

Homeland Security (HLSP 501), Fall 2018

Monday 6:30-9:30pm
Memorial Hall 203
Office hours: Mondays 4-5pm

Professor Adam McMahon
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Fine Arts 269

Course description

It has been nearly two decades since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and Pentagon in Washington on September 11, 2001. Since then, homeland security has developed as a department within the federal government, a behemoth with over 200,000 employees and billions of dollars allocated for its budget each year. Beyond that, private industry has grown to assist the government in its counterterrorism mission. As revealed by Hurricane Katrina, the devastating superstorm that ravaged New Orleans in August 2005, homeland security evolved in the ensuing years to include more than threats from terrorists. The development of the academic study of homeland security that has grown around these issues is interdisciplinary and covers a broad range of topics including risk management and analysis, threats to the homeland, strategic planning, and the federal role in countering the terrorist threat to name just a few.

This course will survey a number of issues concerning homeland security to expose students to different avenues of scholarship within the field. The goal is to assist students in beginning to answer big questions: How has the idea of homeland security evolved since 9/11? What are the threats today? What steps can we take to counter the risks that currently exist? We will discuss issues that impact government at the local, state, and national levels to broaden our understanding of homeland security policy. We will also place U.S. policy in a comparative perspective as we consider how other countries have responded to their own terrorist threats. The course is divided into different topics each week, with a selection of academic articles addressing each subject from different methodological viewpoints. These articles have been selected to illicit a response from students to consider varying perspectives to help strengthen their own analytical capabilities.

Student learning outcomes

By the end of this course students will be able to:

- Define key terminology used in the field of homeland security.
- Evaluate contemporary risks to the country's security at the local, state, and national levels.
- Assess the response of relevant actors, including policymakers, in case studies presented throughout the semester.
- Describe the development of the permanent homeland security apparatus that has developed since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.
- Identify critical junctures, such as Hurricane Katrina, that have changed the trajectory of homeland security policy implementation in the United States.
- Compare and contrast the homeland security policies of the United States with countries such as Russia, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

Accessibility

In compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) and with Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Rider University is committed to ensuring educational parity and accommodations for all students with documented disabilities and/or medical conditions. It is recommended that all students with documented disabilities (Emotional, Medical, Physical and/or Learning) consult [Student Accessibility and Support Services \(SASS\)](#) located in Vona Annex Room 8 to secure necessary academic accommodations. For further information and assistance please call (609) 895-5492 or email accessibility@rider.edu.

Statement on Academic Honesty

Rider University students are expected to do their own work and give attribution to works that are not their own or acknowledge any help received from others. I am committed to the principle of academic honesty and will pursue suspected violations in all written assignments through the university's formal mechanisms. Plagiarism and cheating are serious issues and students are expected to do their own work. As the instructor, I reserve the right to request students to provide digital copies of any and all written assignments for submission on Turnitin.com, the plagiarism checking software the political science department utilizes, before a grade can be assigned. If a student is caught plagiarizing or cheating, I will follow the process [outlined in the Code of Academic Integrity](#), which including the possibility of failing the course and/or being referred to the Academic Integrity Committee.

Course requirements

1. **Attendance and participation.** Please attend class each week. We only meet once a week, so it is important for you to plan to be at each meeting. If you miss more than one class, you are required to come meet with me in office hours in order to receive a passing grade. Continued late arrival to class will be detrimental to your grade so please arrive on time, and be prepared to talk about that week's readings.
2. **Weekly reading summaries.** Each week you are required to write a short summary of the assigned readings for submission at the end of class. These should be typed, double-spaced, with one inch margins, normal font, and proper citations (in text or footnote, but including author and year as well as page number if necessary).
3. **Discussion lead.** One week of the semester you will be charged with leading discussion for the class. You will not have to write a written summary of the articles for the week that you lead discussion. However, you will help walk the class through each of the reading assignments and generate discussion questions for us to consider (particular questions for each reading and/or broader questions that connect all of the assigned pieces for the week). I will give further instructions on what I expect from this exercise during the first week of class.
4. **Examinations.** There will be a take-home midterm and final examination, comprised of short answer questions as well as one long answer essay. You must type your response (again, with proper formatting and citations) for submission via TurnItIn on Canvas by the due date. More information will be provided on the day the midterm is assigned. Likewise, a take home final examination will be assigned at the end of the semester to be submitted during finals week (see schedule below) over the required reading material for the course.

Grading

Participation will be graded based on timely attendance to each class meeting as well as student involvement in discussions each week over the assigned readings. The seminar will only be successful if students complete the assignments and come to class ready to engage in scholarly discussion.

