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An Empirical Study of the Evolution of Homeland Security Definitions and the Public Perception of Homeland Security

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Objectives

- To introduce results from a currently conducted empirical study (quantitative systematic review) of the evolution of official homeland security definitions from related federal strategies, frameworks, guidelines, the QHSRs, enterprise agencies' FY strategic plans, and related documents.
- To identify continuing and changing ingredients of the sprouting public policy and strategy definition of homeland security.
- To compare those findings to the development of the public perception of homeland security and how people would define the term, using the example of Pennsylvania, with our multi-year poll study of residents' perception of homeland security.

Utility

- While valuable analyses of how homeland security pre-dates and transcends 9/11 have increased, more systematic study of how the concept and meaning of homeland security have evolved over the past 20 years, and how it resonates with the people whose way of life it is supposed to protect (→"Homeland Security Vision," QHSR 2014) is still needed.
- National Research Council: Call for a broad public and professional "dialogue as to what constitutes a socially acceptable definition of homeland security and what are the practical institutional means to achieve it."

There is No McDonaldization of Homeland Security

"If a public speaker were to ask an audience of 100 people in the United States to close their eyes and picture the McDonalds logo there is a very strong likelihood that everyone would envision the same thing. With 39,198 Mc Donald's locations around the world getting everyone to picture the same logo this is not a very difficult task. If you were, however, to ask that same group of people to think about what the definition of HLS is you would then have 100 people thinking of 100 different things. The reason for these differences of opinion could be attributed to the fact that HLS is a very difficult concept to frame using a straightforward definition. This difficulty is due to the fact that as the threat environment has changed, the definition of HLS has changed right along with it. With the constantly changing threat environment the establishment of a standard agreed upon definition of HLS has therefore been an impossible task. In order to develop a deeper understanding into the dynamic nature of the definition of HLS, [we would have to] follow its evolution from the 1700's up until today. From the time the American Colonies decided to declare their independence from Britain the United States has had some form of security in place to protect its citizens and land from harm."

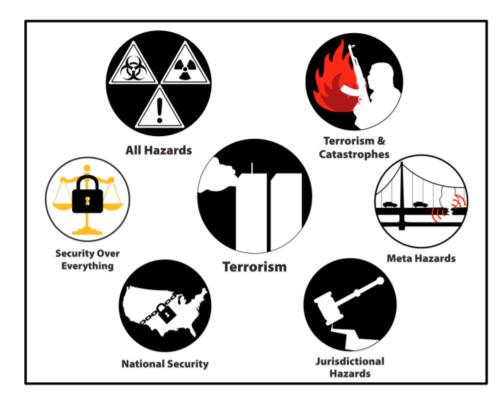
Chad Jackson, Leah Martinez, Andrew Morrow, Kevin McGowan, Nick Pastic, David Randall, "The Evolving Definition of Homeland Security," Penn State, HLS 597 - Summer 2021, August 11, 2021, p. 2.

Study of Homeland Security Definitions: State of the Art

- Conceptual/semantic (strategic definitions of homeland security):
- Christopher Bellavita: "Changing Homeland Security: What Is Homeland Security?," *Homeland Security Affairs* 2 (2008): 1-30, https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/49810
- Shawn Reese: "Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations," *Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress,* R42462, January 8, 2013, https://sgp.fas.org/crs/homesec/R42462.pdf
- Linda Kiltz and James D. Ramsay: "Perceptual Framing of Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Affairs* 8, no. 1 (2012), https://www.proquest.com/docview/1266360730?accountid=13158
- Emancipatory (critical security studies vs. "political posture" narratives)
- Xavier Guillaume, "Criticality," in *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies. An Introduction*, ed. Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 29-32.

Christopher Bellavita: "Changing Homeland Security: What Is Homeland Security?," *Homeland Security Affairs* 2 (2008): 1-30.

- Semantic field of homeland security
- "There are at least seven defensible definitions of homeland security." (p. 1) -> Categorizes homeland security philosophies from Terrorism (domain) to All Hazards (concerted national effort) to Meta Hazards (harmful zeitgeist) to National Security (instrument of national power) to risking Civil Liberties.
- "The definitions represent interests seeking to claim resources that give advantage for organizational or political survival and growth. The resources include space on the public policy agenda, money, semantic dominance, and doctrinal preeminence." (p. 19) "But there is no one authority that can command everyone to use language the same way." (p. 20)
 → Policy/strategy definition → strategic culture
- "[H]omeland security is a continuously evolving social construction, a reality shaped by social processes." (p. 22)
 → Public perception/civic security culture



Bellavita, p. 20.

Shawn Reese: "Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations," *Congressional Research Service, CRS Report for Congress,* R42462, January 8, 2013.

