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**HOMELAND HUMAN SECURITY: A NEW  
FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICA'S APPROACH TO  
HOMELAND SECURITY?**

Schiavone, Michael V.

Monterey, CA; Naval Postgraduate School

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**NAVAL  
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**MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA**

**THESIS**

**HOMELAND HUMAN SECURITY:  
A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICA'S APPROACH  
TO HOMELAND SECURITY?**

by

Michael V. Schiavone

December 2019

Thesis Advisor:  
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Christopher Bellavita (contractor)

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**HOMELAND HUMAN SECURITY: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICA'S  
APPROACH TO HOMELAND SECURITY?**

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Lieutenant, United States Navy  
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES  
(HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The current understanding of the concept of homeland security in the United States—measures taken to protect the United States from terrorist attacks and to recover from natural disasters—has resulted in a practical approach that largely ignores many threats to the security of the average American. A deeper analysis of the insecurities faced by the American people reveals that the security of the homeland is a complex system of interconnected varieties of security including food, health, personal, economic, environmental, community, and political. This thesis suggests an alternate approach to homeland security based on the human security framework—a non-traditional approach to understanding security that seeks to shift the referent object of security from the state to the individual and ensure a world where the individual is free from fear, free from want, and free to live in dignity. This research explored the nexus of homeland security and human security by examining the development of the concept of homeland security, identifying the shortcomings of the current approach, and outlining the applicability of the human security framework to the understanding and practice of homeland security. This thesis finds that an approach to homeland security based on the steps for applying the human security framework is not only plausible, but would result in overall increased security for the American people.



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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIWG	Critical Infrastructure Working Group
DCPA	Defense Civil Preparedness Agency
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DoD	Department of Defense
DOJ	Department of Justice
EOIR	Executive Office for Immigration Review
FCDA	Federal Civil Defense Administration
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
FISA	2008 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
MPP	Migrant Protection Protocols
NSDM	National Security Decision Memorandum
NSRB	National Security Resources Board
NTCA	Northern Triangle Central America
OCD	Office of Civil Defense
OCD	Office of Civilian Defense
OCDM	Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization
OCDP	Office of Civil Defense Planning
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEP	Office of Emergency Planning
OHS	Office of Homeland Security
OIG	Office of Inspector General
PCCIP	President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive
TPS	Temporary Protective Status
UN	United Nations



UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report 1994
UNTFHS	UN Trust Fund for Human Security
USA PATRIOT	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism
USCIS	U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WWII	World War II

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of the U.S. homeland security enterprise, the American people have gradually become dissatisfied with the way that homeland security is practiced as a direct result of the U.S. government's current overall approach to homeland security. Specifically, this project hypothesizes that the root cause of this dissatisfaction is the failure of the current conception of homeland security to place all aspects of peoples' security at the center of policy and practice. Perhaps it is time for the United States to adopt a new approach to homeland security?

In its early days, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) received relatively strong support. For example, prior to the passage of the Homeland Security Act of 2002, Gallup polling found that public approval for the proposal to create the DHS was at 72 percent;<sup>1</sup> a similar degree of support was also found for the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act.<sup>2</sup> In 2005, a survey reported approval of the Transportation Security Administration's security process at more than 90 percent.<sup>3</sup> In subsequent years, however, Gallup and Rasmussen reported approval ratings within the 50<sup>th</sup> percentile from 2010–2012 and as low as 37 percent in 2016, with those numbers rebounding in recent polls to 61

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<sup>1</sup> Gallup News Service, "Americans Approve of Proposed Department of Homeland Security," Gallup, June 10, 2002, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/6163/americans-approve-proposed-department-homeland-security.aspx>.

<sup>2</sup> Gallup News Service, "Public Little Concerned About Patriot Act," Gallup, September 9, 2003, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/9205/public-little-concerned-about-patriot-act.aspx>.

<sup>3</sup> Transportation Security Administration, "Air Travelers Continue to Express High Confidence and Satisfaction in TSA Security and Customer Service," Government, Transportation Security Administration, March 3, 2005, <https://www.tsa.gov/news/releases/2005/03/03/air-travelers-continue-express-high-confidence-and-satisfaction-tsa>.

percent in 2018.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, public support for the USA PATRIOT Act faded in the years after its passage, as reported in a 2015 poll commissioned by the American Civil Liberties Union.<sup>5</sup>

Some Americans felt upset and betrayed by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) response to hurricane Katrina in 2005,<sup>6</sup> sentiments that were echoed in 2017 with the perceived mishandling of the federal response to hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico.<sup>7</sup> Such movements as “Abolish ICE” and calls to defund or shut down DHS were supported by several politicians at various times from 2015 through today.<sup>8</sup> In 2019, radical

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<sup>4</sup> Rasmussen, “Most Flyers Okay With Full-Body Scans, Pat Downs,” *Rasmussen Reports*, November 29, 2010, [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/politics/general\\_politics/november\\_2010/most\\_flyers\\_okay\\_with\\_full\\_body\\_scans\\_pat\\_downs](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/november_2010/most_flyers_okay_with_full_body_scans_pat_downs); Rasmussen, “58% Think Airport Security Now About Right,” *Rasmussen Reports*, December 2, 2011, [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/lifestyle/general\\_lifestyle/november\\_2011/58\\_think\\_airport\\_security\\_now\\_about\\_right](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/lifestyle/general_lifestyle/november_2011/58_think_airport_security_now_about_right); Gallup News Service, “Americans’ Views of TSA More Positive Than Negative,” Gallup, August 8, 2012, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/156491/americans-views-tsa-positive-negative.aspx>; Rasmussen, “Americans Are More Critical of Airport Security Process,” *Rasmussen Reports*, May 27, 2016, [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/lifestyle/general\\_lifestyle/may\\_2016/americans\\_are\\_more\\_critical\\_of\\_airport\\_security\\_process](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/lifestyle/general_lifestyle/may_2016/americans_are_more_critical_of_airport_security_process); Rasmussen, “TSA Is On the Up-And-Up With Americans,” *Rasmussen Reports*, August 13, 2018, [http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\\_content/lifestyle/general\\_lifestyle/august\\_2018/tsa\\_is\\_on\\_the\\_up\\_and\\_up\\_with\\_americans](http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/lifestyle/general_lifestyle/august_2018/tsa_is_on_the_up_and_up_with_americans).

<sup>5</sup> Global Strategy Group and G2 Public Strategies, “Privacy Research,” (New York, NY: Global Strategy Group, May 18, 2015), [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/privacy\\_poll\\_results.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/privacy_poll_results.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> CNN, “Mayor to Feds: ‘Get Off Your Asses,’” News, CNN.com, September 2, 2005, <http://www.cnn.com/2005/US/09/02/nagin.transcript/>; CBS News, “Race an Issue in Katrina Response,” CBS News, September 3, 2005, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/race-an-issue-in-katrina-response/>.

<sup>7</sup> Bianca DiJulio, Cailey Muñan, and Mollyann Brodie, “Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria: The Public’s Knowledge and Views of Its Impact and the Response,” The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, October 12, 2017, <https://www.kff.org/other/poll-finding/puerto-rico-after-hurricane-maria-the-publics-knowledge-and-views-of-its-impact-and-the-response/>; Nicole Einbinder, “How the Response To Hurricane Maria Compared to Harvey and Irma,” *PBS Frontline*, May 1, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/how-the-response-to-hurricane-maria-compared-to-harvey-and-irma/>.

<sup>8</sup> Elaine Godfrey, “What ‘Abolish ICE’ Actually Means,” *The Atlantic*, July 11, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/07/what-abolish-ice-actually-means/564752/>; Joseph Wulfsohn, “Omar Calls for Defunding Homeland Security -- 1 Hour After Insisting That TSA Workers Get Backpay,” Fox News, February 9, 2019, <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/omar-calls-for-defunding-homeland-security-1-hour-after-insisting-that-tsa-workers-get-backpay>; Trevor Timm, “Why Shutting Down the Department of Homeland Security Would Be a Good Idea,” News, The Guardian, February 25, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/25/department-homeland-security-shutdown-good-idea>.

demonstrators attacked ICE facilities<sup>9</sup> and several state and local governments have instructed local law enforcement to limit cooperation with DHS enforcement agencies.<sup>10</sup> These examples are only a small sampling of the shortcomings of the current approach to homeland security. Homeland security was designed as a solution to a problem, but now it appears as if it has become a problem itself.

Homeland security was conceptualized in the wake of an unprecedented attack on the United States in order to protect and give the American people peace of mind in a new era of uncertain threats and increasing anxiety. In practice, however, homeland security has actually decreased American security and largely ignored the threats and anxieties that truly make the American people insecure. Taking a new approach to homeland security would allow the full realization of the concept in fulfilling its original goal of securing the American homeland in a way that is consistent with the expectations of the American people.

#### **A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

This thesis examines the concept of human security as it relates to its potential usefulness as a new approach to homeland security in the United States. As defined by the 2003 Commission on Human Security, the purpose of human security is, “to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human

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<sup>9</sup> Derrick Bryson Taylor, “F.B.I. Investigating Shootings at San Antonio ICE Facilities,” *New York Times*, August 14, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/14/us/ice-san-antonio-shooting.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Samantha Max, “Mayor Briley Signs Executive Order To Discourage Local Cooperation With ICE,” Nashville Public Radio, September 3, 2019, <https://www.nashvillepublicradio.org/post/mayor-briley-signs-executive-order-discourage-local-cooperation-ice#stream/0>; Gurbir Grewal, “New Jersey Attorney General Orders Counties To Stop Operations With ICE,” CBS New York, September 27, 2019, <https://newyork.cbslocal.com/2019/09/27/new-jersey-attorney-general-orders-counties-to-stop-operations-with-ice/>; Justin Jouvenal, “Officer Suspended for Turning Driver Over to ICE After Accident, Police Say,” *The Washington Post*, October 1, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/fairfax-county-officer-suspended-for-turning-driver-over-to-ice-after-accident-police-say/2019/10/01/ff4a161e-e46b-11e9-b403-f738899982d2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/fairfax-county-officer-suspended-for-turning-driver-over-to-ice-after-accident-police-say/2019/10/01/ff4a161e-e46b-11e9-b403-f738899982d2_story.html); Natalie Delgadillo, “DC Council to Consider Bill Limiting City’s Cooperation with ICE,” American University Radio, October 4, 2019, <https://wamu.org/story/19/10/04/d-c-council-to-consider-bill-limiting-citys-cooperation-with-ice/>.

fulfilment.”<sup>11</sup> The central question addressed in this thesis is: How can human security be used to reconceptualize the approach to homeland security in the United States?

## **B. LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review serves to demonstrate that the contested concept of homeland security grew from a process of shifts in the overall concept of security. It aims to show that there is precedent for examining security from different perspectives and it places the topic of this thesis’s research in the context of the continuing dialogue about the concept of security. The material under review is broken into three main groups that reveal a process of changing concepts of security. The first section surveys classical conceptions of security and discusses the origins of the basic framework for shifting the understanding of security. The second section covers how the concept of homeland security was born out of a single-track fear of the threat of terrorism. The final section examines changes in the concept of homeland security and points out that there is room in the discourse for the consideration of creative new solutions to the conceptual problem of homeland security.

### **1. Classical Security**

The conventional view of security studies largely centered around such concepts as power, diplomacy and statecraft, and the use of military force with the state as the primary subject.<sup>12</sup> Walter Lippmann said, “A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.”<sup>13</sup> Subsequent iterations of the concept of security put forth by early security studies scholars

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<sup>11</sup> Commission on Human Security, ed., *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People* (New York, 2003), 4, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/91BAEEDBA50C6907C1256D19006A9353-chs-security-may03.pdf>.

<sup>12</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, “A Realist Theory of International Relations,” in *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (1948)*, ed. Kenneth W. Thompson and W. David Clinton, 7th ed (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2006); Hedley Bull, “Society and Anarchy in International Relations (1966),” in *Hedley Bull on International Society*, ed. Kai Alderson and Andrew Hurrell (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 77–94; Robert Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30, no. 02 (January 1978): 167–214, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009958>; Kenneth Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (1988): 615–28.

<sup>13</sup> Walter Lippmann, *US Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), 51.

emphasize power as the primary manner of attaining the objective proposed by Lippmann.<sup>14</sup> In his seminal article on national security, Arnold Wolfers conceptualized security as the symbol of a value that “measures the absence of threats to acquired values... the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.”<sup>15</sup>

The classical concept of security—with its state-centric focus on military power—generally remained unchallenged for the better part of the twentieth century, but started to lose its monopoly in the 1980s. In 1983, Richard Ullman proposed a redefinition of what constituted security threats to the state by returning to Roosevelt’s idea of security and reintroduced the theme of human rights into the field of security studies.<sup>16</sup> He felt that defining security strictly in terms of military power was misrepresenting the reality of security needs. Thus, his new conception of security centered on a redefinition of threats that included many new non-traditional threats including such economic hardships as depressions or blockades, and natural disasters, floods or droughts for example.<sup>17</sup> Stephen Walt disputed the idea of expanding security saying that it would “destroy [the] intellectual coherence” of the field.<sup>18</sup> However, the idea began to find general acceptance as demonstrated by David Baldwin, who claimed that, “There seems to be no reason not to use this more expansive concept of threats, especially since it comports with common usage.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Morgenthau, “A Realist Theory of International Relations”; Geoffrey Blainey, “Power, Culprits, and Arms (1973),” in *Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, ed. Richard K. Betts, 4th ed (Boston: Pearson, 2013); Jervis, “Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma”; Waltz, “The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory.”

<sup>15</sup> Arnold Wolfers, “‘National Security’ as an Ambiguous Symbol,” *Political Science Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (December 1952): 485, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2145138>.

<sup>16</sup> Richard H. Ullman, “Redefining Security,” *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 129–53, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2538489>.

<sup>17</sup> Ullman.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen M. Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies,” *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 213, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600471>.

<sup>19</sup> David A. Baldwin, “The Concept of Security,” *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210597000053>.



Further calls by some scholars to expand traditional notions of security arose near the end of the Cold War.<sup>20</sup> The defeat of communism and the so proclaimed “End of History”<sup>21</sup> created space in the discourse for expanded conceptions of security to proliferate when some realized that other threats to security demanded attention. Jessica Tuchman Mathews suggested a further “broadening the definition of national security to include resource, environmental and demographic issues,”<sup>22</sup> while Barry Buzan argued that “a notion of security bound to the level of individual states and military issues is inherently inadequate.”<sup>23</sup> Buzan proposed that state security is affected by five major areas including military, political, economic, societal, and environmental and applies at the levels of individual, state, and international.<sup>24</sup> Buzan’s expanded formulation of security, further extended in a book co-authored by Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, has become the foundation of the Copenhagen School’s framework for understanding security.<sup>25</sup>

Not everyone was convinced that the understanding of security needed to be broadened. Traditionalist defenders of security, perceiving the concept to be under attack, were quick to rush to its defense. One such defender was C. S. Gray, who dismissed the notion of expanding security as “ephemeral” and simply a “fashionable theor[y] of the hour.”<sup>26</sup> Ole Wæver, although generally a proponent of expanding the concept of security,<sup>27</sup> leveled a critique about expanding security too much warning that in the process of securitization there exists the risk that “the concept of security becomes all-inclusive

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<sup>20</sup> Ullman, “Redefining Security”; Jessica Tuchman Mathews, “Redefining Security,” *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (1989): 162, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20043906>; Barry Buzan, *People, States, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd ed (Boulder, CO: L. Rienner, 1991); Baldwin, “The Concept of Security.”

<sup>21</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Toronto: New York: Free Press; Maxwell Macmillan Canada; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992).

<sup>22</sup> Mathews, “Redefining Security,” 162.

<sup>23</sup> Buzan, *People, States, and Fear*, 6.

<sup>24</sup> Buzan.

<sup>25</sup> Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Colin S. Gray, “Villains, Victims, and Sheriffs: Strategic Studies and Security for an Interwar Period,” *Comparative Strategy* 13, no. 4 (October 1994): 363–64, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495939408402994>.

<sup>27</sup> Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde, *Security*.

and is thereby emptied of content.”<sup>28</sup> His fear, ultimately, appears to be that once everything is considered security, no meaningful measures or responses can be taken toward solving actual security problems.

## 2. Security for the Homeland

In the 1990s, one of the fastest growing concerns for U.S. national security was the ability of the U.S. government to handle the threat of terrorism. The attacks that occurred in New York City and Washington, DC, on 9/11 were instrumental to international terrorism quickly became the number one threat to American security. In his memoir, John Ashcroft captures the atmosphere of the days following 9/11 when he said to the Justice Department, “Defending our nation and defending the citizens of America against terrorist attacks is now our first and overriding priority.”<sup>29</sup>

Two separate but related questions arose in the security discourse following the birth of homeland security as a concept and government agency in 2001. The first was, what is homeland security? The second was, how should the United States do homeland security? In answering the first question the literature of the period generally put forward one of four answers: coordination, prevention of terrorism, an umbrella approach, or a subset of national security. Some saw homeland security primarily as a method for improving the coordination of law enforcement, intelligence, and policy at the local, state, and federal levels.<sup>30</sup> Others, including the federal government itself, saw it solely as the

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<sup>28</sup> Ole Wæver, “Securitization and Desecuritization,” in *On Security*, ed. Ronnie D. Lipschutz (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 48.

<sup>29</sup> John D. Ashcroft, *Never Again: Securing America and Restoring Justice*, 1st ed (New York: Center Street, 2006), 136.

<sup>30</sup> International Institute for Strategic Studies, “US Homeland Security: Striking Balances,” *Strategic Comments* 7, no. 10 (December 2001): 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1356788010705>; Charles R. Wise and Rania Nader, “Organizing the Federal System for Homeland Security: Problems, Issues, and Dilemmas,” *Public Administration Review* 62, no. s1 (September 2002): 44–57, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6210.62.s1.8>; Charles R. Wise, “Organizing for Homeland Security,” *Public Administration Review* 62, no. 2 (March 2002): 131–44, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-3352.00164>; Donald F. Kettl, “Contingent Coordination: Practical and Theoretical Puzzles for Homeland Security,” *The American Review of Public Administration* 33, no. 3 (September 2003): 253–77, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074003254472>.

prevention of terrorist attack within the United States.<sup>31</sup> The first National Strategy for Homeland Security released by OHS narrowly defined the concept as, “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.”<sup>32</sup> This definition was not extensive enough for Michael Donley and Neal Pollard who proposed that homeland security be an “umbrella concept, incorporating a range of goals and objectives, missions, means, components, and threats related to the security of the United States.”<sup>33</sup>

One counterterror advisor for the Bush administration argued that “it wasn’t wise to separate homeland security from national security.”<sup>34</sup> Another author agreed asserting that homeland security was a subset of national security and if viewed otherwise could create detrimental cleavages in America’s national security structure.<sup>35</sup> A major subquestion raised by these points was: what is the difference between national security and homeland security?<sup>36</sup> Homeland security is said to be a uniquely American concept.<sup>37</sup> For years, the United States enjoyed the comfort of conflicts being waged far from its own borders, which resulted in American leaders becoming “ever more comfortable in de-linking national security and homeland security.”<sup>38</sup> OHS, attempting to clarify the relative

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<sup>31</sup> Office of Homeland Security, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: White House, July 2002), <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/nat-strat-hls-2002.pdf>; Michael O’Hanlon, “Protecting the American Homeland: Governor Ridge’s Unfinished Work,” *The Brookings Review* 20, no. 3 (2002): 13, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20081046>.

<sup>32</sup> Office of Homeland Security, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Michael B. Donley and Neal A. Pollard, “Homeland Security: The Difference between a Vision and a Wish,” *Public Administration Review* 62, no. s1 (September 2002): 139, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6210.62.s1.23>.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas J. Ridge, *The Test of Our Times: America Under Siege... And How We Can Be Safe Again*, 1st ed. (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2009), 45.

<sup>35</sup> William W. Newmann, “Reorganizing for National Security and Homeland Security,” *Public Administration Review* 62, no. s1 (September 2002): 126–37, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6210.62.s1.22>.

<sup>36</sup> Eric R Taylor, “The Department of Homeland Security May Make Americans Less Safe,” in *Homeland Security*, ed. James D. Torr, At Issue (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 2004), 54–57.

<sup>37</sup> Nadav Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security: Global Lessons* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2011).

<sup>38</sup> Tom Lansford, Robert J. Pauly, and Jack Covarrubias, *To Protect and Defend: US Homeland Security Policy*, Homeland Security Series (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 60.

positions of the two concepts, said that their relationship was “subtle but important,” explaining that homeland security was a method for allowing the United States to continue securing its national security abroad by ensuring security at home.<sup>39</sup> Thus it appeared that, in the opinion of certain individuals within the government, homeland security was a means to an end.

Homeland security seen by some as a means—resources, tools, and materials—brought the conversation to the second major question in the discourse: what were the ways—procedures or manner? Stated another way, how should the U.S. government do homeland security? Two main approaches emerged in the literature: one bottom-up and the other top-down. The bottom up approach can be summarized by the idea that homeland security efforts should primarily come through a system sourced from the citizens. One author placed a great deal of importance on the local level of government,<sup>40</sup> while others claimed that the bottom-up approach should focus on public education about risks, responses, and recovery from homeland security threats.<sup>41</sup> The coordination definition of homeland security was also a main theme in the literature of bottom-uppers. The findings of the Gilmore Commission, published prior to 9/11, recommended a similar coordination approach to what came to fruition in the Bush administration’s OHS, chiefly an entity that could write a comprehensive strategy and coordinate homeland security efforts among federal agencies and all levels of government.<sup>42</sup> Building on the idea of coordination, Chris

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<sup>39</sup> Office of Homeland Security, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Roger L. Kemp, “Homeland Security: Trends in America,” *National Civic Review* 92, no. 4 (2003): 45–52, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ncr.31>.

<sup>41</sup> Amanda J. Dory, “American Civil Security: The U.S. Public and Homeland Security,” *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (December 2003): 37–52, <https://doi.org/10.1162/016366003322596909>; James K. Mitchell, “The Fox and the Hedgehog: Myopia About Homeland Security in the U.S. Polices on Terrorism,” in *Research in Social Problems and Public Policy*, vol. 11 (Bingley: Emerald (MCB UP), 2003), 53–72, [https://www.emeraldinsight.com/10.1016/S0196-1152\(03\)11005-8](https://www.emeraldinsight.com/10.1016/S0196-1152(03)11005-8).

<sup>42</sup> James S. Gilmore, “Second Annual Report to The President and The Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction: II. Toward a National Strategy for Combating Terrorism,” Independent Commission, December 15, 2000, <https://www.rand.org/nsrd/terrpanel.html>.