All assignments must be typed (1-inch margins, double spaced, normal font size and type). Handwritten assignments are not accepted. Late assignments (discussion questions, research papers, presentations) without a valid, documented excuse will not be accepted.

As a student it is your right to be thoroughly and fairly graded. Response papers will be graded through Turnitin.com. If you have an issue with the grade you received, see me as soon as possible. Any requests for a re-grading of an assignment or exam must be **submitted in writing within a week of receipt of the graded assignment**. Written requests must address the comments of the instructor. (Note that a re-grading of an assignment can result in a grade lower than that originally received.)

Incompletes will be granted only with a documented excuse and only for a limited time (usually no longer than the time you were incapacitated), the duration to be set at the time the incomplete is approved.

Grade scale

A	92.5-100%
A-	90.0-92.4%
B+	87.5-89.9%
B	82.5-87.4%
B-	80.0-82.4%
C+	77.5-79.9%
C	72.5-77.4%
C-	70-72.4%
D	60-69.9%
F	59.9% and below

Undergraduates

10% — Participation
30% — Weekly reading summaries
30% — Midterm exam
30% — Final exam

Master's students

20% — Participation
15% — Discussion lead
15% — Weekly summaries
25% — Midterm exam
25% — Final exam

Required texts

There is no textbook required for this course. Each week there are assigned readings listed below. These are on linked below, on reserve or available online through Rider University's library, or on Canvas.

Class schedule

Week 1: Introduction/What is "Homeland Security"? (Sept. 10th)

- White, Richard. 2018. "A Theory of Homeland Security." *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* 15, no. 1, p. 1-3. (Read first day in class.)

Week 2: Theory and Development of Homeland Security (Sept. 17th)

- Excerpts from National Commission on Terrorist Attacks. 2004. [The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States.](#) Authorized edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. (Required: Skim the recommendations in chap. 12. Recommended: Read chap. 1 for background.)
- Posner, Richard A. 2004. "The 9/11 Report: A Dissent." *New York Times*, August 29, 2004, sec. Books. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/29/books/the-9-11-report-a-dissent.html>.
- Friedman, Benjamin H. 2011. "Managing Fear: The Politics of Homeland Security." *Political Science Quarterly* 126, no. 1: 77–106.
- Cadwalader "Homeland Security" in *Oxford Handbook of U.S. National Security*. (Skim, but pay close attention to the part on federalism.)

Week 3: Federal, State, & Local Issues (Sept. 24th)

- Kris, David S. 2011. "Law Enforcement as a Counterterrorism Tool." *Journal of National Security Law & Policy* 5, no. 1: 1–104.

- Chenoweth, Erica, and Susan E. Clarke. 2010. "All Terrorism Is Local: Resources, Nested Institutions, and Governance for Urban Homeland Security in the American Federal System." *Political Research Quarterly* 63, no. 3: 495–507.
- Thacher, David. 2005. "The Local Role in Homeland Security." *Law & Society Review* 39, no. 3: 635–76.

Week 4: Natural Disaster Management (Lessons from Hurricane Katrina) (Oct. 1st)

- Sobel, Russell S., and Peter T. Leeson. 2006. "Government's Response to Hurricane Katrina: A Public Choice Analysis." *Public Choice* 127 (1–2): 55–73.
- Roberts, Patrick S. 2006. "FEMA and the Prospects for Reputation-Based Autonomy." *Studies in American Political Development* 20, no. 1: 57–87.
- Martin, Marcus L., Hulannie A. Jenkins, Beth B. Mehring, and A. Cong Ma. 2011. "All-Hazards, All Communities: An Approach to Disaster Preparedness and Policy." *Journal of Race and Policy* 7, no. 1: 26–41.
- Frontline's *The Storm*. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/katrina-10-years-later-three-documentaries-to-watch/> (Watch in class.)

Week 5: Border Protection (Oct 8th)

- Gonzales, Alfonso. 2013. *The State–Civil Society Nexus and the Debate Over the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005*. Oxford University Press, chapter 1 "Reform Without Justice."
- Andreas, Peter. 2003. "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century." *International Security* 28, no. 2: 78–111.
- Darder, Antonia. 2007. "Radicalizing the Immigrant Debate in the United States: A Call for Open Borders and Global Human Rights." *New Political Science* 29, no. 3: 369–84.