- "Ten years after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the U.S. government does not have a single
 definition for "homeland security." Currently, different strategic documents and mission statements offer
 varying missions that are derived from different homeland security definitions. Historically, the strategic
 documents framing national homeland security policy have included national strategies produced by the
 White House and documents developed by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)." (p. ii)
- Negative definition: Focus on explaining as what homeland security is <u>not</u> defined (e.g., homeland defense, etc.)
- "The evolution of this new and distinct homeland security concept has been communicated in several strategic documents. [...] All of these documents have varying definitions for 'homeland security' and varying missions derived from these definitions. While the definitions and missions embodied in these strategic documents have commonalities, there are significant differences." (p. 2)
- Continuously evolving definition: "Some degree of evolution of the homeland security concept is expected. Policymakers respond to events and crises like terrorist attacks and natural disasters by using and adjusting strategies, plans, and operations. These strategies, plans, and operations also evolve to reflect changing priorities. The definition of homeland security evolves in accordance with the evolution of these strategies, plans, and operations." (p. 8)
- Conclusion: "Homeland security is essentially about managing risks. The purpose of a strategic process is to develop missions to achieve that end." (p. 13) Call for elaborating a "consensus definition." (pp. 14-15)
- U.S. Homeland Security is a responsibility <u>shared</u> across the entire American nation.

"Common themes" (p. 9):

- All-of-government/ interagency
- FSLTT
- PPP
- Hazard -specific & allhazards
- No "total protection" but risk management (PPD 8, 2011)

Linda Kiltz and James D. Ramsay: "Perceptual Framing of Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Affairs* 8, no. 1 (2012).

- Scholastic definitions.
- "Though the term homeland security is used in our common language on a regular basis, a review of the literature shows that there is no consensus on the meaning of homeland security."
- "[A]n important challenge for scholars and government leaders is to lead the process of continuing to analyze our existing conceptual lenses as they relate to homeland security, as well as to lead the process of constructing new conceptual lenses."

Xavier Guillaume, "Criticality," in *Research Methods in Critical Security Studies. An Introduction*, ed. Mark B. Salter and Can E. Mutlu (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 29-32 (29).

- Need for critical thinking: Our concepts may infer a "political posture" since "the concepts and categories that are employed by the researchers are the same as the state's."
- "Being critical is thus to avoid thinking about the state ... as the state would like to be thought."

Study of Homeland Security Definitions: State of the Art (continued)

Perceptional (public perception of homeland security):

The challenge remains to "transform a government-defined mission into a societal norm," (Bach and Kaufman 2009). Absent a thorough track of public perception studies of homeland security writ-large, public confidence specifically in the U.S. Department of Homeland Security was studied early on and subsequently; this included measuring public approval ratings of DHS (e.g., Drake 2013; Pew Research Center 2020: 4, 6-7, 13). Existing studies of public perception related to homeland security have focused on specific domains. DHS-run studies, including the FEMA National Household Survey, have focused on disaster risk perception and people's preparedness efforts (Donahue et al. 2014).

- Bach, Robert, and David Kaufman. 2009. "A Social Infrastructure for Hometown Security: Advancing the Homeland Security Paradigm." *Homeland Security Affairs* 5, Article 2. Accessed April 10, 2021. https://www.hsaj.org/articles/101
- Donahue, Amy K., Catherine C. Eckel, and Rick K. Wilson. 2014. "Ready or Not? How Citizens and Public Officials Perceive Risk and Preparedness." American Review of Public Administration 44(4): 89S-111S.
- Drake, Bruce. 2013. "Homeland Security is Viewed Favorably by Americans Ahead of Jeh Johnson's Hearing." Pew Research Center, November 13, 2013, accessed April 9, 2021. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/11/13/senate-committee-considers-new-leader-for-the-favorably-viewed-homeland-security-department
- Pew Research Center. 2020. Public Holds Broadly Favorable Views of Many Federal Agencies, including CDC and HHS: Republicans' Ratings of Several Agencies Rise, April 19, 2020, accessed April 10, 2021. https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/04/PP 2020.04.09 Agencies FINAL.pdf

Penn State poll study summary:

- Alexander Siedschlag, "Public Perception of Homeland Security and Societal Limits to the Whole-Community Approach: The Example of Pennsylvania, 2016-2020," LinkedIn article, April 19, 2021, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/public-perception-homeland-security-societal-limits-siedschlag
- **See also:** Alexander Siedschlag, "Civic Homeland Security Culture: A Poll Study Approach and the Example of Pennsylvania," in Anthony J. Masys (ed.), *Handbook of Security Science*. New York et al.: Springer, online first Live Handbook version, in production, 2021, https://link.springer.com/referencework/10.1007%2F978-3-319-51761-2



