CHAPTER 1

# The state of Intelligence Studies

## Australia in international context

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In 2013, this chapter's lead author attended a series of meetings in Washington, DC, to discuss what made a successful Intelligence Studies degree. The purpose of those meetings was to inform a discussion, then underway, about replicating a best-practice Intelligence Studies program in Canberra. It was clear that Intelligence Studies was thriving in the United States and the appetite for it was on an upward trajectory. The faculty who attended these meetings described an extensive list of intelligence degrees being offered across the United States and a thriving culture of academic publications. Intelligence is an appealing topic for students to study because they want to understand the mysterious and alluring world of spies and potentially gain a competitive edge for winning a job within the intelligence and national security community. Furthermore, intelligence practitioners are looking to improve their tradecraft skills and acquire postgraduate qualifications in order to get promoted. In response, a number of tertiary institutions in the United States responded to this opportunity in the market for professional education by committing resources to the study of intelligence. This focused attention on the study of intelligence significantly improved the quality of education for intelligence officers and the understanding of intelligence institutions in the United States, especially the role they play in the functioning of government.[1] What is less clear, however, is an equivalent understanding of intelligence education and academic research in Australia. Hence this chapter seeks to fill that gap and provide an up-to-date reference for the state of Intelligence Studies in Australia.

Academic disciplines, subdisciplines and fields of study are founded and judged on the basis of a bedrock of high-quality research and education. Academic research informs education, and education, in turn, produces the researchers who are crucial for enhancing the body of knowledge. It is a cyclical relationship. In examining the state of Intelligence Studies in Australia, it is therefore imperative that we understand the state of these two core elements. To do that, this chapter takes a longitudinal approach to the survey of intelligence research published in Australia, or by Australian authors overseas, in the decade 2007–17, analyses it, and compares these findings with trends overseas. It then undertakes a quantitative and qualitative survey of intelligence education programs at Australian and Western tertiary institutions in order to show how Australia fares in an international context. It concludes by offering some suggestions on the way ahead for Intelligence Studies in Australia. Before proceeding down that path, however, we first echo E.H. Carr and ask: what is Intelligence Studies?

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## What is Intelligence Studies?

Much of the debate about the definition of Intelligence Studies is centred on whether or not a definition is desired or required. Some argue that breadth helps ensure that Intelligence Studies encapsulates anything and everything related to intelligence, while others believe that the absence of a definition hinders progress, particularly in developing and testing theories, and creates confusion. One study for example concluded that Intelligence Studies literature consists of 'a pantheon of differing phraseologies and terminologies', where people constantly try to 'change basic definitions'.[2] In spite of these debates, however, there is broad consensus that at its heart Intelligence Studies is the study of intelligence agencies, their work and where that work has fit, or continues to play, in the function of domestic policy and international relations.[3] In this regard, the broad definition offered by Matthew Crosston, former Director of the International Security and Intelligence Studies program at Bellevue University, Nebraska, is fit for our purposes here. Intelligence Studies is 'the academic inquiry into the processes and topics related to intelligence'.[4]

An important ongoing issue for Intelligence Studies has been uncertainty about its place within academic scholarship.[5] Well-known intelligence and national security expert Mark Lowenthal has written that the 'greatest challenge is gaining acceptance in academia for intelligence as a legitimate field of study and knowledge, distinct from a course or two in the Poli Sci department'.[6] Another leading Intelligence Studies expert, Amy Zegart, Co-Director of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation, similarly described Intelligence Studies as 'a stepchild in political science'.[7] Part of the problem for Intelligence Studies is its interdisciplinarity. It draws on the methodologies, theories and expertise of a variety of more established academic disciplines, such as history, criminology and international relations. This leads some academics to reject the idea that Intelligence Studies is an academic discipline in its own right. For example, Peter Monaghan instead characterises Intelligence Studies as an 'interdisciplinary field'.[8] Stephen Marrin, a leading intelligence practitioner-turned-scholar, acknowledges that Intelligence Studies still needs considerable work before it can mature into 'its own coherent academic discipline'. But Intelligence Studies clearly has many of the hallmarks of an academic discipline: established literature, conferences, professional associations and academic journals. What it lacks, Marrin argues, is schools of thought, and a detailed awareness of its intellectual history.[9]

## International research

Intelligence Studies has a well-established foundational literature published over decades, particularly in the United States, Britain and, more recently, Canada.

Books on Intelligence Studies cover a wide-range of topics across an array of disciplines. Prestigious university presses, such as Oxford University Press, carry intelligence-related titles, while good-quality publishers, such as Routledge and Praeger, have intelligence series. There are also numerous compendiums edited and authored by leading academics. These usually take a comparative approach to some aspect of Intelligence Studies. Such titles are

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released on a regular basis, and they make a reliable teaching resource.[10] The authors of these compendiums have usually written one or more monographs on a variety of themes and topics within Intelligence Studies, and their bibliographies normally provide a valuable source of information for further specialist study. Despite this steady accumulation of Intelligence Studies resources—and perhaps because of it—many gaps remain in the academic literature, and there are significant opportunities for new research. There is debate on where the gaps are and what requires more attention.[11] One way to settle this debate is to subject the literature to detailed analysis.[12]

Three leading journals provide important insight into the research gaps and opportunities within Intelligence Studies and, by extension, its state as an academic discipline. The UK-based journal *Intelligence and National Security* is predominantly academic in its focus. In contrast, the US-based *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* is aimed at practitioners first and scholars second. Both were established in 1986 and 'provide a wide variety of insights into the world of intelligence, reinforcing the interdisciplinary nature of Intelligence Studies'.[13] A third journal, *Studies in Intelligence*, has been published by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) since 1955. It has both classified and unclassified versions, and its primary audience is intelligence professionals.[14]

Miron Varouhakis's analysis of 924 articles from *Studies in Intelligence* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* shows that both journals have seen an annual increase in the articles published (or released by the CIA, in the case of the former) since the terrorist attacks of September 2001 (when the interest in Intelligence Studies soared). Both journals promote interdisciplinary articles, but Varouhakis found that 39.8 per cent of articles were historic in subject and method.[15] This potentially speaks to two things: first, the CIA finds history articles—as compared to contemporary ones—easier to declassify and release for publication in *Studies in Intelligence* (which had an 'historic' rate of 51 per cent); and second, it speaks to some of the difficulties in writing about intelligence, given the classified and restricted nature of its records. Simply put, it is easier for scholars to obtain historical intelligence documents, whether through archival or freedom of information releases, than it is to gather data on more recent topics.