Demchak envisioned homeland security conducted through a citizen-agency information sharing network that would mitigate homeland security threats.<sup>43</sup>

Top-down approaches are characterized by their main idea that the federal government should take center stage in the conduct of homeland security and that homeland security is something that the government does rather than something which is achieved. Another independent commission, the Hart-Rudman Commission, best exemplifies the tenets of the top-down approach. Hart-Rudman recommended the creation of an entirely new agency for Homeland Security along with the National Guard being given homeland security as its primary mission.<sup>44</sup> Chris Seiple took the recommendation of Hart-Rudman a step further calling for “a comprehensive security network, empowered by a new national security act suitable to a new epoch of history.”<sup>45</sup> In his memoir, Tom Ridge, the first National Coordinator for Homeland Security, noted the difficulty he faced in coordinating homeland security without authority and budget and stated, “To me, it was becoming more and more obvious: a cabinet-level Department had to be established.”<sup>46</sup> Through a massive bureaucratic restructuring, the federal government was attempting to do homeland security in a manner that was described by James Mitchell as, “overwhelmingly reactive, palliative and reliant on technological fixes.”<sup>47</sup>

### **3. Homeland Security Today and Tomorrow**

The first Quadrennial Homeland Security Review, released in 2010, reaffirmed that homeland security was an evolving enterprise.<sup>48</sup> However, despite Michael Chertoff’s

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<sup>43</sup> Chris C. Demchak, “Un-Muddling Homeland Security: Design Principles for National Security in a Complex World,” *The Forum* 1, no. 2 (January 4, 2002), <https://doi.org/10.2202/1540-8884.1007>.

<sup>44</sup> Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman, *Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change - The Phase III Report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century* (Washington, DC: The United States Commission on National Security/21st Century, February 15, 2001), <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/nssg/phaseIIIfr.pdf>.

<sup>45</sup> Chris Seiple, “The New Protracted Conflict: Homeland Security Concepts and Strategy,” *Orbis* 46, no. 2 (March 2002): 273, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0030-4387\(02\)00107-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0030-4387(02)00107-2).

<sup>46</sup> Ridge, *The Test of Our Times*, 93.

<sup>47</sup> Mitchell, “The Fox and The Hedgehog,” 68.

<sup>48</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report: A Strategic Framework for a Secure Homeland* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, 2010), <https://www.dhs.gov/publication/2010-quadrennial-homeland-security-review-qhsr>.

enthusiastic defense of FEMA's inclusion in DHS,<sup>49</sup> the addition of natural disasters and pandemics to the homeland security enterprise appeared to have a muddling effect on the continuing discourse about what homeland security truly was. Christopher Bellavita's attempt to order conceptions of homeland security resulted in several plausible definitions including: terrorism, all hazards, terrorism and catastrophes, jurisdictional, meta hazards, national security, and security *über alles*—the idea that homeland security is a cover for the government to curtail civil liberties.<sup>50</sup> This work proposed that “homeland security is a continuously evolving social construction, a reality shaped by social processes.”<sup>51</sup>

Other scholars also explored the concepts of homeland security and attempted to build a comprehensive theoretical framework.<sup>52</sup> Many scholarly works arrived at similar notions that homeland security is a complex, multi-disciplinary, multi-community, and multi-policy problem.<sup>53</sup> Some noted that the problem with homeland security was not in its definitional multiplicity, but rather in the government's inefficiency that resulted from

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Chertoff, *Homeland Security: Assessing the First Five Years* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Christopher Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security: What Is Homeland Security?,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, no. 2 (June 2008), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/118>.

<sup>51</sup> Bellavita, 22.

<sup>52</sup> Frank P. Harvey, *The Homeland Security Dilemma: Fear, Failure and the Future of American Insecurity*, Contemporary Security Studies (London; New York: Routledge, 2008); Robert Bach and David J. Kaufman, “A Social Infrastructure for Hometown Security: Advancing the Homeland Security Paradigm,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 5, no. 2 (May 2009), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/101>; Christopher E. Hall, “Has the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Outlived Its Usefulness?” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2012), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/27839>; Linda Kiltz and James D. Ramsay, “Perceptual Framing of Homeland Security,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 8 (August 2012), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/230>; Michael D. Falkow, “Does Homeland Security Constitute an Emerging Academic Discipline?” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/32817>; Jerry T. Monier, “Clarifying Resilience in the Context of Homeland Security” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/32872>; Angela Yvonne English, “People-First Homeland Security: Recalibrating for Community Collaboration and Engagement within a Homeland Security Ecosystem” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014); Philip M. Kirk, “Community Preparedness: Alternative Approaches to Citizen Engagement in Homeland Security” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/42661>; Patrick S. Roberts, “The Lessons of Civil Defense Federalism for the Homeland Security Era,” *Journal of Policy History* 26, no. 03 (July 2014): 354–83, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898030614000165>; Bijan P. Karimi, “Security and Prosperity: Reexamining the Connection Between Economic, Homeland and National Security” (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/47284>.

<sup>53</sup> Hall, “Has the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Outlived Its Usefulness?”; Kiltz and Ramsay, “Perceptual Framing of Homeland Security”; Falkow, “Does Homeland Security Constitute an Emerging Academic Discipline?”; Karimi, “Security and Prosperity.”

its top down approach to homeland security,<sup>54</sup> while another challenged that the top-down approach could be useful if employed as civil defense federalism once was.<sup>55</sup> One set of authors provided an explanation that pointed out the dichotomy between the top-down approach required for anti-terrorism and the bottom up approach that seems to work better for disaster preparedness and response.<sup>56</sup>

Concepts of homeland security do not seem any firmer now than they did five to ten years ago. In 2017, John Comiskey began a paper by stating, “Homeland security has proven to be an elusive concept.”<sup>57</sup> A study of the academic field of homeland security by the same author conducted a year later concluded that homeland security was still “an evolving discipline, and particularly that homeland security is a meta-discipline.”<sup>58</sup> In recent years many have proposed new approaches, conceptions, and roles for homeland security.<sup>59</sup> A current college textbook for homeland security warned that the field of homeland security could become detrimental to “citizens’ privacies and civil liberties granted in the Constitution”<sup>60</sup> given the tendency of DHS to expand its sphere of influence in the policy world and its continuing “down a path of agency building by looking for more fields of coverage and control.”<sup>61</sup> The recommended solution by the textbook’s author is

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<sup>54</sup> Harvey, *The Homeland Security Dilemma*; Hall, “Has the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Outlived Its Usefulness?”; English, “People-First Homeland Security.”

<sup>55</sup> Roberts, “The Lessons of Civil Defense Federalism for the Homeland Security Era.”

<sup>56</sup> Tom Lansford et al., *Fostering Community Resilience: Homeland Security and Hurricane Katrina*, Homeland Security Series (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, Vt: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> John Comiskey, “Homeland-Hometown Security: A Coherent National Strategy to Protect the Homeland,” *Journal of Human Security and Resilience* 1, no. 2 (2017): 1, <http://www.thinkhumansecurity.org/sft965/comiskey-article.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> John Comiskey, “Theory for Homeland Security,” *Journal of Homeland Security Education* 7 (2018): 39.

<sup>59</sup> English, “People-First Homeland Security.”; Kirk, “Community Preparedness”; Jacob S. Anderson, “Risk Unbound: Threat, Catastrophe, and the End of Homeland Security” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/47223>; Joshua Shaughnessy, “Winning the War at Home: Stability Operations Strategy for Homeland Security” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2016), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/48594>; Christa M. Brzozowski, “The Department of Homeland Security’s Role in Protecting the National Economy” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2017), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/56106>; Comiskey, “Homeland-Hometown Security.”

<sup>60</sup> Charles P. Nemeth, *Homeland Security: An Introduction to Principles and Practice*, 3rd Edition (Boca Raton: CRC Press, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 520.

<sup>61</sup> Nemeth, 523.

where the research of this thesis fits into the continuously evolving discourse over homeland security theory; he asks that individuals “Leap out of the box and do things differently than the traditional way of doing tasks and functions.”<sup>62</sup> Given the apparent lack of consensus on this topic in the academic field, this research aims to insert itself into the conversation by adding an option for consideration that, as requested, is outside of the box.

### C. ASSUMPTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

The English word “security” was derived from the Latin *securitas*, which means freedom from anxiety or care.<sup>63</sup> By this understanding of security, it would seem that security should primarily address how people feel. However, the modern approach to homeland security does not currently seem to elicit feelings of freedom from anxiety or care as one would expect. One reason that the current approach to homeland security fails to live up to the ancient Roman understanding of security is that modern homeland-security policymakers, and practitioners to some extent, misunderstand the nuanced difference between security and safety.

One way to think about the difference is as security expert Bruce Schneier does, with safety being the protection against unintended actions and security being protection against intended actions.<sup>64</sup> However, for the purposes of this thesis, security is better understood in a manner similar to that proposed by Ole Wæver: as a human construct that is the result of a political process of choosing what threats are addressed by naming them.<sup>65</sup> Understanding security as a “speech act,” then, allows the state to transform what Schneier would call safety issues—such as natural disasters—into security concerns, a process named “securitization” by Wæver.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Nemeth, 535.

<sup>63</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “Security,” accessed October 13, 2018, <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.nps.edu/view/Entry/174661?redirectedFrom=security>.

<sup>64</sup> Bruce Schneier, *Beyond Fear: Thinking Sensibly About Security in an Uncertain World* (New York: Copernicus Books, 2003), 12.

<sup>65</sup> Wæver, “Securitization and Desecuritization.”

<sup>66</sup> Wæver.



Thus, security is a concept that describes the emotional state of people being free from anxiety and fear that results from addressing a set of real or perceived threats that are labeled through a process of choosing what to call security threats. The land that comprises the territory of the United States does not feel anxiety, nor can it choose to securitize a particular threat to itself; the same can be said of our national values. Therefore, the true subject of homeland security can only be the American people, and the apparent goal of homeland security then becomes addressing those threats that cause undue levels of anxiety or care in their collective minds.

Another key assumption in this thesis is that the concept of homeland security is not limited to the practices of DHS. Although DHS plays a large and important role in the practice of homeland security in the United States, this thesis argues that the concept of homeland security extends beyond the mission set laid out by DHS. It is the responsibility of the entirety of the U.S. government—all agencies at the federal, state, and local levels—to provide homeland security.

This thesis hypothesizes that taking an approach to homeland security based on the human security framework would increase overall security for the American people by addressing a wider variety of interconnected threats and anxieties than are currently addressed as homeland security threats. It argues that human security could be implemented throughout the government as the primary framework for threat analysis and resolution.

#### **D. THESIS OVERVIEW**

The remaining chapters in this thesis will be laid out as follows. Chapter II will add context to the problem by summarizing the evolution of homeland security in the United States. It will then describe and critique the existing homeland security approach in the United States. In this chapter, the current approach to American homeland security will be explained and the need for an alternative approach will be argued, setting the stage for the main topic of the research. Chapter III will build a theoretical understanding of human security using current threats and insecurities faced by the American people as examples. This understanding of human security will be used to answer the major research question.

Chapter IV will answer the major research question by constructing a theoretical framework through the analysis of a case in which human security can be used to address a major homeland security problem. Finally, Chapter V will draw conclusions about the implications of the research and determine what further research is needed.

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## II. THE HOMELAND SECURITY PROBLEM

This chapter has two aims: first, it places the current approach to homeland security in context by providing a short historical narrative that explains the evolution of American homeland security; second, it provides a critique of the current approach by examining three toxic dynamics that stem from how the current approach has been practiced. Since 9/11, the federal government has provided several varying definitions for homeland security. While a unified definition is difficult to find in popular textbooks on homeland security, most describe it a multidisciplinary field at the intersection of counterterrorism, law enforcement, disaster relief, and public safety.<sup>67</sup> Although these types of definitions and descriptions may be useful in the executive summary of a government document, or for undergraduate students of homeland security, they do not provide insight about why homeland security is conceptualized in these ways or how its practice differs from its neat textbook conceptions and the real consequences that result.

### A. THE ERAS OF HOMELAND SECURITY

The concept of homeland security has been continuously expanding and evolving through the years and, over time, has yielded four distinct approaches throughout the modern history of the United States.<sup>68</sup> Although “homeland security” has become nearly synonymous with the idea of preventing terrorism to the average American post-9/11, anti-terrorism is only one of the many roles that it has played throughout the history of the concept.<sup>69</sup> Two of the major roles—those of protecting the citizens from physical threats

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<sup>67</sup> Jane A. Bullock et al., *Introduction to Homeland Security: Principles of All-Hazards Response*, Butterworth-Heinemann Homeland Security Series (Amsterdam; Boston: Elsevier/Butterworth Heinemann, 2009); David A. McEntire, *Introduction to Homeland Security: Understanding Terrorism with an Emergency Management Perspective*, Wiley Pathways (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009); Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security*; Nemeth, *Homeland Security*.

<sup>68</sup>The term “approach,” as used here, should be taken to mean a combination of the general angle used by policymakers to push related legislation/budget/agenda items as well as the predominant operational focuses/doctrines/tactics used by practitioners of homeland security during a particular period of time.

<sup>69</sup> The concept of homeland security existed in the United States long before the term was officially named in the late 1990s. The United States has a long heritage of civil participation in the protection of the homeland starting with the “minutemen militias” of the colonial era.

of an adversary and protecting them from the devastating power of nature—have experienced a perpetual cycle of ebb and flood throughout the history of homeland security.

Homeland security has its roots in the World War II and Cold War concept of civil defense. Throughout the course of the Cold War, the classic civil defense approach gave way to an approach focused on disaster preparedness and recovery. When the rise of international terrorism became a major concern, America’s homeland security focus shifted to a primarily counterterrorism approach that was crowned by the events of 9/11. Following Hurricane Katrina, the familiar debate about the proper place of disaster preparedness returned to the homeland security discourse. At the same time, policymakers and industry leaders were expanding homeland security’s sphere of influence beyond any prior conception, creating an entirely new all-encompassing approach.

## **1. Civil Defense Era**

The modern notion of civil defense—America’s first modern approach to homeland security—is rooted in America’s World War II and Cold War experiences. In response to rising concerns about the bombing of civilian population centers in Europe during the opening years of the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD).<sup>70</sup> The OCD used its federal platform to set up local councils to coordinate community defenses such as air raid and blackout drills, sand bag stockpiling, as well as a range of softer support functions such as public education, morale, and volunteer involvement.<sup>71</sup> Toward the end of the war, as the risk of an attack on the homeland diminished, the OCD was disestablished and the American people began looking forward to getting back to business as usual.

Following WWII, the notion of civil defense, although not at the forefront of the minds of policymakers, formed amid the deteriorating relationship between the United States and USSR and the fear of potential Soviet nuclearization. These ideas prompted the

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<sup>70</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Civil Defense and Homeland Security: A Short History of National Preparedness Efforts* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, September 2006), <https://training.fema.gov/hiedu/docs/dhs%20civil%20defense-hs%20-%20short%20history.pdf>.

<sup>71</sup> Department of Homeland Security, 5–6.

establishment of the National Security Resources Board (NSRB) as part of the National Security Act of 1947, and the Office of Civil Defense Planning (OCDP) in 1948.<sup>72</sup> The OCDP's purpose was to study and make recommendations about the establishment of a permanent agency for civil defense, which it fulfilled when it released the Hopley Report in late 1948.<sup>73</sup> The report painted a grim picture of the potential aftermath of a nuclear attack, but asserted that the worst of the resulting problems could be mitigated with public education and involvement of the community in its own protection.<sup>74</sup> Its ultimate recommendation was the establishment of a permanent office for civil defense within the newly formed Department of Defense (DoD).<sup>75</sup>

Though initially perceived as too extensive, the recommendations of the OCDP's Hopley Report were realized in 1950 with the creation of the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) which was, likely in part, a response to news of the Soviets successfully testing an atomic weapon. Today, the FCDA is mainly remembered—and often lampooned—for such public education efforts as its 1951 informational video “Duck and Cover.” In the video, the main protagonist, Burt—a super-alert cartoon turtle—taught children that in the event of an attack by a nuclear weapon, all they needed to do was tuck themselves under a desk and cover their head and neck to increase their chances of survival. Another FCDA program largely remembered today as failed or non-effective was the national shelter program. Under-funded and under-embraced, the shelter programs of the FCDA—which encouraged private citizens to build their own home bomb shelters—would have had little success in actually protecting civilians from the ever increasingly powerful nuclear weapons built as the Cold War progressed.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Civil Defense and Homeland Security*.

<sup>73</sup> Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defense and American Cold War Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>74</sup> Oakes, 38.

<sup>75</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Civil Defense and Homeland Security*, 7.

<sup>76</sup> Roberts, “The Lessons of Civil Defense Federalism for the Homeland Security Era.”

Enthusiasm for civil defense waned through the remainder of the 1950s and into the early 1960s. Public perceptions of the deterrent capability of nuclear weapons and the general acceptance of the national nuclear strategy of mutually assured destruction<sup>77</sup> were some of the factors driving the decline of civil defense. Another way to look at its demise is, what was the use in mobilizing the citizens in the face of complete and total annihilation in the event of a nuclear war? Inability to secure funding for civil defense projects and greater enthusiasm for non-defense related projects, especially during the Eisenhower administration, were other factors that lead to the disestablishment of the FCDA and creation of the Office of Defense and Civil Mobilization—later renamed the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) to recapture the civil defense identity despite its primary mission focus on war mobilization.<sup>78</sup> Ultimately, although the official disestablishment of the FCDA did not occur until 1993, the era of civil defense as the sole approach to homeland security came to an end because the public evidently stopped caring about it.

## **2. Disaster Preparedness Era**

The homeland security focus shifted from traditional notions of civil defense toward more urgent concerns such as disaster preparedness as the Cold War progressed. During the Kennedy administration, OCDM was split into two separate agencies to meet the changing security and policy needs of the nation. The first of the resulting entities was the Office of Emergency Planning (OEP) within the Executive Office of the President, responsible for aiding the president in the creation of non-military emergency policy.<sup>79</sup> The other was the new Office of Civil Defense (OCD) within the DoD, which retained most of the duties of the OCDM, including war mobilization and civil defense responsibilities.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Civil Defense and Homeland Security*, 13.; Dory, “American Civil Security,” 41.

<sup>78</sup> Mary U. Harris, “Significant Events in the United States Civil Defense History Listed Chronologically, 1916-1974,” (Washington, DC: Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, February 7, 1975), <https://fas.org/irp/agency/dhs/fema/cd-chron.pdf>.

<sup>79</sup> Exec. Order No. 11051, 3 C.F.R. 1959-63 (1962), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=464594>.

<sup>80</sup> Harris, “Significant Events in the United States Civil Defense History Listed Chronologically, 1916-1974.”

With their main focus divided between the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, both the American people and policymakers largely ignored civil defense during the early 1960s. However, racked by a series of major natural disasters starting in 1965 with Hurricane Betsy—America’s first billion-dollar disaster<sup>81</sup>—the homeland security approach in the United States began to shift focus to disaster preparedness. Several major policies during this period indicated the paradigm shift to disaster preparedness. The Disaster Relief Act of 1969 aimed to provide greater aid to states recovering from disaster and created a Federal Coordinating Officer to manage federal disaster relief at the site of a disaster.<sup>82</sup> The amendments to the 1969 Disaster Relief Acts, passed in 1974, looked to broaden the scope of federal emergency relief efforts and encourage more comprehensive preparedness efforts by communities.<sup>83</sup>

Arguably one of the most important policy documents of this era was National Security Decision Memorandum (NSDM) 184, which was released on the heels of two more catastrophic hurricanes, Camille in 1969 and Agnes in 1972. Recognizing that communities had long been using civil defense funds to bolster disaster preparedness efforts, and that preparation for attacks and disasters shared many common features, NSDM-184 officially endorsed this practice of “dual-use” and led to the creation of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency (DCPA) which replaced the OCD.<sup>84</sup>

After several more civil defense and disaster preparedness organizational shifts during the Nixon and Ford administrations, President Jimmy Carter called for a review of the nation’s fragmented civil defense bureaucracy.<sup>85</sup> The results of the Carter Administration’s review, combined with the aftermath of the worst nuclear disaster in U.S. history at Three-Mile Island, led to Executive Order 12148 in 1979. This order consolidated

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<sup>81</sup> Lansford et al., *Fostering Community Resilience*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Disaster Relief Act of 1969, Pub. L. No. 91–78, 83 Stat. (1969).  
<http://uscode.house.gov/statutes/pl/91/79.pdf>.

<sup>83</sup> Disaster Relief Act of 1974, Pub. L. No. 93–287, 42 USC 5121 (1974).  
<https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=458661>.

<sup>84</sup> Henry A. Kissinger, “NSDM-184: United States Civil Defense Policy” (official memorandum. Washington, DC: National Security Council, 1972), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=462895>.

<sup>85</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *Civil Defense and Homeland Security*, 18.



many of the disjointed civil defense and emergency management organizations into the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).<sup>86</sup> After the formation of FEMA, disaster preparedness would continue to be the defending champion of the approach to homeland security for the next decade and a half.

### 3. Counterterrorism Era

During the 1970s and 1980s, the sudden increase in violent activity by such international terrorist organizations as the Red Brigades, Irish Republican Army, and Hezbollah raised concerns about America's susceptibility to terrorism, triggering another shift in America's approach to homeland security.<sup>87</sup> With the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, many terrorism experts predicted a decrease in the activities of a number of terrorist groups due to their close association with the Cold War conflict between the USSR and the West.<sup>88</sup> Instead, new terrorist threats began to arise. One new threat was the issue of domestic terrorism which was first introduced into the national security discourse after the rise of the militia movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This threat was fixed in the national agenda by a series of unprecedented domestic terrorist attacks including the 1993 World Trade Center Bombing, the 1995 Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing, and the 1996 Olympic Park bombing.

Following the Oklahoma City bombing, President Clinton released Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 39 'The U.S. Policy on Counterterrorism' to assign responsibilities for counterterrorism to various government agencies. PDD-39 also established the Critical Infrastructure Working Group (CIWG) to review the vulnerability of the nation's critical infrastructure to terrorist attacks.<sup>89</sup> The CIWG's report was adapted

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<sup>86</sup> Exec. Order No. 12148, 3 C.F.R 1979 (1979), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=463236>.

<sup>87</sup> Terrorism itself was not new to the United States in the 1970s or 1980s. Prior to these decades, a variety of terrorist groups conducted operations in the United States, including anti-government groups such as the U.S. Anarchists and Weather Underground, and racially-motivated groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and Black Panthers. However, it was during the 1970s and 1980s that international terrorism began to seriously raise concerns about security from terrorism.

<sup>88</sup> Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, Fifth edition (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 54–57.