- Comprehensive empirical analysis of definitions & timeline narrative (evolution of the term)
- 47 documents analyzed so far (October 2021, see next slide)
- Document repository:
 - Selection mode:
 - Federal strategies, plans, reviews, and related documents from pertinent agencies that expressly mention "homeland security" and indicate definitional elements.
 - Documents were identified based on joint faculty and advisory council expertise plus supporting student coursework (HLS 597 SU21 Residential Executive Short Course).
 - Homeland security legislation, and executive orders, definitions are beyond the scope of this study, but it is recognized that they obviously inform strategic definitions, as well as the other way around: The missionspace definition of the first National Strategy of Homeland Security of 2002 was reflected in the Homeland Security Act of 2002.
- Categories/definitional components used for analysis:
 - Missions/domains/scope/levels of governance/instruments/segments of preparedness cycle/threat domains as defined in/across documents reviewed
 - Alignment with prior PA Poll Study categories as far as possible and reasonable, for comparative purposes
- Percentages: Number of documents where the definitional component was identified per total number of documents analyzed (currently: 47).

47 Documents Analyzed (up to October 2021, TBC)



Specific Homeland Security Strategies and Related Official Documents:

- National Strategy for Homeland Security 2002, 2007
- Quadrennial Homeland Security
 Review 2010, 2014
- Department (DHS) and agency/ component (e.g., FEMA)
 FY Strategic Plans
- DHS Information Sharing Strategy
- DHS Cybersecurity Strategy
- National Infrastructure Protection
 Plan
- · National Preparedness Goal 2011, 2015
- DHS Strategic Framework on Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence
- Strategy to Enhance International Supply Chain Security
- Strategic Approach for Arctic Homeland Security
- DHS Strategic Framework for Addressing Climate Change

Pertinent National Security Strategies (as far as they actively use the concept of homeland security):

- National Security Strategy 2002, 2006, 2015, 2017
- Interim National Security
 Strategic Guidance 2021
- National Intelligence Strategy
- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism
- · and others

Other Pertinent Departmental Strategies

- Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support
- Strategy for Homeland Defense and Defense Support of Civil Authorities

Domain Strategies and similar (as far as they actively use the concept of homeland security):

- The National Strategy for The Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructure and Key Assets
- · The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace
- · National Strategy for Maritime Security
- · National Intelligence Strategies
- · National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza
- · National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- · National Strategy for Aviation Security
- National Strategy for Public Health and Medical Preparedness
- United States Intelligence Community Information Sharing Strategy
- · National Strategy for Countering Biological Threats
- · National Health Security Strategy of the United States of America
- · National Space Policy of the United States of America
- · National Strategy for Counterterrorism
- · Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime
- · National Strategy for Global Supply Chain Security
- Public Health Emergency Medical Countermeasures Enterprise (PHEMCE) Strategy
- National Strategy for Information Sharing and Safeguarding
- · National Biodefense Strategy
- · National Drug Control Strategy [latest only]
- · National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism

Statutory Baseline Definition

2002 Homeland Security Act

DHS Departmental Mission –

"(A) prevent terrorist attacks within the United States; (B) reduce the vulnerability of the United States to terrorism; (C) minimize the damage, and assist in the recovery, from terrorist attacks that do occur within the United States (G) monitor connections between illegal drug <u>trafficking</u> and <u>terrorism</u>, coordinate efforts to sever such connections, and otherwise contribute to efforts to interdict illegal drug trafficking" (emphases added)