Of the remaining articles, 25.6 per cent were about 'intelligence' (although this is not sufficiently defined in the paper to know what is really encapsulated in the category); 7.5 per cent were 'personal observations'; 6.4 per cent looked at intelligence analysis; 5.8 per cent focused on intelligence organisations; 2.3 per cent focused on counter-intelligence (that is, catching spies); 0.5 per cent had ethics as their subject; another 0.5 per cent were comments by intelligence directors; and 11.5 per cent were 'other', which mostly consisted of book reviews. Surprisingly, although there are some articles and a book dedicated to theory, Varouhakis found that few of the articles focused on theoretical subjects or used theory in their methodology.[16] The vast majority of articles—96.7 per cent in the case of the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*—contained an element of 'lessons learned'.[17]

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Damien Van Puyvelde and Sean Curtis examine diversity in the authorship and content of 1913 articles from the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* and *Intelligence and National Security*. Although they identified a positive trend over time in the number of articles on non-Western intelligence matters and more articles written by female authors, they concluded by calling for more diversity on both fronts. Indeed, their findings speak for themselves: although articles came from thirty-seven countries, the literature was rooted in the Anglosphere with 85 per cent coming from the United States, Britain and Canada. Likewise, although the number of women publishing per year was increasing, the field was still male dominated, 90 per cent of articles being written by men. In terms of the content, they used different thematic categories to Varouhakis—most notably there was no differentiation between history and contemporary (although they did identify an overwhelming focus on intelligence and World War II)—and this may explain the more even spread: 19 per cent of articles examined the intelligence process; 14 per cent on the analysis and production of intelligence; 14 per cent on the dissemination of that intelligence and its influence on government policy; 12 per cent on intelligence collection; 11 per cent on counter-intelligence; 10 per cent on covert action and intelligence operations; 8 per cent on accountability and ethics; 7 per cent on the relationship between intelligence and culture; and 5 per cent on liaison between domestic and international intelligence agencies. Their findings also confirmed the interdisciplinary nature of Intelligence Studies, whereby single articles often cross disciplinary boundaries.[18]

## Domestic research

So how does Australia compare?

To answer that question, we surveyed books, book chapters, reports and thirteen journals, for literature published in Australia, or by Australians overseas, between 2007 and 2017.[19] Like Crosston, we adopted a broad definition and erred on including rather than discounting research. Given their centrality to debates on intelligence—and the reality that they are likely the main source consumed by busy policy-makers—we also sampled two online blogs: the Australian Strategic Policy Institute's *The Strategist* and the Lowy Institute's *The Interpreter*.[20] But we also recognise that in a university context, blogs do not count as research output. Therefore, although we have included this data in our calculations, we have also, where appropriate—that is, where blog pieces were determined to distort the data—filtered out the blog results to give a more representative picture of the state of Intelligence Studies 'research', in its traditional sense. Our findings focused on four subsets of data: authorship, annual trends, form in which the research was presented (that is, publication outlet/media), and the main theme of each piece of research.

We were conscious that by focusing on the last decade we would miss much of the seminal research produced before 2007: for example, most of the late Desmond Ball's work, particularly on Pine Gap, regional signals intelligence capabilities, and his co-authored book with David Horner, *Breaking the Codes*, is not included here.[21] This decision was not only one of practicality but also an effort to obtain a current snapshot of intelligence research; it

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was by no means an attempt to downplay the utility of pre-2007 literature to Intelligence Studies in Australia, and we recommend that anyone undertaking research on aspects of intelligence first consult the foundational literature. We were also aware that our sample of journals—as substantial as it is—would not capture everything published. Had we delved into law journals, for instance, we would have found more research on intelligence powers, legislation, oversight and accountability mechanisms. For similar reasons, we decided to limit the scope of our research and did not consider academic outlets such as *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*. We acknowledge that there is extensive cooperation between intelligence agencies and the police, but the line must be drawn somewhere.

Our longitudinal survey identified 812 research outputs across books, edited books, journals, reports and blogs (see table 1). The gender balance was better than identified by Van Puyvelde and Curtis—with a 77 to 23 per cent split between male and female authors—but as with the situation overseas, there is still much room for improvement. Female authorship was relatively steady until 2013 when, largely due to the launch of *The Strategist* the previous year, blogs started to provide greater opportunities (the best year for diversity was 2015 when women contributed to 32.1 per cent of research surveyed). As was the case with female authorship, the number of publications per year also remained steady until 2013, when it witnessed a sudden spike. Although blog posts contributed to this increase, there was also a notable growth in book chapters, with fourteen being published compared to none the year before. Each year has seen an increase on the previous one, noting that the data for 2017 ends in July rather than December.

Of the 812 publications examined, the overwhelming majority were blog posts (55.5 per cent), followed by journal articles (20.6 per cent), reports (11.3 per cent), book chapters (8.6 per cent) and books (3.7 per cent). When we remove blog pieces, the adjusted figures are: journal articles (46.5 per cent), reports (25.5 per cent), book chapters (19.7 per cent) and books (8.3 per cent). This demonstrates that blog pieces probably play an important role in the Australian understanding of Intelligence Studies, but it is not clear what the nature of this role is or what impact it is having. This finding also highlights a need to devote more serious scholarly attention to Intelligence Studies in Australia and seek to produce research with greater depth and complexity.

