



AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2013-0114

**ADVANCED ANALYSIS COGNITION:
IMPROVING THE COGNITION OF
INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS**

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**SEPTEMBER 2013
Final Report**

Distribution A. Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 01 SEP 2013		2. REPORT TYPE Final		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) 09/20/2009 – 09/20/2013	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Advanced Analysis Cognition: Improving the Cognition of Intelligence Analysis				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER FA8650-09-C-6038	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) *Christina M. Kampman *Charles A. Mangio **Melinda Marsh				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER H06Q (7184X19W)	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) AND ADDRESS(ES) *Shim Enterprise Inc. 7681 Tyler's Place Blvd., Suite 4 West Chester, OH 45069				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Air Force Research Laboratory 711 Human Performance Wing Human Effectiveness Directorate Human-Centered ISR Division Human Analyst Augmentation Branch Wright-Patterson AFB OH 45433				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) AFRL-RH-WP-TP-2013-0114	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution A: Approved for public release; distribution unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES 88ABW-2013-5245; Cleared 12 December 2013.					
14. ABSTRACT A prior effort, <i>State of Knowledge Relative to Intelligence Analysis</i> , was initially motivated by the fact that seemingly little change had resulted from numerous studies of the intelligence community. Starting with Pearl Harbor, the U.S. intelligence community has often faced criticism for failing to predict or warn of future events. Though the criticisms have come from different groups, a certain commonality exists among the proposals for change in the intelligence community. The other noteworthy feature of these proposals is how little their content has changed over time. A thorough analysis of the intelligence literature was accomplished. This analysis provided an answer to the question of whether the existing literature on intelligence analysis contains the requisite knowledge to inform the development and application of both the mechanistic and cognitive activities to support doing intelligence analysis. A dominant finding was how little the practice of intelligence analysis had been informed by the findings in related scientific disciplines. The primary objective of this research effort was to understand the research findings in relevant scientific disciplines and to relate these findings to the practice of intelligence analysis. This research effort was based on the full text of over 5,800 documents consisting of nearly 172,000 pages. Our analysis of the current intelligence literature showed a continuation of previously observed trends. The number of publications dealing with intelligence analysis has decreased since 2007; in 2012 publication was at the level observed in 1996-1997. Also, we observed that the literature places less emphasis on the improvement of the quality of intelligence analysis. During the effort described in this report we conducted research syntheses for the topics of critical thinking, thinking dispositions, epistemological beliefs, practice based training, and various facets of cognition. Based on the findings of these syntheses, we provide recommendations for improvements to quality assurance practices, analyst selection, analyst training, and improving the content of the Framework for Analytic Cognition.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE	SAR	408	Robert Eggleston
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Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
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PREFACE

This effort is a follow on to the analysis we reported in the reports AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2011-0049, AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2011-0051, AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2011-0052, and AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2011-0053. Our primary objective was not only to verify the findings of the previous effort but also to emphasize research synthesis of related scientific areas in order to better inform the practices of quality assurance, analyst selection and training. We have met our objectives and have recommendations on those topics. Unfortunately, our effort was terminated early so we were unable to complete all documentation supporting those recommendations.

This report was preceded by two interim reports: Marsh, M. *Advanced Analysis Cognition: Critical Thinking* and Marsh, M. *Advanced Analysis Cognition: Thinking Dispositions*. These reports were submitted to the Air Force Research Laboratory for review. At the time of this final report, both interim reports were still in press.

NOTE FOR THE READER

In order to communicate the quality and content of the documents found and to accurately portray the authors' different perspectives, this document contains many passages extracted from their original publications. These passages may contain references, footnotes, table and figure numbering, formatting, and errors that are part of the original document, not this report. We used the passages as they were, with no additional editing. We suggest that you refer to the References section to obtain the source document if you would like to see the extract in its original context.

1.0 IMPROVING THE COGNITION OF INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS

1.1 Introduction

Our prior research effort for the Air Force Research Laboratory (AFRL), *State of Knowledge Relative to Intelligence Analysis*¹, was initially motivated by the fact that seemingly little change had resulted from numerous studies of the intelligence community. Starting with Pearl Harbor, the U.S. intelligence community has often faced criticism for failing to predict or warn of future events. As a result, numerous groups and commissions have been established during the past 30 years to study “what went wrong.” All of these efforts have resulted in proposals to “fix” the intelligence community and thereby improve the quality of its products. While the proposals have come from different groups, a certain commonality exists among the proposals. The other noteworthy feature of these proposals is how little their content has changed over time.

The fact that the same solutions are proposed time and time again without any obvious implementation gave rise to a variety of questions. For example, do we know the cognitive and personality attributes (e.g., extrovert or introvert) of a “good analyst?” What does an analyst need to know in order to function effectively? What are the mechanistic as well as the cognitive processes associated with the acquisition, processing, and evaluating of data or information? What are the characteristics of the cognitive transformation of data or information into useable knowledge?

To answer these questions, we conducted a thorough analysis of the intelligence literature. Much was learned from this analysis, but the dominant discovery was how little the practice of intelligence analysis had been informed by the research that existed in related scientific disciplines. Mandel alluded to this discovery in a comment from 2009:

It is telling, Mandel noted, that no one else has come along since Heuer to continue his work of translating cognitive psychology and other areas of behavioral science into tools for analysis. “In cognitive psychology alone there is at least a quarter century of new research since Heuer published *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis* that is waiting to be exploited by the intelligence community.”²

The objective of this research effort was to understand the research findings in relevant scientific disciplines and to relate these findings to the practice of intelligence analysis. In addition, to accomplish this we also had to maintain our ongoing review and assessment of the current intelligence literature to insure the validity of our past evaluation of the content of such literature.

¹ Hereafter referred to as *State of Knowledge* for ease of discussion.

² Pool, R. *Field Evaluation in the Intelligence and Counterintelligence Context. Workshop Summary*. The National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 2010, p. 4.

2.0 APPROACHES AND METHODS

2.1 Information Acquisition and Assessment – Approach

We used the same approach for acquiring information during the *Advanced Analysis Cognition* research projects as we used during the *State of Knowledge* research. We described our approach in the final report for *State of Knowledge*.³ In addition, as part of the *Advanced Analysis Cognition* effort, we continued to acquire all literature related to intelligence analysis. We also expanded our effort to acquire information in subjects deemed potentially relevant to intelligence analysis.

We used a selective approach to acquire publications from various subject areas. We did not attempt to acquire all the available information in a given subject area. We made selections on an iterative basis. First, we acquired and reviewed a limited sample of information from a subject area. We then made a judgment about the potential relevance of the information for understanding the cognition of intelligence analysis. If the content of the information was judged as potentially relevant, we acquired literature for that subject using an approach comparable to that done for the intelligence literature.

Our overall information acquisition on all subject areas resulted in a large number of potentially relevant publications. We based the *Advanced Analysis Cognition* research on the full text of over 5,800 documents consisting of nearly 172,000 pages.

2.2 Information Assessment - Method

We used the methods associated with qualitative research synthesis⁴ to evaluate the acquired literature, particularly those techniques elaborated by the Cochrane Collaboration.⁵ The main phases for doing such research are:

- Problem formulation
- Literature search
- Data evaluation
- Analysis and interpretation
- Public presentation

This method is very similar to the analysis process as proposed by Kent.

1. The appearance of a problem requiring the attention of a strategic intelligence staff.
2. Analysis of this problem to discover which facets of it are of actual importance to the U.S. and which of several lines of approach are most likely to be useful to its governmental customers.

³ Mangio, C.A. & Wilkinson, B.J. *State of Knowledge Relative to Intelligence Analysis. Volume 1: Cognitive Challenges for Intelligence Analysis - Past, Present, and Future*, AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2011-0049, 2011, p. 8.

⁴ Cooper, H.M. *Synthesizing Research: A Guide for Literature Reviews*, 3rd ed., Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1998.

⁵ Higgins, J.P.T. & Green, S. (eds) *Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions. 4.2.6 [Updated September 2006]*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Chichester, UK, 2006.

3. Collection of data bearing upon the problem as formulated in Stage 2. This involves a survey of data already at hand and available in the libraries of documentary materials, and an endeavor to procure new data to fill in gaps.
4. Critical evaluation of the data thus assembled.
5. Study of the evaluated data with the intent of finding some inherent meaning. The moment of the discovery of such a meaning can be called the moment of hypotheses. In reality there is rarely such a thing as one moment of hypothesis though some students of method, largely as a convenience, speak as if there were. Nor can it be said categorically at what stage in the process hypotheses appear. One would be pleased to think that they appeared at this, the respectable Stage 5, but in actual practice they begin appearing when the first datum is collected. They have been known to appear even before that, and they may continue to appear until the project is closed out—or even after that.
6. More collecting of data along the lines indicated by the more promising hypotheses, to confirm or deny them.
7. Establishment of one or more hypotheses as truer than others and statement of these hypotheses as the best present approximation of truth. This stage is often referred to as the presentation state [*sic*].⁶

Comparing the two descriptions illustrates the commonality of both approaches for assigning meaning and drawing conclusions from information. From a cognitive standpoint, doing qualitative research and intelligence analysis are the same. We found the use of the Cochrane Collaboration approach to be a natural complement to our previous intelligence analysis work.

⁶ Kent, S. *Writing History*, 2d ed., Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, NY, 1967, pp. 157-158.

3.0 STATE OF THE INTELLIGENCE LITERATURE

In our ongoing review of the intelligence literature, we included as relevant any publications that contained information pertaining to the following topics:

- organization and management of the intelligence community
- analysis process and products
- intelligence failure
- analysts' characteristics
- training
- analytical work and management environment
- tools for augmenting analysis

Our intelligence literature reviews did not include searching for information on pre-WWII intelligence history, memoirs, and collection techniques. If an item seemed to be only marginally relevant, we made it a policy to include the item rather than to exclude it from our collection.

After collecting intelligence literature based on these selection criteria we were able to use data about our collection to plot trends in publishing for intelligence analysis. Figure 1 shows the results of analyzing our collection.