2001 September 11th Attacks
Definition of the scope of work for a new <u>federal department</u>



2010 Homeland Security <u>Enterprise</u>: Definition of missions for a networked community

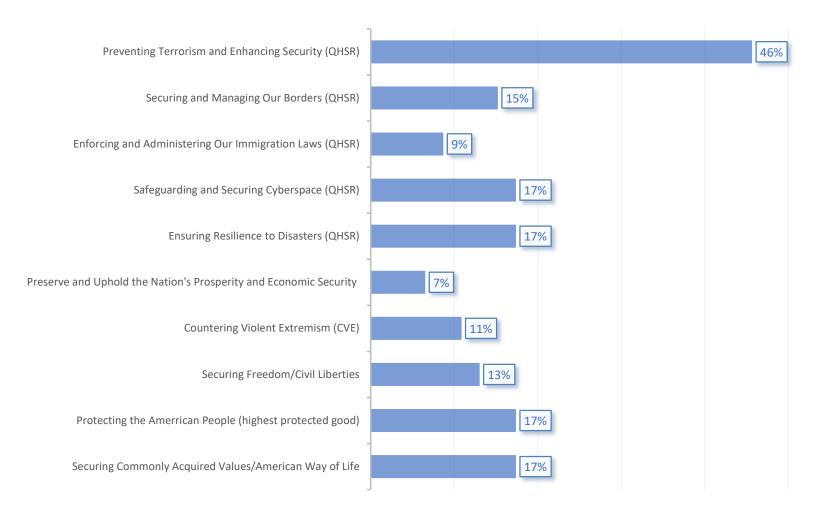
QHSR 2010, 2014

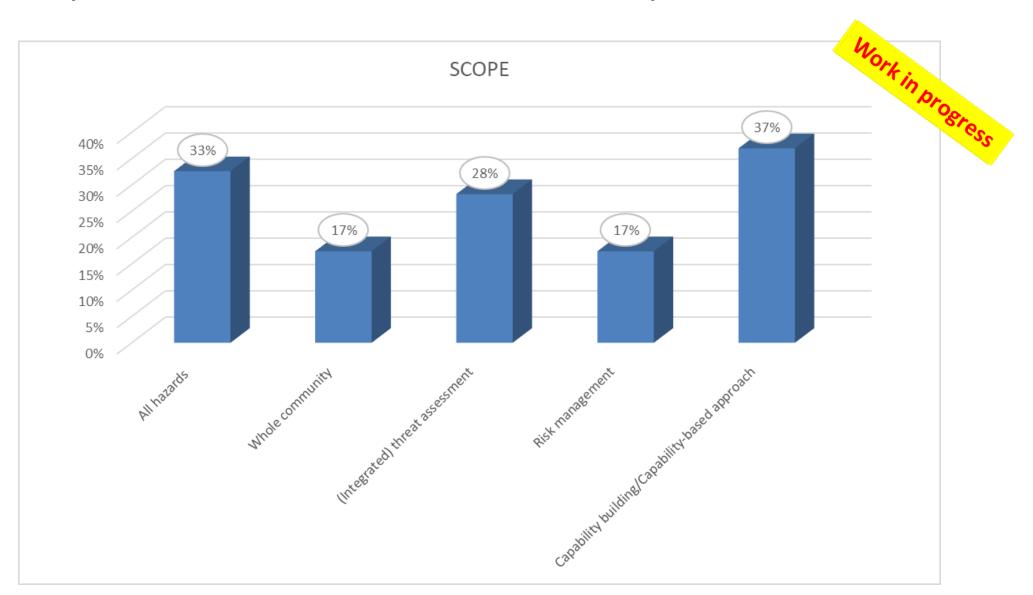


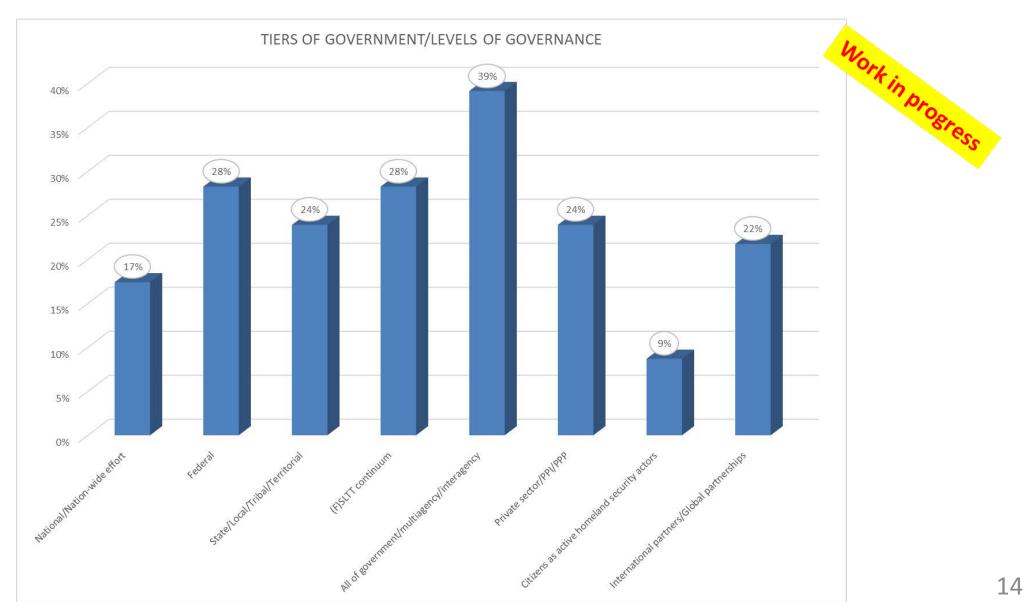
Homeland Security "Beyond 9/11"