**Table 1: Publications by theme and type**

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| Theme | Books | Book chapters | Journal articles | Reports | Blog pieces | Total | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| History | 7 | 1 | 11 | 0 | 6 | 25 | 3 |
| Accountability, oversight and ethics | 6 | 26 | 15 | 5 | 40 | 92 | 11.3 |
| Intelligence and policy | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 18 | 24 | 3 |
| Intelligence cycle and analysis | 4 | 3 | 21 | 1 | 3 | 32 | 4 |
| Collection | 4 | 0 | 8 | 12 | 36 | 60 | 7.4 |
| Social/cultural | 6 | 26 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 4.1 |
| Terrorism and other extremism | 0 | 3 | 70 | 40 | 211 | 324 | 40 |
| Institutional | 1 | 9 | 16 | 7 | 10 | 43 | 5.3 |
| Military intelligence | 0 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 1.1 |
| Cyber | 1 | 1 | 12 | 24 | 126 | 164 | 20.1 |
| Other intelligence agencies | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0.7 |
| Total | 30 | 71 | 168 | 92 | 451 | 812 | 100 |
| Percentage | 3.7 | 8.6 | 20.9 | 11.3 | 55.5 | | |

The more interesting findings come when we consider the main themes examined in the literature (see table 1 and figure 1). In total, eleven themes were identified. Taken as a whole, research was dominated by publications on terrorism and other forms of extremism, such as right-wing nationalist groups, which account for 40 per cent of all research. This was followed by 20.1 per cent on cyber issues, particularly cyber security; 11.3 per cent on intelligence oversight, accountability and the ethics of intelligence; 7.4 per cent on the methods of intelligence collection; 5.3 per cent on intelligence institutions and their liaison relationships; 4.1 per cent on the societal and cultural impact of intelligence;[22] 4 per cent on how analysis was performed, could be improved, or how the intelligence cycle functioned; 3 per cent on the role of intelligence in formulating government policy; 3 per cent on historical studies; 1.1 per cent on military intelligence; and 0.7 per cent on the role and/or capabilities of other, non-Australian intelligence agencies. The most surprising finding was the lack of focus on the intelligence process (that is, the work performed by intelligence agencies through the entirety of the intelligence cycle), which amounted to a collective 16 per cent compared with the 40 per cent shown in Varouhakis's study.

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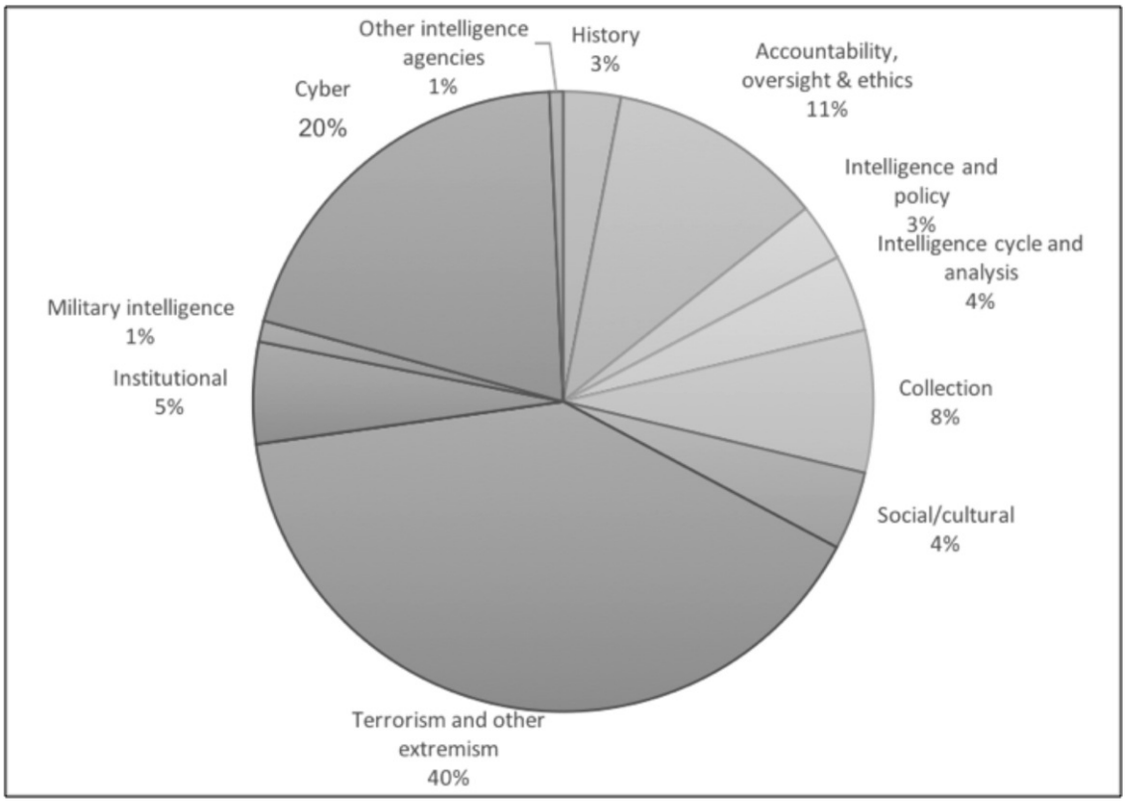


*Figure 1: Publications by theme*

These figures are skewed by two factors. The first, as mentioned earlier, is the inclusion of blog pieces. When these are removed from our analysis (see figure 2), we see a significant decrease in the research produced on cyber issues (less than 9.6 per cent) and terrorism (less than 8.7 per cent), and a slight decrease in research produced on the intelligence-policy nexus (less than 1.3 per cent) and intelligence collection (less than 0.8 per cent). In contrast, the most pronounced increases were in: social research (greater than 5 per cent); intelligence analysis (greater than 4 per cent); institutional analysis (greater than 3.8 per cent); accountability, oversight and ethics (greater than 3.1 per cent); history (greater than 2.3 per cent); military intelligence (greater than 1.1 per cent); and the study of other intelligence agencies (greater than 1.0 per cent).

