition against the others, and greater understanding of the variation in perspectives embedded within this discussion of definitions.

This failure to be cumulative in terms of the definition of intelligence has also limited the development of theories of intelligence. The disagreements over definitions frequently reflect different assumptions about what the purpose of intelligence is. Definitions can be conceived of as static representations of the underlying vision of purpose, and articulating the variety of visions of purpose may be more important than achieving consensus on definitions. So rather than argue over which words to use in a definition, it would be more effective for knowledge development purposes to address what the different purposes of intelligence are, create schools of thought around them, and then foster structured debates between the respective schools of thought.

Knowledge manifestly increases when the formal articulation of conflicting perspectives leads to intellectual debate as the proponents of one school of thought take on the proponents of another in a collegial debate. The development of an academic discipline is at least partially contingent on its ability to create productive debates between different schools of thought, and then grow knowledge cumulatively as the debate continues. While there has been recent progress on developing different kinds of intelligence theory,

¹²Thomas F. Troy, 'The "Correct" Definition of Intelligence', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 5/4 (1991–2) pp.433–54; Martin T. Bimfort, 'A Definition of Intelligence', *Studies in Intelligence* 2/4 (1958); Michael Warner, 'Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence', *Studies in Intelligence* 46 (2002) pp.15–22; Kristan Wheaton and Michael Beerbower, 'Towards a New Definition of Intelligence', *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 17 (2006) pp.319–30; Alan Breakspear, 'A New Definition of Intelligence', *Intelligence and National Security* 28/5 (2013) pp.678–93.

¹³Sherman Kent, *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1951) p.vii.

intelligence studies has not yet effectively created schools of thought or fostered these structured debates.¹⁴

Forgetting Roger Hilsman

Even when key ideas from early writers such as Kent are identified and retained in working scholars' memories, sometimes key contemporaries are forgotten. For example, Kent argued for retaining the 'integrity' or independence of the analytic function outside the direct line authority of the decisionmaker.¹⁵ The end result would be independent, objective intelligence analysis for national security decisionmakers. This concept of an independent analytic corps was subsequently challenged by Kent's contemporary, Willmoore Kendall, who suggested that if this were done the contribution from intelligence analysts would be marginalized in the decisionmaking process.¹⁶ Instead, Kendall preferred to see a closer relationship between intelligence and decisionmaking in which 'the intelligence function (helps) the policymakers "influence" the course of events by helping them understand the operative factors on which the US can have an impact'.¹⁷ When scholars reference the purpose of intelligence and the relationship between intelligence and policy, they now cite Kent followed almost immediately by Kendall as a way to identify two early schools of thought on the subject.

But Roger Hilsman's mostly-forgotten 1952 writings are as good as or better than Kendall's as a challenge to some of Kent's ideas. Hilsman made a strong case for a closer relationship between intelligence analysis and decisionmaking, arguing that 'a more effective integration of knowledge and action' – or intelligence analysis and decisionmaking – will require intelligence analysts to become more policy-oriented.¹⁸ Hilsman directly questioned Kent's conception of a separation of intelligence from decisionmaking by asking 'whether this division of labor is a wise or even a valid one'¹⁹ and he ended up concluding that it was 'both arbitrary and awkward'. Hilsman goes on to say that in order for intelligence to be 'useful and significant' it 'should be frankly and consciously concerned with policy' and that its practitioners should have 'a frame of mind which is ...

¹⁴For recent progress on intelligence theory, see Gregory F. Treverton, Seth G. Jones, Steven Boraz and Phillip Lipsky, *Conference Proceedings: Toward a Theory of Intelligence Workshop Report* (Arlington, VA: RAND National Security Research Division 2006); Peter Gill, Stephen Marrin and Mark Phythian (eds.), *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates* (London: Routledge 2008); Stephen Marrin, 'Intelligence Analysis Theory: Explaining and Predicting Analytic Responsibilities', *Intelligence and National Security* 22/6 (2007) pp.821–46.

¹⁵See 'The Problem of Objectivity and Integrity' in Kent, *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy*, pp.195–201.

¹⁶Willmoore Kendall, 'The Function of Intelligence', *World Politics* 1/4 (1949) pp.542–52, p.550.

¹⁷Davis, 'The Kent-Kendall Debate of 1949' p.95.

¹⁸Roger Hilsman Jr., 'Intelligence and Policy-Making in Foreign Affairs', *World Politics* 5/1 (1952) pp.1–45, p.45.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p.25.

instrumental, action-conscious, policy-oriented. The major task before the researchers is one of recasting their thought to the context of action, and adapting their tools to the needs of policy'.²⁰

In other words, Hilsman disagreed with Kent, and believed that intelligence analysts should work in close cooperation with decisionmakers. Intelligence studies scholars know what Kent said about the intersection between intelligence analysis and decisionmaking and they also know about Kendall's challenge, but they seem to have forgotten Hilsman even though his ideas have as much relevance as anything else written about the subject over the past 60 years.