<sup>89</sup> White House. *US Policy on Counterterrorism*, PDD/NSC 39 (Washington, DC: White House, June 21, 1995), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=462942>.

to become Executive Order 13010 which set up the Infrastructure Protection Task Force and, more importantly, the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection (PCCIP). The PCCIP was tasked with building on the work of the CIWG to develop a comprehensive picture of the threats, vulnerabilities, and policy options for protecting critical infrastructure in the United States.<sup>90</sup> As a direct result of the PCCIP's work, Clinton issued PPD-62 in 1998, establishing within the Executive Office of the President the National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counter-Terrorism for the purpose of coordinating national counterterrorism efforts between the various agencies with direct counterterror tasks.<sup>91</sup>

This National Coordinator position was the first official collection of many future concepts that would come to be called homeland security. In the same year as the creation of what was essentially the first federal coordinator of homeland security, the Secretary of Defense established the U.S. Commission on National Security/21<sup>st</sup> Century, more commonly known as the Hart-Rudman Commission. The task assigned to the Hart-Rudman Commission was to reexamine national security needs for the approaching new century. A year later, in 1999, the Gilmore Commission was established to provide an examination of America's capability to respond to the possibility of terrorists acquiring a weapon of mass destruction (WMD). While the Hart-Rudman Report was released in February of 2001, the release of the final installment of the Gilmore Commission's report was interrupted by the very type of event it was created in hopes of preventing.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 came as a great surprise to many and, in a single day, demonstrated that earlier mechanisms to counter the threat of terrorism had not worked. The Bush Administration acted immediately in response to the events of 9/11 issuing Executive Order 13228 which established the Office of Homeland Security (OHS) with former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge at the helm. The original mission of OHS was to "develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to

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<sup>90</sup> Kathi Ann Brown and John A. McCarthy, *Critical Path: A Brief History of Critical Infrastructure Protection in the United States* (Fairfax, VA: Spectrum Publishing Group, Inc., 2006), 86.

<sup>91</sup> White House, *Protection Against Unconventional Threats to the Homeland and Americans Overseas*, PDD/NSC-62 (Washington, DC: White House, May 22, 1998), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=758094>.

secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks.”<sup>92</sup> In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, protecting Americans from terrorism, and homeland security seemed to be one in the same.

During the months that followed 9/11, the appropriate organization for homeland security became the subject of one of the largest public administration debates since the National Security Act of 1947.<sup>93</sup> At the center of the debate were the recommendations from the Hart-Rudman and Gilmore Commissions. The main recommendation of the former was the creation of a new cabinet-level agency for homeland security. Proponents of this setup, such as Senator Joseph Lieberman, argued that unless upgraded to a cabinet-level agency, the director of OHS would not have enough power or budgetary authority to protect the country.<sup>94</sup> The organizational recommendation of the latter was a setup almost exactly like what the Bush Administration had already created with the OHS and was supported by such members of the administration as Attorney General John Ashcroft, who favored smaller bureaucracies.<sup>95</sup>

Eventually, Tom Ridge and his staff at the OHS realized that a small agency dedicated solely to homeland security would be more effective than an unbudgeted coordinating office.<sup>96</sup> President Bush came to agree and proposed the idea to Congress on the June 7. Seventeen days later, a bill was proposed in the house, and on November 25, Congress passed the Homeland Security Act of 2002 reorganizing 22 agencies from various departments into the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Exec. Order No. 13228, 3 C.F.R. 51812 (2001), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=1619>.

<sup>93</sup> *Responding to Homeland Threats: Is Our Government Organized for the Challenge?*, Senate, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (2001), <https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=2994>; *Legislative Options to Strengthen Homeland Defense*, Senate, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (2001), <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/CHRG-107shrg76806/summaryhttps://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/CHRG-107hhr83172>; *The Homeland Security Act of 2002, Days 1 and 2*, House of Representatives, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (2002), <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/CHRG-107hhr83172>.

<sup>94</sup> Ridge, *The Test of Our Times*, 57.

<sup>95</sup> Ridge, 130.

<sup>96</sup> Ridge, 126.

<sup>97</sup> H.R. 5005, 107<sup>th</sup> Cong. (2001-2002), <https://www.congress.gov/bill/107th-congress/house-bill/5005>.

#### 4. All-Things Era

For nearly four years following 9/11, the counterterrorism approach dominated homeland security practice. In the name of homeland security, American policymakers had declared a global war on terrorism, almost unanimously passed the USA PATRIOT Act—*Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism*—executed one of the largest government reorganizations since the end of World War II, and authorized the president to invade and occupy two countries. However, when Hurricane Katrina made landfall at the end of August 2005, the tides of America’s homeland security approach appeared to be turning once again.

Hurricane Katrina was the costliest natural disaster that America had ever experienced.<sup>98</sup> Katrina made landfall along the gulf coast of the United States killing over 1,300 people and causing an estimated \$40 billion in damages with New Orleans bearing the brunt of the devastation.<sup>99</sup> In the aftermath of Katrina, many people in government and academia began to reassess what constituted a threat to homeland security.<sup>100</sup> The revival of the disaster preparedness approach to homeland security is reflected in the memoirs of the second Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff who stated that “Homeland security deals not only with terrorism and related danger, but also with natural threats like hurricanes and floods, wildfires and tornados.”<sup>101</sup> Learning from the Katrina fallout, the Homeland Security Council released its 2007 National Strategy for Homeland Security listing natural disasters as a threat to the livelihood of Americans and as having the potential to cascade into vulnerabilities that could result in attack.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> National Hurricane Center, *Tropical Cyclone Report Hurricane Katrina 23-30 August 2005* (Miami, FL: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, December 20, 2005), [https://www.nhc.noaa.gov/data/tcr/AL122005\\_Katrina.pdf](https://www.nhc.noaa.gov/data/tcr/AL122005_Katrina.pdf).

<sup>99</sup> National Weather Center, *Service Assessment Hurricane Katrina August 23-31, 2005* (Silver Spring, MD: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, June 2006), <https://www.weather.gov/media/publications/assessments/Katrina.pdf>.

<sup>100</sup> Lansford, Pauly, Covarrubias, *To Protect and Defend*.

<sup>101</sup> Chertoff, *Homeland Security*, 3.

<sup>102</sup> Homeland Security Council, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: White House, October 2007), [https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat\\_strat\\_homelandsecurity\\_2007.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/nat_strat_homelandsecurity_2007.pdf).

Including disaster management in the primary homeland security mission set created some political debate in the years following Katrina. In the months following the hurricane, the idea of making the DoD the lead agency for disaster response was proposed<sup>103</sup> based on the perception that federalized National Guard troops had performed better in the aftermath than FEMA.<sup>104</sup> Another proposal, made by Representative James Oberstar in 2008,<sup>105</sup> was to remove FEMA from DHS based on the “presum [ption] that FEMA’s functions are so fundamentally different from those of the other units within the DHS that its operations are hampered by a common departmental location and administration.”<sup>106</sup> Chertoff defended FEMA’s position in DHS by arguing that the two agencies were a natural fit and that “it strengthens the nation’s incident preparedness by facilitating cooperation among organizations that share preparedness and response missions.”<sup>107</sup>

Officially reunifying the two goals of protecting America’s population against a common enemy while also preparing it to face natural and manmade disasters in the 2007 National Strategy for Homeland Security<sup>108</sup> was reminiscent of the transition between the civil defense and emergency preparedness eras. The marriage of these goals was the first step taken toward the creation of the contemporary approach to homeland security. Throughout the course of the last decade, policymakers have begun to absorb almost any policy issue—or at least those that are most important at the current time—into the realm of homeland security. For this reason, I deem the current approach the *all-things-are-homeland-security*, or “all-things” approach, and it has not come without controversy.

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<sup>103</sup> George W. Bush, “Fact Sheet: President Bush Addresses the Nation on Recovery from Katrina,” The White House Archives, September 15, 2005, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/09/20050915-7.html>.

<sup>104</sup> Charles R. Wise, “Organizing for Homeland Security After Katrina: Is Adaptive Management What’s Missing?,” *Public Administration Review* 66, no. 3 (May 2006): 302–18, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00587.x>.

<sup>105</sup> Office of Inspector General, *FEMA: In or Out?* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, February 2009), [https://www.oig.dhs.gov/assets/Mgmt/OIG\\_09-25\\_Feb09.pdf](https://www.oig.dhs.gov/assets/Mgmt/OIG_09-25_Feb09.pdf).

<sup>106</sup> Wise, “Organizing for Homeland Security After Katrina,” 310.

<sup>107</sup> Chertoff, *Homeland Security*, 146.

<sup>108</sup> Homeland Security Council, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*.

The mass-absorption of issues into homeland security that is unique to this all-things approach can be explained by a concept called the issue attention cycle introduced by economist Anthony Downs, and applied to homeland security by Christopher Bellavita.<sup>109</sup> The cycle explains the degree of importance and focus that an issue is given by the public and policymakers throughout its life cycle. When a major event occurs, or a domestic issue arises, the public respond to the event prompting policymakers to take initial actions. Focus on the issue fades as people discover the required investment to solve the issue, but by that time, the issue has become embedded in homeland security.

However, the all-things approach to homeland security introduced above is not inherently a bad thing. Expanding conceptions of security and broadened views of what constitutes security threats have started becoming accepted in mainstream politics. For example, in her memoirs, former Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano listed climate change, cyber-attacks on our elections and other critical infrastructure, and mass gun violence among the various homeland security concerns that the United States should be focused on.<sup>110</sup> What is bad, are the motivations driving the sprawl of homeland security issues in the all-things approach. This approach to homeland security, when driven by political, economic, or misplaced cultural reasons, brings unintentional negative consequences that actually reduce the overall security the American people.

## **B. HOMELAND (IN)SECURITY**

From an in-depth analysis of critical homeland security literature, I identified three toxic dynamics that result from the current motivations behind the all-things approach to homeland security: fear, conflict, and insecurity. These three dynamics are both byproducts of, as well as contributing factors to, an approach to homeland security that appears to be decreasing the security of Americans.

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<sup>109</sup> Christopher Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security: The Issue-Attention Cycle,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2005), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/180>; Christopher Bellavita, “Waiting for Homeland Security Theory,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 8 (August 2012), <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/231>.

<sup>110</sup> Janet Napolitano and Karen Breslau, *How Safe Are We? Homeland Security Since 9/11*, First edition (New York: Public Affairs, 2019), xvi.

## 1. Institutionalizing Fear to Increase Security?

The institutionalization of fear is an important and dangerous dynamic in the current approach to homeland security. In his 2003 book, *Beyond Fear*, famed security expert Bruce Schneier points out that terrorism is “really a crime against the mind” and that “the goal of a terrorist is to sow fear and terror.”<sup>111</sup> After 9/11, in 2002, the Office of Homeland Security introduced the Homeland Security Advisory System. According to Tom Ridge, the terror alert system was put into place to alert both the public and security professionals about the level of threat at a given time.<sup>112</sup> However, this now defunct color-coded system became representative of both the fear already being harbored by Americans, as well as a mental cue about when and how much fear they should be feeling.<sup>113</sup> This system symbolically marked the beginning of the institutionalization of fear in contemporary American homeland security.

Overwhelming fear of threats dominate the contemporary homeland security discourse even when those threats are merely perceived, or worse, completely imagined. John Mueller has written about the significant inflation of the terrorist threat in his books *Overblown* (2006) and *Chasing Ghosts* (2016). In both of these books he points out the fact that terrorism is an extremely rare, and mostly low-impact, occurrence. Yet, despite these evident claims, public opinion on the risk of terrorism remains at, or higher than, the levels they were at in 2002.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Schneier, *Beyond Fear*, 235.

<sup>112</sup> Ridge, *The Test of Our Times*, 100.

<sup>113</sup> Roy B. Brush, “Silent Warning: Understanding the National Terrorism Advisory System” (Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=762360>.

<sup>114</sup> John E. Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, *Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 55.

Institutionalized fear remains prominent in homeland security today. The New York Times editorial board went as far as to accuse the Department of Homeland Security of “fearmongering” following remarks made by President Trump’s first Homeland Security Secretary, John Kelly, in April 2019.<sup>115</sup> Around the same time as his remarks, many voices in politics—including Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, and several other outspoken Democrats in Congress—began accusing the President of “manufacturing” a crisis at the Southern border of the United States. Such accusations as the President’s policies being those of “fear and division”<sup>116</sup> have recently been commonplace responses to members of the administration painting a grim picture of the potential threats posed by refugees arriving from war-torn parts of the Middle East or caravans of migrants walking to the Southern U.S. border from crime and poverty-stricken areas of South America.

The security of Americans is decreased when fear is institutionalized in the approach to homeland security. The concepts of fear and security stand opposed to one another with fear often prompting overreaction that results in costly policies.<sup>117</sup> Even more concerning, is the psychological effect that fear has on the American populace. Remembering Schneier’s observation about terrorism, terrorists win when they get under the skin of the American people and fundamentally change the way that people conduct their everyday lives. If the approach to homeland security is boosting that fear—as it has in the example of terrorism—rather than quelling it, that approach has become part of the problem rather than the solution.

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<sup>115</sup> The Editorial Board, “Fearmongering at Homeland Security,” *New York Times*, April 20, 2017, sec. A.

<sup>116</sup> Julia Harte and Tim Reid, “Trump Cuts Aid to Central American Countries as Migrant Crisis Deepens,” Reuters, March 30, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-trump/trump-cuts-aid-to-central-american-countries-as-migrant-crisis-deepens-idUSKCN1RC013>.

<sup>117</sup> Benjamin H. Friedman, “Managing Fear: The Politics of Homeland Security,” *Political Science Quarterly* 126, no. 1 (March 2011): 77–106, <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1538-165X.2011.tb00695.x>.



## 2. The Cost-Benefit Nexus of Foreign and Domestic Conflict

Conflict occurring within the arenas of both domestic and foreign policy is another toxic dynamic of the current homeland security approach. On the domestic side, the creation of a wasteful homeland security-industrial-complex following 9/11 resulted from the fear and anxiety discussed above. In *Trapped in the War on Terror* (2006), Ian Lustick discusses the trap created by the War on Terror claiming that it has drawn Americans “into spirals of exaggeration, waste, and fear.”<sup>118</sup> On the foreign policy side, under the philosophy that the best defense is a good offense, the War in Iraq—and generally, the greater War on Terror—were largely designed as homeland security measures to prevent terrorists from being able to strike the United States ever again. From conflict in both of these arenas of policy flow huge socioeconomic costs for the United States, ranging from bewildering monetary costs to violations of civil liberties to the loss of American lives in foreign wars.

In no time at all following 9/11, entrepreneurs and investors began realizing the economic potential in contracts and sales of services, systems, software, and all other manner of products that would aid the newly formed homeland security enterprise in protecting the American people.<sup>119</sup> Figure 1 shows the growth of the total budget authority for homeland security since 2002. What was once a budget of \$19.5 billion doubled by 2006, tripled by 2013, and has now over quadrupled in the president’s fiscal year 2020 proposal.

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<sup>118</sup> Ian Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), ix.

<sup>119</sup> John Mueller, *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2006), 43.

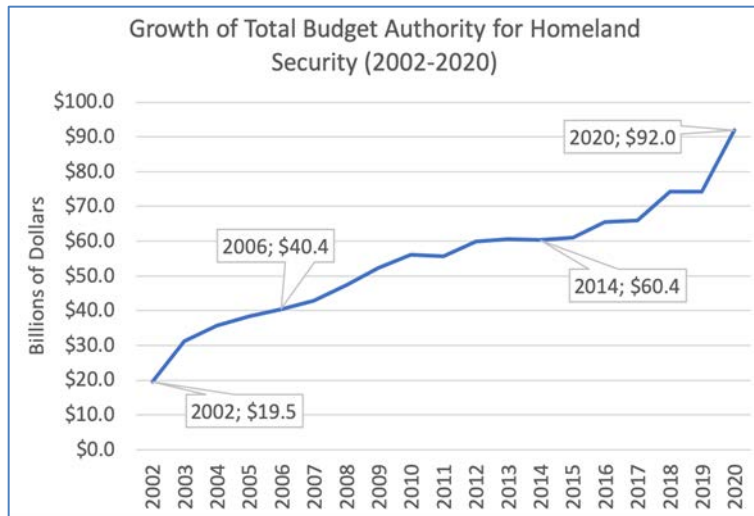


Figure 1. Homeland security budget growth 2002–2020<sup>120</sup>

The ever-increasing federal budget for homeland security has flowed down to private industry making homeland security, especially the War on Terror, a critical portion of the bottom line for many firms. The profit that stands to be made from homeland security has led people, companies, lobbyists, and politicians “not only to accept the categorical importance of the War on Terror but to imagine wider and even more sinister threats, justifying and expanding array of products, policies, and projects for preventing attacks or

<sup>120</sup> Adapted from Department of Homeland Security, “Securing the Homeland, Strengthening the Nation,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, May 28, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/publication/securing-homeland-strengthening-nation>; Department of Homeland Security, *Budget in Brief Fiscal Year 2005* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2005), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FY\\_2005\\_BIB\\_4.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FY_2005_BIB_4.pdf); Department of Homeland Security, *Budget in Brief Fiscal Year 2006* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2006), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Budget\\_BIB-FY2006.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Budget_BIB-FY2006.pdf); Department of Homeland Security, *Budget in Brief Fiscal Year 2008* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2008), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/budget\\_bib-fy2008.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/budget_bib-fy2008.pdf); Department of Homeland Security, *Budget in Brief Fiscal Year 2010* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2010), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/budget\\_bib\\_fy2010.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/budget_bib_fy2010.pdf); Department of Homeland Security, *Budget in Brief Fiscal Year 2012* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2012), <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/budget-bib-fy2012.pdf>; Department of Homeland Security, *Budget-in-Brief Fiscal Year 2014* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2014), <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FY%202014%20BIB%20-%20FINAL%20-508%20Formatted%20%284%29.pdf>; Department of Homeland Security, *Budget-in-Brief Fiscal Year 2016* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2016), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FY\\_2016\\_DHS\\_Budget\\_in\\_Brief.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FY_2016_DHS_Budget_in_Brief.pdf); Department of Homeland Security, *FY 2018 Budget in Brief* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2018), <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/DHS%20FY18%20BIB%20Final.pdf>; Department of Homeland Security, *FY 2020 Budget in Brief* (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, 2019), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19\\_0318\\_MGMT\\_FY-2020-Budget-In-Brief.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/19_0318_MGMT_FY-2020-Budget-In-Brief.pdf).

for coping with their consequences if they occur.”<sup>121</sup> When taken with the facts about the actual risks of terrorism presented by Mueller and Stewart, one can only wonder if the benefits of the homeland security-industrial-complex are worth its immense financial cost to the taxpaying public.

While the harnessed power of homeland security may have been good for business, it has proven not so great for the business of American privacy and civil liberties. Under the post-9/11 mantra of “never again,” the Justice Department assembled proposed legislation that, according to then Attorney General John Ashcroft, would allow it to overcome the “legal barrier that prevented law enforcement, intelligence, and national defense communities from talking and coordinating their work to protect the American people and our national security.”<sup>122</sup>

Although originally intended to make Americans more secure, abuses of power and intelligence overreach—warrantless surveillance, mass metadata collection—using provisions within the USA PATRIOT Act and 2008 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) Amendments created a conflict between the government and the civil liberties of the American people. While the existence of these programs was eventually made known to the public, and certain provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act were replaced with USA FREEDOM—Uniting and Strengthening America by Fulfilling Rights and Ensuring Effective Discipline Over Monitoring—Act of 2015, the damage to government trust and credibility was significant.<sup>123</sup> However, that damage was eclipsed by the considerable damage to the American peoples’ constitutional right to privacy under the Fourth Amendment; as Bruce Schneier reminds us, “liberties are far easier to give away than to take back.”<sup>124</sup>

Potentially the most impactful conflict resulting from the current approach to homeland security, however, is the War in Iraq. Convinced that al-Qaeda could not have

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<sup>121</sup> Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror*, 71–72.

<sup>122</sup> Ashcroft, *Never Again: Securing America and Restoring Justice*, 155.

<sup>123</sup> Mueller and Stewart, *Chasing Ghosts*, 174–75.

<sup>124</sup> Schneier, *Beyond Fear*, 245.

acted without support, and with fresh intelligence about Saddam Hussein's WMD stockpile, the invasion of Iraq became a key element in the Bush Administration's War on Terror.<sup>125</sup> The legacy of America's still-ongoing involvement in Iraq is a story told in time, dollars, lives, and negative regional and global consequences.

Although the War in Iraq officially ended in 2011, there remains a U.S. military presence of over 5,000 troops to this day,<sup>126</sup> bringing U.S. involvement in Iraq to a total of 16 years. The United States has been involved in violent conflict in the Middle East for so long that a single American family could potentially see three generations of soldiers participate in the same conflicts. This exceedingly long war has come at a great cost to the United States, claiming the lives of 4,500 Americans<sup>127</sup>—1,500 more than were killed on 9/11<sup>128</sup>—and billing over \$800 billion through fiscal year 2016.<sup>129</sup> These figures do not include the uncounted costs of hardships faced by wounded warriors, veterans with post-traumatic stress, a soaring veteran suicide rate, and the undue stress placed on families and friends thereof.

Another unintended consequence stemming from the War on Terror was the blowback that could be caused by its component conflicts. Blowback, a term used by the CIA and popularized by Chalmers Johnson, is essentially the unintended consequences of U.S. policies.<sup>130</sup> Although Johnson uses the term to describe the consequences of secret actions undertaken by the United States in the name of what he describes as “imperialist

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<sup>125</sup> Lustick, *Trapped in the War on Terror*.

<sup>126</sup> CBS News, “U.S. Pulls Most Personnel from Iraq as U.S. Officials Say Iranian Military Likely Behind Tanker Attacks,” CBS News, May 15, 2019, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/iran-trump-sending-troops-denies-plan-us-orders-iraq-personnel-home-live-updates-2019-05-15/>.

<sup>127</sup> United States Department of Defense, “Casualty Status as of 10 a.m. EDT June 10, 2019,” accessed June 10, 2019, <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Casualty-Status/>.

<sup>128</sup> CNN, “September 11 Terror Attacks Fast Facts,” CNN.com, July 19, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2013/07/27/us/september-11-anniversary-fast-facts/>.

<sup>129</sup> Neta C. Crawford, “US Budgetary Costs of Wars through 2016: \$4.79 Trillion and Counting Summary of Costs of the US Wars in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan and Homeland Security,” *Costs of War* (Providence, RI: Brown University, September 2016), <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2016/Costs%20of%20War%20through%202016%20FINAL%20final%20v2.pdf>.

<sup>130</sup> Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 2004).

escapades,”<sup>131</sup> the description suits one of the inadvertent results of the War on Terror. The deaths of innocent civilians and such scandals as Abu Ghraib and the “enhanced interrogation techniques” being used at CIA black sites and Guantanamo Bay mean “the more fertile breeding grounds become for anti-American terrorists.”<sup>132</sup> This blowback may account for the fact that the majority of post-9/11 terrorist attacks targeting Americans have taken place outside of the U.S., specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan,<sup>133</sup> and may also be a contributing factor in some of the increasingly common lone-wolf terrorist attacks.