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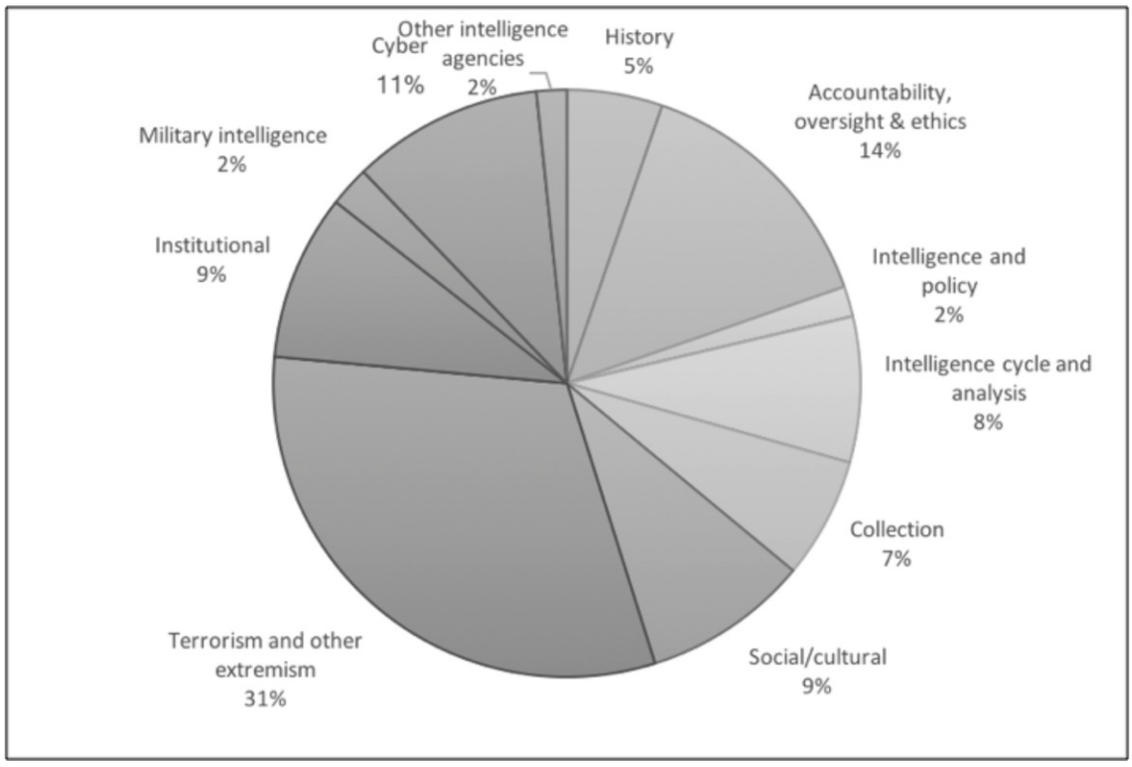


*Figure 2: Publications by theme (excluding blog pieces)*

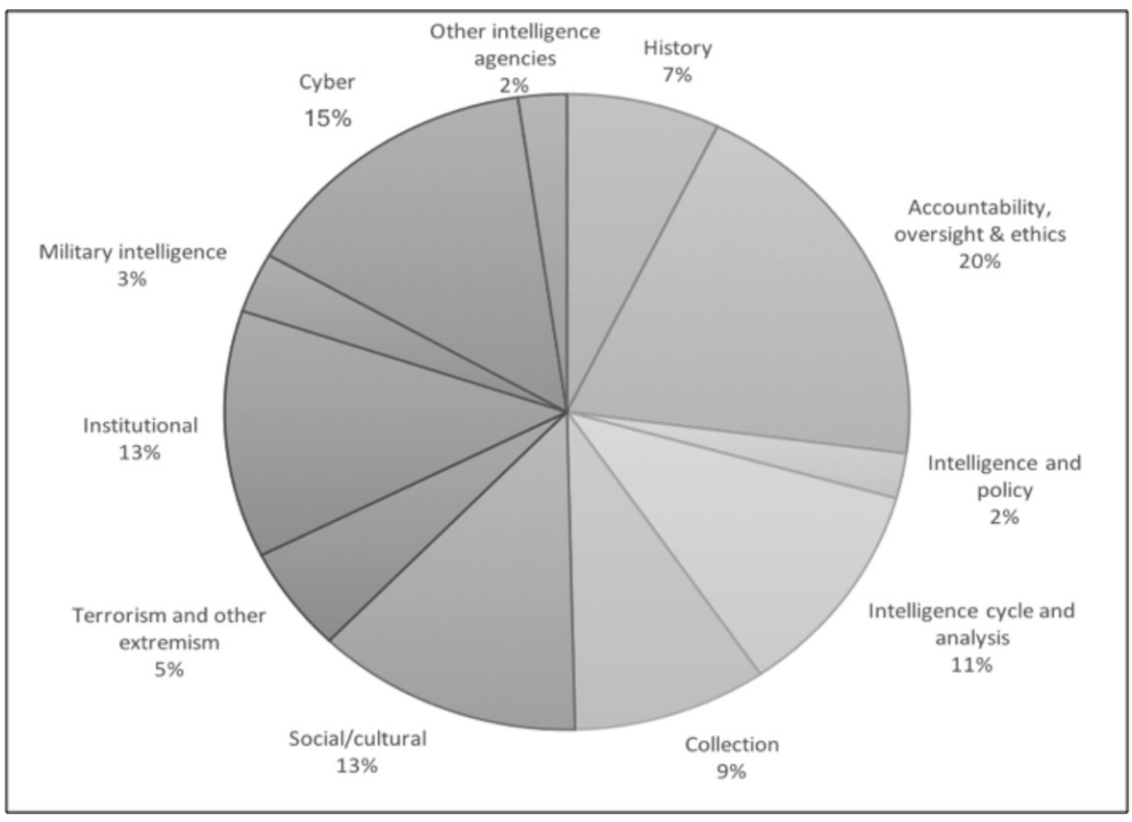


*Figure 3: Publications by theme (filtered)*

The second factor is an inclusive definition of terrorism. This saw papers on a wide range of international terrorist incidents involving political violence included in the data set, which included analysis of terrorist groups, international incidents and such themes as

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deradicalisation. Although these papers might be of interest to intelligence agencies and scholars of Intelligence Studies, they are more properly aligned with the field of terrorism studies. After subjecting this theme to further analysis, we found that only thirty-one of the 324 outputs we originally identified specifically focused on the role of intelligence in countering terrorism or how intelligence agencies might adapt to counter future trends. When blog pieces were removed from this analysis, the results showed a much more evenly spread thematic breakdown (see figure 3). These findings, with the two filters in place, are likely to provide a more realistic picture of the state of Intelligence Studies research in Australia. As such, this chart provides a promising indicator of the gaps for future research.