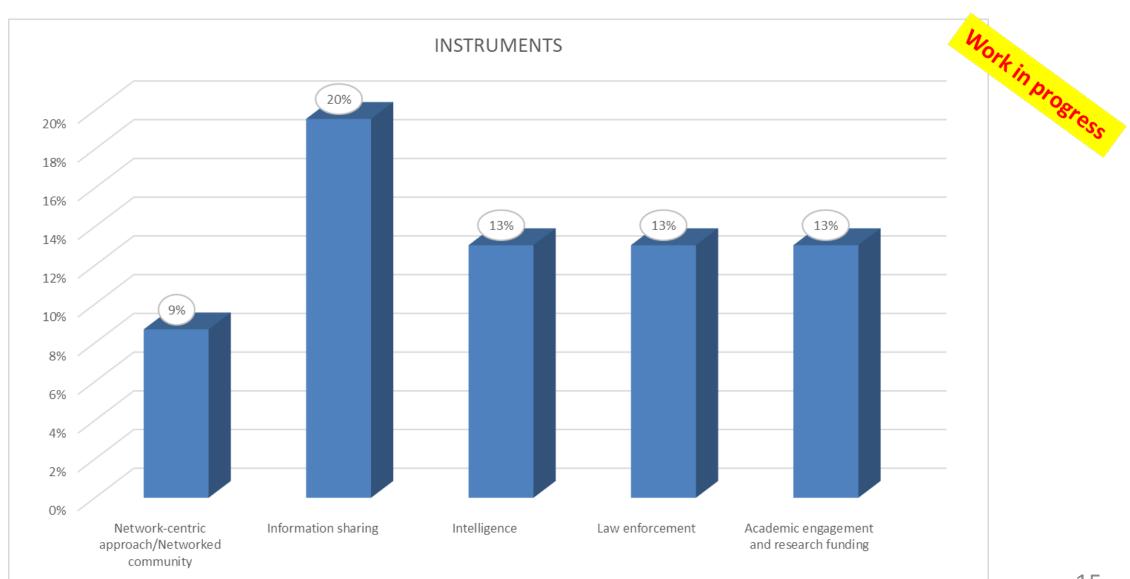
Chappell Lawson, Alan Bersin, and Juliette Kayyem, eds. *Beyond 9/11: Homeland Security for the Twenty-First Century.* MIT Press, 2020.