The potential value of rediscovering Hilsman is a much more substantive debate than that which currently exists about the respective roles and functions of intelligence analysis vis-à-vis decisionmaker assessment. As an example, at one point a solution had been found which approximates Hilsman's working relationship of knowledge and action. It was known as the National Security Studies Memorandum (NSSM) in the Nixon and Ford Administrations and the Presidential Review Memorandum (PRM) in the Carter Administration, and received a fair amount of praise for being an effective way to bridge intelligence and policy.²¹

Unfortunately, the PRM/NSSM product line was disbanded in 1980 and appears to have been completely forgotten by both academia and government.²² With a couple of exceptions, it has not been referenced in the literature for almost 30 years, and current long-serving members of the national security community are not aware that it used to exist. Yet some have begun to recommend and implement various mechanisms for doing exactly what the PRMs and NSSMs were built to do. For example, former Deputy National Security Advisor James Steinberg called for the National Security Council to play a more direct role in facilitating a better working relationship between intelligence producers and consumers.²³ In addition, senior intelligence professionals Josh Kerbel and Anthony Olcott recommended a much closer relationship between intelligence and policy.²⁴ If implemented, these suggestions would essentially recreate the old PRM/NSSM product decades later. But this reinvention of the wheel was not necessary. Instead, all that was needed was better utilization of the ideas that were already in the intelligence studies literature.

²⁰Ibid., p.44.

²¹Arthur S. Hulnick and Deborah Brammer, 'The Impact of Intelligence on the Policy Review and Decision Process', Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, DC, January 1980.

²²Stephen Marrin and Philip H.J. Davies, 'National Assessment by the National Security Council Staff 1968–80: American Experiment in a British Style of Analysis', *Intelligence & National Security* 24/5 (2009) pp.644–73.

²³James B. Steinberg, 'The Policymaker's Perspective: Transparency and Partnership' in Roger George and James Bruce (eds.) *Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 2008) pp.82–90.

²⁴Josh Kerbel and Anthony Olcott, 'The Intelligence-Policy Nexus: Synthesizing with Clients, Not Analyzing for Customers', *Studies in Intelligence* 54/4 (2010) pp.1–13.

Ignoring Platt, Knorr, and Hughes

Another example of forgotten intelligence studies scholarship is Washington Platt's 1957 book 'Strategic Intelligence Production: Basic Principles'. The titles of Platt's chapters speak to the very interests of intelligence scholars and practitioners today: Principles of Intelligence Production; From Information to Intelligence; Intelligence Production: An Act of Creative Thinking; Help From the Social Sciences; Probability and Certainty; Forecasting; Characteristics of the Intelligence Profession. All of these chapters could make contributions to the ongoing discussions regarding analytic process, utility of the social sciences, increasing imagination, futures work and forecasting, and professionalization. But Platt's work has also been forgotten, even though it contains some important ideas that current scholars and practitioners would find quite interesting.

Finally, other forgotten scholarship includes some of the best work on intelligence analysis as a social science and the relationship between intelligence producers and consumers. Klaus Knorr's 1964 monograph 'Foreign Intelligence and the Social Sciences' contains the best evaluation of how analysts use social science methodology in the entire intelligence literature, yet is rarely cited or referenced in most work on intelligence analysis.²⁵ In addition, Thomas Hughes wrote a short monograph in 1976 on the relationship between intelligence and policy that is one of the best treatments of the subject, but there are very few references to it in the literature.²⁶

In their treatment of these subjects, current scholars are ignoring insights from prior works and are instead rebuilding the wheels that were built decades ago. It is necessary to know who the giants are in order to stand on their shoulders and right now it does not appear that the intelligence studies field as a whole possesses sufficient understanding of who those giants are or what can be learned from them.

Two Steps Forward, One Step Back

Some scholars conduct more thorough literature reviews than others, and there have also been efforts to remind current scholars and practitioners of those who blazed the trails before them. For example, intelligence studies literature reviews began as early as Hilsman's evaluation of 'the academic observers' in his 1956 book chapter reviewing the works of George Pettee, Sherman Kent, and Willmoore Kendall.²⁷ A set of reviews organized by Roy Godson in the 1980s also provided a review of what had been published up to

²⁵Klaus E. Knorr, 'Foreign Intelligence and the Social Sciences', Research Monograph No. 17, Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, June 1964.