The most important research gap—and one that must be rectified if Intelligence Studies is to progress in Australia—is the question of how intelligence does, or should, influence policy. Where research on this area does exist, it has focused almost exclusively on the politicisation of intelligence in the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the question of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Research on the intelligence–policy nexus is too important to receive such scant attention, for, as is discussed in chapter 5 of this book, the ultimate aim of intelligence is to help government to make better-informed policy decisions. There has been a proliferation of blog pieces about intelligence in the context of discussions relating to countering terrorism and other forms of extremism, but what is needed in Australia is more serious academic research on the role of intelligence *qua* intelligence.

More research on other intelligence agencies, even for comparative purposes, would be welcome. There was surprisingly little real detail on Australia's intelligence agencies, despite a recent effort by many of them to be more open with the public. Some of the pre-2007 literature covered these agencies and their work but, except for ASIO—which commissioned a three-volume official history that was published between 2014 and 2016—very little institutional research has appeared in recent years. Almost nothing is written about the post–World War II Defence intelligence agencies, nor especially of Australia's overseas spy agency, the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS).

Yet the problem in Australia is not so much a lack of author or content diversity, as is the case overseas, but rather the lack of much at all in the areas that traditionally dominate Intelligence Studies literature and educational programs. On the positive side, nothing is yet overdone. Indeed, there are gaps wherever one looks. But there is an urgent need to know more about the intelligence–policy nexus. We also need to improve our understanding of the functions, roles, history and skill sets of Australia's intelligence agencies. Now let us move on to education, to see how Australia fares on that score.

## International education

The primary focus of Intelligence Studies education tends to reflect a difference of perspective, interests and skill sets between academics and practitioners. Career academics are more likely to emphasise education and to argue that the most important emphasis for Intelligence Studies courses should be on providing a firm conceptual and theoretical foundation. In contrast, practitioners are more likely to emphasise training and to contend

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that the main purpose of an Intelligence Studies program should be to train graduates in the skills necessary for success in the workplace, such as familiarity with analytical techniques and methodologies. On the whole, however, there is general consensus among educators that tertiary programs should include a mixture of theory and practice.[23] Underpinning this approach is the recognition that the intelligence community requires both generalists and specialists, and can further enhance vocational skills and expertise through in-house training.

Like research, intelligence education is not new. Neither is government support for it. Indeed, the CIA has provided intelligence professionals to academic institutions, through an officers-in-residence program, since 1985. Even then, more than thirty years ago, there were fifty-four Intelligence Studies courses offered at American universities.[24] This number had grown to 300 before the 2001 terrorist attacks, and since then has expanded to more than a thousand.[25] Coinciding with this was the establishment in 2004 of the International Association for Intelligence Education (IAFIE), a forum—with its own annual conference—for educators to discuss and collaborate on questions related to intelligence education such as curriculum design, to improve cooperation between academics and practitioners, and to expand research and professional development opportunities.[26] The survey below shows the breadth of approaches to intelligence education and the types of course on offer in the United States and United Kingdom.

Three highly ranked international universities offer degree programs in Intelligence Studies. In Britain, King's College London runs a Master of Arts in Intelligence and International Security within the Department of War Studies. This program introduces the academic study of intelligence and international security to students who have little or no background in the field and mid-career practitioners wanting to enhance their professional skills. The core module, 'Intelligence in Peace and War', aims to provide knowledge and understanding of the historical and social science approaches to studying intelligence, and gives students the opportunity to role-play simulations and analyse intelligence documents. In addition, the program offers electives such as 'The Joint Intelligence Committee and British Intelligence' and 'Intelligence in the Media', and requires students to undertake a 15 000-word dissertation on topics including cyber intelligence and security; intelligence operations during war; covert action, intelligence and counter-insurgency in Iraq and Afghanistan; intelligence and counterterrorism; questions of oversight and intelligence in democracies; and the ethics of spying.[27]

In the United States, Georgetown University offers a Master of Professional Studies in Applied Intelligence in both on-campus and online formats. It focuses on teaching strategies for assessing organisational strengths and weaknesses, harnessing large and disparate data sets, and forecasting business competitiveness in both public and private institutions. The program provides opportunities for students to engage with a broad network of industry experts, government agencies, and private-sector businesses within the intelligence community.[28] Johns Hopkins University offers an on-campus and online Certificate in Intelligence to complement the Master of Arts and certificate offerings in the Center for

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Advanced Governmental Studies, including degree programs in Global Security Studies, Government, Government Analytics and Public Management. The certificate program focuses on providing students with an understanding of the ways in which the United States practices intelligence; purposes to which it puts intelligence; limits upon intelligence (practical, legal, ethical and theoretical); and important debates about the issue.[29]

Then there are two US vocational tertiary institutions with a focus on Intelligence Studies education. The Sherman Kent School for Intelligence Analysis in Virginia gives its students —CIA officers—an integrated, career-long program that combines specialised training in the craft of intelligence analysis with a substantive curriculum interwoven with the values, traditions and history of the CIA. Its career analyst program is the basic training package for the CIA and introduces all new employees to the basic thinking, writing and briefing skills needed for a successful career. Topics include analytic tools, counter-intelligence issues, denial and deception analysis, and warning skills. The school also offers a wide range of intermediate and advanced-level training for analysts and managers on analytic methodologies, substantive issues and leadership skills. This analysis-focused curriculum is supplemented by courses offered in the CIA University's Leadership and Mission Academies, which focus on broader leadership development issues and substantive training.[30]

Next is the National Intelligence University, a federal degree-granting institution that prepares American intelligence officers for their careers in the intelligence and national security community.[31] Located in Maryland, close to the main intelligence agencies from which it draws students and faculty, its course members are able to study and complete their research using classified information and the same IT systems they will use throughout their careers. Degrees are tailored to generalist and specialist officers, with programs including a Bachelor of Science in Intelligence, Master of Science in Strategic Intelligence, Master of Science and Technology Intelligence, and Graduate Certificates in Intelligence Studies.[32]