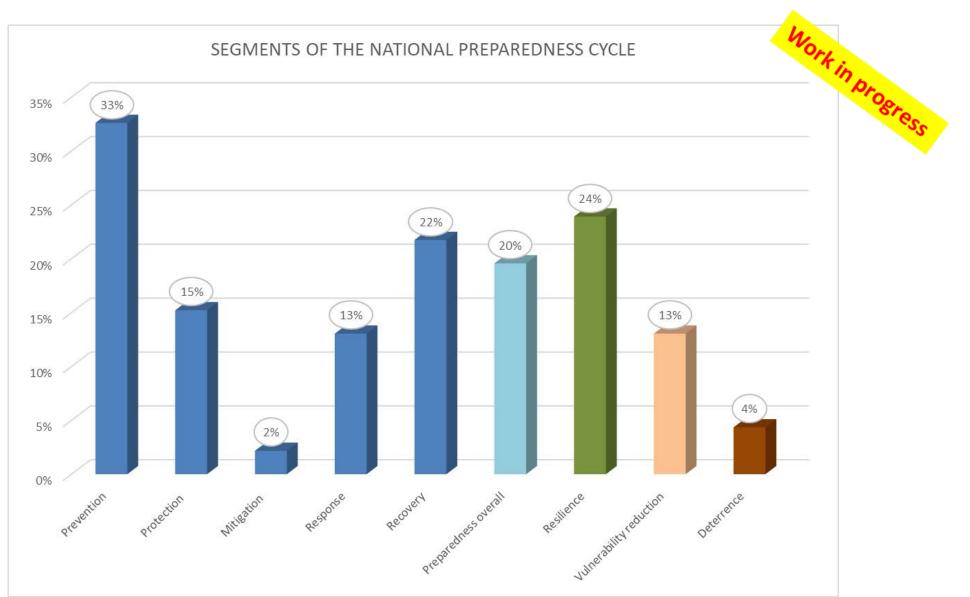


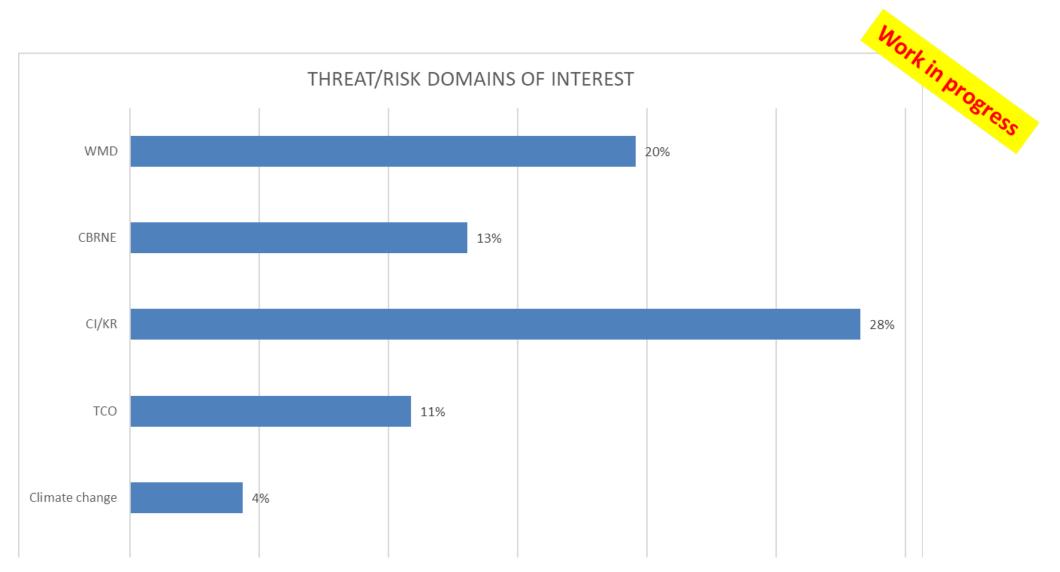












Definitions Evolution Timeline

Year	Definition of Homeland Security	Document
2002	 Baseline definition: "Homeland security is a concerted national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur." "Concerted national effort" to protect freedom and way of life State, local, and private-sector strategies need to be compatible and mutually supporting, but no SLTT continuum (yet) 	National Strategy for Homeland Security
2002	 Homeland security's highest protected good are the American people Protect and deter based in integrated threat assessment 	The National Security Strategy of the United States of America
2005	Does not include the term "homeland security"	The National Intelligence Strategy of the United States of America
2005	Homeland security must rest on global partnerships	National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza (President of the United States, Homeland Security Council)
2006	 Homeland security is a generic concept, policy, and strategy that nations around the world have Addition to 2002 definition: Defend against terrorism & transnational criminals Homeland security requires a transformational approach/is evolving 	National Security Strategy of the United States of America
2006	The "homeland" is defined by its vulnerability (geographical area "not immune from attack")	National Strategy for Combating Terrorism

Year	Definition of Homeland Security	Document
2007	Intelligence, "execution of federal incident management activities," multiagency structure	Strategy to Enhance International Supply Chain Security
2007	 Homeland security is an Americanized concept, policy, and strategy "[W]hile we must continue to focus on the persistent and evolving terrorist threat, we also must address the <u>full range of potential catastrophic events</u>, including man-made and natural disasters, due to their implications for homeland security." Whole community – citizen as first responder 	National Strategy for Homeland Security
2007	 Catastrophic preparedness Citizen first responders Regional approaches (<> or in addition to "all of," "whole of,") 'Whole community +' 	National Strategy for Public Health and Medical Preparedness, established by Homeland Security Presidential Directive (HSPD) 21: Public Health and Medical Preparedness
2008	"A unified national effort to prevent and deter terrorist attacks, protect and respond to hazards, and to secure the national borders."	2008 U.S. Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plan

Year	Definition of Homeland Security	Document
2010	Homeland Security <u>Enterprise</u> (HSE) 5+1 <u>HSE</u> core missions, areas of emphasis, and risk-informed priorities	1 st Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report
2010	 Strategic and operational integration of homeland security with national security policies Defending values Homeland security not as a solely defense function but an enabler of aspirations (AWoL) Seamless coordination across the FSLTT continuum, from prevention to response 	National Security Strategy
2011	Closer integration of law-enforcement focus	National Strategy for Counterterrorism
2011	International Collaboration (e.g., international contract groups to coordinate multiple nations' international action in a domain/problem space)	Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime
2011	 Goal: "A secure and resilient nation with the capabilities required across the whole community to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from the threats and hazards that pose the greatest risk." Capability-based approach 	National Preparedness Goal, 1 st ed.