The costs of the domestic and foreign conflicts driven by the current approach to homeland security continue to mount while the net gain to the security of Americans appears to be negligible, or worse, negative. Americans have sacrificed economic security by paying billions of dollars for a domestic homeland security-industrial complex; they have sacrificed political security by forfeiting traditional American values and liberties such as privacy and transparency; and they have sacrificed the lives of their sons and daughters in long-term wars in the Middle East and terrorist attacks both abroad and increasingly at home.

### **3. If You Give an American some Homeland Security...**

A common psychological tendency is that people want more of what they do not need,<sup>134</sup> it can be applied to consumer behaviors, experiences, and also to homeland security.<sup>135</sup> However, more homeland security does not always guarantee a more secure homeland. As Schneier argues, in reality there are two securities: one is feeling secure, while the other is actually being secure.<sup>136</sup> He explains that “we often surround ourselves with security countermeasures that give us a feeling of security rather than the reality of

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<sup>131</sup> Johnson, 82.

<sup>132</sup> Schneier, *Beyond Fear*, 231.

<sup>133</sup> Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*.

<sup>134</sup> Cele C. Otnes, “Diderot Effect,” in *Encyclopedia of Consumer Culture*, ed. Dale Southerton (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2011), <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412994248.n168>.

<sup>135</sup> Friedman, “Managing Fear.”

<sup>136</sup> Schneier, *Beyond Fear*, 9.

security,”<sup>137</sup> a phenomenon that he termed “security theater.” Many of the security measures put in place under the current approach to homeland security are nothing more than security theater and, as demonstrated by Mueller and Stewart, much of this resultant security theater has not helped to quell the fears of the polling public.<sup>138</sup> Ineffective security measures—or potentially effective measures badly implemented—can actually lead to less security as exemplified by the fear stoked by the terror alert system, the socio-economic insecurity caused by the homeland security-industrial-complex, the degradation of civil liberties by post-9/11 domestic policies, and the consequences of the War on Terror.

The implementation of vast amounts of security theater in post-9/11 America not only make people less secure in reality, but also serve to perpetuate the need for more security measures to make people feel more secure. This vicious cycle is what Frank Harvey has deemed the “homeland security dilemma.”<sup>139</sup> The basic logic of his argument is that “the more security you have, the more security you will need... because enormous investments in security inevitably raise public expectations and amplify public outrage after subsequent failures.”<sup>140</sup> There are multiple examples of this expectation–outrage cycle from the current approach to homeland security, some of the most recent being the reaction to the sudden appearance of lone-wolf terrorist attacks that began just over a decade after 9/11. Following the 2015 San Bernardino and Chattanooga attacks, and the 2016 Pulse Nightclub shooting in Orlando, many voices in the online press began to question whether DHS was working, and if it was even necessary at all.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Schneier, 14.

<sup>138</sup> Mueller and Stewart, *Chasing Ghosts*, 81–89.

<sup>139</sup> Harvey, *The Homeland Security Dilemma*.

<sup>140</sup> Harvey, 1–2.

<sup>141</sup> Jerry Markon, “Does U.S. Need a Department of Homeland Security?,” *The Washington Post*, September 23, 2014, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/federal-eye/wp/2014/09/23/does-the-united-states-need-a-department-of-homeland-security/?utm\\_term=.91889e799c26](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/federal-eye/wp/2014/09/23/does-the-united-states-need-a-department-of-homeland-security/?utm_term=.91889e799c26); Michael Tanner, “Do We Need the DHS?,” *National Review*, March 4, 2015, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2015/03/do-we-need-dhs/>; Dara Lind, “The Department of Homeland Security Is a Total Disaster. It’s Time to Abolish It.,” *Vox*, February 17, 2015, <https://www.vox.com/2015/2/17/8047461/dhs-problems>; Timm, “Why Shutting Down the Department of Homeland Security Would Be a Good Idea”; Matt A. Mayer, “Why Shutting Down the Department of Homeland Security Would Be a Good Idea,” *Reason*, June 23, 2015, <https://reason.com/2015/06/23/president-bush-was-right-before-he-was-w>.

A greater example of the expectation–outrage cycle was on display in 2017 following a major homeland security event unrelated to terrorism. During the 2017 hurricane season, Puerto Rico had the great misfortune of being located directly under the intersection of the paths of two major hurricanes occurring within weeks of one another, Irma and Maria. American expectations of the federal government’s ability to respond to major disasters has been shaped by past experiences. Following severe criticism over the poor federal response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, DHS and FEMA were charged with increasing America’s preparedness for disasters.<sup>142</sup> With the federal government having learned a lesson regarding the importance of disaster preparedness and response, the expectation that another Katrina could never take place was reasonable.

However, after hurricane Maria hit Puerto Rico in September 2017, despite the federal government’s significant response to the disaster,<sup>143</sup> outrage was one of the public’s most noticeable reactions. In the aftermath of Maria, news media and politicians used the disaster as a platform to launch attacks on President Trump drawing parallels to Katrina and accused the government of mishandling the relief efforts.<sup>144</sup> Harvey, though, would likely describe the real cause of the outrage as unmet expectations. How, after years of investment in an approach to homeland security that stresses the importance of preparedness and response capabilities, could DHS and FEMA not be ready for the challenges it faced in the response to Maria?

The combination of the problems of security theater and the homeland security dilemma create a self-reinforcing system that will keep the American people trapped in a cycle of fear, conflict, and insecurity. These toxic dynamics within the current all-things approach to homeland security can only be overcome by disincentivizes the political, economic, and cultural motivations that drive the current approach.

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<sup>142</sup> Lansford et al., *Fostering Community Resilience*.

<sup>143</sup> Chris Currie, “2017 Hurricanes and Wildfires: Initial Observations on the Federal Response and Key Recovery Challenges,” (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, September 2018), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/694231.pdf>.

<sup>144</sup> Anushka Shah, Allan Ko, and Fernando Peinado, “2017 Hurricanes and Wildfires: Initial Observations on the Federal Response and Key Recovery Challenges,” *The Washington Post*, November 27, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2017/11/27/the-mainstream-media-didnt-care-about-puerto-rico-until-it-became-a-trump-story/?utm\\_term=.6dc1d9206b5e](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2017/11/27/the-mainstream-media-didnt-care-about-puerto-rico-until-it-became-a-trump-story/?utm_term=.6dc1d9206b5e).

### III. A NEW PARADIGM FOR SECURITY

Changing conceptions of security have caused a great deal of confusion about what the actual goal of homeland security should be. The mission statement of DHS is to “safeguard the American people, our homeland, and our values.”<sup>145</sup> The homeland security vision in the 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review doubles down on this opacity, proposing the vision of “a homeland that is safe, secure, and resilient against terrorism and other hazards, where American interests, aspirations, and way of life can thrive.”<sup>146</sup> Recalling that the origin of the word “security” comes from the Latin word used to describe the feeling of being free from anxiety or care, this chapter finds that insecurities abound in the United States and are largely left out of the concept of homeland security.

This chapter will serve three purposes: to introduce the origins and principles of the concept of human security; to understand the security challenges faced by Americans through the human security framework; and to assess the extent which these security challenges are addressed or neglected by homeland security. Through these lines of effort, this chapter maps the relationship between the human security framework and homeland security.

#### A. HUMAN SECURITY

Human security is a non-traditional approach to security in that it shifts the primary focus of security from the state toward individuals in order to “protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment.”<sup>147</sup> The concept

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<sup>145</sup> “About DHS,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security, last modified July 5, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/about-dhs>.

<sup>146</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *The 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, 2014), 14, <https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/qhsr/2014-QHSR.pdf>.

<sup>147</sup> Commission on Human Security, ed., *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People* (New York, 2003), 4, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/91BAEEDBA50C6907C1256D19006A9353-chs-security-may03.pdf>.



was first introduced in the 1994 United Nations (UN) Human Development Report<sup>148</sup> and made an official UN program in 1999 with the establishment of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS).<sup>149</sup> At the Millennium Summit in 2000, the United Nations proposed an independent Commission on Human Security that convened in New York in 2003 as an initiative of the Japanese government.<sup>150</sup> The commission, chaired by former UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata and Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, worked to lay the groundwork for further development of the concept through the definition of key ideas and recommendation of policies. The work of the commission raised awareness of the value added by the human security approach leading to several UN resolutions that reaffirmed the concept<sup>151</sup> and eventually resulted in the 2015 UNTFHS Human Security Handbook which officially laid out the human security framework.

## 1. Core Tenets and Principles

Human security is not meant to replace traditional state security, but rather to complement and enable it.<sup>152</sup> The concept of human security is built on three core tenets: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity.<sup>153</sup> The first two freedoms—freedom from fear and freedom from want—are lifted directly from President

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<sup>148</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr\\_1994\\_en\\_complete\\_nostats.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf).

<sup>149</sup> United Nations, “Human Security Milestones and History,” United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2019, <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/human-security-milestones-and-history/>.

<sup>150</sup> Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*.

<sup>151</sup> 2005 World Summit Outcome, Pub. L. No. 60/1, A/RES/60/1 (2005), [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A\\_RES\\_60\\_1.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_60_1.pdf); Follow-Up to Paragraph 143 on Human Security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome, Pub. L. No. 64/291, A/RES/64/291 (2010), <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/64/291>; Follow-Up to Paragraph 143 on Human Security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome, Pub. L. No. 66/290, A/RES/66/290 (2012), [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=%20A/RES/66/290&referer=http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r66\\_resolutions\\_table\\_eng.htm&Lang=E](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=%20A/RES/66/290&referer=http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/resguide/r66_resolutions_table_eng.htm&Lang=E); Follow-up to General Assembly Resolution 66/290 on Human Security, Pub. L. No. 68/685, A/68/685 (2013), <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N13/630/40/PDF/N1363040.pdf?OpenElement>.

<sup>152</sup> Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*.

<sup>153</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security, *Human Security Handbook*, (United Nations Human Security Unit, January 2016), <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/h2.pdf>.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s famous “Four Freedoms” speech.<sup>154</sup> These freedoms were later incorporated into the UN’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>155</sup> The third freedom—freedom to live in dignity—was also derived from that declaration.<sup>156</sup>

To achieve these freedoms, the human security approach uses five “fundamental principles” to guide the formation of policy; the principles of the approach as defined by the UNTFHS are: people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, prevention-oriented, and protection and empowerment, as seen in Figure 2.<sup>157</sup> *People-centered* is the principle that shifts the security focus away from the state as a whole and moves it onto individual people. It examines all threats that reduce the overall security of a person or localized community. Due to the complex nature of threats to individuals and communities, human security aims to be *comprehensive* in identifying interconnectivities between threats by addressing a wide variety of insecurities such as: food, health, personal, economic, community, political, and environmental. The approach aims for inclusion by ensuring that it addresses a wide array of stakeholders and considers “positive and negative externalities of each response on the overall human security situation of the affected community(ies).”<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Message to Congress: The State of the Union” (speech, January 6, 1941), [http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/\\_resources/images/msf/msf01407](http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/msf/msf01407).

<sup>155</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Pub. L. No. 217A (III) (1948), [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR\\_Translations/eng.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf).

<sup>156</sup> The opening line of the preamble to the UDHR states, “Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.” The UN identifies human dignity as a precursory requirement to any system of security. Therefore, dignity of individuals is a core freedom for human security. General Assembly.

<sup>157</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security, *Human Security Handbook*.

<sup>158</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security, 17.

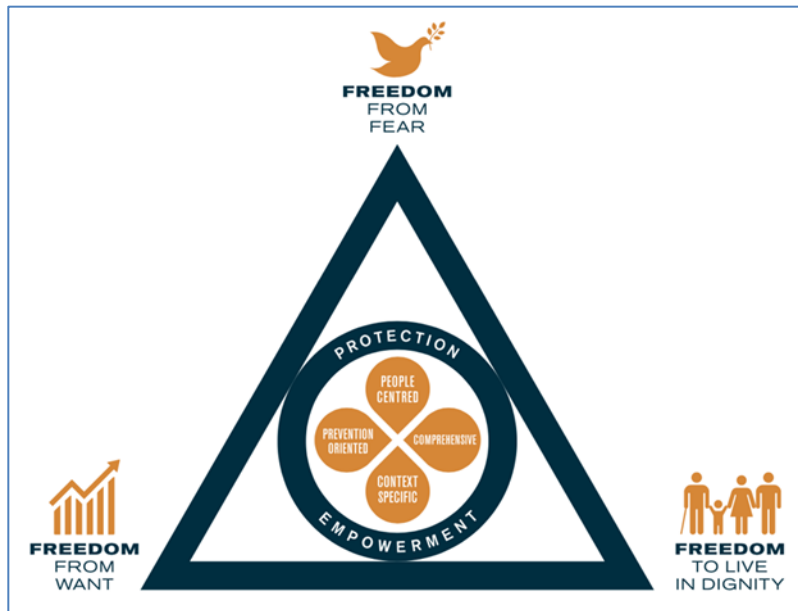


Figure 2. Human security freedoms and guiding principles<sup>159</sup>

The wide variety of threats that people experience are based largely on a selection of variables dependent on region, culture, political climate, and the like. For this reason, human security aims for solutions that are *context-specific* rather than one-size-fits-all. In order to fully understand the context of many complicated problem sets, in-depth analysis and multi-dimensional examination is required.<sup>160</sup> Likewise, the human security approach recognizes that complex issues cannot be solved in an instant and that *prevention-oriented* solutions that attack root-causes are often more effective than quick remedial solutions. By achieving *sustainable* outcomes that aim to *protect* individuals, communities are *empowered* to recognize the necessary steps in creating the conditions for their own security.

## 2. Insecurities

The human security framework lays out seven basic insecurities that stand in opposition to human security, they are: food, health, personal, economic, community,

<sup>159</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security, 4.

<sup>160</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security.

political, and environmental.<sup>161</sup> These categories were first identified by the UN as the insecurities most often standing in opposition to, but necessary for, “sustainable human development.”<sup>162</sup> The following descriptions of each insecurity come from the UNTFHS’s Handbook for Human Security.

Food security is concerned with topics such as hunger, famine and food production, and cost and availability of food for populations.<sup>163</sup> Health security pertains mainly to sanitation, infectious disease, and malnutrition, but also focuses on alarming health trends within a population as well as cost and access to healthcare.<sup>164</sup> Environmental security covers topics ranging from fast-moving environmental threats such as natural disasters to slower moving natural threats such as climate change and resource depletion.<sup>165</sup> Economic security deals with such issues affecting general livelihood of people as poverty, housing, unemployment, and economic mobility.<sup>166</sup> Personal security primarily considers violence as it relates to the physical safety of an individual in the context of society.<sup>167</sup> The last two areas of insecurity—community and political—are most closely related. Community security centers on intercommunity struggles and ethnic, race, or religion-based crime or violence; political security refers to issues dealing with justice, human rights, and government.<sup>168</sup>

Although originally conceptualized as a concept supporting human development and security in the developing world,<sup>169</sup> this taxonomy of insecurities has a much wider

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<sup>161</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security.

<sup>162</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, 24.

<sup>163</sup> Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*.

<sup>164</sup> Commission on Human Security.

<sup>165</sup> Commission on Human Security.

<sup>166</sup> Commission on Human Security.

<sup>167</sup> Commission on Human Security.

<sup>168</sup> Commission on Human Security.

<sup>169</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*.

range of applicability.<sup>170</sup> Individuals in every state and nation of the world, including the United States, experience insecurities in all of these categories and could benefit from their governments identifying, analyzing, and addressing these insecurities using a framework that shifts the focus of security toward individuals.

## **B. THE UNITED STATES OF ANXIETY?**

The taxonomy of insecurities outlined in the UN’s human security approach shaped my survey of a variety of sources including official government documents, public opinion polls, and media reports. Through this survey, I have identified some of the major threats and anxieties—hereafter referred to together as insecurities—of the American people.

Threats to the homeland come in a wide variety of shapes and sizes. Some are readily apparent, while others are hidden within the depths of the everyday ups and downs of the United States. In 2018, the American Psychiatric Association reported that there was a significant spike in the reported levels of anxiety of the American people.<sup>171</sup> It is no wonder that Americans are becoming more anxious, with multiple sources reporting that threats to our security have never been greater. In 2018, Director of National Intelligence, Dan Coats, reported to Congress that security threats “will expand and diversify in the coming year,”<sup>172</sup> while the Government Accountability Office’s report on long-range

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<sup>170</sup> Mary Martin and Taylor Owen, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Human Security* (London ; New York: Routledge/Taylor Francis Group, 2014), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315885926>; Sangmin Bae and Makoto Maruyama, eds., *Human Security, Changing States and Global Responses: Institutions and Practices*, Routledge Studies in Human Security (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>171</sup> American Psychiatric Association, “Americans Say They Are More Anxious than a Year Ago Baby Boomers Report Greatest Increase in Anxiety,” American Psychiatric Association, May 7, 2018, <https://www.psychiatry.org/newsroom/news-releases/americans-say-they-are-more-anxious-than-a-year-ago-baby-boomers-report-greatest-increase-in-anxiety>.

<sup>172</sup> *Statement for the Record: Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community* before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 116th Congress (2019) (Statement of Daniel R. Coats), 4.

threats stated that “the United States faces a complex array of threats to our national security, including our political, economic, military, and social systems.”<sup>173</sup>

In each of the following subsections, I aim to categorize and describe insecurities faced by Americans using the human security framework as well as demonstrate what the current homeland security approach does or does not cover within each category.

## **1. Economic**

The aspects of Economic security most important in the United States are the integrity of the financial sector and living standards of the American people. The DHS mission to “preserve and uphold the nation’s prosperity and economic security” is a vitally important “pre-DHS legacy function”<sup>174</sup> of the American homeland security enterprise. Although these functions do not clearly fit the terrorism and natural disaster-centric focus of the current homeland security approach, it is no less a critical area of focus for DHS. For example, the U.S. Customs Service was one of the first federal agencies to be identified by Tom Ridge’s OHS as a candidate for inclusion into a homeland security agency, as was the U.S. Coast Guard, which began as the Revenue Cutter Service under Alexander Hamilton’s Treasury Department.<sup>175</sup> Another agency eventually absorbed by DHS was the U.S. Secret Service, originally founded to protect the nation’s currency by combating counterfeiting.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Examples of some of the threats listed include: Increased great power competition with China and Russia. The threatening nature of the Iranian and North Korean regimes. Advancements in technologies such as artificial intelligence, biotech, and additive manufacturing, that could be exploited by our adversaries. Climate change, and population shifts due to forced migration and refugees. Government Accountability Office, *Report to Congressional Committees National Security Long-Range Emerging Threats Facing the United States as Identified by Federal Agencies* (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, December 2018), 3, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/695981.pdf>.

<sup>174</sup> “Preserve and Uphold the Nation’s Prosperity and Economic Security,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security, last modified July 5, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/preserve-and-uphold-nations-prosperity-and-economic-security>.

<sup>175</sup> Ridge, *The Test of Our Times*; U.S. Coast Guard, *Doctrine for the U.S. Coast Guard*, CGP1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Coast Guard, February 2014), [https://media.defense.gov/2018/Oct/05/2002049081/-1/-1/1/CGPUB\\_1-0\\_DOCTRINE.PDF](https://media.defense.gov/2018/Oct/05/2002049081/-1/-1/1/CGPUB_1-0_DOCTRINE.PDF).

<sup>176</sup> U.S. Secret Service, “USSS History,” United States Secret Service, 2019, <https://www.secretservice.gov/about/history/events/>.

While the enforcement of laws protecting the U.S. economy is certainly an important aspect of economic security, the overall concept is far more expansive than DHS’s current purview. Loss of jobs and homes, as well as a general decrease in livelihood are markers of economic insecurity that can be caused by such severe economic shocks as the Great Recession of 2008. “The Great Recession was the worst economic crisis to strike the United States since the Great Depression,”<sup>177</sup> reads the first line of the 2017 Department of Treasury report on the economic security of American households—yet the document still fails to capture the magnitude of the impact of this downturn on the security of individual Americans. From 2007 to 2010 more than 12.5 million homes were in foreclosure, and unemployment more than doubled from 5 percent to 10.4 percent.<sup>178</sup>

Although the American economy has mostly recovered since 2008, there is still a significant amount of fear and insecurity about the sustainability of the average American lifestyle. According to an annual study by Chapman University, not having enough money for the future is No. 4 on the list of top fears for Americans.<sup>179</sup> From 2014 to 2017, the average rate of Americans living at or below the poverty line was 17.8 percent, making the United States the fourth-worst for poverty among OECD countries.<sup>180</sup>

While combined DHS and Treasury efforts currently address the financial integrity aspect of economic security, there remains a wide coverage gap in security for American living standards. With the future of the Social Security Program tenuous as benefits are

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<sup>177</sup> Theodore Figinski, “The Distribution and Evolution of the Social Safety Net and Social Insurance Benefits: 1990 to 2014,” in *The Economic Security of American Households* (Washington, DC: Department of Treasury, January 2017), <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/economic-policy/Documents/The%20Economic%20Security%20of%20American%20Households-%20the%20Safety%20Net.pdf>.

<sup>178</sup> David B. Grusky, Bruce Western, and Christopher Wimer, eds., *The Great Recession* (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).

<sup>179</sup> Chapman University, “The Chapman University Survey of American Fears, Wave 5,” (Orange, CA: Earl Babbie Research Center, 2018), <https://blogs.chapman.edu/wilkinson/2018/10/16/americas-top-fears-2018/>.

<sup>180</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Poverty Rate,” OECD, 2018, <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/poverty-rate.htm#indicator-chart>.

outpacing income<sup>181</sup> and rising income and wealth inequality,<sup>182</sup> long-term economic security for individual Americans—especially those already living in poverty—appears uncertain with a negative outlook.

## 2. Food

Food security is a category of insecurity that is currently not considered a homeland security concern but is a serious threat to the security of the American people. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) reports that 11.1 percent of U.S. households are food-insecure, meaning that, “at times during the year, these households were uncertain of having, or unable to acquire, enough food to meet the needs of all their members because they had insufficient money or other resources for food.”<sup>183</sup> In 2019, the FDA also reported that nearly three-quarters of the 5 billion school lunches served in the United States are served as part of a free or reduced-price program.<sup>184</sup>

Food security also includes the factors of food availability and affordability. The U.S. agricultural sector—regulated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)—is a prime driver of these variables and can be adversely affected by insecurities in areas such as environmental, economic, and community.<sup>185</sup> In 2011 and 2019, unprecedented amounts of snowmelt and rainfall led to devastating floods in the American Midwest that caused billions of dollars of damage to infrastructure and affected livestock and crop

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<sup>181</sup> Office of the Chief Actuary, *The 2019 Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds* (Washington, DC: Social Security Administration, April 22, 2019), <https://www.ssa.gov/oact/TR/2019/tr2019.pdf>.