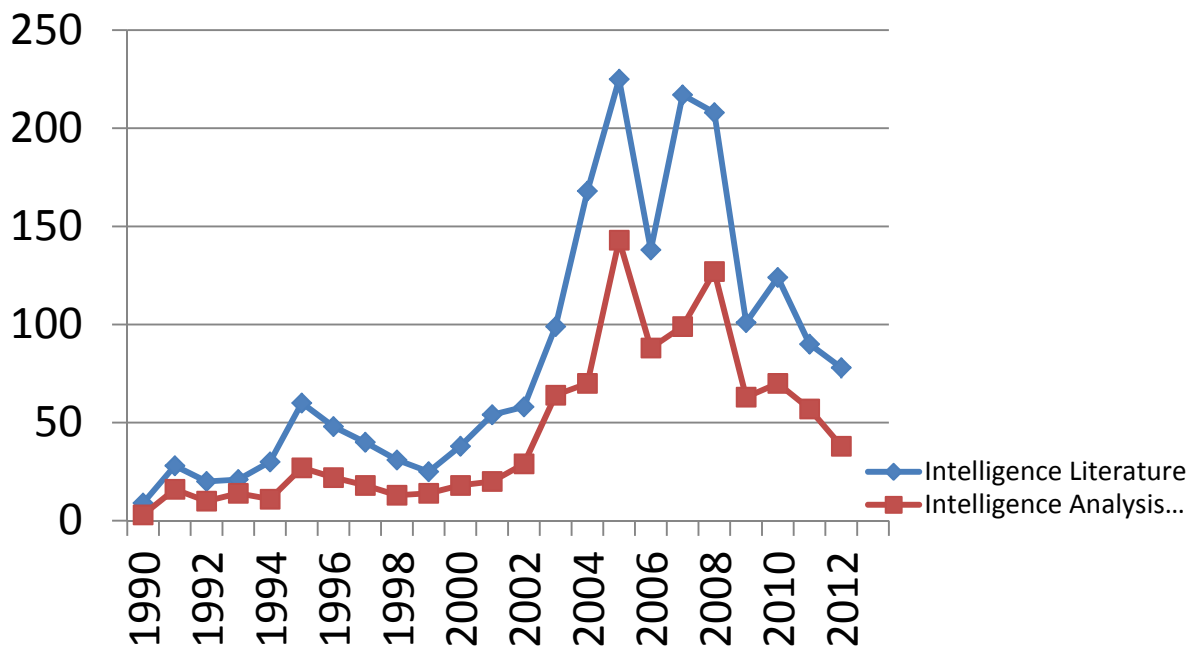


Figure 1: Volume of Intelligence Literature 1990 -2012⁷

We had initially performed this analysis in 2010 and noted in our final report for *State of Knowledge* that the publication volume was decreasing. Our current update of the same analysis shows an even greater decline in publication volume. We can offer no better explanation for the decrease in the amount of intelligence literature than we could two years ago:

One can only speculate as to why the volume of intelligence literature has decreased in the last two years. One view is that intelligence failures spark an outpouring of publications dealing with why there was a failure and recommendations for preventing future failures. Certainly, the failures associated with 9-11 and the Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) have been addressed in many publications. Perhaps without new failures, there may be a dearth of topics to write about that have not been extensively treated in the prior intelligence literature. Another possibility is that given the descriptive nature of the intelligence literature, the question is what can be said that hasn't already been said. For example, the first instance of the term *mirror imaging* that we found in the intelligence literature was in a 1960 publication.⁸ The most recent instance of the term is in a 2010 publication.⁹ The basic message has not changed over this 50-year period: mirror imaging is bad and an analyst shouldn't do it. The same is true for other concepts such as alternative analysis and Analysis of Competing Hypotheses (ACH). Both have been discussed for a long time, but there has been little change in the content of the discussion.¹⁰

Even in the context of the decrease in volume, fewer publications are dealing with the topic of improving the quality of intelligence analysis. The notable exception is the publication produced by the Committee on Behavioral and Social Science Research to Improve Intelligence Analysis for National Security; National Research Council.¹¹

One topic that has gained more prominence in the last few years is field evaluation of intelligence analysis - "the testing of these methods and tools in the context in which they will be used in order to determine if they are effective in real-world settings."¹² A workshop addressing this issue was conducted by the Committee on Field Evaluation of Behavioral and Cognitive Sciences-Based Methods and Tools for Intelligence and Counterintelligence. The major findings of this workshop were that new tools and techniques were introduced without field evaluation. Others have also made this observation.

⁷ The absolute value of the number of publications should be used with reservations since the numerical value is based on a series of subjective judgments. However, a constant framework was used for making these judgments so the relative value of numbers is considered valid. Thus, the trends depicted are real.

⁸ Wasserman, B. "The Failure of Intelligence Prediction," *Political Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1960, pp. 156-169.

⁹ Hall, W.M. & Citrenbaum, G.M. *Intelligence Analysis: How to Think in Complex Environments*, Praeger Security International, Santa Barbara, CA, 2010.

¹⁰ Mangio, pp. 19.

¹¹ Fingar, T. "Analysis in the U.S. Intelligence Community: Missions, Masters, and Methods," in *Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations*, eds. B. Fischhoff & C. Chauvin, National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 2011.

¹² Pool, R. *Field Evaluation in the Intelligence and Counterintelligence Context Workshop Summary*. The National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 2010, p. 1.

Many methods used by or proposed to the Intelligence Community (IC) have not been formally evaluated using randomized controlled trials. For example, intelligence analysis tradecraft not evaluated adequately include alternative competing hypotheses, Preliminary Credibility Assessment Screening System (PCASS), and even recent communication innovations such as Intellipedia and A-Space.¹³

Analysts who do not use structured analysis often justify their decision by claiming there is no hard evidence that these techniques improve analysis. It is true that little has been done to validate empirically the utility of these techniques as used in intelligence analysis, to formally assess the impact on the workload of analysts using these techniques or their supervisors, or to conduct systematic customer evaluation of products that have used structured techniques. This absence of proof of effectiveness makes it harder to "sell" analysts on the use of these techniques, especially analysts who claim they do not have enough time to use structured analytic techniques.¹⁴

The assessment we made of the content of intelligence publications in the *State of Knowledge* final report remains valid:

...the content of the intelligence literature has not changed in meaningful ways over time. The focus has been on describing the shortcomings in the analysis process and discussing what the analyst should not do. Suggested improvements and reforms have been put forth repeatedly, but the analysis of why these reforms do not succeed is lacking. Very little of the writing has addressed improvement at the fundamental level where analysis is done, i.e., by the intelligence analyst, and addressed how analytic practices should be approached comprehensively to overcome the often identified shortfalls.¹⁵

What should be added to our original assessment as a result of more research is a note reflecting the lack of validation of the tools and techniques for doing intelligence analysis. Despite many claims and anecdotal information, whether any of these tools and techniques actually improves the results of intelligence analysis has yet to be proven.

¹³ McClelland, G.H. "Use of Signal Detection Theory as a Tool for Enhancing Performance and Evaluating Tradecraft in Intelligence Analysis," in *Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations*, eds. B. Fischhoff & C. Chauvin, National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 2011, p. 95.

¹⁴ Heuer, R.J. & Pherson, R.H. *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*, CQ Press, Washington, DC, 2011, p. 337.

¹⁵ Mangio, p. 21.

4.0 RELEVANT SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

As we mentioned earlier, intelligence analysis is an intensely cognitive process involving information processing, information evaluation, and judgment making. Because of the broad nature of these cognitive processes, many areas of scientific research have the potential to inform the practice of intelligence analysis. Investigating these areas of research can shape the practice of intelligence analysis to be consistent with current scientific findings. The specific topics of interest that we pursued included:

Critical thinking	Thinking dispositions	Epistemological beliefs
Conceptual change	Information retrieval	Reasoning
Group behavior	Practice based learning	Persuasiveness
Self-efficacy	Rationality	Reception theory
Dual process mind	Thinking styles	Competence evaluation

The following sections of the final report discuss the major findings from the research synthesis work for critical thinking, thinking dispositions, epistemological beliefs, and practice-based learning. We completed research syntheses for critical thinking and thinking dispositions. We were able to partially complete research syntheses for epistemological beliefs and practice-based learning.

5.0 CRITICAL THINKING

5.1 Introduction

Beginning in the late 1990s, the specific topic of *critical thinking* has been increasingly mentioned as one of the “fixes” to improve the quality of analysis. James Asker was one of the earliest authors to highlight critical thinking:

Grumbling lawmakers say the intelligence failure to detect India's nuclear test preparations was rooted in defects flagged long ago, but continually sidestepped by both Congress and spy agencies. A quick review led by Admiral David Jeremiah, a former vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, produced a litany of familiar flaws: lack of critical thinking and analytic rigor, weak internal coordination, botched collection priorities, and too much reliance on technical intelligence-gathering, too little on spies.¹⁶

Stephen Marrin, bringing critical thinking more explicitly to the attention of the intelligence community, included this quote in several of his articles published from 2002-2004¹⁷ about improving intelligence analysis. Marrin was one of the first to emphasize the need for critical thinking.

Stephane Lefebvre also highlighted the importance of critical thinking in 2003:

If we accept the cognitive model developed by Operating Systems, Inc. as valid, then it becomes clear why analysts must be trained and encouraged to develop the necessary skills to think critically and innovatively. Objectivity is, as Michael Herman argues, an ‘elusive ideal.’⁵⁸ This is important if intelligence analysts are to produce estimates that are as unbiased and free of logical fallacies as possible. To wit, if anything should be taken for granted it is the centrality of critical reflection, or boundary exploration and critique, to all forms of analysis. It is perhaps a poor reflection on the current analytical culture that critical thinking as an activity has to be made explicit.⁵⁹¹⁸

Major George E. Lewis III also wrote about how the lack of critical thinking contributed to intelligence failures in a document published in 2005:

Short of a lack of information, failures in thinking are perhaps the number one reason behind intelligence failures. Failures or the inability to recognize bias, understand cultural deviations, and ignoring alternative premises are only a few of the traps that an intelligence analyst can fall prey to if he/she cannot think critically. Of the eight critical

¹⁶ Anonymous. "Same Ol', Same Ol'," *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, Vol. 148, No. 23, 1998, pp. 21.

¹⁷ See Marrin, S. "CIA's Kent School: A Step in the Right Direction," *International Studies Association Conference*, New Orleans, LA, March 18, 2002; Marrin, S. "Improving CIA Analysis by Overcoming Institutional Obstacles," in *Bringing Intelligence About: Practitioners Reflect on Best Practices*, ed. R.G. Swenson, Joint Military Intelligence College, Washington, D.C., 2003, pp. 41-59; and Marrin, S. "CIA's Kent School: Improving Training for New Analysts," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 2003-2004, pp. 609-637.

¹⁸ Lefebvre, S.J. "Strategic Warning: If Surprise is Inevitable, what Role for Analysis? POSTER Presentation TC99," *International Studies Association (ISA) 44th Annual International Convention*, Portland, OR, February 25 - March 1, 2003, pp. 23-24.

skills within the core competencies of intelligence analysts, critical thinking is the most crucial and is often the least trained.¹⁹

In the years following the identification of the importance of *critical thinking*, it has appeared on lists of analyst competencies, is increasingly included in analyst training curricula, and is now mentioned explicitly in governing documents such as *The US Intelligence Community's Strategic Human Capital Plan*.²⁰ Yet it is not always clear what anyone means when the term *critical thinking* is used nor how to develop the competency in analysts in order to improve the analysis process and reduce failures caused by “a lack of critical thinking.”