Year	Definition of Homeland Security	Document
2012	 DHS part of the PHEMCE interagency process DHS has task of determining high-priority threats that "pose a material threat sufficient to affect national security and/or which have the potential to seriously threaten national health security" 	2012 Public Health Emergency Medical Countermeasures Enterprise (PHEMCE) Strategy
2014	 Homeland Security Vision: "A homeland that is safe, secure, and resilient against terrorism and other hazards, where American interests, aspirations, and way of life can thrive." "Homeland security requires a networked community." 	The 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review
2015	Accomplish a resilient nation; promote homeland security workforce	National Security Strategy
2015	"extensive collaboration with government and nongovernmental entities, international National Preparedness Goal partners, and the private sector"	National Preparedness Goal, 2 nd ed.
2017	 Homeland security as the first pillar of national security Full-spectrum protection of the homeland Highest protected goods: American people; American way of life 	National Security Strategy of the United States of America

Year	Definition of Homeland Security	Document
2019	Addition of Targeted Violence to Terrorism as a component of the Prevention mission	Department of Homeland Security Strategic Framework on Countering Terrorism and Targeted Violence
2020	"The Nation faces a complex threat landscape with enemies and adversaries who are constantly evolving. Accordingly, the Department will build on the considerable progress since its formation and lead homeland security initiatives across this Nation and the globe that meet the threats of today and the future."	DHS Strategic Plan Fiscal Years 2020-2024
2021	 All threats All hazards All domain awareness Foster international governance/working with partners 	Strategic Approach for Arctic Homeland Security
2021	Does not include the term "homeland security"	Interim National Security Strategic Guidance
2021	 Evidence-based approach Enhance public understanding Safeguard civil liberties in threat response 	National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism
2021	"DHS is on the frontlines of the climate change crisis, with a duty to safeguard the homeland from today's increasingly severe, frequent, and destructive climate change-related emergencies, forecasting and preparing for future risks and opportunities created by tomorrow's challenges."	DHS Strategic Framework for Addressing Climate Change
		22

Shifts in Definitions and Missions: Milestones

- Evolution of the Homeland Security mission over the last 20 years has been impacted by the lessons-learned from national disasters, acts of terrorism, and changes in the political landscape.
- Analysis correlates the timeline of impactful events with the homeland security policies that were implemented in response.
- Alignments between the accepted, most prevalent homeland security concept of the day and the capabilities earned from analysis of previous experience has built the foundation upon which each reiteration of the homeland security mission takes form.
- In each iteration, the concept of homeland security has become more holistic, shifting its focus to include participation at the state, local, tribal, territorial and down to the individual level.

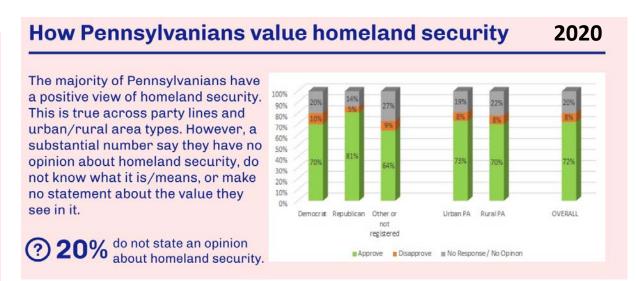
PA 2020 Poll Study – Overview

Overall approval

2020

72%

of Pennsylvanians have a positive view of homeland security. They see it as a national endeavor to prevent terrorism and provide for broad safety.



PENNSYLVANIANS' GENERAL PERCEPTION OF HOMELAND SECURITY 2016 - 2018 -2020							
	Positive	Negative	Neutral/Don	't Know/No F	Response		
2020	72%	8%	20%				
2018	81%	6%	13%				
2016	65%	7%	28%				

Poll Study Fall 2020

Previous polls:

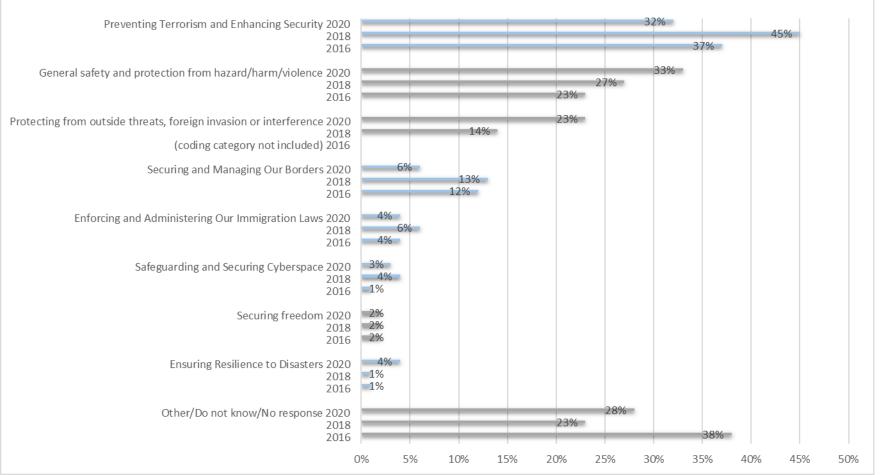
Fall 2018, Fall 2016

The underlying analysis is based on an open question run through the representative Lion Poll of the Center for Survey Research at Penn State Harrisburg (https://csr.hbg.psu.edu/Lion-Poll). Responses were coded through content analysis and then analyzed further.