Week 6: Counterterrorism & American Values: Enhanced Interrogation or Torture? (Oct. 15th)

- Mayer, Jane. 2005. "Outsourcing Torture." *New Yorker*, February 7. Accessed August 13, 2018. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/02/14/outourcing-torture>.
- Schiemann, John W. 2012. "Interrogational Torture: Or How Good Guys Get Bad Information with Ugly Methods." *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 1: 3–19.
- Howes, Dustin Ells. 2012. "Torture Is Not a Game: On the Limitations and Dangers of Rational Choice Methods." *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 1: 20–27.
- Luban, David. "Unthinking the Ticking Bomb," in Beitz, Charles R. and Robert E. Goodin, editors. *Global Basic Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 181–206.
- **Take home midterm posted online**

Week 7: Post-9/11 Counterterror Policy Implementation (Oct. 22nd)

- Mueller, John, and Mark G. Stewart. 2011. "Protecting the Airlines" (chapter 7) in *Terror, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 132–158.
- Shapiro, Jacob N., and Dara Kay Cohen. 2007. "Color Bind: Lessons from the Failed Homeland Security Advisory System." *International Security* 32, no. 2: 121–54.

Week 8: The Surveillance State (Oct. 29th)

- Clunan, Anne L. 2006. "The Fight against Terrorist Financing." *Political Science Quarterly* 121, no. 4: 569–96.
- Bendix, William, and Paul J. Quirk. 2016. "Deliberating Surveillance Policy: Congress, the FBI, and the Abuse of National Security Letters." *Journal of Policy History* 28, no. 3: 447–69.
- Theoharis, Athan. 2016. "Expanding U.S. Surveillance Powers: The Costs of Secrecy." *Journal of Policy History* 28, no. 3: 515–34.

Week 9: Intelligence Agencies & Counterterrorism (Nov. 5)

- Dahl, Erik J. 2014. "Finding Bin Laden: Lessons for a New American Way of Intelligence." *Political Science Quarterly* 129, no. 2: 179–210.
- Johnson, Loch K. 2016. "Congress and the American Experiment in Holding Intelligence Agencies Accountable." *Journal of Policy History* 28, no. 3: 494–514.
- Zegart, Amy. 2007. "9/11 and the FBI: The Organizational Roots of Failure." *Intelligence and National Security* 22, no. 2: 165–84.

Week 10: Critical Infrastructure and Energy Security (Nov. 12th)

- Burke, Sharon, and Emily Schneider. 2015. "Enemy Number One for the Electric Grid: Mother Nature." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 35, no. 1: 73–86.
- Toft, Peter, Arash Duero, and Arunas Bieliauskas. 2010. "Terrorist Targeting and Energy Security." *Energy Policy* 38, no. 8: 4411–21.
- Egli, Dane S. 2013. "Beyond the Storms: Strengthening Preparedness, Response, & Resilience in the 21st Century." *Journal of Strategic Security* 6, no. 2: 32–45.

Week 11: Cybersecurity (Nov. 19th)

- Lawson, Sean. 2013. "Beyond Cyber-Doom: Assessing the Limits of Hypothetical Scenarios in the Framing of Cyber-Threats." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 10, no. 1: 86–103.
- Stoddart, Kristan. 2016. "Live Free or Die Hard: U.S.-UK Cybersecurity Policies." *Political Science Quarterly* 131, no. 4: 803–42.
- Nye Jr., Joseph S. 2016. "Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace." *International Security* 41, no. 3: 44–71.

Week 12: Comparative National Security (Nov. 26th)

- Foley, Frank. 2016. "Why Inter-Agency Operations Break down: US Counterterrorism in Comparative Perspective." *European Journal of International Security* 1, no. 2: 150–75.
- Cornell, Svante E. 2003. "The War Against Terrorism and the Conflict in Chechnya: A Case for Distinction." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 27, no. 2: 167–84.
- Lister, Michael, and Miguel Otero-iglesias. 2012. "New Problems, Old Solutions? Explaining Variations in British and Spanish Anti-Terrorism Policy." *Comparative European Politics* 10, no. 5: 564–84.

Week 13: Emerging Threats (Dec. 3rd)

- Hodge, James G., and Kim Weidenaar. 2016. "Public Health Emergencies as Threats to National Security." *Journal of National Security Law and Policy* 9, no. 1: 1-12.
- Wong, Wendy H., and Peter A. Brown. 2013. "E-Bandits in Global Activism: WikiLeaks, Anonymous, and the Politics of No One." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 4: 1015–33.
- Langston, Stacy. 2013. "The Threat of Domestic Bioterrorism: Fact or Fiction." *Journal of Strategic Security* 6, no. 5: 197–206.
- Gaibullov, Khusrav, Todd Sandler, and Charlinda Santifort. 2012. "Assessing the Evolving Threat of Terrorism." *Global Policy* 3, no. 2: 135–44.
- Fallows, James. 2018. "The Lessons of the Seattle Plane Crash." *The Atlantic*, August 12. <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2018/08/the-lessons-of-the-seattle-plane-crash/567359/>.

Week 14: **Take home final exam due (Dec. 10th)**