<sup>182</sup> Institute for Policy Studies, “Wealth Inequality in the United States,” [Inequality.org](https://inequality.org/facts/wealth-inequality/), 2018, <https://inequality.org/facts/wealth-inequality/>; Christian E. Weller, Sara Estep, and Galen Hendricks, “Budgeting the Future,” Center for American Progress, April 2, 2019, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/economy/reports/2019/04/02/467911/budgeting-the-future/>.

<sup>183</sup> U.S. Food and Drug Administration, “Key Statistics & Graphics,” United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, September 4, 2019, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/food-security-in-the-us/key-statistics-graphics.aspx#foodsecure>.

<sup>184</sup> U.S. Food and Drug Administration, “National School Lunch Program,” United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, August 20, 2019, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/food-nutrition-assistance/child-nutrition-programs/national-school-lunch-program.aspx>.

<sup>185</sup> National Weather Service, *The Missouri/Souris River Floods of May – August 2011* (Kansas City, MO: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, May 2012), 11, [https://www.weather.gov/media/publications/assessments/Missouri\\_floods11.pdf](https://www.weather.gov/media/publications/assessments/Missouri_floods11.pdf).



production for seasons to come.<sup>186</sup> Increased economic insecurity can also adversely affect the agricultural sector, leading to food security risks such as overproduction, inability to export, waste, and major fluctuations in food prices.<sup>187</sup>

Food security is a prime example of an area of opportunity for agencies other than DHS to be seen as homeland security providers. The FDA and USDA, with oversight and regulatory responsibilities for the production and distribution of food in the United States, are the obvious lead agencies for combatting food insecurity.

### 3. Health

Health insecurity in the United States is apparent in both chronic and infectious disease; as well as in the soaring costs of medical care and availability of and access to health insurance,<sup>188</sup> an area which has been the subjects of major policy debates in recent years and continues to be a main focus of political candidates.<sup>189</sup> While health concerns are a major source of anxiety in the United States and also pose a significant threat to American

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<sup>186</sup> Mitch Smith, Jack Healy, and Timothy Williams, “It’s Probably Over for Us’: Record Flooding Pummels Midwest When Farmers Can Least Afford It,” *New York Times*, March 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/18/us/nebraska-floods.html?ref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FLevees%20and%20Dams>; David Pitt, “Midwest Fooding Costs Increasing, With \$1.6B Damage in Iowa,” Associated Press, March 22, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/cc5a796b2eab4784900e853f1ba8d854>; Mario Parker, “Midwest Floods Snarl America’s Already Tough Farm Economy,” *Bloomberg*, March 25, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-03-25/midwest-floods-snarl-america-s-already-tough-farm-economy>.

<sup>187</sup> G. William Hoagland, “Trump China Trade War Is Devastating Farmers and Ag Exports. Will It Ever End?” *USA Today*, August 28, 2019, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2019/08/28/trump-china-trade-war-worries-farmers-drags-down-economy-column/2124225001/>; Mayra Rodriguez Valladares, “Trump’s Trade Wars Are Hurting Midwest Farmers, Banks, And State Coffers,” *Forbes*, August 12, 2019, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/mayrarodriguezvalladares/2019/08/12/trump-trade-wars-are-hurting-midwest-farmers-banks-and-state-coffers/#96b06675140d>.

<sup>188</sup> The United States has the highest spending on healthcare of all the countries in the OECD spending over \$10,000 per capita on health related expenses. Compare to the next highest countries on the list, Switzerland and Norway which spend about \$7,300 and \$6,100, respectively. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Health Spending,” OECD, 2018, <https://data.oecd.org/healthres/health-spending.htm>.

<sup>189</sup> Paul Starr, *Remedy and Reaction: The Peculiar American Struggle Over Health Care Reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Danielle Kurtzleben, “Democratic Debate Exposes Deep Divides Among Candidates Over Health Care,”

NPR, September 13, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/13/760364830/democratic-debate-exposes-deep-divides-among-candidates-over-health-care>.

lives, they are not generally viewed as homeland security threats and are therefore not managed by DHS.

Two health related concerns—loved ones becoming ill and high medical bills—appeared within the top ten fears in the Chapman fears survey.<sup>190</sup> The No. 1 killer of Americans is heart disease, claiming more 600,000 American lives annually.<sup>191</sup> Suicide is an epidemic claiming more than 40,000 lives annually, it is also the second leading cause of death for individuals between ages 10 and 34.<sup>192</sup> The concern about suicide among America’s youth is so great that in California a new law went into effect requiring all seventh through twelfth grade schools to print the phone number for the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline on school ID cards.<sup>193</sup> Similarly, the opioid crisis has recently become a public concern with a reported increase of 30 percent from July 2016 through September 2017 in the number of opioid overdoses in the United States.<sup>194</sup>

The past two decades have also demonstrated the United States’s continued vulnerability to epidemics and pandemics as demonstrated by the H1N1 pandemic of 2009, when an estimated 40 million to 80 million Americans contracted the virus and more than 12,000 died.<sup>195</sup> The Director of National Intelligence identified the United States’s vulnerability to “more frequent outbreaks of infectious diseases because of rapid unplanned urbanization, prolonged humanitarian crises, human incursion into previously unsettled

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<sup>190</sup> Chapman University, “The Chapman University Survey of American Fears, Wave 5.”

<sup>191</sup> U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, “Heart Disease Facts,” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, November 28, 2017, <https://www.cdc.gov/heartdisease/facts.htm>.

<sup>192</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Suicide,” National Institute of Mental Health, April 2019, <https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/statistics/suicide.shtml>.

<sup>193</sup> David Williams, “California Law Puts a Suicide Hotline Number on School ID Cards,” CNN, August 14, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/14/us/california-suicide-hotline-student-id-trnd/index.html>.

<sup>194</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Opioid Overdose Crisis,” National Institute on Drug Abuse, January 2019, <https://www.drugabuse.gov/drugs-abuse/opioids/opioid-overdose-crisis>.

<sup>195</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “The 2009 H1N1 Pandemic: Summary Highlights, April 2009-April 2010,” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, August 3, 2010, <https://www.cdc.gov/h1n1flu/cdcresponse.htm>; U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, “2009 H1N1 Pandemic (H1N1pdm09 Virus),” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, June 11, 2019, <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/pandemic-resources/2009-h1n1-pandemic.html>.

land, expansion of international travel and trade, and regional climate change” as a top threat to United States.<sup>196</sup>

National health concerns paired with the extraordinary costs of healthcare in the United States extend past just being a threat to public health but have the ability to create economic and community insecurity as well. Therefore, health security is another crucial area of opportunity for other government agencies such as the National Institutes for Health, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services to reduce insecurity in the United States, thus contributing to homeland security.

#### **4. Environmental**

Environmental insecurities present themselves in two primary types; on the one hand are slow-moving environmental threats such as climate change and environmental pollution, and on the other are fast-moving threats such as natural disasters.<sup>197</sup> Generally, DHS concerns itself only with the latter type making disaster preparedness and response one of its core missions,<sup>198</sup> leaving the American homeland threatened by the slow-moving environmental insecurities.

Climate change has been called the most serious threat not just to Americans, but to all of mankind.<sup>199</sup> Recent polling data from the Pew Research Center shows that a fair number of Americans, and much of the rest of the world, are inclined to agree.<sup>200</sup> In

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<sup>196</sup> Daniel R. Coats, Statement for the Record, Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community, 21.

<sup>197</sup> Bellavita, “Waiting for Homeland Security Theory.”

<sup>198</sup> “Mission,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security, last modified July 3, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/mission>.

<sup>199</sup> Somini Sengupta, “Biggest Threat to Humanity? Climate Change, U.N. Chief Says,” *New York Times*, March 29, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/29/climate/united-nations-climate-change.html>; Michael H. Fuchs, “The Ticking Bomb of Climate Change Is America’s Biggest Threat,” *The Guardian*, November 29, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/nov/29/ticking-bomb-climate-change-america-threat>.

<sup>200</sup> Jacob Poushter and Christine Huang, “Climate Change Still Seen as the Top Global Threat, but Cyberattacks a Rising Concern,” Pew Research Center, February 10, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/02/10/climate-change-still-seen-as-the-top-global-threat-but-cyberattacks-a-rising-concern/>.

September of 2019, an estimated millions of people around the world participated in what was likely the largest climate protest ever staged.<sup>201</sup> According to Jeffery Mazo, climate change is expected to bring grave consequences including “rising sea levels and population displacement, increasing severity of typhoons and hurricanes, droughts, floods, disruption of water resources, extinctions and other ecological disruptions, wildfires, severe disease outbreaks, and declining crop yields and food stocks.”<sup>202</sup>

The United States has already begun to feel the effects of climate change through an increased number and severity of major weather events in recent years.<sup>203</sup> However, climate change is not the only environmental concern on the minds of Americans, with such topics as water pollution, air pollution, and plant and animal species extinction also appearing in the top ten fears of the Chapman fears survey.<sup>204</sup> The still unresolved public water crisis in Flint, MI, that began in 2014, as well as the current public water issue unfolding in Newark, NJ, are yet other examples of environmental issues that affect the everyday lives of Americans.<sup>205</sup> The security implications of environmental issues are wide-ranging and as Terry O’Sullivan points out, “[climate change] has already contributed to political, economic and social instability...environmental security is inarguably part of

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<sup>201</sup> Sarah Kaplan, Lauren Lumpkin, and Brady Dennis, “‘We Will Make Them Hear Us’: Millions of Youths Around the World Strike for Action,” *The Washington Post*, September 20, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/climate-environment/2019/09/20/millions-youth-around-world-are-striking-friday-climate-action/>.

<sup>202</sup> Jeffrey Mazo, *Climate Conflict: How Global Warming Threatens Security and What to Do About It*, Adelphi 409 (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2010), 12.

<sup>203</sup> Ron Brackett, “California Had Its Worst Wildfire Season Ever in 2018, Federal Report Confirms,” News, The Weather Channel, March 11, 2019, <https://weather.com/news/news/2019-03-11-california-wildfires-worst-year-ever-2018>; Jason Samenow, “The United States Just Had Its Wettest 12 Months on Record It’s Nearly Drought-Free, but Flooding Is Rampant,” *The Washington Post*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/weather/2019/05/08/united-states-is-virtually-drought-free-first-time-decades-while-excessive-rains-are-rampant/>; U.S. Department of Commerce, “2018 Was 4th Hottest Year on Record for the Globe - The U.S. Experienced 14 Billion-Dollar Weather and Climate Disasters,” National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, February 6, 2019, <https://www.noaa.gov/news/2018-was-4th-hottest-year-on-record-for-globe>.

<sup>204</sup> Chapman University, “The Chapman University Survey of American Fears, Wave 5.”

<sup>205</sup> Mitch Smith, Julie Bosman, and Monica Davey, “Flint’s Water Crisis Started 5 Years Ago It’s Not Over,” *New York Times*, April 25, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/25/us/flint-water-crisis.html>; Acacia Coronado, “Newark Distributes Bottled Water After Lead Contamination Found,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 12, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/newark-distributes-bottled-water-after-lead-contamination-found-11565650213>.

the multi-disciplinary theoretical analysis of what is now referred to as homeland security.”<sup>206</sup>

Environmental insecurity is also the area where the traditional homeland security mission of civil preparedness is most logically placed. Although DHS does not identify particular threats as necessitating preparedness, natural disasters—one of the most common causes of insecurity for the American people<sup>207</sup>—serve as a primary reason why preparedness is an important aspect of homeland security. DHS states, “The United States will never be completely impervious to present and emerging threats and hazards across the homeland security mission space.”<sup>208</sup> The threat of the unknown, often manifest in the form of natural disaster, must be accounted for. Thus, the American people’s ability to prepare, respond, and recover in order to mitigate this insecurity is paramount.

While preparation, response, and recovery from fast moving environmental threats is area of responsibility covered by DHS through FEMA, slow-moving threats such as climate change and environmental pollution are largely left out of the homeland security discourse, although they likely pose a greater threat to the security of Americans. For these slow-moving environmental threats, agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency, National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, U.S. Geological Survey, and USDA would be the lead agencies for homeland security tasks related to reducing environmental insecurity.

## **5. Personal**

Violence is an issue directly tied to homeland security as demonstrated by Bandy Lee who wrote in a comprehensive study on violence that, “the complex ways in which violence pervades and affects human health and wellbeing are innumerable; this means that

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<sup>206</sup> Terrence M. O’Sullivan, “Environmental Security Is Homeland Security: Climate Disruption as the Ultimate Disaster Risk Multiplier,” *Risk, Hazards & Crisis in Public Policy* 6, no. 2 (June 2015): 208, <https://doi.org/10.1002/rhc3.12084>.

<sup>207</sup> Tom Lansford et al., *Fostering Community Resilience*.

<sup>208</sup> “Strengthen Preparedness and Resilience,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security, last modified September 19, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/strengthen-preparedness-and-resilience>.

when we lower its rates, the ways in which an individual, a family, or a community can flourish are also numerous.”<sup>209</sup> However, the current homeland security discourse does not tend to extend to cover violence against individuals.

On August 6, 2019, a motorcycle backfire sent crowds in New York City’s Times Square running for cover.<sup>210</sup> Mass public violence in the United States has come to a point where a loud bang in a public space is automatically assumed to be a gunman rather than a car backfiring. According to the FBI, between the year 2000 and 2017, there were 250 active shooter incidents in the United States that claimed the lives of more than 2,200 Americans.<sup>211</sup> While overall gun violence in the United States has been declining since 1995,<sup>212</sup> the frequency and lethality of mass public shootings has been increasing drastically over the past five decades from an average of one event per year with 5 victims in the 1970s to an average of four and a half events per year with more than seven victims in the early 2010s.<sup>213</sup> Especially egregious is the fact that since the tragic Columbine High School shooting in 1999, there have been shootings at more than 230 primary and secondary schools claiming the lives of 144 Americans.<sup>214</sup> Parents of school children are so concerned about school shootings that the Summer of 2019 saw a drastic increase in the

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<sup>209</sup> Bandy X. Lee, “Causes and Cures IX: Consequences of Violence,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 30 (September 2016): 110, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2016.06.013>.

<sup>210</sup> Michael Wilson, “There Was No Gunfire in Times Square But the Panic Was Still Real,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/07/nyregion/shootings-panic-anxiety.html?smtyp=cur&smid=tw-nytimes>.

<sup>211</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “Quick Look: 250 Active Shooter Incidents in the United States From 2000 to 2017,” Federal Bureau of Investigation, December 17, 2018, <https://www.fbi.gov/about/partnerships/office-of-partner-engagement/active-shooter-incidents-graphics>.

<sup>212</sup> Michael Planty and Jennifer L. Truman, “Firearm Violence, 1993-2011,” *Special Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, May 2013), <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fv9311.pdf>.

<sup>213</sup> William J. Krouse and Daniel J. Richardson, “Mass Murder with Firearms: Incidents and Victims, 1999-2013,” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, July 30, 2015), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=787620>. This report does not include three of the top four most lethal mass public shootings in American history: Pulse Nightclub shooting, Orlando, FL, June 2016, 50 killed and 53 injured; Route 91 Harvest Festival shooting, Las Vegas, NV, October 2017, 59 killed and 851 injured; First Baptist Church shooting, Sutherland Springs, TX, November 2017, 27 killed and 20 injured.

<sup>214</sup> John Woodrow Cox et al., “More Than 228,000 Students Have Experienced Gun Violence at School Since Columbine,” *The Washington Post*, May 8, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/local/school-shootings-database/>; David Riedman and Desmond O’Neil, “K-12 School Shooting Database,” Center for Homeland Defense and Security, 2019, <https://www.chds.us/ssdb/>.

market for bulletproof backpacks and ballistic backpack inserts as well as active-shooter safety courses designed for school-aged children.<sup>215</sup>

Mass public shootings are only part of the problem of violence in the United States. Individual violence, especially that associated with urban areas, gang activity, and illicit drug activity, account for the majority of homicides in the United States.<sup>216</sup> In certain U.S. cities, some believe that the level of violence has risen to a degree on par with active war zones.<sup>217</sup> Reflecting this sentiment, some African-American youths in Chicago have begun calling their city “Chiraq.”<sup>218</sup> According to FBI crime data, in 2017 there were 17,284 murders committed in the United States with only ten metropolitan areas accounting for 30-percent of that total.<sup>219</sup> These rates give the United States the sixth-highest per capita murder rate in the OECD.<sup>220</sup>

Despite its obvious ties to the concept of homeland security, everyday violence in the United States is rarely discussed as a homeland security concern and goes largely unaddressed by the existing homeland security enterprise. In a 2017 article, John Comiskey identified a close tie between homeland security and hometown security.<sup>221</sup> For many of the United States’s most populated municipalities, violence is a leading cause of personal insecurity and should be viewed as a primary homeland security threat.

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<sup>215</sup> David Yaffe-Bellany, “Bulletproof Backpacks in Demand for Back-to-School Shopping,” *New York Times*, August 6, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/06/business/bulletproof-backpack.html>; Sarah Fili, “Gun Range Offers Bulletproof Backpack Inserts, Active Shooter Training,” KETV 7 Omaha, August 8, 2019, <https://www.ketv.com/article/gun-range-offers-bulletproof-backpack-inserts-active-shooter-training/28651395>.

<sup>216</sup> Alexia Cooper and Erica L. Smith, “Homicide Trends in the United States, 1980-2008,” *Patterns & Trends* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, November 2011), <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/htus8008.pdf>.

<sup>217</sup> Ian Pannell, “Iraq v Chiraq: How Chicago Violence Feels Like a War,” BBC News, September 13, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-37323969>.

<sup>218</sup> Fredrick McKissack, “There’s a Reason Black Youth Call Chicago ‘Chiraq’ and It’s Not Just Criminals Doing the Shooting,” HuffPost News, January 29, 2017, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/theres-a-reason-black-youth-call-chicago-chiraq\\_b\\_9110960](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/theres-a-reason-black-youth-call-chicago-chiraq_b_9110960).

<sup>219</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “2017 Crime in the United States,” Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reporting, September 7, 2018, <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2017/crime-in-the-u.s.-2017/topic-pages/murder>.

<sup>220</sup> Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, “Safety,” OECD Better Life Index, n.d., <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/safety/>.

<sup>221</sup> Comiskey, “Homeland-Hometown Security.”

## 6. Community

Community security is the most nebulous category of insecurities within the human security framework. This insecurity finds itself at the nexus of community relations, crime, and terrorism, specifically taking the form of inter-ethnic and race relations, terrorism, and cyber-crime in the context of the United States. While the human security framework does not specifically address cyber matters, I choose to place it into this category because of its complex nature as a phenomenon that ranges between, and often interconnects, crime and terrorism. All of the topics in the category of community security, in one way or another, decrease the overall security of individual communities whether by dividing them or reducing their ability to function or thrive.

*Community Relations.* Growing social divides in such areas as race and gender relations that been highlighted by the rise of popular social movements such as #blacklivesmatter and #metoo have increased community insecurity within the United States. On the issue of race in particular, not only are more Americans worrying about race relations today,<sup>222</sup> but more Americans also view race relations to be deteriorating.<sup>223</sup> Mass protests sparked by race issues in the United States remain in the public's collective memory. Ferguson and Charlottesville continue to be talking points in political campaigns and the news media, while critics of the current president continue to accuse him of stoking racial tension with his remarks and social media posts.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Art Swift, "Americans' Worries About Race Relations at Record High," Gallup, March 15, 2017, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/206057/americans-worry-race-relations-record-high.aspx>.

<sup>223</sup> Gallup News Service, "Race Relations," Gallup, June 5, 2019, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1687/race-relations.aspx?version=print>. In 2018, 47% of respondents viewed race relations between whites and blacks as bad, compared to 35% in 2001. For race relations between Hispanics and whites, the numbers were 36% in 2018 compared to 30% in 2001.

<sup>224</sup> Michael Collins and Christal Hayes, "Here Are the Times Donald Trump's Critics Say He Stoked Racial Tensions," *USA Today*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/08/05/trump-and-race-presidents-critics-say-he-has-stoked-racial-tensions/1921410001/>.



Alexis de Tocqueville noted the importance of trust within a democratic community<sup>225</sup> and Robert Putnam said, “Virtuous citizens are helpful, respectful, and trustful toward one another, even when they differ on matters of substance.”<sup>226</sup> Tattered threads of trust within U.S. civil society are a risk to American communities themselves but can also manifest in such other forms of insecurity as economic inequality or race-based violence for example.

*Borders and Immigration.* Another topic that can be perceived along ethnic or racial lines is the ongoing border crisis and immigration debate. According to the federal government, the main threat to or at the borders and approaches to the United States is from illegal aliens. The DHS website states “illegal aliens who enter the United States and those who overstay their visas disregard our national sovereignty, threaten our national security, compromise our public safety, exploit our social welfare programs, and ignore lawful immigration processes.”<sup>227</sup> Another related concern, is that terrorists will exploit illegal immigration routes and use immigration smugglers to enter the United States.<sup>228</sup> Recently, immigration issues in the United States have been an extremely contentious topic. Mainstream media opinion columnists often accuse the president and members of his administration, as well as other conservative politicians, of taking racist and xenophobic

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<sup>225</sup> Alexis Tocqueville, “Democracy in America,” in *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*, ed. Patrick H. O’Neil and Ronald Rogowski, 5th edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1945), 379–86.

<sup>226</sup> Robert D. Putnam, “From Making Democracy Work the Civic Community: Some Theoretical Speculations,” in *The Civil Society Reader*, ed. Virginia Ann Hodgkinson and Michael W. Foley, Civil Society (Hanover, NH: Tufts, University Press of New England, 2003), 321.

<sup>227</sup> “Secure U.S. Borders and Approaches,” Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security, last modified July 5, 2019, <https://www.dhs.gov/secure-us-borders-and-approaches>.

<sup>228</sup> Todd Bensman, “The Ultra-Marathoners of Human Smuggling: Defending Forward Against Dark Networks That Can Transport Terrorists Across American Land Borders” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), [https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/47231/15Sep\\_Bensman\\_Todd\\_Needs\\_Supplemental.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/47231/15Sep_Bensman_Todd_Needs_Supplemental.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).

approaches to handling the immigration issues currently facing the nation,<sup>229</sup> citing such policies as the travel ban,<sup>230</sup> child separation practices at the Southern border,<sup>231</sup> and changes to green card rules proposed in August 2019.<sup>232</sup> Whether or not the actual issues of immigration—legal or illegal—are a true threat to the American people, the issue of immigration is one that has caused a significant amount of anxiety and concern among the American people thus contributing to community insecurity.

*Terrorism.* Terrorism is still identified as the primary mission of DHS and constitutes a significant amount of the department’s annual budget allocation<sup>233</sup> despite the fact that the number of Americans killed by terrorism each year remains nearly six times lower than the number of Americans who drown in their own bathtub annually.<sup>234</sup> While the threat of terrorism remains real—although more pronounced in some parts of the world than others—it seems that the disproportionate amount of fear caused by the looming threat of terrorism is what mainly concerns Americans. Accordingly, national homeland security strategy continues to place a significant amount of importance on the threat it poses, often at the cost of other threats within the realm of community security.