²⁶Thomas L. Hughes, *The Fate of Facts in a World of Men*, Headline Series No. 233 (NY: Foreign Policy Association 1976).

²⁷Roger Hilsman, *Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press 1956) pp.123–37.

that point.²⁸ But then these reviews are forgotten, and have to be rewritten for a new generation.

A recent example of this is Anthony Olcott's evaluation of the writings of Sherman Kent, Willmoore Kendall, and George Pettee that compares and contrasts their differing perspectives and approaches to strategic intelligence analysis.²⁹ This is a valuable contribution to the literature because it reminds other scholars of these authors' writings. It also reminds them that to understand where the literature is today it is necessary to go back and understand the perspectives of those who helped build it into what it is today.

Unfortunately, Olcott's contribution does not reference Hilsman's 1956 book chapter which evaluated the very same authors that Olcott did with the very same goal in mind: to evaluate these early writings in order to compare and contrast their different perspectives and approaches to intelligence analysis. This is not intended as a criticism of the author, because most every scholarly contribution fails to address some significant prior work. Instead, it is being flagged here because it is symptomatic of a broader problem in the intelligence studies literature related to the limitation of knowledge accumulation in the field.

Academicians and scholars document, store, and disseminate existing knowledge as well as grow new knowledge. So why have scholars failed to learn from their own history? Because there has not been sufficient emphasis placed on the infrastructure which facilitates knowledge production in the field. In the field of security studies, for example, Stephen Walt has recommended that scholars focus on the relationship between academia and practice in ensuring healthy evolution of knowledge over time.³⁰ He also identifies research support as well as prevailing norms and ethos of the security studies community as mechanisms where improvements can be made to knowledge production in the field. Unfortunately, the kind of emphasis that Walt put on the knowledge infrastructure in the security studies field does not have an equivalent in intelligence studies. But this lack of emphasis in the past presents us with an opportunity to build that infrastructure with an eye to the future.

Developing Intelligence Studies as an Academic Discipline

To become more cumulative, intelligence studies should emulate the key practices that enable any field of knowledge to become cumulative and in

²⁸Godson, *The New Study of Intelligence*, pp.1–6; Robertson, 'The Study of Intelligence in the United States', pp.7–42; Christopher Andrew, 'Historical Research on the British Intelligence Community', in Roy Godson (ed.) *Comparing Foreign Intelligence: The US, USSR, UK and the Third World* (Washington, DC: Pergamon-Brassey's 1988) pp.43–64.

²⁹Anthony Olcott, 'Revisiting the Legacy: Sherman Kent, Willmoore Kendall, and George Pettee – Strategic Intelligence in the Digital Age', *Studies in Intelligence* 53/2 (2009) pp.21–32.

³⁰Stephen M. Walt, The Renaissance of Security Studies, *International Studies Quarterly* 35/2 (1991) pp.211–39.

doing so become its own coherent academic discipline. This involves establishing formalized processes for creating, documenting, storing, and disseminating knowledge in such a way as to ensure that future generations of scholars and practitioners can benefit from it.³¹ The steps involve: (1) documenting what is known; (2) evaluating it for gaps or holes; (3) working to fill those gaps in knowledge; (4) distributing this knowledge to those who need or want it; and (5) institutionalizing these efforts.

In most academic disciplines, scholars articulate important ideas which are then evaluated and critiqued by others in the field. This leads to the development of competing schools of thought, with individuals representing those schools. But even if the idea is debunked, that discussion remains in the literature for later generations of scholars to learn from. So there also needs to be a tradition of critiquing previous interpretations, and building secondary and tertiary arguments off of the arguments of the main proponents of each school. It is from this process of evaluation and critique that the giants in the field are identified and their insights transferred to new scholars, leading to longer and deeper intellectual histories. To support this, there also needs to be a heavy emphasis on citation and footnotes in order to link current ideas back to the ongoing scholarly debates. More effective implementation of these academic best practices will strengthen the coherence of intelligence studies as an academic discipline while at the same time increasing its impact on broader scholarship, public understanding, and government practice.

The first step in improving the body of knowledge is to document what is known. This has to be a dynamic rather than static process; perhaps an annualized bibliographic book series. This is labor intensive and probably not something that most scholars would choose to do on their own. The closest working approximation to what is required is the online Muskingum College intelligence bibliography compiled by J. Ransom Clark, which is a tremendously valuable resource for both intelligence studies scholars as well as students of intelligence.³² Other efforts are either limited to specific subject matter topics, or have not been updated recently.³³ To continue developing this kind of working bibliography, governments and professional

³¹This is the knowledge advancement portion of the professionalization process. Stephen Marrin and Jonathan Clemente, 'Modeling an Intelligence Analysis Profession on Medicine', *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 19/4 (2006–7) pp.642–65.