Noel Hendrickson noted the ongoing lack of understanding of critical thinking in intelligence analysis in 2008:

Critical thinking appears on almost every list of the essential skills for intelligence analysts. But any corresponding attempt to define critical thinking more precisely is seldom encountered. And, on those rare occasions when definitions are offered, they inevitably (albeit quite understandably) amount to new applications of existing approaches. Yet, these existing approaches derive from more general academic attempts to create better thinkers and not from any specific concern for the problems of intelligence analysis. Thus, despite the undeniable importance of critical thinking in intelligence analysis, few if any attempts are made to define critical thinking specifically for intelligence.²¹

In support of Hendrickson’s statement, we found a total of 21 intelligence analysis documents that contained definitions for critical thinking. Seventeen of the items had been published during or before 2008. Seven of the documents referenced existing scholarly definitions, 13 of the documents provided new, unique definitions, and some did both. No reports provided information on how critical thinking improves intelligence analysis nor gave any insight into which version of critical thinking might be the most useful for intelligence analysis.

Critical thinking’s multiple definitions, the varied descriptions of how to apply critical thinking to intelligence analysis, and the lack of information demonstrating the benefit of critical thinking illustrate the need for a better understanding of critical thinking and how it might support effective intelligence analysis. While we can intuitively accept that improvements in cognitive processes described by the term *critical thinking* can improve analysis, it would be beneficial to reach agreement on specifically what leads to the desired cognitive improvements, including such topics as thinking skills, thinking dispositions, and effective training.

¹⁹ Lewis, G.E. *Army Intelligence Analysis: Transforming Army Intelligence Analysis Training and Doctrine to Serve the Reasonable Expectations and Needs of Echelons Corps and Below Commanders, Consumers, and Customers*, ADA435988, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, KS, 2005, p. 32.

²⁰ Anonymous. *The US Intelligence Community's Strategic Human Capital Plan: An Annex to the US National Intelligence Strategy*, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, Washington, D.C., 2006.

²¹ Hendrickson, N. "Critical Thinking in Intelligence Analysis," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2008, p. 679.

5.2 Purpose

The purpose of the research synthesis was to provide an understanding of the concept of critical thinking, how the concept is represented in the intelligence literature, and its potential applicability to intelligence analysis. We hoped to learn:

- What is critical thinking?
- What is the state of knowledge regarding critical thinking?
- Can we train someone to think critically?
- Can we assess someone's ability to think critically?
- How can this understanding of critical thinking be applied to improving intelligence analysis?

5.3 Findings

The answers to the basic questions that guided this research were:

1. *What is critical thinking?* We do not have a clear answer.
 - a. Although critical thinking is generally recognized as important (and scholars in all disciplines in this study make this case emphatically), a formal agreement on what critical thinking is does not exist either within the intelligence community or within other disciplines. However, common themes do exist that clarify critical thinking and identify its potential usefulness in intelligence analysis.
 - b. Critical thinking is a concept describing a quality of thinking. It refers to *how* one approaches the thinking task. Critical thinking is useful when exploring a situation, phenomenon, question, or problem to arrive at a hypothesis or conclusion about it that integrates all available information and that therefore can be convincingly justified.
 - c. Skills and dispositions such as those listed in Table 1 are *hows* that might be especially useful in contributing to the quality of thinking called critical thinking. As a quality of thought, critical thinking can and potentially should be applied to every part of intelligence analysis.

Table 1: Recommended Critical Thinking Skills and Dispositions for Intelligence Analysts

Critical Thinking Skills	Critical Thinking Dispositions
Interpretation	Willingness to engage in intellectual effort
Analysis	Systematic
Evaluation	Persistent
Inference	Intellectual integrity
Synthesis	Open-minded
Explanation	Intellectual curiosity
Self-regulation	

2. *What is the state of knowledge of critical thinking?* The best description of the current state of knowledge was provided by Condon and Riley: “The current literature on critical thinking is rife with conflict and competing ideologies.”²²
 - a. Examples supporting this statement include the many different definitions, lists of skills and kinds of skills, and models of critical thinking that I found in the literature.
 - b. Little attention has been devoted to critical thinking performance – are individuals with strong critical thinking skills and dispositions as measured by assessments able to perform better in work that appears to require critical thinking? This shortcoming is as apparent in the intelligence literature as it is in the literature from other disciplines.
3. *Can we train someone to think critically?* Perhaps.
 - a. Much of the education and training available to date in university courses, publicly available courses, and courses intended specifically for the intelligence community are based on simplistic descriptions of critical thinking, provide insufficient time for effective practice, use ineffective teaching strategies, and include few or ineffective methods of assessing what has been learned.
 - b. Training that has been effective as demonstrated by performance on some sort of assessment was developed to teach a specific set of skills, dispositions, and operations in order to achieve a specific outcome.

²² Condon, W. & Kelly-Riley, D. "Assessing and Teaching What We Value: The Relationship between College-Level Writing and Critical Thinking Abilities," *Assessing Writing*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2004, p. 64.

Successful training has been focused, well-designed, and consistently delivered, with extensive opportunities for practice.

4. *Can we assess someone's ability to think critically?* Again, perhaps.
 - a. A number of standardized assessments and examples of customized assessments exist that address different aspects of critical thinking. It is not clear whether any of the currently available standardized assessments are beneficial for the intelligence community. Few documents were found that described assessments designed for adults to be used in determining job readiness, suitability, or performance.²³ No documents were found describing how to assess whether someone uses critical thinking regularly in his or her job or life.
 - b. Each publicly available assessment is somewhat different, focused on the critical thinking definition espoused by the assessment author.
 - c. Publicly available assessments have primarily been used in assessing the impact that a class or an experience such as years in college has on the ability to think critically. That is, they assess an experience's impact at Level 2 in Breckenridge's schema.²⁴
 - d. Several documents provided guidelines for developing a custom assessment (i.e. rubrics) that could be designed for a unique environment such as the intelligence community. Those publications also provided examples of custom assessment tools.
5. *How can this understanding of critical thinking be applied to improving intelligence analysis?* The intelligence community needs to exert additional effort in order to benefit from investments in critical thinking.
 - a. Critical thinking is widely recognized as an important competency for intelligence analysts. However, the intelligence community does not yet have a common understanding of what critical thinking is or how to apply it in intelligence analysis work. Without a common understanding of critical thinking, the claims regarding its ability to improve intelligence analysis, the investments in training for it, and documents such as strategic plans calling for critical thinking are built on a weak foundation. Which version of critical thinking is expected to improve analysis? What critical thinking competencies will result in better analysis? How would critical thinking be recognized if it were present?
 - b. Current training in the intelligence community varies widely. Courses exist with different definitions of critical thinking, a variety of topics covered, and varying amounts of practice available, resulting in analysts who have

²³ One exception is a study of using the Watson Glaser Critical Thinking Assessment in hiring intelligence analysts completed in 1983.

²⁴ Breckenridge, J.G. "Designing Effective Teaching and Learning Environments for a New Generation of Analysts," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2010, p. 308.

differing levels of critical thinking knowledge and abilities. Many courses are primarily designed to introduce analysts to the *concept* of critical thinking. These courses do not provide sufficient depth or time for practice that would enable an analyst to become a skilled critical thinker. I found no reports of training evaluations that demonstrated that the courses actually improved analyst competencies or performance.

- c. Although it is widely believed that critical thinking will improve intelligence analysis, we found no reports demonstrating the benefit of critical thinking to intelligence analysis.

5.4 Recommendations

These findings provide a roadmap for research and activities that will demonstrate the utility of critical thinking to the intelligence community. These activities will also identify the best way to integrate critical thinking into intelligence analysis to gain maximum benefit throughout the entire intelligence community.

1. Define a concept of critical thinking that makes sense for intelligence analysis and that can be accepted throughout the intelligence community. This definition should:
 - a. Identify expected standards of critical thinking in intelligence analysis using techniques such as rubrics.
 - b. Identify the appropriate skills, dispositions, and personal epistemology maturity level needed for effective intelligence analysis.
 - c. Clearly articulate how to apply critical thinking in intelligence analysis.
2. Evaluate the various aspects of critical thinking prior to making major investments in fostering it throughout the intelligence community. Research projects might include:
 - a. Investigating the impact that improved critical thinking skills and dispositions have on intelligence analysis.
 - b. Determining an approach to training (including topics, teaching strategies, and practice mechanisms) that will provide the most improvement to the practitioners of intelligence analysis.
 - c. Evaluating publicly available assessments and their usefulness for assessing an analyst's skills or dispositions and therefore predicting job performance or identifying training needs.
 - d. Evaluating whether assessments of critical thinking skills, dispositions, and personal epistemology are useful in the hiring process.
3. Develop a consistent critical thinking training curriculum that includes topics that have been demonstrated to improve intelligence analysis and that uses best practices in skills training. Rigorously evaluate the effectiveness of the training and make appropriate improvements until the training meets the needs of the intelligence community.
 - a. Successful experiments exist that provide models of effective instruction.

- b. The training used in nursing education provides a cautionary tale of training approaches to avoid.
- 4. Determine the best way to assess the thinking skills and dispositions of analysts and their ability to apply critical thinking to the analysis process. Develop an assessment methodology that measures not only the results of training, but the impact of that training on analytic results.
 - a. For example, rubrics provide information that is not only useful for assessment, but also useful in identifying performance expectations in advance. An analyst could use a rubric to guide his or her work efforts and evaluate his or her own analytic products.²⁵

²⁵ Marsh, M. *Advanced Analysis Cognition: Critical Thinking*, March, 2012 is the complete report of this research synthesis. It is in press at the time of the current final report for the Advanced Analysis Cognition effort.

6.0 THINKING DISPOSITIONS

6.1 Introduction

Everyone agrees that intelligence analysis is an intensely cognitive process and that the quality of an analyst's cognition determines the quality of his or her analysis. However, less is understood about what elements combine to make productive, effective cognition.

Richards Heuer noted this challenge in *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*:

Of the diverse problems that impede accurate intelligence analysis, those inherent in human mental processes are surely among the most important and most difficult to deal with. Intelligence analysis is fundamentally a mental process, but understanding this process is hindered by the lack of conscious awareness of the workings of our own minds.²⁶

Thinking dispositions are a theoretical construct intended to describe one aspect of cognition. They describe a person's *inclination* or *motivation* to make an effort to use one's mental skills to address tasks requiring thinking.

The *Framework for Analytic Cognition (FAC): A Guide for Doing All-Source Intelligence Analysis*²⁷ noted the contribution that thinking dispositions make to effective cognition:

While there are many unknowns about how people think and various terms are used, the preceding discussion indicates the following factors are important.

- Knowledge
- Thinking dispositions
- Cognitive skills
- Motivation and engagement
- Epistemological beliefs

Advanced Analysis Cognition: Critical Thinking.²⁸ Also highlighted the importance of thinking dispositions to effective thought:

The ability to employ critical thinking skills is still not sufficient to ensure that an individual will bring a critical approach to thinking. A thinker must be willing to make the extra effort to think critically. The thinker must have the *disposition* to think critically

The earliest scholars interested in improving thinking highlighted the importance of attitude. For example, John Dewey noted that a thinker needs more than skills in *How We Think*.

Knowledge of the methods alone will not suffice; there must be the desire, the will, to employ them. This desire is an affair of personal disposition. But on the other hand the

²⁶ Heuer, R.J.J. *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Washington, D.C., 1999, p. 1.