Then there are several other international universities that offer a vocationally focused degree in Intelligence Studies. Five stand out for the comprehensiveness of their programs, and they round out the top ten international degree programs. Virginia's James Madison University's Bachelor of Science in Intelligence Analysis is designed for students seeking a career as an intelligence analyst. Those who desire to work for the US Government undertake a National Security Intelligence concentration, whereas those aiming for the private sector undertake Global Competitive Intelligence. These concentrations aim to teach students innovative ways to structure their thinking in order to solve complex practical problems when there is both time pressure and a lack of reliable information. The program highlights the continually evolving nature of intelligence analysis, with an emphasis on applying academic research to analytic methods. It also focuses on teaching students cognitive, computational, communicative and contextual skills.[33]

The University of Texas at El Paso offers a Master of Science (and Graduate Certificate) in Intelligence and National Security Studies. This is an interdisciplinary graduate program designed for students seeking employment or career advancement in the US intelligence

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community. Compulsory subjects include: research methods in intelligence; seminar in intelligence and national security; intelligence and national security policy and procedures; introduction to intelligence analysis; contemporary security studies; applied statistics in intelligence; and qualitative research methods for public administration. Additional elective subjects cover a wide range of intelligence and security studies topics.[34] The final standout offering in the United States is Mercyhurst University in Pennsylvania, which has both undergraduate and postgraduate programs. The Bachelor of Arts in Intelligence Studies is a multidisciplinary degree that aims to provide graduates with advanced analytical skills by combining a liberal arts core with a foreign language or computer science requirement, national and international studies, internships and intelligence-related courses. Alternatively, a Bachelor of Arts in Business and Competitive Intelligence focuses more on developing skills in extracting, analysing and interpreting data sets in order to identify future growth opportunities, competitive advantages, industry trends and market demands.[35]

Turning to the United Kingdom, the University of Buckingham's Master of Arts in Security and Intelligence Studies focuses on relating academic and historical analyses to contemporary problems and policy questions. It also aims to develop the skills that the intelligence community itself has been urged to develop in the wake of the Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction (Butler Review): that is, developing intelligence analysis skills, including critical thinking, and a greater ability to evaluate and assess disparate sources of sometimes conflicting information.[36] The Master of Arts in Intelligence and Security Studies at Brunel University London similarly seeks to combine intelligence and security policy studies with practical opportunities to develop analytical skills. The subjects available speak to its focus, with offerings on intelligence concepts; intelligence failures and successes throughout history; contemporary threats and analytical methodologies; and counter-intelligence and security.[37] This is by no means a full list of degrees on offer, but it shows the breadth of courses and the balance between theory and practice, education and training.[38]

## Domestic education

The most notable difference in Australia is scale. With few exceptions, Intelligence Studies at Australian universities is counted in subjects rather than degrees.

The most concentrated offering is at Macquarie University—one of only two institutions to offer an Intelligence Studies degree on campus. Taught out of the Department of Security Studies and Criminology, the undergraduate Bachelor of Security Studies has three compulsory subjects on (or relating to) intelligence: intelligence and counter-intelligence (which is also offered online through Open Universities Australia); fundamentals of business analytics; and advanced analytic techniques. It is Macquarie's postgraduate Certificate of Intelligence, however, that really stands out for its thoroughness, with subjects including the foundations of modern intelligence; architecture of modern intelligence; the modern intelligence practitioner; practice of modern intelligence; intelligence analysis platforms; and

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cyber policing and intelligence. Other relevant graduate certificates include International Security Studies, Cyber-Security, and Policing and Counter-Terrorism. Taught by a mixture of academics and practitioners, Macquarie provides the best blend of theory and practice, and is the only major institution that gives its students variety of choice.[39] The other predominantly on-campus degree is the Bachelor of Counter Terrorism Security and Intelligence at Edith Cowan University, which emphasises contemporary security and intelligence issues. Students undertake subjects on the foundations of intelligence; applied intelligence; intelligence analysis; and counter-intelligence.[40]

A number of Australian universities offer at least one stand-alone subject in Intelligence Studies. Undergraduates at the Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre can take a course on the Australian intelligence community—its history, roles, component parts, debates surrounding oversight and accountability, and its place in the world—as part of the Bachelor of International Security; while postgraduates in the Master of Strategic Studies stream can elect to do 'Intelligence and Security', which provides students with a sound understanding of the way in which intelligence is collected and analysed, and how it contributes to national security decision-making.[41] Elsewhere on campus, postgraduates doing the National Security College's Master of National Security Policy can study cyber intelligence and security.[42] Staying in Canberra—in the heart of the intelligence community—it is worth highlighting the fact that the University of New South Wales, Canberra (which provides tertiary education to the Australian Defence Force Academy) does not offer a stand-alone intelligence subject at the undergraduate level. Postgraduates in a number of masters programs, however, have the option of studying the role of intelligence in seeking the information edge, and there are a plethora of cyber courses and degrees for the technically minded.[43]

Three other institutions teach Intelligence Studies on campus. Monash University offers 'Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and Intelligence', which looks at how governments respond to terrorism and examines the central role that intelligence services play in identifying, developing, formulating and implementing counterterrorism programs.[44] Undergraduates studying 'Intelligence and Security after the Cold War' at the University at Adelaide will develop an understanding of how intelligence has been gathered since the collapse of the Soviet Union with a main theme being the relationship between intelligence and security.[45] Notre Dame University teaches 'Terrorism and the Australian Intelligence Community', which examines how the War on Terror has affected the collection of intelligence data, analysis, and counter-intelligence, as well as legal and moral standards of security policies and practices.[46]

There are also courses with flexible online delivery. Charles Sturt University, for example, offers a largely online degree program intended to provide police professionals with the opportunity to undertake studies in criminal intelligence analysis. The Graduate Certificate is made up of four introductory units of study, including introduction to intelligence, and operational intelligence. The Graduate Diploma comprises another four

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units of study, two subjects that are compulsory, with students permitted to choose a further two subjects from a list of electives. The Master of Arts then requires the completion of one of two streams. The research stream culminates in writing a 10 000-word thesis dissertation. The course-work stream has students select additional electives from subjects delivered from across the School.[47] The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology offers an online subject, 'Security and Criminal Intelligence', at both the postgraduate and undergraduate levels. These subjects aim to provide an introduction to intelligence and the use of intelligence in law enforcement contexts as well as the concepts and skills required to perform the functions of an intelligence officer.[48] Swinburne University offers some intelligence-related content as part of a Bachelor of Social Science, but it does not have a stand-alone Intelligence Studies subject.[49] Much the same can be said for the majority of terrorism-related courses at Australian universities. As for research, these are of interest to Intelligence Studies, but not the core component of an Intelligence Studies program.