³²J. Ransom Clark, 'The Literature of Intelligence: A Bibliography of Materials, with Essays, Reviews and Comments, Muskingum University, 1998–2012' <<http://intellit.muskingum.edu/index.html>>

³³George C. Constantinides, *Intelligence and Espionage: An Analytical Bibliography* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press 1983); Marjorie W. Cline, Carla E. Christiansen and Judith M. Fontaine (eds.), *Scholar's Guide to Intelligence Literature: Bibliography of the Russell J. Bowen Collection* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America 1983); Neal H. Petersen, *American Intelligence, 1775–1990: A Bibliographical Guide* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books 1992); The Future of Intelligence Analysis, Vol. II, Final Report, Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, 10 March 2006; Greta E. Marlatt, 'Intelligence and Policymaking: A Bibliography', Naval Postgraduate School, December 2010.

associations interested in ensuring that intelligence studies remains an active academic discipline may have to collaborate on this kind of project.

The second step in improving the body of knowledge is to evaluate what is known; the literature that has already been developed. This would involve a variety of literature reviews oriented towards identifying the research questions that have been explored sufficiently, others that still require some work, and yet still others that have not yet been answered. The Intelligence Studies Section (ISS) at ISA has implemented something like this as its contribution to the *International Studies Encyclopedia*.³⁴ ISS broke the intelligence studies literature down into 20 different topics, and lined up authors to write literature reviews on each of those topics. These topics include those of interest to practitioners, such as analytic methods, organizational structures and processes, training and education, and so forth. In published form, the end result provides current and future scholars and practitioners with a starting point for understanding the current state of that segment of the literature.

This kind of evaluative literature review is also being done through the *Guide to the Study of Intelligence* being developed by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO). The purpose is to provide high school, college, and university instructors with 'a literature review of significant works useful for educators' in order to help them with course development.³⁵ The subject matter is wide ranging, and covers many specialized topics within the intelligence studies literature. Additional efforts like it and the one by ISA's Intelligence Studies Section would improve the intelligence literature by ensuring that both scholars and practitioners were able to evaluate the existing state of knowledge in order to know where the gaps in knowledge are.

The third step in the process is to begin filling in the gaps in the literature identified in the evaluations. There are a variety of ways to do this, including by developing a dedicated (and funded) research agenda akin to the Army War College's Key Strategic Issues List to back-fill gaps in knowledge. Another way to fill in gaps in knowledge is through themed conferences and symposia. Alternatively, open calls for papers for paper-based conferences on various intelligence-related themes could lead to some interesting new contributions to the literature. A model for this kind of activity could be the 2005 International Conference on Intelligence Analysis that Mitre coordinated on behalf of Mark Lowenthal, the then-Assistant Director of Central Intelligence for analysis and production. This conference was modeled on an academic conference, with a paper requirement and proposals

³⁴Robert A. Denemark (ed.), *International Studies Encyclopedia* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell 2010) <<http://eu.wiley.com/WileyCDA/WileyTitle/productCd-1405152389.html>> with specific intelligence-related publications listed here: <http://intellit.muskingum.edu/refmats_folder/teachingiss.html>

³⁵AFIO Weekly Intelligence Notes #37-10, 5 October 2010 <<http://www.afio.com/sections/wins/2010/2010-37.htm>>

open to the public. It also led to the presentation of papers which have since made their own contributions to on-going discussions in the scholarship.

Funding and content for these conferences could come from consortia made up of experts from government, academia, professional associations, and private industry; together they should have the infrastructure, contacts, and knowledge necessary to successfully implement this kind of venture. Associations could provide a focal point for acquiring and coordinating the kinds of knowledge that would be helpful in terms of outreach to the academic community. For example, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence has partnered with the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA) on events related to analytic transformation, but other associations such as ISA's Intelligence Studies Section or the International Association for Intelligence Education (IAFIE) would both be good partners for those wanting to engage academia. The broad point is to find appropriate collaborative partners for these sorts of knowledge-building initiatives.