²⁷ Kampman, C.M., Mangio, C.A., Parry, T.L. & Wilkinson, B.J. *Framework for Analytic Cognition (FAC): A Guide for Doing All-Source Intelligence Analysis*, AFRL-RH-WP-TR-2012-0109, 2011.

²⁸ Marsh, M. *Advanced Analysis Cognition: Critical Thinking*, in press.

disposition alone will not suffice. There must also be understanding of the forms and techniques that are the channels through which these attitudes operate to the best advantage.²⁹

Edward Glaser described the importance of thinking dispositions in his 1938 experiment regarding teaching critical thinking:

The development of ability to think critically, it should be noted, is not limited to cultivation of better methods for finding and testing evidence and meanings, and arriving at well-founded conclusions. Knowledge of the methods of logical inquiry is important. Even more important for the everyday practice of democracy, however, are the *attitudes* involved in critical thinking. Persons who have acquired a disposition to *want* evidence for beliefs, and who have acquired an attitude of reasonableness have also acquired something of a way of life which makes for more considerate and humane relationships among men.³⁰

Our understanding of the contribution of thinking dispositions toward effective thinking led us to explore further what has been researched about thinking dispositions. We hoped to determine if improving positive thinking dispositions could benefit the intelligence analysis process.

6.2 Purpose

Our primary research questions were:

What is the value and feasibility of evaluating a candidate's thinking dispositions as one component of intelligence analyst selection? What is the feasibility of training individuals in order to strengthen their positive thinking dispositions?

To answer these questions, we explored the following topics:

- What are thinking dispositions?
 - How are they described? Do different professional disciplines have different perspectives on thinking dispositions?
 - How are they related to various descriptions of thinking such as critical thinking, reflective thinking, or rational thinking?
 - Are related concepts that describe the affective or motivational aspects of human cognition present in their literature?
 - How have thinking dispositions been understood over time?
- How do thinking dispositions affect cognitive performance?
 - How do individuals use their thinking dispositions while performing cognitive tasks?
 - Does the use and influence of thinking dispositions vary depending on the nature of the cognitive task?

²⁹ Dewey, J. *How We Think: A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process*, 2nd ed., Regnery, Chicago, IL, 1933, p. 30.

³⁰ Glaser, E.M. *An Experiment in the Development of Critical Thinking*, AMS Press Inc., New York, NY, 1941, p. 6.

- Can thinking dispositions be assessed? Do reliable and valid assessment methods exist? What evidence exists that supports the value of thinking disposition assessments?
- How do thinking dispositions relate to the characteristics, attributes, and traits of intelligence analysts?
- How are an individual's thinking dispositions established or subsequently changed?
 - What factors influence the development of various thinking dispositions?
 - Can thinking dispositions be improved with training and education or other factors such as life experience or maturity? What evidence exists for this improvement?

6.3 Findings

The primary questions guiding this research were:

What is the value and feasibility of evaluating a candidate's thinking dispositions as one component of intelligence analyst selection? What is the feasibility of training individuals in order to strengthen their positive thinking dispositions?

Based on the results of this research, we believe it is practical and valuable to use thinking dispositions as one component of intelligence analyst selection. The research also shows that training intelligence analysts to improve their thinking dispositions can have a positive impact on their cognitive activity.

The findings that contributed to these conclusions include:

1. What are thinking dispositions?
 - a. Thinking dispositions represent an individual's inclination toward thinking. An individual's strength in positive or productive thinking dispositions identifies *whether someone is likely to notice when effortful thinking is required and the degree of inclination to make the effort when thinking is required*. This description is accepted across academic disciplines and has remained consistent over time.
 - b. Thinking dispositions that might be useful for intelligence analysts include:
 - Enjoyment of cognitive effort
 - Intellectual curiosity
 - Open-mindedness
 - Intellectual honesty
 - Tolerant of ambiguity
 - Focus on evidence
 - Persistent
 - Systematic
2. How do thinking dispositions affect cognitive performance?

- a. It is clear that thinking dispositions are a trigger for cognitive activity. When an individual is *disposed* to think, he or she makes the effort to engage cognitively.
 - b. The specific thinking dispositions possessed by an individual and the relative strength of individual thinking dispositions influence the degree to which an individual makes an effort to:
 - Engage cognitively at all
 - Override personal beliefs and biases to ensure an open-minded approach to the task
 - Thoroughly investigate a situation in order to find relevant information and to look at all sides of an issue
 - Avoid premature closure of the thinking task and exhibit the willingness to tolerate lack of a clear answer (ambiguity) while investigation continues
 - Reach a conclusion only after finding sufficient evidence to support the conclusion
 - c. Psychologists who have conducted experiments into cognitive performance have found that thinking dispositions can predict the outcome of cognitive performance after intellectual ability (IQ) has been considered.
3. Can thinking dispositions be assessed? Are there reliable and valid methods for assessment?
 - a. Thinking dispositions can be assessed and a variety of different assessments exist.^{31, 32, 33, 34}
 4. How do thinking dispositions relate to the characteristics, attributes, and traits of intelligence analysts?
 - a. Where scholars described disposition-like attributes of intelligence analysts, a significant overlap with thinking dispositions does exist. The thinking dispositions we have identified are recognized as important contributors to analytic success.
 5. How are an individual's thinking dispositions established or subsequently changed?
 - a. Thinking dispositions are believed to be developed by the environment and culture in which an individual lives. A family or school setting can foster positive or negative thinking dispositions and can strengthen or weaken

³¹ See Facione, P.A. & Facione, N.C. *California Critical Thinking Disposition Inventory (CCTDI) Test Manual*, California Academic Press, Millbrae, CA, 2010.

³² Sá, W., Kelley, C., Ho, C., Stanovich, K.E. & West, R.F. *Composite Actively Open-Minded Thinking Scale -- 11/6/03*, 2003, pp. 1-2.

³³ Cacioppo, J.T. & Petty, R.E. "The Need for Cognition," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1982, p. 116.

³⁴ Frederick, S. "Cognitive Reflection and Decision Making," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 2005, p. 26.

thinking dispositions by what is modeled, expected, and rewarded in the culture surrounding the thinker.

- b. Positive thinking dispositions can be strengthened by instruction and practice. Both aspects of training, that is, creating a culture that expects effective thinking and explicitly teaching for positive thinking dispositions, appear to be valuable.³⁵
- c. One critical success factor appears to be ensuring sufficient practice for the positive thinking dispositions to become entrenched and habitual.
- d. A workplace culture can encourage and strengthen positive thinking dispositions by expecting cognitive behaviors and outcomes that rely on positive thinking dispositions.

6.4 Recommendations

In order to gain maximum benefit from the use of a thinking dispositions assessment in the selection of analysts, the intelligence community should:

1. Conduct a comprehensive job analysis to identify the specific traits and characteristics needed by intelligence analysts. Using this job analysis, identify which specific thinking dispositions have the most positive impact on analytic performance.

Numerous authors have described various traits and capabilities of the ideal intelligence analyst. These traits are, however, anecdotal. The intelligence community should use the existing intelligence literature as a starting point for developing what might be considered a definitive description of the needed competencies and traits of an intelligence analyst. This description should include thinking dispositions.

2. Purchase, adapt, or develop assessments that measure the strength of an individual's thinking dispositions.

Once an understanding of analyst competencies, dispositions, and other traits exists, develop an assessment that addresses, at a minimum, the thinking dispositions a candidate has. The many assessments found in this study provide a starting point for the intelligence community. Although not all assessments identified in this study were found to be equally reliable and valid, they are a source of potentially useful questions and approaches that might be included in the selection process for intelligence analysts.

3. Validate that the assessment is useful in identifying individuals with thinking dispositions that have a positive impact on intelligence analysis.

Because of the potential impact of using a thinking dispositions assessment in intelligence analyst selection, care must be taken to ensure that the assessment tool is valid and useful for selection. Although intelligence analysis does not lend itself to quantitative evaluation such as sales quota achievement, it is possible to

³⁵ Perkins, D.N., Jay, E. & Tishman, S. "Beyond Abilities: A Dispositional Theory of Thinking," *The Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 1993, pp. 16-17.

experimentally assess the impact of thinking dispositions on an individual's analytic results. The experiments conducted by Stanovich, for example, provide a model for how this might be done.³⁶ An essential ingredient of the experiment would be a standard repertoire of intelligence problems and databases tailored to the participants' specialties. The experiment would include a solution for each problem that represents the best analysis that can be accomplished given the information in the databases. Experiment facilitators would use these solutions to evaluate each participant's analysis and would be able to compare analytic results with thinking disposition assessment results.

4. Validate that the assessment is fair and does not inappropriately exclude any individual or classes of individuals.
Ensure that the assessment will meet the "Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures" as defined by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Justice. These can be found at <http://www.uniformguidelines.com/uniformguidelines.html>.
5. Strengthen the thinking dispositions of intelligence analysts already at work in the intelligence community by improving intelligence analyst training programs. The goals of these improvement efforts are to ensure that the training culture fosters positive thinking dispositions and includes specific training on thinking dispositions.
6. Ensure the work environment continues the enculturation process through its efforts to expect, strengthen, and reward strong positive thinking dispositions.³⁷

³⁶ Stanovich, K.E. *What Intelligence Tests Miss: The Psychology of Rational Thought*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2009, p. 34.

³⁷ Marsh, M. *Advanced Analysis Cognition: Thinking Dispositions*, Final Report, May 2012 is the complete report of this research synthesis. It was in press at the time of the current final report for the Advanced Analysis Cognition effort.

7.0 PRACTICE-BASED LEARNING

7.1 Introduction

One of the recommendations developed as a result of the *State of Knowledge* contract was:

Establish a training course using the handbook proposed in Recommendation 4. This would include using the procedures taught for performing the complete analysis process. The approach to training would incorporate procedures and exercises designed to accommodate context sensitivity. Accordingly, an essential ingredient of the training is a standard repertoire of intelligence problems and databases tailored to the students' specialties. The course will provide a solution for each problem that represents the best analysis that can be accomplished given the information in the databases. Course facilitators will use these solutions to evaluate each student's analysis. Each student would also be able to compare his or her results with what an expert has accomplished.

This recommendation implied certain content in the training intervention: learning the content of the handbook (eventually developed as the *Framework for Analytic Cognition*(FAC) and putting what has been learned into practice. The issue researched further in the effort under review was how to best design and develop such a training course, with particular emphasis on the practice component.

Based on the nature of intelligence analysis, the FAC, research done during the *State of Knowledge* contract, and the philosophical outlook of the FAC team, a performance improvement intervention designed with a practice based learning approach seemed to be the most appropriate method for achieving the best training outcomes. The goal of the current study was to validate this approach.

7.2 Purpose

Our goal was to be able to make informed recommendations regarding how best to incorporate practice based learning into an educational experience for the FAC. We hope to be prepared to participate in various course development efforts such as course design, material development, instructor and student selection and coaching, course reviews, and pilot courses. We intended to be able to provide guidance to any organizations wishing to implement an educational program based on the FAC.