PA Poll Study – Public Perception vs. Definitions

Main Homeland Security Tasks Seen by Pennsylvanians 2020 - 2018 - 2016

(multiple answers possible, therefore percentages do not add up to 100; current officially defined Homeland Security core missions are in blue)



- Almost 20 years after 9/11 (in fall 2020), still over a quarter said they were indeterminate about what homeland security is or does specifically:
 - A large number of Pennsylvanians (28%) according to the 2020 poll still do not know, or do not state, what they see homeland security to actually protect from.
 - The number went down from 38% in 2016 to 23% in 2018 and has now increased again.
- Few are aware that they, as members of the public, are part of the national effort of the Homeland Security Enterprise as a whole-community endeavor.
 - For example, by contributing to cybersecurity with appropriate online behavior, or by reporting suspicious activity.
- In terms of the homeland security activity cycle (also known as national preparedness mission areas) of preventing, protecting, mitigating, responding, and recovering, homeland security to the public first and foremost means protection and prevention, and to some extent response.

Definitions vs. Public Perception

of Homeland Security Strategy semantics

Public perception

What homeland security is and what it protects from	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS (% of total related mentions across documents analyzed)	PA POLL STUDY (2016/2018/2018 related responses % range)
Preventing Terrorism and Enhancing Security (QHSR)	46%	32-45%
Securing and Managing Our Borders (QHSR)	15%	6-13%
Enforcing and Administering Our Immigration Laws (QHSR)	9%	4-6%
Safeguarding and Securing Cyberspace (QHSR)	17%	1-4%
Ensuring Resilience to Disasters (QHSR)	17%	1-4%
General safety and protection from hazard/harm/violence	7% (CVE)	23-33%
Protecting from outside threats, foreign invasion or interference	[still to be coded]	14-23%
Securing freedom/civil liberties (also in HLS activities)	13%	2%

Locus of responsibility for homeland security	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS (% of total related mentions)	PA POLL STUDY (2016/2018/2018 related responses % range)
Federal	28%	64-74%
State and Local	24%	6 (2020) - 17 (2016)%
International & global partnerships	22%	3 (2020) - 15 (2016)%

Scope of homeland security	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS	PA POLL STUDY
All hazards	33%	8-22%
Whole community	17%	1%

This comparison chart is work in progress

Conclusion and Recommendations

- The challenge remains to "transform a government-defined mission into a societal norm."
 - Robert Bach and David Kaufman, "A Social Infrastructure for Hometown Security: Advancing the Homeland Security Paradigm," Homeland Security Affairs 5, Article 2 (2009), https://www.hsaj.org/articles/101
- Homeland security "requires an ongoing process of reflection, dialogue, and adjustment that embraces complexity and ambiguity" and should embrace "[a]n ongoing, iterative process of reflection that attends to the process of securing the homeland as it relates to the people engaged in and affected by the process [...]."

Annette D. Beresford, "Homeland Security as an American Ideology: Implications for U.S. Policy and Action," *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* 1(3) (2004), Article 301, https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.2202/1547-7355.1042/pdf, p. 18.

- Strategy, definition, and communication gaps can lead to:
 - An incomplete translation of homeland security goals and priorities from the federal to the local level;
 - o Common misperceptions and misconceptions of homeland security in the enterprise and in the public mind.
- This can result in wrongly calibrated civic security cultures and suggests the following pertinent priority areas for homeland security education:
 - The education of continuing and emerging leaders who pursue homeland security degrees about communicating effectively with the public;

27

- A contribution of institutions of higher education to informed public discourse on homeland security affairs;
- The provision of recommendations to Homeland Security Enterprise partners on effectuating public risk communication and culture-of-preparedness campaigns.

Credits

- FOCUS Foresight Security Scenarios: Mapping Research to a Comprehensive Approach to Exogenous EU Roles, https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/261633 [definition analysis methodology]
- Penn State Homeland Security Programs Advisory Council
- Penn State Harrisburg Center for Survey Research [co-funder of the PA poll study; Lion Poll instrument]
- Penn State Harrisburg School of Public Affairs [co-funder of the PA poll study]
- Penn State students of HLS 597 Homeland Security 20 Years after 9/11: Executive Course, Summer 2021 [qualitative study of the evolution of Homeland Security definitions]
- Eric Best, Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Homeland Security, Penn State Harrisburg, School of Public Affairs [additions to document repository]

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