The fourth step in the process would be to disseminate the new knowledge to those who can use it, including current and future intelligence scholars and practitioners. That could involve better communications between those who research and write about intelligence and those who teach it, so that a feedback loop is established to maximize learning. The students could be those in academia in intelligence studies or intelligence school programs, or those in governmental training courses. The Harvard University Intelligence and Policy Program also provides a potential model for those who want to establish a form of continuing education in the field devoted not to practitioner proficiency per se, but rather broader understandings of purpose and how best to manage the enterprise.³⁶

Finally, the last step in the process would be to institutionalize these efforts. One kind of institutionalization would be through academic Intelligence Studies centers; academic equivalents to CIA's Center for the Study of Intelligence or NIU's Center for Strategic Intelligence Research.³⁷ Such programs can centralize knowledge about the theory and practice of intelligence as a profession, and can provide this knowledge to government, other parts of academia, the news media, and segments of society in a more structured way than has been done in the past. The knowledge resident in these departments in the form of faculty, staffs, libraries, and the other infrastructure can provide the optimal educational environment for those who want to learn more about intelligence studies.

Another way to institutionalize these efforts would be to encourage PhD students to specialize in intelligence studies. Intelligence studies has not developed a cumulative tradition of scholarship partly because there are relatively few intelligence studies PhDs. This means that there are not many

³⁶Ernest R. May and Philip D. Zelikow (eds.), *Dealing with Dictators: Dilemmas of US Diplomacy and Intelligence Analysis, 1945–1990*, BCSIA Studies in International Security (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press 2006) pp.ix–x.

³⁷Stephen Marrin, 'Intelligence Studies Centers: Making Scholarship on Intelligence Analysis Useful', *Intelligence and National Security* 27/3 (2012) pp.398–422.

scholars who look at the body of knowledge in a longitudinal sense; how it has grown and changed over time. The PhD is not a static representation of knowledge and it cannot be evaluated based on that criterion. Instead, one must evaluate the PhD based on the ability of the bearer to create new knowledge. In this case, that means relevant contributions to our understanding of intelligence. To make that contribution to knowledge, the PhD student first has to survey and evaluate the current state of existing knowledge before deciding precisely how to contribute to new knowledge.

More PhD students studying more intelligence-related subjects will enable the literature to become more cumulative than it ever has been, identify where cumulative progression of knowledge has stalled, and contribute to the institutionalization of footnoting and other practices that would be indicative of greater scholarly rigor. The most effective way to encourage more doctoral students is to provide them with funding. This funding could come in the form of fellowships which bring junior scholars into academic institutions where they would add to the creativity and learning of that institution by managing different projects or developing new courses. This kind of fellowship could be funded by governments in the same way that they fund other kinds of PhDs, the private sector which would benefit from the knowledge created, or professional intelligence associations in their efforts to support related educational activities.

Finally, a push to make the intelligence studies literature more cumulative would also be to make it more professional, more structured, and more disciplined which will increase its impact on broader literatures as well as among intelligence professionals. Currently intelligence studies as a field of knowledge is subordinate to other more traditional academic disciplines including political science, history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and communications disciplines. Unfortunately, while the intelligence studies literature itself is extensive, many mainstream scholars do not sufficiently incorporate its knowledge and insight into their work.³⁸ As a result, both conventional academic scholars and by extension the general public do not incorporate the extensive nuance reflected in the intelligence studies literature and instead frequently rely on broad brush generalizations and mischaracterizations. Improving the coherence and rigor of intelligence studies as an

³⁸Amy B. Zegart, 'Cloaks, Daggers, and Ivory Towers: Why Academics Don't Study US Intelligence' in Loch Johnson (ed.) *Strategic Intelligence* (Westport, CT: Praeger 2007) pp.21–34. Also see Amy Zegart, 'Universities Must Not Ignore Intelligence Research', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 3 July 2007. For examples of intelligence studies works that are good treatments of the subject but fail to address existing scholarship, see Richard Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield 2005); Douglas Hart and Steven Simon, 'Thinking Straight and Talking Straight: Problems of Intelligence Analysis', *Survival* 48/1 (2006) pp.35–60; David Omand, *Securing the State* (NY: Columbia University Press 2010); Ken Lieberthal, *The US Intelligence Community and Foreign Policy: Getting Analysis Right* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution 2009). For an exception consisting of a treatment of intelligence which also cites the relevant intelligence studies literature, see Robert Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2010).

academic discipline will highlight the breadth and depth of the literature to those who were previously unaware of it.

Intelligence studies as an academic discipline was in its formative stages for about 20 years, from the mid-1980s through to the early 2000s. It then entered a form of adolescence resulting from the flow of interest and money in its direction after the 2001 terrorist attacks. Through the 2000s the literature has grown in terms of sophistication and abstraction, with much additional emphasis on key intelligence concepts and theories. As the field continues to mature, improving intelligence studies as an academic discipline will require a return to scholarly fundamentals and best practices in order to create a cumulative, comprehensive, and influential body of disciplinary knowledge for future scholars and practitioners to learn from and contribute to.

Notes on Contributor

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