We designed this effort to concentrate on three broad areas:

- 1) What is practice based learning?
- 2) Is practice based learning the optimal approach for developing an intelligence analyst's ability to use the FAC? That is, was practice based learning, as recommended in the final report of the *State of Knowledge* effort, the correct recommendation?
- 3) If practice based learning is the optimal approach for the FAC in general, are there some aspects of the FAC that are especially amenable to being learned through practice based learning?

The effort was not intended to be an exhaustive review of practice based learning. Our work on this portion of the contract did not review classic training approaches such as lecture, online

learning, or workshops, except for suggestions about how they are best integrated into a practice based learning environment. This effort also did not review basic course development methodologies.

7.3 Findings

Practice based learning is a variation of *problem based learning*, adapted to a variety of occupations. Problem based learning has the following characteristics:

1. A student-centered approach that relies on the learner to identify and review knowledge needed to resolve a case
2. Use of an authentic problem introduced to the tutorial group prior to any preparation or study
3. Synchronous small group collaborative work supported by a faculty facilitator, combined with self-directed study to investigate learning issues that arise from problem discussion
4. Use of the problem and tutorial discussion of the problem as vehicles to identify the required knowledge (facts and concepts) as well as problem-solving skills to resolve it³⁸

Billett provides a useful definition of practice based learning:

Before proceeding further, it is important to capture what constitutes practice and then learning through practice. The definition taken here of practice is that which occurs through the usual or everyday exercise of the occupation. That is, practice comprises the enactment of the kinds of activities and interactions that constitutes the occupation. This is referred to as *praxis* in some traditions, and is used to distinguish between practice and theory. Here, however, it is assumed that practice is enacted through access to and the exercise of forms of conceptual, procedural, and dispositional knowledge that underpin competent practice. Moreover, learning through practice is seen as a process that arises through the exercise of the occupational practice, and there is no distinction between engaging in practice and learning. Certainly, the process of learning is now widely acknowledged as being a ubiquitous and ongoing activity that is a necessary part of everyday conscious thinking and acting. In essence, the process of humans' construal and construction of experience constitutes learning. There is also no privileging of particular settings as sites of learning, except through the qualities of activities and interactions (i.e., experiences), because it is what and how individuals construe and construct from their experiences that ultimately shapes what they learn, not necessarily what social settings intend them to learn or even press them to learn (Billett, 2009a).³⁹

We first encountered the term practice based learning as it was associated with the medical profession. Practice based learning seemed to be a good model for intelligence analysis as many

³⁸ Clark, R.C. *Building Expertise: Cognitive Methods for Training and Performance Improvement*, 3rd ed., Pfeiffer, San Francisco, CA, 2008, p. 288.

³⁹ Billett, S. "Learning through Practice," in *Learning through Practice: Models, Traditions, Orientations, and Approaches*, ed. S. Billett, Springer, Dordrecht, 2010, p. 2.

of the cognitive challenges faced by physicians are similar to those faced by intelligence analysts.

As with many of the other topics studied during *Advanced Analysis Cognition*, developing a definition for the subject of the study was the first research challenge. While *practice based learning* is not widely used in the literature, *problem based learning* is found frequently and used in many different contexts. We searched the literature for both of these terms and then expanded the search to include learning approaches such as action learning, active learning, experiential learning, project-based learning, inquiry-based learning, professional learning, problem-centered instruction, situated learning, self-directed learning, and cognitive apprenticeship.

The planned outcome for this research was to develop a concise characterization for each topic that includes a definition, a description of how it is typically used, and a list of each approach's strengths and weaknesses. The characterization for each approach was to help the team and others validate the recommendation of practice based learning for the FAC.

7.4 Recommendations

We obtained and reviewed over 50 publications in order to develop an issue statement, analysis plan, and acquisition plan for this research effort. Unfortunately, work was suspended on the contract before we could make any further progress on this task. Therefore, the chief recommendation arising from this effort would be to continue our research and assessment efforts in order to address all of the questions set forth in the "Purpose" section of this document.

8.0 EPISTEMOLOGICAL BELIEFS

8.1 Introduction

General agreement exists that the cognitive domain as applied to decision making, problem solving or assigning meaning consists of knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.⁴⁰ However, this description of the cognitive domain does not discuss the precursor functions used to establish the knowledge used during cognition. Researchers have investigated many facets of what determines the ability of an individual to acquire knowledge. One of the results of this research is the identification of epistemological beliefs, i.e., beliefs about the nature of knowledge, and their critical role in knowledge acquisition.^{41 42}

8.2 What are Epistemological Beliefs?

What are epistemological beliefs? This is one description:

...CERTAINTY of knowledge, ranging from knowledge is absolute to knowledge is tentative...

...STRUCTURE of knowledge, ranging from knowledge is organized as isolated bits and pieces to knowledge are organized as highly interwoven concepts...

...SOURCE of knowledge, ranging from knowledge is handed down by authority to knowledge is derived through reason...

...CONTROL of knowledge acquisition, ranging from the ability to learn is fixed at birth to the ability to learn can be changed...

...SPEED of the knowledge acquisition, ranging from knowledge is acquired quickly to not-at-all to knowledge is acquired gradually.⁴³

Epistemological beliefs at the lower end of the continuum (e.g., knowledge is absolute, organized in isolated bits and pieces, handed down by authority, with the ability to learn fixed at birth) are characterized as naïve beliefs. Those beliefs at the upper end of the continuum (e.g., knowledge is tentative, organized as interwoven concepts, derived through reason, with an ability to learn that can change) are characterized as sophisticated beliefs.⁴⁴

There are many variants in definitions of epistemological beliefs. However, at the core of all these definitions is the question of whether knowledge is absolute or tentative.

⁴⁰Alexander, P.A., Dinsmore, D.L., Fox, E., Grossnickle, E.M., Loughlin, S.M., Maggioni, L., Parkinson, M.M. & Winters, F.I. *Higher-Order Thinking and Knowledge: Domain-General and Domain-Specific Trends and Future Directions*. Undated Manuscript, pp. 4.

⁴¹Schommer, M. & Walker, K. "Are Epistemological Beliefs Similar Across Domains?" *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 87, No. 3, 1995, pp. 424-432.

⁴²Harteis, C., Gruber, H. & Lehner, F. "Epistemological Beliefs and their Impact on Work, Subjectivity, and Learning," in *Work, Subjectivity and Learning: Understanding Learning through Working Life*, eds. S. Billett, T.J. Fenwick & M. Somerville, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands, 2006, pp. 123-140.

⁴³Schommer, M. "An Emerging Conceptualization of Epistemological Beliefs and their Role in Learning," in *Beliefs about Texts and Instruction with Text*, eds. R. Garner & P.A. Alexander, L. Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ, 1994, p. 28.

⁴⁴Schommer p. 29.

8.3 Findings

The work of Perry published in 1970 is generally agreed to mark the beginning of research on epistemological beliefs.⁴⁵ Since then the amount of publication dealing with epistemological beliefs has steadily increased. The general attributes of the published research are:

- The preponderance of the research has been directed at relating epistemological beliefs to learning. Little disagreement exists that higher (more sophisticated) levels of epistemological beliefs lead to improved performance in learning.
- The most frequent research subjects are children and adolescents in K-12 settings. Less work has been done on college students and even less on graduate students. Almost no work has been done with adults who have completed their formal education.
- The epistemological beliefs of teachers, both in training and in practice, have been investigated. The major point of interest was how their beliefs shaped their practice of teaching. Of particular note is that conflicts often exist between the teacher and the educational system. The educational system often pushes a pedagogical program as if knowledge is certain, while teachers new to the profession have more sophisticated beliefs.
- Research on the effect of epistemological beliefs on problem solving showed an almost one-time spurt of interest. Only a couple of reports on epistemological beliefs and work related task have been reported. These meager data do suggest that performance improves with a more sophisticated epistemological belief structure.
- A frequent current topic is the effect of culture on epistemological beliefs. As might be expected, most of the authors of these publications are not US-based.
- A variety of techniques have been developed to measure epistemological beliefs. The techniques are either interviews or a paper and pencil test. The variation in the techniques and what is being measured is very dependent on the researcher's definition of epistemological beliefs. However, regardless of how defined or measured, the same general pattern is observed: performance improves with increasing sophistication of epistemological beliefs.
- General acceptance exists that epistemological beliefs can be changed. The conditions that foster these changes have not been thoroughly addressed other than the observation that change occurs with increasing amount of education.

Given the preponderance of research relating educational performance conducted by people who are part of the educational system, the lack of research outside of the educational environment is not surprising. Most surprising is the lack of research on the relationship between thinking dispositions and epistemological beliefs. Intuitively one would expect that a sophisticated level of epistemological beliefs would correlate with a high level of thinking dispositions or vice

⁴⁵ Perry, W.G. *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years: A Scheme*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, NY, 1970.

versa. For example, a person who believes knowledge is certain will have weaker evidence of thinking disposition characteristics such as keeping an open mind.

A second major omission in the research on epistemological beliefs was mentioned above: almost none has been done with adults who have completed their formal education. Anecdotal information from other areas suggests that epistemological beliefs become less sophisticated as people age.

8.4 Recommendations

In summary, epistemological beliefs are a critical component of analytical cognition and its effectiveness. Various measurement techniques are available to assess the level of epistemological beliefs and provide a consistent indication of a person's overall level of beliefs. Ample evidence shows that this is one attribute of cognition that can be changed and measured. Thus, a real potential exists that using epistemological beliefs to aid in the selection of personnel for analysis, and the training of such personnel to improve their performance, will improve analytic cognition.

9.0 COGNITION

9.1 Introduction

Universal agreement exists that intelligence analysis is a cognitive process. However, despite the treatment of intelligence analysis as if it were something special, cognitively it isn't. Conceptually, differences between the cognition in intelligence analysis and that in many other intellectual activities are non-existent. It follows then that all research on cognition is potentially applicable to understanding the cognition of intelligence analysis.

Because of the universality of cognition to human activities an enormous amount of attention by philosophers and scientists has been focused on this topic. In general, these efforts fit into three categories:

- A study of the brain hierarchical structure and neural networks
- The processes of cognition such as sensemaking, mental models, and the divided mind
- Human cognitive behavior and the input/output of cognition

While all of these activities are adding to our understanding of cognition, the findings on behavior and input/output most readily translates into information that informs the act of intelligence analysis. What follows is an attempt to relate our findings on cognition to the practice of intelligence analysis.

9.2 Words as Concepts

Based on our analysis of research findings related to intelligence analysis, our intention is to develop and communicate concepts of the cognition of intelligence analysis and the foundation upon which this cognition rests. The immediate challenge is the means by which these concepts will be communicated: words. Many people have commented on difficulty of relating words to concepts.

Socrates said, "Wisdom begins with the definition of terms."⁴⁶

"A vague idea is not clarified by giving it a name"⁴⁷

In the world of human thought ... the most fruitful concepts are those to which it is impossible to attach a well-defined meaning. —Hunter Lewis, *A Question of Values*

"Names are codes; we should not let familiarity with them masquerade as understanding"⁴⁸

In as much as words do not have intrinsic meanings, the best we can aspire to is to discover the various connotations that have been given to the word, perhaps to see

⁴⁶ Cited in Bascatow, T. & Bellafiore, D.J. "Redefining Geospatial Intelligence," *American Intelligence Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2009, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Columbia Associates in Philosophy, 1923, p. 292.