An important emerging area for Intelligence Studies is analytics and business intelligence, especially for employment in the private sector. In addition to Macquarie University, the University of South Australia teaches 'Business Intelligence and Analytics', which introduces current technologies and methods in this area, including the management of the delivery of information and analytics to support reporting and management decision-making.[50] Carnegie Mellon University Australia offers a Business Intelligence and Data Analytics program that combines business process analysis, technology management and technical data science skills, including predictive modelling, analytical reporting, GIS mapping, segmentation analysis and data visualisation.[51] Completing our survey is James Cook University's Bachelor of Business (Business Intelligence and Information Systems) degree, which aims to teach the fundamentals of business and how to integrate the latest IT systems into business strategies.[52]

What does this all say about the state of Intelligence Studies education in Australia? Is it flourishing or floundering? On the face of it, and despite the central topics of many of the courses—which examine and analyse the intelligence process and its component parts—it appears to be floundering. Courses are few and degrees even fewer. The Group of Eight—Australia's leading universities—have not readily bought into Intelligence Studies or appreciated the potential market opportunities; where they have done so, they have not gone all the way and offered an intelligence-focused degree. The difficulty in judging the quality of Intelligence Studies education must be acknowledged, however. We know that winning an intelligence analyst position is an extremely competitive process. But do we know what type of education is most likely to win these jobs? What education and training is needed to succeed in the intelligence profession now? Have the skill sets for intelligence officers changed significantly over the last ten to fifteen years? If so, how have they changed, and what does the intelligence community want from those who undertake these courses? Each of these questions speaks to the need for better communication and collaboration between academia and the intelligence community; to ascertain what each wants of, and can provide,

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the other. Until that veil of secrecy is lifted it will be impossible to say with certainty how effective or otherwise Australia's Intelligence Studies education is.

## Conclusion

So where should we go from here?

It is tempting simply to say that we need more research. Yes, there are gaps, and yes, in many cases, the direction we need to take is obvious. As stated earlier in this chapter, we need more research on the intelligence process, the intelligence cycle and the role of intelligence in the formulation of policy—areas that are surprisingly well covered in the courses on offer at Australian universities. But filling these gaps is only part of the answer. Intelligence Studies research as a whole would benefit from more Australian case studies and perspectives. We also need to see more scholarly and theoretical approaches to publications. Blog pieces serve their purposes, and might often be more appealing to time-poor policy advisers or ministers, but they need to be complemented and informed by serious academic research.

Limited as the research pool in Australia is, it is apparent that those in the field still do not really know the nuance of what the literature, as a whole, does and does not contain. As Stephen Marrin wrote: '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.'[53] And so it is in Australia. Developing a better qualitative understanding of Australia's Intelligence Studies literature—in a way that this chapter has not attempted to do—would be a good first move. So too would better collaboration between academia and the intelligence community to see what research would be useful to the intelligence community, to open up funding avenues, and in order to benefit both the field and the profession. More significantly, and we have witnessed some of this in recent years as heads of intelligence agencies engage with the public—or commission official histories—it can help to inform the public about the role of Australia's intelligence agencies: what they do, why it is important, how it has bipartisan support, and why it demands the kind of tax-payer dollars it does to work.

A first step to improving the quality of Intelligence Studies education in Australia would be a thoroughly researched report that provides an education-and-training-focused response to the findings of the 2017 Independent Intelligence Review. Another initiative would be to develop a comprehensive objective measure for the quality of Intelligence Studies education. A good Intelligence Studies program should be innovative, engaged, intellectually rigorous and market-relevant. Ten specific elements for measuring the quality might include: that it is offered on-campus at a high-ranking university; engages closely with practice and practitioners; stays up to date with research and teaching; covers domains of intelligence adequately (military, national security, criminal justice and business intelligence, to name but some); covers basic skills of intelligence adequately (that is, writing, analysis, ethics, history, technology); is embedded as part of a high-quality security studies/criminology program; the

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institution is recognised for significant specialisations; it follows sound academic methodologies; its graduates get jobs in the profession; and its graduates are well respected by the profession.

A third initiative, and one that really brings the research and education components together, is to establish an Australian Centre for Intelligence Studies. Having an internationally recognised and respected home for Intelligence Studies in Australia seems a sensible start. Interested industry and government parties might consider partnering with a university (or universities) to establish an academic centre of excellence for intelligence research and education in Australia. To get there, we need to start a conversation. We hope that this chapter goes some way towards that end.

## Notes

1 For a list of relevant international studies that evaluate Intelligence Studies, see Stephen Marrin, 'Improving Intelligence Studies as an academic discipline', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2016, n. 8.

2 Miron Varouhakis, 'What is being published in intelligence? A study of two scholarly journals', *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2013, p. 178.

3 Loch K. Johnson and Allison M. Shelton, 'Thoughts on the state of Intelligence Studies: A survey report', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2013, pp. 109–10.

4 Matthew D. Crosston, 'Analyzing intelligence degree programs: Trends and challenges', paper presented at International Studies Association, Atlanta, 18 March 2016, n.p.

5 Julian Richards, 'Intelligence studies, academia and professionalization', *International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2016, pp. 20–33.

6 Quoted in Johnson and Shelton, p. 116.

7 Quoted in Peter Monaghan, 'Intelligence studies', *Chronicle of Higher Education*, vol. 55, no. 28, 2009, pp. B4–B5.

8 Monaghan, 'Intelligence studies', pp. B4–B5. This is part of a larger debate on what does and does not constitute an academic discipline. See Armin Krishnan, 'What are academic disciplines? Some observations on the disciplinarity vs interdisciplinarity debate', NCRM Working Paper Series 03/09, January 2009, <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/783/1/what_are_academic_disciplines.pdf> (viewed July 2017).