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<sup>229</sup> Karine Jean-Pierre, “The Problem Isn’t Just That Trump’s a Racist. It’s That He Keeps Acting on His Racism,” NBC News, January 12, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/problem-isn-t-just-trump-s-racist-it-s-he-nca837101>; Catherine Rampell, “Trump’s Immigration Policies Speak Louder than His Racist, Xenophobic Words,” *The Washington Post*, July 18, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-immigration-policies-speak-louder-than-his-racist-xenophobic-words/2019/07/18/e8309a76-a996-11e9-86dd-d7f0e60391e9\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-immigration-policies-speak-louder-than-his-racist-xenophobic-words/2019/07/18/e8309a76-a996-11e9-86dd-d7f0e60391e9_story.html); Julissa Arce, “Trump’s Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric Was Never About Legality — It Was About Our Brown Skin,” *Time*, July 18, 2019, <https://time.com/5645501/trump-anti-immigration-rhetoric-racism/>; Jamelle Bouie, “The Problem Isn’t Just That Trump’s a Racist. It’s That He Keeps Acting on His Racism.,” *New York Times*, July 15, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/15/opinion/trump-aoc-omar-pelosi.html>.

<sup>230</sup> Rick Gladstone and Satoshi Sugiyama, “Trump’s Travel Ban: How It Works and Who Is Affected,” *New York Times*, July 1, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/americas/travel-ban-trump-how-it-works.html>.

<sup>231</sup> American Civil Liberties Union, “Family Separation By the Numbers,” American Civil Liberties Union, October 10, 2018, <https://www.aclu.org/issues/immigrants-rights/immigrants-rights-and-detention/family-separation>.

<sup>232</sup> Priscilla Alvarez, Geneva Sands, and Tami Luhby, “Trump Admin Announces Rule That Could Limit Legal Immigration Over Use of Public Benefits,” CNN.com, August 13, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/12/politics/legal-immigration-public-charge/index.html>.

<sup>233</sup> Department of Homeland Security, *FY 2020 Budget in Brief*.

<sup>234</sup> John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart, “Terrorism and Bathtubs: Comparing and Assessing the Risks,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, October 29, 2018, 1–26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1530662>.

*Cyber*. In March of 2016, the United States indicted seven internet hackers—determined by the Justice Department to be associates of the Iranian government—for attempting to disrupt both U.S. banks and national critical infrastructure.<sup>235</sup> Luckily, the small upstate New York dam that the hackers attempted to control was offline for maintenance during the attack. Still, there is a real and growing concern that the nation’s critical infrastructure is at risk to other nefarious cyber actors.<sup>236</sup> The world has become extremely dependent on cyberspace in every facet of daily life making the threat posed by cyber-criminals and terrorist not only real, but extremely alarming with former Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen stating that “cyber-attacks now exceed the risk of physical attacks.”<sup>237</sup> Cyber-attacks, especially those on critical infrastructure, have the ability to disrupt every area of security. Economic security is at risk because of the degree of reliance that the nation’s financial institutions such as banks, insurance companies, and stock market have on secure digital communications for their everyday operations. Vulnerability to cyber-attacks put the nation’s power grids, fuel systems, transportation sector, and water systems at risk with potentially catastrophic effects on community, economic, and health security if successfully attacked.<sup>238</sup>

DHS has a primary mission directly related to three of the four topics listed in this category of insecurity.<sup>239</sup> However, when examined together as a single component of human security, it would appear that the homeland security efforts in these areas have fallen

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<sup>235</sup> Ellen Nakashima and Matt Zapposky, “U.S. Charges Iran-Linked Hackers with Targeting Banks, N.Y. Dam,” *The Washington Post*, March 24, 2016, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-to-unseal-indictment-against-hackers-linked-to-iranian-government/2016/03/24/9b3797d2-f17b-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-to-unseal-indictment-against-hackers-linked-to-iranian-government/2016/03/24/9b3797d2-f17b-11e5-a61f-e9c95c06edca_story.html).

<sup>236</sup> Holly Williams, “Russian Hacks Into Ukraine Power Grids a Sign of Things to Come for U.S.?” CBS News, December 21, 2016, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/russian-hacks-into-ukraine-power-grids-may-be-a-sign-of-things-to-come/>; Daniel R. Coats, Statement for the Record, Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community.

<sup>237</sup> Kirstjen Nielsen, “Written Testimony of DHS Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen for a Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Hearing Titled ‘Threats to the Homeland’” (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, October 2018), <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2018/10/10/written-testimony-dhs-secretary-kirstjen-nielsen-senate-committee-homeland-security>.

<sup>238</sup> Brown and McCarthy, *Critical Path: A Brief History of Critical Infrastructure Protection in the United States*.

<sup>239</sup> Department of Homeland Security, “Mission.”

short of producing the community security necessary for the American people to unite and thrive.

## 7. Political

Political security, as defined by the 1994 UNHDR, is the idea that “people should be able to live in a society that honours their basic human rights.”<sup>240</sup> For the United States, the chief enabler for political security is the constitution which establishes a liberal government in the form of a democratic republic. The continued support of this form of government as well as the American peoples’ trust in its institutions are the requisite elements of achieving political security in the United States.

In 2017, however, a Gallup poll of the American people found that dissatisfaction with the government was the No. 1 problem facing the United States.<sup>241</sup> Likewise, the Chapman fear survey found that “corrupt government officials” was the number one fear among Americans.<sup>242</sup> A recent article from Pew Research stated that “large majorities of Americans say the tone and nature of political debate in the United States has become more negative in recent years. More than eight in ten U.S. adults (85 percent) say that political debate in the country has become more negative and less respectful... About three-quarters (76 percent) say it has become less fact-based and 60 percent say it has become less focused on issues.”<sup>243</sup> Trust in the U.S. government continues a downward trend<sup>244</sup> bolstered by such incidents as the Muller investigation into the president’s involvement in Russian interference in the 2016 elections, the longest government shutdown in U.S. history,

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<sup>240</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, 32.

<sup>241</sup> Frank Newport, “Americans View Government as Nation’s Top Problem in 2017,” Gallup, December 18, 2017, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/224219/americans-view-government-nation-top-problem-2017.aspx>.

<sup>242</sup> Chapman University, “The Chapman University Survey of American Fears, Wave 5.”

<sup>243</sup> Bruce Drake and Jocelyn Kiley, “Americans Say the Nation’s Political Debate Has Grown More Toxic and ‘Heated’ Rhetoric Could Lead to Violence,” Pew Research Center, July 18, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/18/americans-say-the-nations-political-debate-has-grown-more-toxic-and-heated-rhetoric-could-lead-to-violence/>.

<sup>244</sup> Gallup News Service, “Confidence in Institutions,” Gallup, July 15, 2019, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1597/confidence-institutions.aspx>.

perceived mishandling of the crisis on the Southern border that has led to human rights abuses, and seventeen years-worth of frustration over foreign wars.

However, the worsening trend of distrust in government may potentially be related to an even more alarming threat. According to a study performed by RAND, the importance of living in a democratic country decreased according to the generational association of respondents.<sup>245</sup> The report indicated that while 89 percent of Baby Boomers responded that it was “very important” to live in a country governed by democracy, that number decreased to 80 percent of Gen-X’ers, and only 66 percent of Millennials. These alarming trends in support for democracy paired with the sudden resurgence of populism and recent popularity of self-proclaimed socialist candidates in American politics raise questions about values traditionally regarded as sacrosanct in United States.

Although not exhaustive, these issues represent some of the real day-to-day threats to both the long and short-term security of the American people. Out of more than a dozen sources of homeland insecurity, identified in this short overview using the seven categories from the human security framework, the current approach to homeland security—as practiced by DHS—only directly addresses five. If the United State’s approach to homeland security remains unable to address the remainder of these insecurities, the American people will never exist in a state of true security.

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<sup>245</sup> Marek Posard et al., *Millennial Perceptions of Security: Results from a National Survey of Americans*, RR-2571-RC (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 2018).

#### **IV. HUMAN SECURITY AS HOMELAND SECURITY: THEORETICAL APPLICATION USING A CASE STUDY OF THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS ON THE SOUTHERN BORDER**

The current humanitarian crisis that has been steadily building on the U.S. southern border since 2014 is the result of two converging forces. First, the unstable conditions in the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) that are forcing thousands of people to seek refuge in the United States from widespread violence, poverty, and economic inequality in their home countries.<sup>246</sup> Second, U.S. homeland security policies, particularly those prescribed by the current administration, have brought unintentional consequences of fear, conflict, and insecurity not just in the border zone, but throughout the United States. This chapter examines this mismatch between problems and policies, then explores the same issues from a human-security approach.

My examination will focus on policies within three highly visible topics that have created a considerable amount of recent controversy and clearly demonstrate the negative consequences of the current approach: the border wall, detentions, and deterrence and border flow management. For each topic, I will first demonstrate how the current approach results in policies and public perceptions that over-simplify these problems and emphasize the treatment of symptoms. Then, I will aim to identify people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, prevention-oriented, and protective and empowering solutions that address the interconnectedness of food, health, environmental, economic, personal, community, and political insecurities. Specifically, I will use the analysis, mapping, and planning phase of the implementation scheme laid out in the UNTFHS Human Security

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<sup>246</sup> As of 2017, the annual per capita homicide rate in Honduras was 41.7, while in El Salvador it was 61.8.; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Global Study on Homicide,” United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2019, [https://dataunodc.un.org/GSH\\_app.](https://dataunodc.un.org/GSH_app.); Clare Ribando Seelke, “Gangs in Central America,” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, August 29, 2016), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34112.pdf>; Peter J. Meyer and Maureen Taft-Morales, “Central American Migration: Root Causes and U.S. Policy,” In Focus (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, June 13, 2019), 1, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11151.pdf>.; More than half the population for both Guatemala and Honduras live below their national poverty lines. Global Poverty Working Group, “Poverty Headcount Ratio at National Poverty Lines (% of Population),” The World Bank, 2019, [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC?end=2015&name\\_desc=false&start=1992&view=chart](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC?end=2015&name_desc=false&start=1992&view=chart).

Handbook which includes the steps of identifying needs, examining insecurities and threats, determining root causes, as well as their interlinkages, and establishing short, medium, and long-term strategies.<sup>247</sup>

#### **A. A BIG, BEAUTIFUL WALL AS A BORDER BAND-AID**

During the 2016 presidential campaign, one of then-candidate Trump’s key, and most controversial, campaign promises was to ensure that a physical barrier existed along all 1,954 miles of the U.S.–Mexico land border,<sup>248</sup> promising that he would build a “big, beautiful wall”—for which Mexico would pay.<sup>249</sup> Physical barriers along the southern U.S. border have long been an important aspect of the border regimen with fences erected primarily for the purpose of border demarcation; however, as recently as the 1990s, physical barriers began to take on the role of deterrence and security.<sup>250</sup> Members of the Trump Administration argue that physical barriers work to deter the inflow of drugs, crime, and illegal migrants, often citing Israel’s barrier as proof of effectiveness.<sup>251</sup>

It is indisputable that it is in the interest of a state’s sovereignty to control its border and citizenship. In the 2017 State of the Union address, President Trump listed a physical barrier along the southern border of the United States as one pillar of his administration’s plan to accomplish this.<sup>252</sup> In a later meeting with Congressional Democrats, the president asserted that a wall would be “99.9 percent effective” at reducing illegal border traffic.

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<sup>247</sup> UN Trust Fund for Human Security, “Human Security Handbook.”

<sup>248</sup> Michael C. Bender, “How the Border Wall, Trump’s Signature Campaign Promise, Turned into a National Emergency,” *The Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-promised-to-build-that-wall-then-ran-out-of-time-and-options-11550262854>.

<sup>249</sup> Mariam Khan, Geneva Sands, and Trish Turner, “Trump Administration Wants \$18B to Build ‘Big, Beautiful Wall,’” ABC News, January 5, 2018, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-administration-18b-build-big-beautiful-wall/story?id=52172319>.

<sup>250</sup> William L. Painter and Audrey Singer, “DHS Border Barrier Funding,” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, September 6, 2019), <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45888>.

<sup>251</sup> Isabel Kershner, “Trump Cites Israel’s ‘Wall’ as Model. The Analogy Is Iffy,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/27/world/middleeast/trump-mexico-wall-israel-west-bank.html>.

<sup>252</sup> Donald J. Trump, “President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address” (Speech, January 30, 2018), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address/>.

*Needs, vulnerabilities, and threats.* A physical barrier along the entire southern U.S. border directly implicates the economic, environmental, community, and political security of the United States. According to a recent letter from the Office of Management and Budget to Congress, the cost per mile of the southern border wall is estimated to be approximately \$24.4 million—a figure that does not account for cost overruns that often plague government acquisition projects.<sup>253</sup> Thus, it could cost, at a minimum, approximately \$33 billion to finish walling the remaining, unbarricaded portions of the southern border, not accounting for legal battles that will undoubtedly be fought with private-property owners and environmental groups.<sup>254</sup> This large price tag comes amid ongoing debate about the effectiveness of such a barrier.<sup>255</sup>

The controversy surrounding the issue of the wall extends beyond just the questions of effectiveness and funding the huge building project.<sup>256</sup> Environmental groups and native populations have raised concerns about the impact of a physical barrier along certain stretches of the border on delicate ecological systems as well as native lands that exist on the border.<sup>257</sup> The border wall debate has stoked community tensions in the United States

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<sup>253</sup> Alex Nowrasteh, “The Cost of the Border Wall Keeps Climbing and It’s Becoming Less of a Wall,” CATO Institute, January 8, 2019, <https://www.cato.org/blog/cost-border-wall-keeps-climbing-its-becoming-less-wall>.

<sup>254</sup> PolitiFact reports that at the time that President Trump took office, only 653 miles of the Southwestern border had an existing physical barrier. The U.S. border with Mexico is nearly 2,000 miles long. This leaves approximately 1,350 miles of un-walled border. Miriam Valverde, “Donald Trump’s Border Wall: How Much Has Been Built?,” *PolitiFact*, August 30, 2019, <https://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2019/aug/30/donald-trumps-border-wall-how-much-has-really-been/>.

<sup>255</sup> Christopher B. Fontana, “The United States’ Border Wall: A Maritime Perspective” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/62777>.

<sup>256</sup> One often repeated promise from then-candidate Trump was that funding for the wall would come largely from Mexico. However, in 2019, among legislated appropriations, the president secured military construction funding following the February emergency declaration. Veronica Stracqualursi and Ryan Browne, “Mexico Still Isn’t Paying for the Wall. But Here’s Where the Money Is Coming From,” CNN, September 6, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/09/06/politics/military-projects-border-wall/index.html>; Painter and Singer, “DHS Border Barrier Funding.”

<sup>257</sup> Robert Peters et al., “Nature Divided, Scientists United: US–Mexico Border Wall Threatens Biodiversity and Binational Conservation,” *Bioscience* 68, no. 10 (October 1, 2018): 740–43; Marshal Garbus, “Environmental Impact of Border Security Infrastructure: How Department of Homeland Security’s Waiver of Environmental Regulations Threatens Environmental Interests Along the U.S.-Mexico Border,” *Tulane Environmental Law Journal* 31, no. 2 (June 22, 2018): 327–44; Christopher Livesay and Melanie Saltzman, “At U.S.-Mexico Border, A Tribal Nation Fights Wall That Would Divide Them,” PBS, January 13, 2019, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/at-us-mexico-border-a-tribal-nation-fights-wall-that-would-divide-them>.



with notable opposition groups claiming that the President’s rhetoric in support of the border wall is aggravating racial tensions by mainstreaming hate and spreading xenophobia.<sup>258</sup>

If the problem of illegal immigration were due singularly to people walking across un-fenced portions of the southern border, perhaps the president would be correct in his assertion of a wall’s effectiveness. However, as a recent study conducted by the Center for Migration Studies of New York showed, “For the past 10 years, the primary mode of entry to the undocumented population has been to overstay temporary visas.”<sup>259</sup> Visa overstays in the U.S. can pose both real and perceived threats to security. As an example of a real threat, two of the 9/11 hijackers were visa overstayers.<sup>260</sup> On the other hand, it is plausible that overstays could raise insecurity within the U.S. government through perception that state sovereignty is at risk because the state is unable to control its borders.<sup>261</sup> In response to these insecurities, policymakers may choose to pursue border security policies that appear to address the issue of illegal immigration—like constructing a physical barrier on the border—but in reality, those measures only apply a “band-aid” to the problem as one journalist put it.<sup>262</sup>

So far, it would appear that the net amount of security provided by the border wall is negative and has cost U.S. citizens in multiple varieties of security. Table 1 shows a list

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<sup>258</sup> Center on Extremism, “Mainstreaming Hate: The Anti-Immigrant Movement in the U.S.,” (New York, NY: Anti-Defamation League, November 2018), <https://www.adl.org/media/12249/download>; American Civil Liberties Union, “Appeals Court Blocks Trump’s Border Wall in National Emergency Challenge,” American Civil Liberties Union, July 3, 2019, <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/appeals-court-blocks-trumps-border-wall-national-emergency-challenge>.

<sup>259</sup> Robert Warren, “US Undocumented Population Continued to Fall from 2016 to 2017, and Visa Overstays Significantly Exceeded Illegal Crossings for the Seventh Consecutive Year,” (New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies, January 16, 2019), <https://cmsny.org/publications/essay-2017-undocumented-and-overstays/>.

<sup>260</sup> National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, Official government edition. (Washington, DC: Government Publishing Office, 2004), <https://www.9-11commission.gov/report/>.

<sup>261</sup> Peter Margulies, “Bans, Borders, and Sovereignty: Judicial Review of Immigration Law in the Trump Administration,” *Michigan State Law Review* 2018, no. 1 (March 22, 2018): 1,80.

<sup>262</sup> Erin Dunne, “How to Stop Illegal Immigration: Border Security Is Only a Band-Aid,” *Washington Examiner*, October 19, 2018, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/how-to-stop-illegal-immigration-border-security-is-only-a-band-aid>.

summarizing some of the explicit and implicit insecurities from the border wall issue under the current approach revealed by this analysis.

Table 1. Needs, vulnerabilities, and threats associated with the border wall

SECURITY CATEGORY	NEED/VULNERABILITY/THREAT
Economic	Cost of building and maintaining a physical border barrier; Cost of researching, developing, and implementing new enforcement mechanisms for adapting adversarial strategies
Health	Controlling spread of infectious disease across border
Environmental	Protection of desert ecosystems
Personal	Border crossing (human trafficking, desert survival); Violence against minority populations living in United States
Community	Native peoples/lands on border; Border communities (race relations, violence)
Political	State sovereignty (border control, customs, citizenship and immigration)

*Root causes.* After assessing the needs, vulnerabilities, and threats, I deduced three root causes of insecurities relating to the border. The first is illegal immigration. The second is questions about the efficacy of a physical barrier in light of other border security measures that, if correctly implemented, make more sense in specific contexts and are significantly more cost effective. The third root cause, distilled from the initial analysis of vulnerabilities, are predominant narratives of immigrants as criminals, border communities as danger zones, and a general atmosphere of xenophobia in some portions of the general U.S. population.

*Strategies.* In the short term, a human security approach would recommend that an expensive physical border wall not be constructed along the entire U.S.–Mexico border.

Rather, in consideration of economic, environmental, and community security, other forms of border security may be more appropriate in certain contexts.<sup>263</sup> One alternative would be the installation of reliable virtual fence in areas where significant risk to ecosystems or community security of native peoples exist.<sup>264</sup> Although past attempts at developing technological solutions to border security have not been overwhelmingly successful,<sup>265</sup> recent such technological advancements as artificial intelligence in surveillance may increase the prospects for successful implementation.<sup>266</sup>

For a medium-range strategy, a likely target is DHS systems and practices that fail to address the largest source of undocumented immigrants in the United States, visa overstays. One recommended solution to this complex problem is to implement a biometric entry/exit system augmented by other modern technologies such as RFID scanning to assist DHS officials in identifying and tracking individuals whose temporary visas have expired.<sup>267</sup> The development of such a system was recommended by the 9/11 Commission and subsequently required by U.S. law.<sup>268</sup> However, development of the system has long been deferred.

Lastly, a long-term strategy that would greatly increase security in the areas of personal and community security for border communities and migrant communities would be to address the fact that “There is a prevailing narrative about the U.S. border and it is false and it is dangerous... these untruths also make it difficult for anyone to seek out

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<sup>263</sup> Justin A. Bristow, “An Arizona Border Wall Case Study” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2017), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/56871>.

<sup>264</sup> Haig Cholakian, “Computers Over Concrete: How Technology Will Revamp Immigration and Security Systems,” *Harvard International Review* 39, no. 4 (September 22, 2018): 26–29.

<sup>265</sup> Philip Bump, “The Last Time the United States Tried to Build a Virtual Border Wall, It Wasn’t Exactly a Big Success,” *The Washington Post*, August 30, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/08/30/the-last-time-the-united-states-tried-to-build-a-virtual-border-wall-it-wasnt-exactly-a-big-success/>.

<sup>266</sup> Angela Chen, “How Far Has Technology Come Since the Last ‘Smart Border’ Failed?,” *The Verge*, February 22, 2019, <https://www.theverge.com/2019/2/22/18236515/smart-border-virtual-fence-surveillance-trump-borders-politics-policy>.

<sup>267</sup> Michael L. Spina, “Out Through the Out Door: Policy Options in the Fight Against Visa Overstays” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2018), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/61276>.

<sup>268</sup> National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report; Biometric Entry and Exit Data System*, Pub. L. No. 108–458, 1365b 8 USC (2017), [https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=\(title:8%20section:1365b%20edition:prelim\)#codification-note](https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=(title:8%20section:1365b%20edition:prelim)#codification-note).

rational policies for the border.”<sup>269</sup> Through a broad public information campaign, and by ending harmful rhetoric, U.S. communities must strike down false ideas about all aliens seeking entry to the United States being criminals, border communities being violent battlegrounds for the war on drugs, and asylum seekers and migrants being a drain on the U.S. economy.<sup>270</sup>

## **B. DRINKING OUT OF TOILETS AND CONVEYOR BELT JUSTICE**

In 2014, authorities in the United States started to notice indicators of shifts in alien arrival demographic patterns along the southern border.<sup>271</sup> Many of these aliens, primarily families from the NTCA, arrived in the United States and claimed asylum. When and asylum seeker makes a claim in the United States, their case is referred to a U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) case worker to determine if a credible fear of prosecution exists, or, in the event of an unfavorable decision by USCIS asylum officers, to an immigration judge for administrative review.<sup>272</sup> At the same time, according to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), when an individual declares their intent to apply for asylum with the United States, they are to be detained by DHS until a decision regarding their asylum claim is made.<sup>273</sup> With an average of more than 250,000 NTCA individuals arriving annually in each of the past five years, and an estimated half a million

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<sup>269</sup> Council for Border Security, Development and Human Rights, “The New Ellis Island: Visions from the Border for the Future of America,” (El Paso, TX: Border Network for Human Rights, May 2013), 1, <https://bnhr.org/why-the-southern-border-is-the-new-ellis-island/>.