⁴⁸ Atkins, P.W. *Creation Revisited: The Origin of Space, Time, and the Universe*, Penguin Books, London, 1992, p. 2.

if usage reflects a high degree of consensus regarding what it should be taken to mean.⁴⁹

Arguably, like most words familiar from common parlance, it is used uncritically, more often than not, with the tacit assumption that everybody knows what it means.⁵⁰

All words begin as servants, eager to oblige and assume whatever functions may be assigned them, but, that accomplished, they become masters, imposing the will of their predefined intention and dominating the essence of human discourse. It is for this reason that articulate conversation must demand not only clarity of thought and expression but also preciseness of word choice and meaning.⁵¹

When we find a promising perspective, we do not merely appropriate it but, by making an imaginative interpretation of it, construe it to make it our own. The resulting perspective never will be exactly the same as that originally expressed by the other, just as the full range of meaning that we attach to words or concepts always will vary to some extent from the connotations attributed to the same words or concepts by others.⁵²

We find it easy to fool ourselves into believing that something has been explained when it has really only been labeled or described, especially if the label sounds scientific or the description is given in technical terms. We can convince ourselves that we have made progress in our understanding of nature when, in fact, all we have done is substitute in our descriptions currently acceptable words for currently unacceptable ones.⁵³

Words which stand for complicated concepts cannot be defined by a dictionary. Words like "liberalism" and "democracy" require the equivalent of scores of dictionaries, or scores of shelves of dictionaries. You cannot define those as you define "paper" and "ink." So with our own words that stand for complicated concepts - such as "evaluation," "indicator," "capability," "estimates," and so on. As of today we use these words easily and often - yet one wonders if they are always understood in exactly the way intended.⁵⁴

A word, therefore, can not only indicate a fact, but can also suggest an emotional attitude towards it. Such suggestion of an emotional attitude does go beyond mere factual description because our approvals and disapprovals are individual - they belong to ourselves and not to the objects we approve or disapprove of. An

⁴⁹ Nickerson, R.S. *Aspects of Rationality: Reflections on What It Means to be Rational and Whether We Are*, Psychology Press, New York, NY, 2008, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Nickerson, p. 212.

⁵¹ Pajares, M.F. "Teachers' Beliefs and Educational Research: Cleaning Up a Messy Construct," *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 62, No. 3, 1992, p. 308.

⁵² Mezirow, J. *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA, 1991, p. 165.

⁵³ Nickerson, p. 239.

⁵⁴ Kent, S. "The Need for an Intelligence Literature," *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 45th Anniversary Special Edition, No. Fall, 2000, p. 6.

animal which to the mind of its master is a faithful and noble dog of mixed ancestry may be a 'mongrel' to his neighbour whose chickens are chased by it.⁵⁵

Thus an author can never literally transfer an idea. He can merely put down certain arbitrary symbols, which will serve to arouse a similar thought in his readers. How greatly the reader's thought differs from the author's it is difficult if not impossible to determine, for minds can only communicate by words. It is this difference in associated concept which often makes a reader fail to appreciate the profoundest thoughts of an author, and even, on the other hand, occasionally to see depth where it does not exist.⁵⁶

The above is a sample of the commentary in the literature on the relationship between concepts and words. Agreement exists on the idea that words are not concepts but we have no other way to communicate concepts other than the use of words. Despite all of the cautionary commentary, the common practice of using a word without a precise definition to represent a concept persists. As a matter of practice we do not define our words in terms of the concepts represented and we assume that others have the same conceptual definition of the words as we do. The result is as predicted. Despite all external manifestation of agreement and understanding we cannot be confident that we have developed a common understanding of concepts.

The offset between words and concepts is particularly great in the literature on intelligence analysis and cognitive psychology. A variety of words are used in this literature to describe the act of input, modification, and output such as fact, data, information, knowledge, belief, hypothesis, evidence, assumptions judgment, opinion, and theories. However, a consistent or precise meaning of these words is not used in the intelligence literature, sometimes even by the same author. In many cases the words are used as if they were synonyms of one another. The net result is a lack of conceptual clarity as to what is postulated about the act of cognition or the conduct of intelligence analysis.

The issue of words and concepts is particularly acute to our endeavor. We present concepts about cognition that differ from others but the words we use to describe these concepts are similar to words used by others. The conceptual differences only become apparent by recognition of the different meanings attributed to the same words. To alleviate this problem the following is the relationship of words and concepts used in our description of cognition. We are not asking you to agree with our definition of the relationship but we are asking you to use our definition as you assess our conceptual description of cognition. Otherwise our description loses all meaning if other relationships are used.

- Information – content that is received by one's senses. An umbrella description of all and any content of the input to the cognitive function. Content can include fact, data, and output from cognitive functioning of others such as belief, opinions, or judgments.
- Fact – identical results from repeated measurements of the characteristics of various objects, behavior, or phenomena. For example, the characteristics of gravity, speed of light and atomic weights are all facts. A distinctive feature of a fact is that it has

⁵⁵ Thouless, R.H. *Straight and Crooked Thinking*, Pan Books Ltd., London, UK, 1953, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Hazlitt, H. *Thinking as a Science*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, NY, 1916, p. 202.

a value or meaning which involves little or no human interpretation. Therefore, the meaning of facts does not vary between individuals. Also, facts are not time dependent. The same measurement results are obtained whatever the time interval between measurements exists. Comparatively, there are few facts. Contrary to many assertions, facts do speak for themselves. Common usage is the phrase “the facts are.” In almost all incidents the statement does not relate to facts but rather to what the individual considers indisputable data.

- Data - results of measurement that are likely to change when the condition of measurement changes. Examples include the population of the U.S., the Dow Jones index, polling results, and the IQ of a group. The assertion that data do not speak for themselves is correct. As mentioned above, the oft-used phrase “the facts are” is more accurately expressed as “the data are.”
- Known – The content of the memory of an individual. Part of what is known is identical to the information received; the content has not been changed by cognition of the individual. The other part of what is known is the result of internal thought and thinking. An individual does not know what they know. What they know is not the same as the content that they can consciously retrieve.
- Belief – An explanation of phenomena, events, or occurrence in life that an individual holds to be true. The existence of a belief or the degree it is considered true is independent of the amount of supporting evidence held by the individual.
- Knowledge – What is known.
- Evidence – Information to which a meaning has been assigned that supports or negates a belief. All information is evidence of some belief. The same information can have many meanings, so it can be evidence for many beliefs.
- Assumption – statements, descriptions, or explanation that are treated as if they were true; a provisional belief to be used in cognition.
- Hypothesis – a tentative explanation of phenomena, events, or occurrences; a conditional belief for the purpose of marshaling supporting evidence. If the evidence convinces one that the hypothesis is true, it is no longer a hypothesis but a belief.
- Opinion/Judgment – an external expression of a belief or combinations of beliefs.
- Theory - a belief or collection of beliefs that are held to be true by a substantial number of individuals.
- Cognition – a global word for all functioning of the mind.
- Thinking – A specific form of cognition. A goal directed activity based on what is known to create explanations.⁵⁷
- Inner speech – A conversation with yourself that does not involve external vocalization.

⁵⁷ Holyoak, K.J. & Morrison, R.G. "Thinking and Reasoning: A Reader's Guide," in *Oxford Handbook of Thinking and Reasoning*, eds. K.J. Holyoak & R.G. Morrison, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2012, p. 1.

- Thought – The content of inner speech
- Consciousness – Cognitive activity using inner speech
- Unconsciousness- Cognitive activity without the use of inner speech

Since at this stage you are not aware of the concepts that are driving these definitions, we do not necessarily expect agreement. If you are unable, as expected, to adopt these definitions, we ask that you use them as assumptions, as defined above.

9.3 Cognitive Behavior

9.3.1. Individual Need for Explanations

Whether one calls it sensemaking, mental models, mindsets, frames, or schemata, humans have an unrelenting need to develop beliefs about everything with which they interact. This need is the underlying motivation for cognitive activity.

The human brain is a compulsive explainer. It's constantly churning out hypotheses based on current observations, prior experiences, and existing beliefs. It does that automatically, effortlessly. And quickly.⁵⁸

It isn't that we humans like to have explanations for things; we must have explanations. We are an explaining species. Explanations, by making sense of an uncertain world, apparently render the circumstances of life more predictable and thus diminish our anxieties about what the future may hold. Although these explanations have not always been valid, they have enabled us through the millennia to cope with a dangerous world and to survive as a species. The compulsion to explain everything drives our curiosity and thirst for knowledge of the world.⁵⁹

Why should we care a whit whether black holes really exist, or whether neutrinos have mass, or what makes pulsars pulse? Whatever the answer to why we care about such things there can be no question that we do care. Many of the best minds the species has produced have devoted themselves to trying to extend our understanding of the universe in which we find ourselves, arguably for no more compelling reason than that of extending our understanding of the universe in which we find ourselves. The urge itself is remarkable, but so, as Davies and others have noted, is the apparent ability to ask and answer questions that have little direct relevance to our survival as individuals or as a species.⁶⁰

Himsworth (1986) attributes this need for explanations to fear of the unknown: "Fear of the unknown is deeply ingrained in human beings. In consequence, faced by anything they do not understand, they cannot rest until they have given themselves an explanation of it" (p. 94). Whether or not fear is the motivating factor, we are explanation-generating entities.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Gardner, D. "Our Brains Want Certainty about the Montreal Shooting," *Ottawa Citizen*, September 6, 2012, p. A11.

⁵⁹ Jones, M.D. *The Thinker's Toolkit: Fourteen Powerful Techniques for Problem Solving*, Three Rivers Press, New York, NY, 1998, p. 34.

⁶⁰ Nickerson, p. 333.

⁶¹ As quoted in Nickerson, p. 209.

But we will have explanations. It is our nature to wish to know both how things are and why they are that way. The instrumental value of the kind of knowledge that many explanations represent is unquestionably great, but our desire for explanations is not limited to those that have obvious practical utility; we wish to understand for the sake of understanding, and this, in my view, is as much of a defining property of a rational being as we are likely to find.⁶²

I find it easy to see explanation as a key aspect of rationality, and believe the continual search for explanations to be a defining characteristic of human nature. Explanations provide one with a sense of closure, the resolution of uncertainty, sometimes answers to vexing questions. They can facilitate thinking by permitting it to move on, as when the resolution of a specific question provides the basis for making headway on perhaps more interesting or more general ones.⁶³

Man differs from animals in that he has a reasoning mind, and this mind...cannot tolerate a vacuum, it finds an explanation for everything.⁶⁴

For at least a century, psychologists and philosophers have suggested that our urge to explain the world is analogous to our urge to populate it. Like making babies, they argue, making theories is so crucial to our survival that we have a natural drive to do so - what William James called a "theoretic instinct."⁶⁵

Reasoning with causal information clearly is an important aspect of reasoning about evidence. Basically, it can take two forms. Using familiar AI terminology, in prediction, one observes or assumes a certain event and tries to predict what will happen as a consequence of this event, while in explanation, one observes an event or state of affairs and tries to explain how it could have been caused by other events. Both forms of reasoning are, of course, of prime importance in reasoning about evidence, whether story or argument based⁶⁶

We define sensemaking as the deliberate effort to understand events. It is typically triggered by unexpected changes or other surprises that make us doubt our prior understanding. We also describe how these sensemaking activities can result in a faulty account of events.⁶⁷

The domain practitioner's higher purpose is not to perceive stimuli, but is, simply put, *to make sense of things*.⁶⁸

⁶² Nickerson, p. 252.