9 Marrin, pp. 1–14.

10 Some titles include Loch K. Johnson (ed.), *Strategic Intelligence*, Praeger, Washington, DC, 2007; Stuart Farson, Peter Gill, Mark Pythian and Shlomo Shpiro (eds), *PSI Handbook of Global Intelligence and Security*, Praeger, Washington, DC, 2008; Loch K. Johnson and James J. Wirtz (eds), *Intelligence and National Security: The Secret World of Spies, An Anthology*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008; Loch K. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, Routledge, New York, 2009; Loch K.

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Johnson (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of National Security Intelligence*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010; Carl J. Jensen, David H. McElreath and Melissa Graves, *Introduction to Intelligence Studies*, CRC Press, Boca Raton, FL, 2013; Robert Dover, Michael S. Goodman and Claudia Hillebrand (eds), *Routledge Companion to Intelligence Studies*, Routledge, London, 2014.

11 For these debates see Johnson and Shelton, p. 112.

12 Marrin, pp. 1–14.

13 Damien Van Puyvelde and Sean Curtis, '"Standing on the shoulders of giants": Diversity and scholarship in Intelligence Studies', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 31, no. 7, 2016, pp. 1040–1.

14 Other journals, although not part of this study, include: *Journal of Intelligence History*; *European Journal of Intelligence Studies*; *International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*; *Journal of Intelligence Analysis*; *Journal of Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence*. There was also the short-lived *Journal of Intelligence and Terrorism Studies*, which was discontinued under curious circumstances in 2016.

15 Miron Varouhakis, 'What is being published in intelligence? A study of two scholarly journals', *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2013, p. 182.

16 Peter Gill, Stephen Marrin and Mark Phythian (eds), *Intelligence Theory: Key Questions and Debates*, Routledge, London, 2009.

17 Varouhakis, pp. 183–6.

18 Van Puyvelde and Curtis, pp. 1041–6.

19 The journals surveyed were *Australian Journal of Politics and History*; *Australian Historical Studies*; *Security Challenges*; *ADF Journal*; *Australian Army Journal*; *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism*; *Salus Journal*; *Australian Journal of International Affairs*; *Australian Journal of Political Science*; *Journal of Australian Studies*; *Australian Journal of Public Administration*; and, from overseas, *Intelligence and National Security*; *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*. With the exception of the *Australian Army Journal*, which had not published a 2017 issue by mid-year, all other journals were examined from January 2007 to July 2017.

20 The survey range for *The Strategist* was from 1 January 2012 to 24 July 2017, whereas for *The Interpreter* it was from 1 January 2016 to 24 July 2017.

21 Desmond Ball and David Horner, *Breaking the Codes: Australia's KGB Network, 1944–1950*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1998.

22 This grouping primarily contained research by those people, previously of interest to the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), who have written about their ASIO files.

23 Crosston, n.p.

24 Varouhakis, p. 177.

25 Crosston, n.p.

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26 <www.iafie.org> (viewed June 2017).
27 <www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/warstudies/study/graduate/iis.aspx> (viewed June 2017).
28 <https://scs.georgetown.edu/programs/423/master-of-professional-studies-in-applied-intelligence> (viewed June 2017).
29 <http://advanced.jhu.edu/academics/certificate-programs/intelligence> (viewed June 2017).
30 <www.cia.gov/offices-of-cia/intelligence-analysis/training-resources.html> (viewed June 2017).
31 For more on NIU and its history, see William C. Spracher, 'National Intelligence University: A half century educating the next generation of US intelligence community leaders', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2017, pp. 231–43.
32 <http://ni-u.edu/wp> (viewed July 2017).
33 <www.jmu.edu/academics/undergraduate/majors/Intelligence%20Analysis.shtml> (viewed June 2017).
34 <http://catalog.utep.edu/grad/college-of-liberal-arts/college-liberal-arts-deans-office/intelligence-national-security-studies-master-of-science> (viewed June 2017).
35 <www.mercyhurst.edu/ridge-college-intelligence-studies-and-applied-sciences/department-intelligence-studies> (viewed June 2017).
36 <www.buckingham.ac.uk/humanities/ma/securityandintelligence> (viewed June 2017).
37 <www.brunel.ac.uk/study/postgraduate/intelligence-and-security-studies-ma> (viewed June 2017).
38 Other significant degree programs are offered in the United States at Bellevue University, Coastal Carolina University, American Military University, Military College of South Carolina and Fayetteville State University; and in the United Kingdom at the University of Leicester, University of Salford and Aberystwyth University.
39 <https://courses.mq.edu.au/2017/domestic/postgraduate/graduate-certificate-of-intelligence> (viewed June 2017).
40 <www.ecu.edu.au/degrees/courses/bachelor-of-counter-terrorism-security-and-intelligence> (viewed June 2017).
41 <http://sdsc.bellschool.anu.edu.au/our-students> (viewed August 2017).
42 <https://nsc.crawford.anu.edu.au/study/graduate-degrees/master-national-security-policy> (viewed August 2017).
43 <www.unsw.adfa.edu.au/study/postgraduate-coursework/programs?field_school_tid=1> (viewed August 2017).
44 <http://monash.edu/pubs/2017handbooks/units/APG5666.html> (viewed June 2017).
45 <www.adelaide.edu.au/course-outlines/107060/1/sem-2> (viewed June 2017).
46 <www.nd.edu.au/units/a_s.shtml> (viewed June 2017).
47 <www.csu.edu.au/courses-old/graduate-certificate-in-intelligence-analysis> (viewed June 2017).
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50 <http://study.unisa.edu.au/courses/101905> (viewed June 2017).

51 <www.australia.cmu.edu/study/business-intelligence-data-analytics (viewed June 2017).

52 <www.jcu.edu.au/course-enrolment-planners/business-law-and-it/undergraduate-beginning-of-the-year/bachelor-of-business-business-intelligence-and-information-systems-townsville-study-plan> (viewed August 2017).

53 Marrin, p. 8.

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