<sup>270</sup> Council for Border Security, Development and Human Rights, “The New Ellis Island”

<sup>271</sup> In 2014, there was a 77-percent change in number of unaccompanied alien children apprehended along the southwestern border from 38,759 in 2013 to 68,541; U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, “Southwest Border Unaccompanied Alien Children FY 2014,” U.S. Customs and Border Patrol, November 24, 2015, <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/southwest-border-unaccompanied-children/fy-2014>.; While overall apprehensions of individuals at the U.S. Southern border have drastically decreased from a high of more than 1.6 million in 2000, starting in 2013, there was a sharp increase in apprehensions of family units from NTCA countries that has grown every year since, to more than 50-percent of total apprehensions in 2018.; Jill H. Wilson, “Recent Migration to the United States from Central America: Frequently Asked Questions,” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, January 29, 2019), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R45489.pdf>.

<sup>272</sup> Hillel R. Smith, “An Overview of U.S. Immigration Laws Regulating the Admission and Exclusion of Aliens at the Border,” Legal Sidebar (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, June 10, 2019), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homsec/LSB10150.pdf>.

<sup>273</sup> Congress, “Immigration and Nationality Act,” 8 U.S.C. Ch. 12 § (1952), <https://www.uscis.gov/legal-resources/immigration-and-nationality-act>.

arriving in 2019, according to the Congressional Research Service, “the arrival at the Southwest border of a growing number of Central American families and children, many of whom are seeking asylum, reportedly has strained the U.S. immigration system.”<sup>274</sup>

*Needs, vulnerabilities, threats.* Mass detentions of individuals seeking asylum in the United States raises several human security concerns, specifically pertaining to health, personal, community, and political security. In June of 2019, a freshman Democratic Congresswoman claimed that individuals detained in ICE facilities on the southern border were being directed to “drink out of toilets.”<sup>275</sup> Beyond the face value reading of the headline, her statement referred to a hybrid toilet and sink unit often used in prisons—as well as in many eco-friendly small urban apartments, as seen in Figure 3. However, although Congresswoman Ocasio-Cortez’s politically charged statement was likely meant to be misleading, it did raise serious concerns about the detention conditions for individuals—many of whom had come to the United States seeking asylum—being held by DHS, as well as questions about why these mass detentions were necessary.

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<sup>274</sup> Meyer and Taft-Morales, “Central American Migration,” 1.

<sup>275</sup> Gwen Aviles, “Ocasio-Cortez: Detained Migrants Being Told to ‘Drink Out of Toilets,’” NBC News, July 1, 2019, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/ocasio-cortez-detained-migrants-being-told-drink-out-toilets-n1025431>.



Figure 3. Toilet-sink combo comparison<sup>276</sup>

In September of 2019, ICE reported that it was holding more than 52,000 individuals in detention facilities across the nation.<sup>277</sup> Many of the facilities being used have reportedly been operating far above capacity which has led to reports of squalid conditions—individuals not having access to basic hygiene supplies, women and children sleeping on concrete floors, poor climate control, and unsafe overcrowding—in detention centers across the Southwestern United States.<sup>278</sup> One report by the DHS Office of Inspector General (OIG) found a facility in the El Paso Border Patrol Sector with cells

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<sup>276</sup> Tom Porter, “Photo Shows Hybrid of Toilet and Drinking Fountain in Migrant Detention Centers, Where Ocasio-Cortez Says Women Had to Drink from the Bowl,” *Business Insider*, July 2, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com/photo-hybrid-toilet-drinking-fountain-cbp-centers-2019-7>; Simona Ganea, “Toilet-Sink Combo Ideas That Help You Stay Green,” *Homedit*, July 29, 2015, <https://www.homedit.com/eco-friendly-toilet-sink-combo/>.

<sup>277</sup> US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, “Detention Management,” U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, September 7, 2019, <https://www.ice.gov/detention-management>.

<sup>278</sup> Priscilla Alvarez, “Exclusive: DHS Watchdog Finds Expired Food, Dilapidated Bathrooms Amid ‘Egregious’ Conditions at ICE Facilities in 2018,” *CNN*, June 7, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/06/06/politics/ice-detention-center-ig-report/index.html>; Zolan Kanno-Youngs, “Squalid Conditions at Border Detention Centers, Government Report Finds,” *New York Times*, July 2, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/02/us/politics/border-center-migrant-detention.html>.

holding four to six times as many individuals as they were designed for.<sup>279</sup> The same report also found poor health conditions and detainees who had been in “standing-room-only” conditions for days or weeks.”<sup>280</sup>

The OIG report substantiates earlier reports about the poor health conditions of ICE detention facilities. One of those earlier reports found that “more people died in immigration detention in fiscal year 2017 than any year since 2009, and the most recent detailed information we have about immigration detention deaths shows that they are still linked to dangerously inadequate medical care.”<sup>281</sup> It is not only the detainees that are at risk due to these hazardous health conditions, but according to the OIG report, there are also concerns about the health and safety of DHS personnel.<sup>282</sup>

While some have called the individuals fleeing the NTCA “de-facto”<sup>283</sup> or “unconventional”<sup>284</sup> refugees, in June of 2018, the Trump Administration’s Justice Department issued a decision regarding persecution from gang violence that has, in effect, disqualified many NTCA asylum seekers from eligibility for asylum within the United States, requiring many to seek appeals.<sup>285</sup> Normally, crossing the border into the United States between ports of entry is a federal misdemeanor crime.<sup>286</sup> However, according to Article 31 of the UN’s Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,

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<sup>279</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Management Alert - DHS Needs to Address Dangerous Overcrowding Among Single Adults at El Paso Del Norte Processing Center (Redacted)*, (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, May 30, 2019), <https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/Mga/2019/oig-19-46-may19-mgmtalert.pdf>.

<sup>280</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Management Alert*, 5.

<sup>281</sup> “Code Red - The Fatal Consequences of Dangerously Substandard Medical Care in Immigration Detention” (New York, N.Y.: Human Rights Watch, 2018), 1, [https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field\\_document/coderedreportdeathsicedetention.pdf](https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/coderedreportdeathsicedetention.pdf).

<sup>282</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Management Alert*.

<sup>283</sup> Celia Medrano, “Securing Protection for De Facto Refugees: The Case of Central America’s Northern Triangle,” *Ethics & International Affairs* 31, no. 2 (2017): 129–42, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679417000041>.

<sup>284</sup> Elizabeth Keyes, “Unconventional Refugees,” *American University Law Review* 67, no. 1 (October 1, 2017): 89,164.

<sup>285</sup> Office of the Attorney General, “Matter of A-B-, Respondent” (U.S. Department of Justice, June 11, 2018), <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1070866/download>.

<sup>286</sup> Congress, Immigration and Nationality Act.

signatory states “shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees... provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence.”<sup>287</sup>

Although the Attorney General’s decision invalidated the asylum claims of some individuals from NTCA countries, consequently allowing for “expedited removal” of many, there were still a large number whose claims, or appeals, required adjudication from USCIS asylum officers or a U.S. immigration court. During previous administrations, these individuals were usually granted parole while awaiting adjudication of claims, however, under recent Trump Administration policies, these paroles have been refused to arrivals from NTCA countries in fulfillment of the president’s promise to end the practice of “catch and release.”<sup>288</sup> In lieu of parole, these asylum seekers are being detained—for an indefinite amount of time and in conditions that arguably infringe basic human right—while one of approximately only 400 U.S. immigration judges,<sup>289</sup> in the severely backlogged immigration court system, waits to hear their case in a caseload that surpassed one-million in September of 2019.<sup>290</sup> Table 2 contains a list summarizing the assessed needs, vulnerabilities and threats, both explicit and implicit, in the issue of mass detentions in ICE facilities within the border zone.

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<sup>287</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, “Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees” (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951), 29, <https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/protection/basic/3b66c2aa10/convention-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html>.

<sup>288</sup> Smith, “An Overview of U.S. Immigration Laws Regulating the Admission and Exclusion of Aliens at the Border.”

<sup>289</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “Office of the Chief Immigration Judge,” The United States Department of Justice, October 24, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/office-of-the-chief-immigration-judge>.

<sup>290</sup> TRAC, Syracuse University, “Immigration Court’s Active Backlog Surpasses One Million,” Research, TRAC Immigration, September 18, 2019, <https://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/574/>.



Table 2. Needs, vulnerabilities, and threats associated with detention policies

SECURITY CATEGORY	NEED/VULNERABILITY/THREAT
Economic	Cost of detentions; Cost of building/maintaining larger or temporary facilities
Health	Health and hygiene conditions in detentions facilities
Personal	Violence against DHS officials; Violence against asylum seekers/detainees
Community	Public support for DHS agencies; Race relations with Hispanic community
Political	Human rights violations; Adherence to international laws and customs; Ineffectiveness of Immigration Court System to handle current caseload

*Root causes.* After analyzing the needs, vulnerabilities, and threats connected to mass detentions of asylum seekers and migrants, I identified three root causes for the insecurities. The first is the narrowing opinion within the Trump Administration of whom should qualify for protections like asylum or temporary protective status (TPS) and for which reasons. Previous administrations had been more generous with granting such concessions as TPS to individuals from NTCA countries, however, in March of 2019, the Trump Administration announced that it would not extend TPS for several countries, including El Salvador and Honduras.<sup>291</sup> The second root cause was the current administration’s desire to end the “catch and release,” policy.<sup>292</sup> The government’s choice to decline the release of non-threat individuals seeking refuge at the border was a major

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<sup>291</sup> Jill H. Wilson, “Temporary Protected Status: Overview and Current Issues,” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, March 29, 2019), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homesecc/RS20844.pdf>.

<sup>292</sup> Trump, “President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address.”

contributing factor to detention centers becoming overwhelmed.<sup>293</sup> The last, and likely most impactful root cause, is a systematic problem with the immigration court system.

The immigration court system lacks an adequate number of judges to handle the current caseload.<sup>294</sup> With only approximately 400 immigration judges to hear a docket that has exceeded one-million cases, the present bench would need almost three and a half years to clear the current caseload.<sup>295</sup> However, this “conveyor belt” justice, as one DHS official put it,<sup>296</sup> is not the greatest problem with the immigration court system, rather the executive branch control is.<sup>297</sup> Currently immigration courts are administrative courts found within the Department of Justice Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR). According to one legal scholar, the position of EOIR within the executive branch, rather than the judiciary, “raises a host of thorny questions about the extent to which such proceedings should be insulated from political influence. Commentators often assert that presidential control over agency adjudications would be normatively, if not constitutionally, problematic.”<sup>298</sup>

*Strategies.* A human security approach to handling the issue of detentions on the border would use the following short, medium and long-range strategies. In the short-term, discontinuing the current policy of 100-percent detention by allowing non-threat asylum

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<sup>293</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Assessment of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP),” (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, October 28, 2019), [https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/assessment\\_of\\_the\\_migrant\\_protection\\_protocols\\_mpp.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/assessment_of_the_migrant_protection_protocols_mpp.pdf).

<sup>294</sup> “Actions Needed to Reduce Case Backlog and Address Long-Standing Management and Operational Challenges,” (Washington, DC: Government Accountability Office, June 2017), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/690/685022.pdf>.

<sup>295</sup> How the math works: 1 million cases heard by 400 judges means 2,500 cases per judge. At a rate of 2 cases per day seven days a week (meeting the 700 case per year quota imposed by the Attorney General in March of 2018), judges would need 1,250 days to hear all of their 2,500 cases. Laura Meckler, “New Quotas for Immigration Judges as Trump Administration Seeks Faster Deportations,” *The Wall Street Journal*, April 2, 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/immigration-judges-face-new-quotas-in-bid-to-speed-deportations-1522696158>.)

<sup>296</sup> Eric Katz, “‘Conveyor Belt’ Justice: An Inside Look at Immigration Courts,” *Government Executive*, January 2019, <https://www.govexec.com/feature/inside-conveyor-belt-behind-curtain-doj-immigration-courts/>.

<sup>297</sup> Catherine Kim, “The President’s Immigration Courts,” *Emory Law Journal* 68, no. 1 (January 1, 2018): 1,48.

<sup>298</sup> Kim, 6–7.

seekers to post bond and be paroled would greatly reduce the strain on border detention centers. This strategy would be significantly strengthened by potential strategies from the border wall issue such as an improved entry/exit system and reliable interagency coordination in tracking aliens present in the United States. Along with allowing parole for non-threat individuals, the elimination of extremely restrictive policies that preclude many people from NTCA countries from being granted TPS or asylum would also greatly reduce the number of detainees.

A medium-range strategy for this topic would be to follow the GAO recommendation of hiring more immigration judges to begin reducing the immense immigration court docket.<sup>299</sup> While the current administration has hired almost 200 judges in the past two and a half years,<sup>300</sup> the current number of judges is still nowhere near adequate to both reduce the current backlog as well as hear new cases. However, perhaps the largest problem with the U.S. immigration court system is not the number of judges, but the court's overall organization.

The long-term strategy to address this issue would be to reform the U.S. immigration court system. One immigration judge from San Francisco has argued that to truly fix the problem of the immigration court's immense backlog, hiring more judges is not enough and that the EOIR need to be an independent Article I court, rather than administrative courts within the Department of Justice.<sup>301</sup> This judge is not alone in her assessment. In June of 2019 the Southern Poverty Law Center released a report calling for the same reform,<sup>302</sup> and in July of 2019, four major professional legal organizations sent a joint letter to Congress calling for the establishment of immigration courts independent

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<sup>299</sup> "Actions Needed to Reduce Case Backlog and Address Long-Standing Management and Operational Challenges"

<sup>300</sup> Amy Taxin, "Trump Puts His Stamp on Nation's Immigration Courts," *Associated Press*, July 23, 2019, <https://apnews.com/50e97a112fb142f2abffa061ed5737d6>.

<sup>301</sup> Dana Leigh Marks, "I'm an Immigration Judge Here's How We Can Fix Our Courts," *The Washington Post*, April 12, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/im-an-immigration-judge-heres-how-we-can-fix-our-courts/2019/04/12/76afe914-5d3e-11e9-a00e-050dc7b82693\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/im-an-immigration-judge-heres-how-we-can-fix-our-courts/2019/04/12/76afe914-5d3e-11e9-a00e-050dc7b82693_story.html).

<sup>302</sup> Tess Hellgren et al., "The Attorney General's Judges: How the U.S. Immigration Courts Became a Deportation Tool," (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, June 2019), [https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com\\_policyreport\\_the\\_attorney\\_generals\\_judges\\_final.pdf](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_policyreport_the_attorney_generals_judges_final.pdf).

from the U.S. Department of Justice arguing that a “system outside the control of DOJ would protect and advance America’s core values of fairness and equality by safeguarding the independence and impartiality of the immigration court system, while ensuring the timely adjudication of cases.”<sup>303</sup>

### C. KIDS IN CAGES AND A BAD NEIGHBOR POLICY

Despite protections from punishment for asylum seekers required by the 1951 Convention on Refugees, during May and June of 2018, the Trump Administration attempted to deter illegal border crossings by enforcing a “Zero Tolerance Policy.” With this policy, “DOJ prosecuted 100% of adult aliens apprehended crossing the border illegally, making no exceptions for whether they were asylum seekers or accompanied by minor children.”<sup>304</sup> One of the most consequential results of the administration’s “zero tolerance policy” were the family separations that garnered worldwide attention and criticism starting in the Summer of 2018.<sup>305</sup> As a result of the policy, by June of 2019, more than 2,800 children had been separated from their families by DHS,<sup>306</sup> resulting in a

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<sup>303</sup> American Bar Association et al., “Congress Should Establish an Independent Immigration Court,” Letter, July 11, 2019, <https://www.aila.org/advo-media/aila-correspondence/2019/legal-associations-call-independent-court-system>.

<sup>304</sup> William A. Kandel, “The Trump Administration’s ‘Zero Tolerance’ Immigration Enforcement Policy” (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, February 26, 2019), 1, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homesecc/R45266.pdf>.

<sup>305</sup> Camila Domonoske and Richard Gonzales, “What We Know: Family Separation And ‘Zero Tolerance’ At The Border,” NPR, June 19, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/06/19/621065383/what-we-know-family-separation-and-zero-tolerance-at-the-border>; Reuters, “US Child Migrants: Sessions Defends Border Separations,” BBC News, June 6, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44385013>; Al Jazeera, “No Shelter: Family Separation at the Border,” *Al Jazeera*, September 11, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/faultlines/2018/09/shelter-family-separation-border-180911054143969.html>.

<sup>306</sup> *The Trump Administration’s Child Separation Policy: Substantiated Allegations of Mistreatment before the Committee on Oversight and Reform*, 116th Congress, (2019)=, <https://oversight.house.gov/legislation/hearings/the-trump-administration-s-child-separation-policy-substantiated-allegations-of>.

congressional hearing titled “kids in cages,” after the rallying cry of immigration and civil rights activists that became popular in the Summer of 2018.<sup>307</sup>

*Needs, vulnerabilities, and threats.* Current U.S. government strategies to deter individuals from coming and manage flows across the border have a significant effect on health, community, and political security in the United States, and are the result of economic, food, environmental, and personal insecurities faced by the people of Central America. After severe criticism, as well as several lawsuits, the Trump Administration moved to end its family separation policy by executive order.<sup>308</sup> The executive order required DHS to detain entire family units, which could only be accomplished by backtracking on the time limit for child detentions set by the original settlement of the 1997 case *Flores v. Reno*.<sup>309</sup> Now, although children will be detained with their parents, the length of detention can be indefinite. Another major problem with the executive order was that it did not address children previously separated. An OIG report from September of 2018 stated that “DHS was not fully prepared to implement the Zero Tolerance Policy, or to deal with certain effects of the policy following implementation,”<sup>310</sup> and that there were “questions about the Government’s ability to accurately report on separations and subsequent reunifications.”<sup>311</sup> In early 2019, the government admitted that it could take up

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<sup>307</sup> Alex Connor, “‘The Actual Thing Is Way, Way Worse Than We Were Depicting,’ Says Photographer Behind Viral Photo of Caged Kid,” *USA Today*, June 18, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2018/06/18/viral-photo-toddler-crying-miscaptioned-not-ice-custody/710396002/>; Maria Sacchetti, “‘Kids in Cages’: House Hearing Examines Immigration Detention as Democrats Push for More Information,” *The Washington Post*, July 10, 2019, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/kids-in-cages-house-hearing-to-examine-immigration-detention-as-democrats-push-for-more-information/2019/07/10/3cc53006-a28f-11e9-b732-41a79c2551bf\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/kids-in-cages-house-hearing-to-examine-immigration-detention-as-democrats-push-for-more-information/2019/07/10/3cc53006-a28f-11e9-b732-41a79c2551bf_story.html).

<sup>308</sup> Kandel, “The Trump Administration’s ‘Zero Tolerance’ Immigration Enforcement Policy”; Donald J. Trump. Executive Order 13841. “Affording Congress an Opportunity to Address Family Separation.” *Code of Federal Regulations*, title 3 (2018 comp.).

<sup>309</sup> *Flores v. Reno*, No. CV 85-4544-RJK (U.S. District Court Central District of California January 17, 1997); Michelle Hackman, “U.S. Seeks Longer Detentions for Migrant Families,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 21, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-administration-unveils-plan-to-hold-migrant-children-in-long-term-detention-with-parents-11566394202>.

<sup>310</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Special Review - Initial Observations Regarding Family Separation Issues Under the Zero Tolerance Policy*, (Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, September 27, 2018), 4, <https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/2018-10/OIG-18-84-Sep18.pdf>.

<sup>311</sup> Office of Inspector General, *Special Review*, 5.

to two years to reunify the families separated in the Summer of 2018,<sup>312</sup> raising serious concerns about the developmental wellness of the children affected by the policy.<sup>313</sup>

Following the withdrawal of the Zero Tolerance Policy, the Trump Administration turned to a new set of policies to manage the border crisis. Two new policies—the Migrant Protection Protocol (MPP), which requires asylum seekers to remain in Mexico while asylum claims are being processed,<sup>314</sup> and a new “safe third country” agreement with Guatemala<sup>315</sup>—aimed at precluding the entry of asylum seekers into the United States entirely. Both of these policies have also raised disapproval with critics accusing them of failing to adhere to international law and endangering the individuals they are designed to protect.<sup>316</sup> However, to the administration, these policies have been a success, with a recent DHS assessment reporting that more than 55,000 aliens have been returned to Mexico under the MPP and that “a significant proportion of the 55,000+ MPP returnees have chosen to abandon their claims.”<sup>317</sup> In effect, this report means that the United States is succeeding in its effort—against international law—to prevent a significant number of

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<sup>312</sup> Julia Jacobs, “U.S. Says It Could Take 2 Years to Identify Up to Thousands of Separated Immigrant Families,” *New York Times*, April 6, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/06/us/family-separation-trump-administration.html>.

<sup>313</sup> Benjamin Roth et al., “Detached and Afraid: U.S. Immigration Policy and the Practice of Forcibly Separating Parents and Young Children at the Border,” *Child Welfare* 96, no. 5 (September 1, 2018): 29,49; Daniel Thomas Cook, “The Mire of Its Own Construction? Childhood Studies and the ‘Crisis’ at the Mexico-U.S. Border,” *Childhood* 26, no. 1 (February 2019): 3–7, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568218814594>.

<sup>314</sup> Ben Harrington and Hillel R. Smith, “Migrant Protection Protocols: Legal Issues Related to DHS’s Plan to Require Arriving Asylum Seekers to Wait in Mexico,” Legal Sidebar (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 9, 2019), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homesecc/LSB10251.pdf>.

<sup>315</sup> Zeke Miller and Colleen Long, “US, Guatemala Sign Agreement to Restrict Asylum Cases,” *Associated Press*, July 27, 2019, <https://apnews.com/23f6b9a087e841188c5484cd5cf04f3d>.

<sup>316</sup> Adriana Beltrán, “Guatemala Is No Safe Third Country,” *Foreign Affairs*, September 25, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/guatemala/2019-09-25/guatemala-no-safe-third-country>; Andrea Pitzer, “Trump’s ‘Migrant Protection Protocols’ Hurt the People They’re Supposed to Help,” *The Washington Post*, July 18, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/07/18/trumps-migrant-protection-protocols-hurt-people-theyre-supposed-help/>; Lauren Carasik, “Trump’s Safe Third Country Agreement With Guatemala Is a Lie,” *Foreign Policy*, July 30, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/30/trumps-safe-third-country-agreement-with-guatemala-is-a-lie/>.

<sup>317</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Assessment of the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP).”

Central Americans, escaping the extreme violence and poverty of their own countries, from requesting asylum in the United States.<sup>318</sup>

A complicating argument can be made that the issues plaguing the NTCA are partially the fault of the United States itself. One argument is that NTCA troubles resulted from years of a U.S. foreign policy of intervention in Central American affairs.<sup>319</sup> This argument supposes that U.S. policies may have contributed to the formation of “weak institutions and corrupt government officials, economic growth that [does] not significantly reduce chronic poverty, rising levels of crime, and demand for illicit drugs.”<sup>320</sup> Another argument looks at the domestic issue of U.S. drug consumption as the source of violence and economic woes within the NTCA.<sup>321</sup> U.S. demand for illicit drugs has fueled much of the urban gang violence, cartel turf wars, and smuggling that perpetuates mass violence in the NTCA. Furthermore, as Ted Galen Carpenter argues, the “prohibitionist strategy” of the U.S. War on Drugs has been a “bad neighbor policy” which has led to increased

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<sup>318</sup> Brent Kendall and Jess Bravin, “Supreme Court Authorizes Trump to Deny Asylum to Central Americans,” *The Wall Street Journal*, September 11, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/supreme-court-authorizes-trump-to-deny-asylum-to-central-americans-11568241204>.

<sup>319</sup> During the Cold War, U.S. efforts to oppose socialism in Central America led to a series of foreign policy decisions that saw the United States supporting the overthrow of democratically elected leaders, partnering with authoritarian regimes, and training and equipping violent fighting forces; Theta Pavis, “Decades of U.S. Intervention in Central America Echo in Present Border Crisis,” *HuffPost News*, September 21, 2014, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/decades-of-us-interventio\\_b\\_5610684](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/decades-of-us-interventio_b_5610684); Julian Borger, “Fleeing a Hell the US Helped Create: Why Central Americans Journey North,” *The Guardian*, December 19, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/dec/19/central-america-migrants-us-foreign-policy>; Deirdre Shesgreen, “How US Foreign Policy in Central America May Have Fueled the Migrant Crisis,” *USA Today*, December 25, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/12/21/has-united-states-foreign-policy-central-america-fueled-migrant-crisis-donald-trump/2338489002/>. Noam Chomsky, *Turning the Tide: US Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 1985); Hal Brands, *Latin America’s Cold War*, First Harvard University Press paperback ed (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2012).

<sup>320</sup> Wilson, “Recent Migration to the United States from Central America: Frequently Asked Questions,” 5.

<sup>321</sup> Christina Thornell and Sam Ellis, “America’s Cocaine Habit Fueled Its Migrant Crisis,” *Vox*, February 12, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/videos/2019/2/12/18220934/americas-cocaine-violence-migrant-crisis>. 90-percent of cocaine produced in Latin America is bound for the United States. International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, “International Narcotics Control Strategy Report,” Government, INCSR 2017 (Washington, DC: Department of State, March 2017), <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/2017-INCSR-Vol.-I.pdf>.

violence and corruption in Latin America and drawn the U.S. government’s attention from potentially more effective strategies.<sup>322</sup>

Listed in Table 3 are some of the explicit and implicit needs, vulnerabilities, and threats drawn from an assessment of the current situation pushing individuals from Central America, as well as deterrence and overall flow management policies in the border zone.

Table 3. Needs, vulnerabilities, and threats associated with deterrence and flow management strategies

SECURITY CATEGORY	NEED/VULNERABILITY/THREAT
Economic	Rampant poverty and inequality (NTCA)
Food	Hunger (NTCA)
Health	Childhood wellness/development; Drug addiction
Environmental	Drought (NTCA); Natural disaster (NTCA)
Personal	Gang violence (NTCA); Human trafficking
Community	American liberal values; Diversity; Race relations
Political	Family separations; Weak governments (NTCA); Adherence to international law and customs

*Root causes.* Although it would be tempting to label the increased flow of asylum seekers as a root cause, further analysis of the needs, vulnerabilities, and threats suggests two deeper interrelated root causes for this topic. The first is a set of systematic problems

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<sup>322</sup> Ted Galen Carpenter, *Bad Neighbor Policy: Washington’s Futile War on Drugs in Latin America*, 1st ed (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 1–9. The term “bad neighbor policy” is play on the 1933 foreign policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt which, in an attempt to walk-back the (Teddy) Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, sought improved cooperation with Latin America.



within NTCA countries. One report, funded by U.S. Southern Command, claims that “state weakness remains one of Central America’s primary challenges and should be seen as one of the main causes of the isthmus’ crime and insecurity problems.”<sup>323</sup> Histories of autocratic rule supported by the United States have diminished these states’ capacities to handle recent droughts, widespread poverty and economic inequality, and most of all gang violence, which is a consequence of the region’s “unfortunate geographic location between cocaine producing countries to its south and cocaine consuming countries to the north—primarily the United States.”<sup>324</sup>

The second major root cause is a problem with the United States that is a leading driver for the gang and cartel violence in the NTCA, notably illegal drug consumption and addiction, particularly of cocaine. Cocaine consumption in the United States had fallen between 2006 and 2010,<sup>325</sup> but it has made a silent comeback in recent years, shadowed by the current opioid crises.<sup>326</sup> Enabled by local gangs with ties to violent drug cartels, NTCA countries have become strategic logistics stops along major drug trafficking routes from drug producing countries in South America, as seen in Figure 4.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Christopher Sabatini, “Central America 2030: Political, Economic and Security Outlook,” *Latin America 2030* (Miami, FL: Florida International University, December 2018), 3, [https://theglobalamericans.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/DOD\\_Central-America\\_FINAL.pdf](https://theglobalamericans.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/DOD_Central-America_FINAL.pdf).

<sup>324</sup> Sabatini, 2.

<sup>325</sup> B. Kilmer et al., “What America’s Users Spend on Illegal Drugs: 2000-2010,” *Research Reports* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, February 2014), [https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/ondcp/policy-and-research/wausid\\_results\\_report.pdf](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/ondcp/policy-and-research/wausid_results_report.pdf).

<sup>326</sup> Rebecca Ahrnsbrak et al., “Key Substance Use and Mental Health Indicators in the United States: Results from the 2016 National Survey on Drug Use and Health,” H-52 (Rockville, MD: Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2017), <https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/NSDUH-FFR1-2016/NSDUH-FFR1-2016.htm>.

<sup>327</sup> Jason Beaubien, “Mexican Cartels Spread Violence to Central America,” NPR, May 30, 2011, <https://www.npr.org/2011/05/30/136690257/mexican-cartels-spread-violence-to-central-america>; Jason Beaubien, “El Salvador Grapples With Upswing In Drug Traffic,” NPR, May 31, 2011, <https://www.npr.org/2011/05/31/136727186/el-salvador-grapples-with-upswing-in-drug-traffic>; Jason Beaubien, “El Salvador Fears Ties Between Cartels, Street Gangs,” NPR, June 1, 2011, <https://www.npr.org/2011/06/01/136829224/el-salvador-fears-ties-between-cartels-street-gangs>.

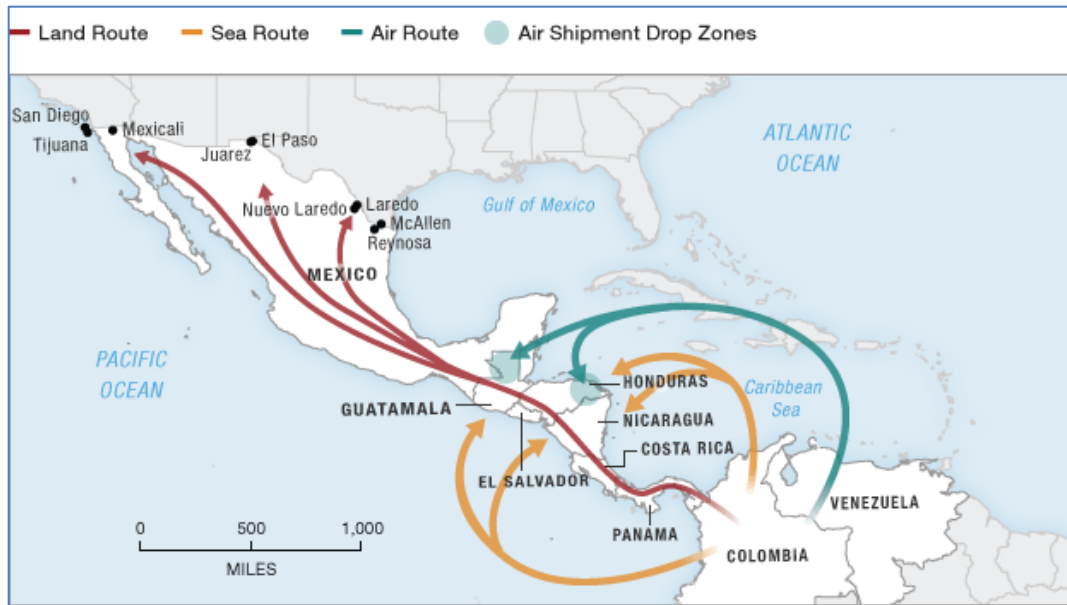


Figure 4. Central America cocaine smuggling routes<sup>328</sup>

U.S. enforcement efforts and the greater War on Drugs have also contributed to the gang violence in the NTCA. The United States has pursued a primarily prohibitionist strategy in the War on Drugs that has required partner nations in Central America to use expensive and violent enforcement tactics that come at unsustainable monetary costs to the poor countries, and result in civilian casualties, creating further instability.<sup>329</sup> Historically weak and corrupt governments of the region paired with the need to satisfy the growing U.S. market for illegal drugs has thus helped create and maintain conditions in NTCA countries for the perpetuation of economic woes and extreme violence.

*Strategies.* The short-term strategy for managing the insecurities caused by the current approach to managing deterrence and inflow is relatively straightforward and indisputable. The human security approach would first require the immediate reunification of all families separated by DHS through the duration of the Zero Tolerance Policy. Furthermore, in line with the human security strategies for managing the detention issue, instead of indefinite detention of entire family units—which violates both U.S. legal

<sup>328</sup> Beaubien, “Mexican Cartels Spread Violence to Central America.”

<sup>329</sup> Carpenter, *Bad Neighbor Policy*.

precedent and international convention—non-threat asylum seekers would be allowed parole.<sup>330</sup>

Medium and long-range strategies for limiting the overall number of Central Americans necessarily focus on two, somewhat interrelated, systematic solutions. The first is reducing the United States' illegal drug consumption and reforming the War on Drugs, and the second is assisting countries in the NTCA in building state capacity to address poverty, inequality, and violence. In the face of evidence that suggests the futility of the prohibitionist strategy, some scholars have decried the War on Drugs as failed.<sup>331</sup> As a result, many scholars and policymakers have begun suggesting alternate approaches to reducing illegal drug use and production.<sup>332</sup> Two competing demand-side alternatives in the lead for a new policy approach to addressing America's drug problem are the legalization approach and the decriminalization approach. The legalization approach posits that the eventual legalization of marijuana in the United States will reduce demand for more dangerous illegal drugs.<sup>333</sup> On the other hand, the decriminalization approach takes aim at the core of America's drug problem by approaching it from a public health standpoint and addressing the underlying drug addiction. Under this approach, possession, and use of even dangerous drugs like cocaine would be decriminalized, allowing for drug

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<sup>330</sup> Flores v. Reno, 507 U.S. 292; UN General Assembly, Resolution 44/25, Convention on the Rights of the Child, (1989), <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf>.

<sup>331</sup> Carpenter, *Bad Neighbor Policy*; Adrian Barbu and Adina-Elena Cincu, "War on Drugs in Latin America-A Failed War? Colombia-The Learned Lesson," *Revista de Administratie Publica Si Politici Sociale* 12, no. 1 (June 1, 2014), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1641106095/>; Fida Mohammad and Gregory Fulkerson, "The 'War on Drugs': A Failed Paradigm," in *New Approaches to Drug Policies*, ed. Marten W. Brien and Jonathan D. Rosen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 229–50, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137450999>.

<sup>332</sup> Marten W. Brien and Jonathan D. Rosen, eds., *New Approaches to Drug Policies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137450999>; Kristin Bergtora Sandvik and Kristian Hoelscher, "The Reframing of the War on Drugs as a 'Humanitarian Crisis': Costs, Benefits, and Consequences," *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 4 (July 2017): 168–82, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X16683375>.

<sup>333</sup> Bruce Bagley, "The Evolution of Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime in Latin America," *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 2013, no. 71 (February 7, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.7458/SPP2013712333>; Hanna Samir Kassab, "The Legalization Debate: Mapping Change and Trends in the United States," in *New Approaches to Drug Policies*, ed. Marten W. Brien and Jonathan D. Rosen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015), 177–93, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137450999>.

addiction to be addressed as the public health crisis that it is, rather than a crime problem that adds to the immense U.S. prison population.<sup>334</sup>

At the same time that the United States tackles its drug problem, it must also pursue policies that help NTCA countries reverse the systematic problems caused by the United States' Cold War interventions and its failed war on drugs, including building state capacity and alleviating the economic and social conditions that have forced so many individuals to leave. While the United States has taken minor steps since the Obama Administration to aid in Central American development, questions remain about whether U.S. funding has been effectively targeted, and what impact corruption has had on the efforts.<sup>335</sup> In 2018, "the Trump Administration committed to providing \$5.8 billion in public and private investment to support institutional reforms and development in the Northern Triangle," in addition to \$2.1 billion in appropriated support funding in FY16-18.<sup>336</sup>

However, to address all of the problems inherent in these states, increased funding levels alone will not do the trick.<sup>337</sup> U.S. funding must be accompanied by the proof that funds are being used effectively to build state capacity by strengthening government institutions through policies that "improve border security, combat corruption, increase revenues, and address human rights concerns, among other actions."<sup>338</sup>

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

The management of this humanitarian crisis on the southern border under the current homeland security approach has left multiple insecurities stemming from the

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<sup>334</sup> Glenn Greenwald, "Drug Decriminalization in Portugal: Lessons for Creating Fair and Successful Drug Policies," (Washington, DC: CATO Institute, 2009), [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1464837](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1464837); Daniel R. Hildenbrand, "The Pursuit of a Failed U.S. Drug Policy in Latin America" (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/47962>.

<sup>335</sup> Wilson, "Recent Migration to the United States from Central America: Frequently Asked Questions."

<sup>336</sup> Wilson, 8.

<sup>337</sup> Geoffrey A. Ellis, "Evaluating Common Hypotheses for Violence in Central America" (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2016), <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/51687>.

<sup>338</sup> Peter J. Meyer and Clare Ribando Seelke, "Central America Regional Security Initiative: Background and Policy Issues for Congress," (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, December 17, 2015), 24, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41731.pdf>.

problem unaddressed, while at the same time, raising several new insecurities for the United States. Under a new approach to homeland security based on the human security framework, each variety of human insecurity—economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political—would be addressed by focusing on comprehensive, context-specific, people-centered solutions that attack root causes of insecurity. Only in recognizing the interlinkages between all varieties of insecurity, and in understanding the implications that every homeland security policy choice made by the government has on human security, will the United States be able to truly secure the homeland.

## V. CONCLUSION

The current conceptualization of homeland security by the U.S. government has led to an approach that often results in fear, conflict, and insecurity. This thesis aimed to discover how human security could be used to reconceptualize the current approach to homeland security in the United States and therefore avoid those negative consequences. Crafting homeland security strategies based on the human security framework could increase the overall security of the American people by providing comprehensive, people-centered, and context-specific policies that address root-causes of nuanced and interconnected varieties of insecurity.

### A. IMPLICATIONS

Expanding the current conception of homeland security beyond its traditional counter-terrorism and disaster preparedness roots using a human security approach broadens the possibilities for theories and research in the field of homeland security studies. Areas of security research once thought to be independent of the homeland security discourse—for example, food, environmental, or community security—can be meaningfully incorporated into homeland security studies under the human security framework. With more homeland security scholars researching the interlinkages of non-traditional security threats to the security of the American people, the academic community can provide a more complete assessment of potential homeland security risks and propose out-of-the-box solutions to address these risks.

In his recent book, David McIntyre points out the important role of “theories developed in academia and then expressed through the political process” to the concept of National Security as it developed following WWII.<sup>339</sup> He then surmises that, in spite of academic efforts, “homeland security cannot lean on academic theory for either practical guidance or intellectual direction.”<sup>340</sup> The field of study aimed at furthering the

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<sup>339</sup> David H. McIntyre, *How to Think About Homeland Security Volume 1: The Imperfect Intersection of National Security and Public Safety*, vol. 1 (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 151.

<sup>340</sup> McIntyre, 1:152.

understanding of homeland security is still relatively new and remains in search of a unifying theory, and as Christopher Bellavita has said in a recent article, “I do not believe we can yet eliminate or avoid subjectivity in determining the roots and bounds of homeland security.”<sup>341</sup> The comprehensiveness of the proposed human security approach offers a substantial avenue for expanding the search for this unifying theory.

This paradigm shift in conceptualizing homeland security also carries significant practical and conceptual implications for the U.S. government. When homeland security became an official function of the federal government following 9/11, the original plan was not for a single, comprehensive department that performed homeland security.<sup>342</sup> Over time, however, it would seem that the mere existence of DHS has trapped many into thinking that if a mission is not covered by the department, then it is not homeland security.<sup>343</sup> Under a human security approach, DHS and the current homeland security enterprise would need to forfeit this perceived monopoly on ensuring a secure homeland by first recognizing the comprehensive and interconnected nature of threats to the American people, and when appropriate, collaborating with, or deferring action or responsibility in favor of, other federal, or even state, tribal, local, or partnered non-governmental organizations that have expertise in affected areas of human security.

Particularly when a homeland security issue consists of threats to several areas of human security, DHS can, and should, become the coordinator for the joint efforts—combined efforts of multiple agencies at various levels of the government and private sector—to craft human security-based strategies for addressing these complex homeland security problems. Perhaps, this could mean DHS providing the leadership and financial

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<sup>341</sup> Christopher Bellavita, “How to Learn About Homeland Security,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 15 (September 2019): 21, [https://www.hsaj.org/resources/uploads/2019/09/hsaj\\_volume-15\\_issue-2\\_HowtoLearnAboutHomelandSecurity\\_081919v2.pdf](https://www.hsaj.org/resources/uploads/2019/09/hsaj_volume-15_issue-2_HowtoLearnAboutHomelandSecurity_081919v2.pdf).

<sup>342</sup> Thomas J. Ridge, *The Test of Our Times: America Under Siege... And How We Can Be Safe Again*, 1st ed. (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2009).

<sup>343</sup> Insecurity exists in the absence of attacks. The current conception of homeland security relies heavily on an adversarial model of security threats, i.e. terrorists attacking critical infrastructure, a natural disaster destroying a city. Overlooked are insecurities that are second and third order effects, e.g. food insecurity caused by climate change, political or community insecurity caused by distrust in government institutions or deteriorating race-relations. All of these issues pose a threat to homeland security because they can be major threats to the American people, but are not threats addressed by DHS or other components of the homeland security enterprise.

means for a task force composed various stakeholders in a particular homeland security issue. In the same way, closer coordination between the national security enterprise—those governmental organizations that exercise the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic elements of national power, e.g. Department of State, CIA, Department of Defense, U.S. Agency for International Development, etc.—and the homeland security enterprise can ensure that the foreign policy decisions of today do not become the homeland security challenges of tomorrow. Perhaps the Obama Administration’s notion of combining the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council is a model for coordination between the two enterprises that should be reassessed.<sup>344</sup> Regardless of actual organization, by using the human security framework, and focusing on their individual strengths, all of the departments and agencies within each branch, and at all levels of the U.S. government, can play an active role in providing homeland security by ensuring the security of the American people.

## **B. FINAL THOUGHTS**

As I bring this thesis to a close, I anticipate two immediate critiques that I hope to address preemptively here: one is of concept; the other, of execution. First, the conceptual foundation of this theory is derived from a UN concept and program. While I cannot definitively prove it, I have perceived among some academics—and conservative policymakers even more so—a bit of a ten-foot-pole problem with the UN, as if anything related to the UN has a certain stench about it. As a result of this perceived attitude, I anticipate some critics of my theory to point to such issues as the slowing development of human security among UN member states and recent inactivity of the Human Security Network as signs of a failed concept, not suitable for the basis of U.S. policy.<sup>345</sup> Likewise,

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<sup>344</sup> Kathleen J. McInnis and John W. Rollins, “Trump Administration Changes to the National Security Council: Frequently Asked Questions,” CRS Insight (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, January 30, 2017), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/IN10640.pdf>.

<sup>345</sup> In the past decade, the concept of human security has lost a significant amount of steam in the international community. The Human Security Network, founded in 1999, was a loose organization of 12 like-minded states that aimed to promote the human security agenda in the international community by coordinating efforts and promoting human security policies within their own governments. The network has since let their website domain name—[humansecuritynetwork.org](http://humansecuritynetwork.org)—lapse, and reference to its existence is difficult to find in anything dated after 2015. The UNTFHS is still operational, but aside from its own website’s “What’s New” page, there is little major discussion of the concept.



the regular crowd of voices that call the adoption of a UN concept infringement on U.S. sovereignty and the first step on a path toward a world government, will likely voice the usual concerns. In response, I urge these critics to liberate the concept of human security from its narrow UN origins and to examine it purely on its merits as a sustainable approach to identifying the complex and interconnected insecurities of the American people.

The critique of execution will likely come from those who would say that this thesis did not dive far enough into the practical aspects of applying the human security framework. These critics will ask such questions as: who should lead the task forces conducting these analyses? What does spreading responsibility for homeland security among other government agencies mean for the organization of DHS? How would DHS coordinate efforts between other government and non-government agencies in support of executing human security strategies? What are other areas of interconnected insecurity that are affecting homeland security within the United States? Which methods of evaluation will be used to assess effectiveness of strategies resulting from this approach? To these critics, I answer that these questions, among many others, are all valid. However, the time constraint on this thesis precluded the inclusion of these questions into the scope of my research. Nevertheless, answering them will certainly be necessary to understand fully the implications of this theory. I leave these questions as topics of further research within this broader theory of homeland security for future practitioners and students of homeland security to explore.

### **C. PARTING WORDS**

In January of 1941, while Europe was facing the specter of fascism, and the United States stood on war's doorstep, President Roosevelt delivered his State of the Union address in which he outlined four essential freedoms upon which the secure world of future days would be founded: freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.<sup>346</sup> It is more than mere coincidence that the tenets of human security—freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity—

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<sup>346</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress: The State of the Union" (Speech, January 6, 1941), [http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/\\_resources/images/msf/msf01407](http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/msf/msf01407).

almost directly echo the freedoms outlined by Roosevelt almost 80 years ago, and the concept of *securitas* conceived by the Romans millennia before. The timeless desire for these freedoms is the heart of homeland security. The human security framework offers one way for people to work together to analyze and address insecurities and other impediments to these freedoms, thus ensuring a secure homeland for themselves and future generations.

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