⁶³ Nickerson, p. 251.

⁶⁴ Gabor, D. *The Mature Society*, Praeger, New York, NY, 1972.

⁶⁵ Schulz, K. *Being Wrong: Adventures in the Margin of Error*, HarperCollins, New York, NY, 2010, p. 96.

⁶⁶ Bex, F., van den Braak, S., van Oostendorp, H., Prakken, H., Verheij, B. & Vreeswijk, G. "Sense-Making Software for Crime Investigation: How to Combine Stories and Arguments?" *Law, Probability, & Risk*, Vol. 6, 2007, p. 148.

⁶⁷ Klein, G., Phillips, J.K., Rall, E.L. & Peluso, D.A. "A Data-Frame Theory of Sensemaking," in *Expertise Out of Context*, ed. R.R. Hoffman, 2007, p. 114.

⁶⁸ Klein, p. 114.

9.3.2. Individual Need for Certainty

By definition, an explanation does not necessarily have the attribute of being true. An explanation can be tentative, such as a hypothesis, or can be believed to be true and has become a belief. However, just as humans have a need for explanation, they also have the need to believe that their explanations are true.

The certainty they exploit is the certainty - or the longing for it - already present inside each of us.⁶⁹

It seems to be a common defect of human minds that they tend to crave for complete certainty of belief or disbelief in anything. Not only is this undesirable scientifically, but it must be recognized that no such state is obtainable in science. However successful and reliable a theory may be up to any point of time, further data may come along and show a need for adjustment of the theory, while at the other extreme, however little confidence one has in a hypothesis, new data may change the situation.⁷⁰

The quest for truth, it seems to me, is one thing - possibly the only thing - that different traditions of rationality have in common. We may not all agree on what the truth is, but the assumption that we are all seeking it is what gives us reason to hope that progress - that can be recognized as progress by all - can be made.⁷¹

It seems more than remotely possible that our intolerance of uncertainty and the assumption that we appear to make that every event has an identifiable cause may contribute to overly simplistic cause-effect views of phenomena in general and of human behavior in particular.⁷²

9.3.3. Input to Thinking

As we pointed out earlier, the cognitive behavior of an individual is motivated by a need for justifying certain explanations. These explanations are the result of thinking that is based on what one knows and the purpose of thinking. While information as received can be incorporated into memory, the as-received information is insufficient for use in developing an explanation. The thinker must interpret information and assign a meaning to it.

There is a widespread myth that information is something in the world that does not depend on the point of view of the observers and that it is (or is often) independent of the context in which it occurs.⁷³

As pointed out by many, the assignment of meaning to any piece of information is highly individualized.

⁶⁹ Schulz, p. 162.

⁷⁰ Lyttleton, R.A. "The Nature of Knowledge," In R. Duncan & M. Weston-Smith eds., *The encyclopedia of Ignorance*, Pocket Books, New York, NY, p14

⁷¹ Nickerson, p. 387.

⁷² Nickerson, p. 248.

⁷³ Woods, D.D., Patterson, E.S. & Roth, E.M. *Can we Ever Escape from Data Overload? A Cognitive Systems Diagnosis*, AFRL-HE-WP-TR-1999-0195, Ohio State University and Roth Cognitive Engineering, Columbus, OH, 1998, p. 14.

One of the oldest and most reliable generalizations in psychology is that perception is not merely the passive receipt of information but is instead a process of active interpretation, selective attention, deduction, and inference. The “facts” never “speak for themselves.”⁷⁴

There are no facts of fixed significance. ... A particular datum gains significance or meaning only from its relationship to the context in which it occurs or could occur including the perspective of observers. As a result, informativeness is not a property of the data field alone, but is a relationship between observers and the data field.⁷⁵

There is no such thing as a definite piece of indisputable knowledge about the world whose meaning is not in some way colored by preexisting belief about the world.⁷⁶

...information cannot speak for itself. The significance of information is always a joint function of the nature of the information and the context in which it is interpreted. The context is provided by the analyst in the form of a set of assumptions and expectations concerning human and organizational behavior. These preconceptions are critical determinants of which information is considered relevant and how it is interpreted.⁷⁷

Information does in this view not include any inherent level of validity, truth or certainty in order to qualify as information. Quite on the contrary, information is the propositional content towards which an agent actively can entertain different attitudes. Hence, of significance are the propositional attitude of the agent, the processes and methods of justifying the different attitudes.⁷⁸

But evidence must be interpreted; and it is probably very infrequently the case that the evidence on any complex issue admits of only one interpretation or is overwhelmingly indicative of only one answer. What is made of any bit of evidence - indeed the extent to which any bit of data can function as evidence - must depend, to no small degree, on what else the one who interprets it already knows or believes.⁷⁹

The source of this variability is described below.

Most of this resonates well with the postmodern view that no determination of a single truth is possible. The complexity sciences confirm that the observer and the observed cannot be detached from each other This is supported by the postmodernist

⁷⁴ Stech, F.J. *Estimates of Peacetime Soviet Naval Intentions: An Assessment of Methods*, Office of Naval Research, Dept. of the Navy 1981, p. 56.

⁷⁵ Woods, D.D., Patterson, E.S. & Roth, E.M. *Can We Ever Escape from Data Overload? A Cognitive Systems Diagnosis*, AFRL-HE-WP-TR-1999-0195, Ohio State University and Roth Cognitive Engineering, Columbus, OH, 1998, p. 14.

⁷⁶ Cited in Nickerson, p. 81.

⁷⁷ Heuer, R.J.J. *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis*, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Washington, D.C., 1999, p. 41.

⁷⁸ Ronn, K.V. & Hoffding, S. "The Epistemic Status of Intelligence: An Epistemological Contribution to the Understanding of Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, Available as: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2012.701438>, 2012, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Nickerson, p. 144.

understanding that no matter how we assess information, knowledge or intelligence, we can never achieve anything other than a mirror of how we see the 'facts.'⁸⁰

Conflicting representations of the same event come to be understood as legitimate products of individuals' unique meaning-making efforts because interpretive mental processes vary across individuals, their products may also differ. It is at this point that the multiplist level of epistemological understanding begins to take hold: Perhaps all knowing is only opinion.⁸¹

Of more direct concern to the present chapter is the finding that content and context profoundly affects reasoning even when logical structure is held constant. So pervasive are the effects of prior knowledge and belief on reasoning, that Stanovich (1999) has recently described the tendency to contextualize all information given as the fundamental computational bias in human cognition.⁸²

Behavior that is irrational for one person may be rational from the perspective of another whose knowledge, beliefs or values differ.⁸³

The fact that the same observational evidence can be extrapolated to give two diametrically opposite predictions according to which explanation one adopts, and cannot justify either of them, is not some accidental limitation of the farmyard environment: it is true of all observational evidence under all circumstances.⁸⁴

The fact that top-down knowledge affects interpretation means (among other things) that two people with the same information - be it a low-resolution satellite photograph or the incomplete facts surrounding a death - can logically interpret it differently given different prior knowledge.⁸⁵

9.3.4. Judgment of Thinking

Because of the acknowledged variance in assignment of meaning between individuals, the difficulty in judging the validity of the thinking of an individual has been acknowledged by many.

Wherever we look, we see indications of the wisdom of Polya's (1954b) admonition to not neglect the obvious fact that two people presented with the same evidence may honestly disagree.⁸⁶

When A reads something that B has written, A's task is to understand not what B says, but what B means. The task is complicated by the fact that B himself may not understand

⁸⁰ Rolington, A. "Objective Intelligence or Plausible Denial: An Open Source Review of Intelligence Method and Process since 9/11," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 21, No. 5, 2006, p. 749.

⁸¹ Kuhn, D., Cheney, R. & Weinstock, M. "The Development of Epistemological Understanding," *Cognitive Development*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2000, p. 313.

⁸² Evans, Jonathan St. B. T. "The Influence of Prior Belief on Scientific Thinking," in *The Cognitive Basis of Science*, eds. P. Carruthers, S.P. Stich & M. Siegal, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2002, p. 194.

⁸³ Nickerson, p. 402.

⁸⁴ Goodman, M.S. & Omand, D. "Teaching Intelligence Analysts in the UK: What Analysts Need to Understand: The King's Intelligence Studies Program," *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2008, [p. 7 in original document].

⁸⁵ Spellman, B.A. "Individual Reasoning," in *Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations*, eds. B. Fischhoff & C. Chauvin, National Academies Press, Washington, DC, 2011, p. 128.

⁸⁶ Nickerson, p. 144.

clearly what he means. It is easy to imagine conversations between two parties in which one participant claims, in all sincerity, to understand what the other has said but really does not.⁸⁷

In the Agency, and in other intelligence agencies, only “one organizational view” of an issue can prevail. Such conformity defies both human nature and logic. Within any organization, individual analysts frequently reach different judgments about the quality of information, the correct interpretation of data, and the likely implications of any foreign development.⁸⁸

Hannes Alven (1988) provides a particularly interesting illustration, not only that experts in the same problem area can interpret the same evidence differently from each other, but that they can each interpret the evidence in different ways at different times.⁸⁹

Thus even if we were willing to assume that two individuals had precisely the same knowledge with respect to some issue, we should not find it difficult to believe that they could come to different conclusions about the issue.⁹⁰

Also, it is doubtful that, in complicated situations, two individuals ever have precisely the same evidence with which to work. If there is a large amount of information that is germane to the issue, chances are that different individuals will have acquired different aspects of that information at different times under different conditions and to different degrees, so that their knowledge, as it relates to the issue at any given time, is unlikely to be exactly the same.⁹¹

Finally, it must be acknowledged that justification is a very subjective matter. What I consider to be strong justification of a particular belief, you may see as inadequate; and I may fail to see the merit in the argument you advance in support of a belief that you hold and I do not.⁹²

It is much easier to think that other people are biased or closed-minded than to understand that if everyone else sees the world through his own construction of it, then you yourself must be doing the same. What beliefs and assumptions do you bring to your consideration of the issues?⁹³

Our earlier knowledge structure influence the way we receive and understand new information. The same piece of information is consequently received differently dependent on the person's pre-understanding of the topic.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Nickerson, p. 325.

⁸⁸ George, R.Z. "Beyond Analytic Tradecraft," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2010, p. 300.

⁸⁹ Nickerson, p. 145.

⁹⁰ Nickerson, p. 145.

⁹¹ Nickerson, p. 144.

⁹² Nickerson, p. 140.

⁹³ Williams, J.P. "The Importance of Examining Beliefs about Text," in *Beliefs about Texts and Instruction with Text*, eds. R. Garner & P.A. Alexander, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, NJ, 1994, p. xiv.

⁹⁴ Henstroem, J. "Five Personality Dimensions and Their Influence on Information Behaviour," *Information Research*, [Online], vol. 9, no. 1, October 5, 2010. Available as: <http://informationr.net/ir/9-1/paper165.html>, 2003, [p. 3 in original document].

On one pole has been the view that only propositions verified by observed phenomena should be called knowledge. On the other pole has been the view that the world is always interpreted through different lenses of concepts and beliefs, and that there exists no independent criterion for deciding if one lens is more valid than another.⁹⁵

We do know that when a case is tried twice, as is possible in most civil law systems, different courts may reach different decisions in the same case and on the same evidence. It is not always clear what the origins of such disagreements are, but they definitely do not support the basic belief that the reasoning power of human beings will always lead to the one and only correct verdict⁹⁶

9.3.5. Ramifications

The body of thought represented by the sampling of writings above lead to three conclusions

- Information does not have a single value of meaning. Information's value and meaning depend on the knowledge of the individual making the assignment plus the purpose that motivate the assignment.
- Differences in assignment of meaning can occur between individuals and even within a single individual as changes occur in what they know or believe, or changes in purpose.
- When the output of an individual's thinking is based on their assignment of meaning, the judgment of the validity of such thinking by another individual requires knowing what the other individual knows.

These conclusions seem to directly follow from the cited writing and as such are uncontroversial, but they are controversial when contrasted with common practice in research on cognition. Much of this research consists of measuring and comparing the output of the test subject to what the researchers believe is the correct answer. The subject is considered objective and rational when the cognitive output agrees with the output expected by the researcher.

Most research on thinking biases are so structured. One illustration is the so called confirmation bias. The normal mode for most individuals is to evaluate new information relative to their existing beliefs. As a result, the thinking purpose is not to answer the question of what does newly received information mean but rather it is to answer the question of whether the information supports an existing explanation. It is a common response that if the information does not support an existing explanation, the receiver of the information ceases to think about it.

The rejection of information that conflicts with existing beliefs is treated as if it is a flaw in thinking. However, such thinking is not flawed but rational in the context of the individual and the purpose of their thinking.

⁹⁵ Fitzgerald, J. & Cunningham, J.W. "Mapping Basic Issues for Identifying Epistemological Outlooks," in *Personal Epistemology: The Psychology of Beliefs about Knowledge and Knowing*, eds. B.K. Hofer & P.R. Pintrich, L. Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ, 2002, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Wagenaar, W.A., van Koppen, P.J. & Crombag, H.F.M. *Anchored Narratives: The Psychology of Criminal Evidence*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, UK, 1993, p. 2.

This example underscores what is apparent in the above comments on meaning. The thoughts and resultant thinking is the product of an individual. The results are likely to be as varied as the variability of knowledge, beliefs, and goals between individuals. One might disagree with the results of another individual's thinking, but that does not mean the thinking was any less rational than that used by the disagreeing party.

Despite all that has been written on natural differences in interpretation of information, the normal mode of interaction between individuals is to judge such differences. One only has to read the commentary on the internet to see the acrimonious attacks on others who have a differing opinion. The situation is not different when so-called experts are involved in such disagreements. Disagreements in scientific literature are legion. The participants are exhibiting individualized anthropocentrism, that is, a steadfast adherence to the belief that their interpretation is the correct one.

Also in contradiction to what has been written, the premise that information can be explained by a "single correct answer" is central to the quality assurance practices of many organizations involved in the interpretation of information.

In the Agency, and in other intelligence agencies, only "one organizational view" of an issue can prevail. Such conformity defies both human nature and logic. Within any organization, individual analysts frequently reach different judgments about the quality of information, the correct interpretation of data, and the likely implications of any foreign development.⁹⁷

One well known example of this condition was the claims made during his confirmation hearings by his subordinates that Gates politicized intelligence on the Soviet Union. An alternate explanation is that Gates had a more negative view of the motives and goals of the Soviet Union than his subordinates so he interpreted their actions as more threatening. In this case neither group at that time was correct since they didn't anticipate the breakup of the Soviet Union.

This example also illustrates a characteristic common to most instances of evaluating interpretation after the fact: a focus on the end product rather than the cognitive process used to arrive at the content of the end product. An alternate basis for judging the merits of the thinking can be gained by an examination of the process: How exhaustively was information acquired, the reasoning used in assigning meaning, and the amount of evidence supporting the explanation? The use of process evaluation does not resolve, however, the issue of judging which answer is "correct" since different results can be achieved by two equally thorough processes

Does one conclude that there are no "right" answers and, as stated above, "Is all knowing just a matter of opinion?" For answers that are based on human interpretation, yes, they are all opinions, some of which may be proven correct by subsequent events. However, not all opinions are of equal merit.

⁹⁷ George, R.Z. "Beyond Analytic Tradecraft," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2010, p. 300.

One can therefore understand our ideological prisms as a kind of human shelter – the result of our individual experiences and collective histories. These prisms make it inherently difficult to believe that anyone who actually thinks truly can arrive at conclusions that differ from our own. Corroboration leading one person to believe in a hypothesis does not necessarily mean that another person believing in the hypothesis based on the same corroborative reason actually perceives the conclusion of the hypothesis the same way as we do. In other words, two people can believe the same hypothesis, but they can believe it differently, which entails that critical rationalism only ensures self-corrective criticisms of the thought process, and not self-criticism of our perception of the conclusion.⁹⁸

The idea that one should strive for self-corrective criticism of the thought process rather than self-criticism of the conclusion is a foundation for a quality assurance program that is consistent with all of the research cited above. A wealth of literature exists on conceptual change, persuasion, and changing the mind of others, but is not directly applicable to the desired quality assurance program. The overall thrust of this literature is how to get people to change their opinions and adapt yours. This is contrary to the idea of judging the merit of an opinion based on the process used to form the opinion. However, a limited amount of research suggests that an act of self-corrective criticism of the process can lead to a self-corrective change in the conclusions. These processes are not to be confused with such structural analytic techniques as devil's advocacy, Team A/Team B or Red Team Analysis since these techniques involved comparison of results rather than processes.

The FAC provides the procedures and process of the entire analysis process from formulating the intelligence issue to be answered to the representation of the answer. In addition, the use of FAC results in all the information needed for a quality assurance program for the practice of intelligence analysis.

⁹⁸ Hatlebrekke, K.A. & Smith, M.L.R. "Towards a New Theory of Intelligence Failure? The Impact of Cognitive Closure and Discourse Failure," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2010, p. 157.

10.0 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYTIC COGNITION

The preparation of a handbook that encompasses the entire analysis process, which became known as the *Framework for Analytic Cognition (FAC)*, began in 2008. Two and a half years later we completed the FAC and published it in its entirety. We wrote each section, which represented a segment of the analysis process, in the same sequence as the topics occur in the analysis process. We made few modifications to prior sections as we completed subsequent sections of the FAC.

As we mention in the FAC itself, at the completion of analysis one is cognitively a different person than the one that embarked on the analysis effort. This is equally true for us at the completion of the writing of the FAC. In addition, we gained much more knowledge from our research synthesis of findings in scientific areas applicable to analysis. Thus, we recognize that the FAC can be improved, not to change its basic content but to provide more evidence supporting the practices we recommend. We could also improve the communication of the ideas embedded in the FAC.

Unfortunately, when work on the contract was suspended, we were not able to accomplish the updates and expansions that would improve the FAC. We were able, however, to create two condensed versions of the FAC designed to stimulate interest in its use:

- *Framework for Analytic Cognition (FAC): Essential Elements of the Intelligence Analysis Process* is approximately 14 pages long and provides, for each of the eight components of the FAC, a brief discussion of the purpose of the component, the benefits it provides to the intelligence analyst, a concise description of the activities needed to accomplish the goals of the component, and a review of the output of those activities.
- *Master the Cognitive Challenges of Intelligence Analysis Using the Framework for Analytic Cognition (FAC)* is approximately 80 pages long and contains highlights of the eight components that make up the FAC. For each component we provide an introduction, a review of the steps needed to accomplish the task, tips, a checklist, and a description of the outcome of each component of the FAC. Some components also have supplemental worksheets or questionnaires to help readers with the tasks described in that component.

These documents can be used as an introduction to the full FAC or as quick reference guides for use after learning the full FAC. Both of these publications were designed to communicate that the FAC is oriented to helping the individual intelligence analyst by providing concrete, practical assistance for doing a complex and essential job. In addition, we hoped to demonstrate that the FAC is systematic, but flexible enough to accommodate the way analysts think and the unstructured and highly iterative nature of intelligence analysis.

11.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

11.1 Quality Assurance

Develop a quality assurance approach. The basic concepts to be used are cooperation rather than challenge with the focus on the execution of the process for formulating an analytical conclusion rather than the content of the conclusion. The review should occur at the end of each stage of the analysis process rather than at the end of process. This will result in early detection and correction of execution issues. This approach will not necessarily result in single answer to an intelligence issue but will provide the information and interpretation resulting in different answers. FAC provides the structure of this quality assurance program.

11.2 Analysis Selection

Assessments for thinking dispositions and epistemological beliefs should be added to existing criteria for the selection of personnel for the intelligence analysis function. A variety of validated assessment tools exist that can measure the characteristics of a person's thinking dispositions and epistemological beliefs.

11.3 Analyst Training

If the performance of an analyst is to be measured based on the execution of the analysis process, then the analyst has to be trained on how to execute. We recommend that a training course based on the FAC be developed. This course would include using the procedures taught for performing the complete analysis process. The approach to training would incorporate procedures and exercises designed to accommodate context sensitivity. Accordingly, an essential ingredient of the training would be a standard repertoire of intelligence problems and databases tailored to the students' specialties. The course would provide a solution for each problem that represents the best analysis that can be accomplished given the information in the databases. Course facilitators would use these solutions to evaluate each student's analysis. Each student would also be able to compare his or her results with what an expert has accomplished.

In addition, a training course to improve the thinking dispositions and epistemological beliefs of analysts should be established. Various techniques for such training already exist and should be incorporated into the professional development activities of intelligence analysts.

11.4 FAC Enhancement

Our efforts to survey the scientific literature for useful additions to the practice of intelligence analysis validate our original problem statement. However, we have not covered the available literature exhaustively so the potential that more information exists that can improve the analytical process is still large. Research synthesis of relevant topics should continue so a more complete understanding of cognition during analysis is acquired. The goal of such syntheses would be modifications of analytic practice that both facilitates the adoption of new techniques and information by analysts and the improvement of cognitive results.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACH	Analysis of Competing Hypotheses
AFRL	Air Force Research Laboratory
FAC	Framework for Analytic Cognition
IC	Intelligence Community
IQ	Intellectual Ability
PCASS	Preliminary Credibility Assessment Screening System
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction