Constitutional, Ethical, Both, or Neither? An Investigation of Homeland Security Majors' Perceptions of National Security Agency Bulk Surveillance Programs

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ABSTRACT

This study compares the views of three groups of undergraduate students regarding National Security Agency bulk surveillance programs, including: Homeland Security majors, Criminal Justice majors, and those studying other disciplines. To do, data were gathered from 257 students attending a private, mid-sized University via an online questionnaire. The results indicate that Homeland Security majors are significantly more likely than both Criminal Justice majors and students studying other disciplines to perceive bulk surveillance programs as effective, but less likely to perceive those programs as Constitutional. Implications of these findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, the media and whistleblowers have revealed that the American government has been surreptitiously collecting information from individuals pertaining to phone and internet communication data (Electronic Frontier Foundation, 2018). Initial evidence of these practices approximately a decade ago by media outlets and politicians has subsequently been bolstered by information leaked by former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden in 2013 and numerous media reports that provided irrefutable facts and evidence of the existence of these surveillance programs (Gellman & Poitras, 2013; Gellman & Soltani, 2013). Specifically, it is now known that the NSA has engaged in two programs that secretly gathered information about the communication activities of individuals both within the United States and those abroad. One program collected telephone metadata (this includes information regarding which phone numbers called which phone numbers, and for how long, but not the content of those calls) and another program that collected information regarding internet-based communications. While debates over the ethical value (Miller & Walsh, 2016) and the constitutionality (Liu, Nolan, & Thompson II, 2014; Yoo, 2014) of these programs still continue today, what is clear is that many Americans are not comfortable with the fact that their

government might be collecting information about their communications without their knowledge. Fifty-four percent of Americans disapproved of the NSA's phone and internet data collection programs, according to a poll of Americans in 2014 (Pew Research Center, 2014). A subsequent poll similarly found that a majority of respondents were either "concerned" or "very concerned" about "government surveillance of Americans' data and electronic communication" (Pew Research Center, 2015, p. 6) Little, however, is known about the factors that might influence how individuals perceive these programs.

In 1978, Congress passed the Foreign Intelligence Act Surveillance Act (FISA), partially in response to President Richard Nixon's surveillance of political enemies through the use of federal resources (FISA, 1978). This legislation reduced the President's ability to unilaterally order electronic monitoring in favor of a system requiring parties to demonstrate probable cause to federal judges who were appointed to the newly-created Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC). In a process similar to that of obtaining a warrant for the electronic monitoring of criminal activity, the federal government would now have to petition the FISC in order to surreptitiously gather intelligence related to suspected foreign threats to the United States. Both of the NSA surveillance programs examined in this study can trace their roots to FISA.

Less than two months after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, President Bush signed the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001," or Patriot Act, into law (USA Patriot Act, 2001). Designed to empower the U.S. government to gather information for the prevention of future terroristic acts, Section 215 of the Patriot Act amended a clause within FISA to permit the United States government to seek FISC approval to compel third parties to provide information as part of "an investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities, provided that such investigation of a United States person is not conducted solely upon the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution" (USA Patriot Act, 2001: Section 215). As a result, the NSA was able to collect phone metadata from communications companies that included the phone numbers and duration of those calls.

A second surveillance program began in 2007, which collected internet-based communications in an effort to identify terror-related searches and communications of non-U.S. citizens believed to be outside of the country (Greenwald & MacAskill, 2013). Code-named PRISM, the program permits the NSA to petition the FISC for access to information that are stored on the servers of at least nine known internet and technology companies, including Google and Apple. Similar to the NSA's gathering of phone metadata, the NSA is required to gain approval from the FISC before petitioning one of the private companies for data. These requests are permissible due to Section 702 of the FISA Amendments Act, which was signed in 2008 and reauthorized in 2012. Edward Snowden revealed the existence of this program to reporters from The *Washington Post* and The *Guardian* in 2013, who then revealed the program to their readers (Gellman & Poitras, 2013; Greenwald & MacAskill, 2013).

Most of the academic attention given to these programs since their discovery has addressed two issues: ethical value and effectiveness, with little consensus reached regarding both issues. A review conducted by Bergen, Sterman, Schneider, and Cahall (2014) considered the effectiveness of the NSA's bulk surveillance programs at preventing terrorism. They examined

225 individual cases and found that 60 percent were initiated by traditional investigative methods. The NSA programs, and specifically the bulk collection of telephone metadata, played a role in only 1.8 percent of the cases examined in this study, illustrating little or no link between the NSA programs and terrorism prevention. In contrast, President Obama made the statement in a press conference that "We know of at least fifty threats that have been averted because of this information" (2013). This number was further clarified at fifty-four events prevented, including thirteen terror plots that would have occurred on American soil. However, the veracity of this claim has been put into question as new information has been uncovered about these programs and the plots that were allegedly prevented (Schwartz, 2015).

Regardless of the effectiveness of these programs, the revelation that the U.S. government was potentially spying on its citizens was not well-received. In addition to the numerous public opinion polls that have shown how many Americans oppose these surveillance programs, many legal scholars (Bloom & Dunn, 2006; Power, 2010), politicians, civil liberties groups, and other stakeholders, including the Presidentially-appointed members of the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board (Medine, Brand, Cook, Dempsey, & Wald, 2014), have similarly expressed misgivings about the existence of these programs on legal and ethical grounds. A question, then, arises: What are the factors that influence an individual's perceptions of these programs?

This question becomes much more important when considering that the literature has linked dissatisfaction with government safety-related policies with negative outcomes. Studies of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) have shown that travelers who have more favorable perceptions of airport security are more likely to fly (Srinivasan, Bhat, & Holguin-Veras, 2006) and be satisfied with their leisure trip (Tasci & Boylu, 2010). Another analysis similarly linked negative citizen perceptions of the government's response after Hurricane Katrina with increased risk of posttraumatic stress disorder (Rhodes & Tran, 2012). As a result, we feel that it is vital that the determinants of perceptions of government surveillance programs be further investigated. If significant correlates of negative perceptions of these programs can be identified, action can be taken by stakeholders and policymakers to address these perceptions and potentially avoid the negative effects that have been shown above to manifest when perceiving other governmental programs unfavorably. The current study analyzes a sample of undergraduate university students in order to identify the characteristics that are related to increased and decreased support for the government surveillance, with an emphasis on the potential effects of academic major. In doing so, we hope to learn more about how those who aspire to a career in the related fields of Criminal Justice and Homeland Security perceive these surveillance programs, when compared to their peers studying other disciplines.

Predictors of Support for Government Policies. Research has identified demographic predictors of support for government anti-terrorism policies, of which the NSA surveillance programs to be examined in this analysis, are among. Increased levels of education have been linked with support for civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2004) and opposition to the unrestricted ability to detain suspected terrorists (Denemark, 2012). Regarding gender, while females have been shown to express increased levels of concern due to potential acts of terrorism (Goodwin, Willson, & Stanley, 2005; Huddy, Feldman, Taber, & Lahav, 2005), research has shown that they are still not more likely to support counterterrorism policies, such as torture (Denemark, 2012). Some of the same studies have also concluded that young adults are generally less

supportive of governmental terrorism policies that could be seen to infringe on individual rights (Davis & Silver, 2004; Goodwin et al., 2005). Studies of race and ethnicity have similarly found that non-White individuals express less support for anti-terrorism policies (Davis & Silver, 2004; Johnson, Brazier, Forrest, Ketelhut, Mason, & Mitchell, 2011; Jordan & Gabbidon, 2010).

The most pertinent group of studies has examined how perceptions of the United States' data surveillance programs can be shaped. Two studies have linked views of the government with support for these surveillance programs. Best and Krueger (2008) found that support for the President is inversely related to support for surveillance programs, while a subsequent analysis concluded that individuals who do not believe that judges respond appropriately to surveillance requests also possess lower levels of support for these programs (Reddick, Chatfield, & Jaramillo, 2015). Supportive of the studies on support for anti-terrorism policies in general, Best and Krueger (2008) found that education is also inversely related to support for government surveillance programs. They also concluded that income is inversely related to support for these surveillance programs (Best & Krueger, 2008).

The Effects of Academic Major. There is a growing body of literature that has identified differences between the perceptions of undergraduate students that major in Criminal Justice, compared to those studying other academic disciplines. Although these findings are inconsistent, they do provide evidence that students who major in Criminal Justice and Homeland Security may perceive government surveillance programs differently than their peers. A study conducted by Lambert (2004) at two Midwestern universities examined the perceptions of criminal justice majors and non-criminal justice majors on how they perceive crime and punishment. They found criminal justice majors to be more punitive; they viewed crime as more of a significant problem for society and that the court system was not as severe as it should be with criminals. They were also more supportive of the death penalty. Even more relevant to the current analysis is a study that compared the attitudes of Criminal Justice majors and non-Criminal Justice majors regarding the treatment and punishment of terrorists (Lambert, Hall, Clarke, Ventura, & Elechi, 2005). The authors found that criminal justice students viewed fighting crime to be more important than safeguarding due process. Criminal justice students were also less opposed to the use of torture to obtain information from captured suspects and were more supportive of denying convicted terrorists the right to appeal, compared to their peers. Similarly, Mackey and Smith (2012) found that criminal justice majors viewed homeland security related searches to be reasonable and only slightly intrusive. Together, these studies suggest that Criminal Justice majors hold more punitive views of offenders and may be more willing to infringe on the individual rights of suspected terrorists.

In contrast, other research has been unable to identify differences between undergraduate students who majored in Criminal Justice and those who studied other disciplines. In research conducted at a Northeastern Jesuit University, no difference was found between Criminal Justice and non-Criminal Justice majors in their views of justice or the goals they perceive Criminal Justice practitioners to have (Wolfer & Friedrichs, 2001). Similarly, a study conducted at four Southern universities found criminal justice majors and non-majors to have identical views regarding prison inmate privileges (Hensley, Miller, Koscheski, & Tewksbury, 2003), while other work also concluded that there were few differences between how Criminal Justice students perceived crime, prison, and prisoners, compared to their peers (Miller, Tewksbury, & Hensley, 2004). Other studies have even concluded that Criminal Justice majors have less

punitive views than their peers (Hamblet, del Carmen, & Polk, 2008; McCarthy & McCarthy, 1981; Tsoudis, 2000).

From a theoretical perspective, much of the literature described above regarding differences between Criminal Justice majors and their peers has vacillated between the theories of self-selection and socialization. According to the self-selection perspective, individuals are drawn to academic disciplines such as Criminal Justice and Homeland Security because they are more likely to possess characteristics and values that are aligned with the duties required of those who will one day work within the Criminal Justice system, such as an adherence to the law and an authoritarian personality (Courtright & Mackey, 2004; Lambert, 2004). In contrast, the socialization perspective posits that individuals "learn" the traits and views that will be required of them in the field while earning their degrees and during the training portion of their careers (Niederhoffer, 1975). As is evident from the studies mentioned above, the relevant literature is quite divided, with both perspectives receiving support to explain why students are drawn to study the Criminal Justice discipline and subsequently seek positions within the Criminal Justice system.

No known research currently exists that has examined how perceptions of the criminal justice system or counterterrorism policies might differ between Homeland Security majors and both their Criminal Justice and non-Criminal Justice peers. The current study attempts to address this gap in the literature by comparing perceptions of anti-terrorism government surveillance programs between undergraduate students who are studying Homeland Security, Criminal Justice, and other academic disciplines. Based on the studies reviewed above that generally indicate increased levels of support for current criminal justice policies by those who are studying within the field, and especially regarding anti-terrorism policies (Lambert et al., 2005; Mackey & Smith, 2012), we hypothesize that both Homeland Security and Criminal Justice majors will be more supportive of anti-terrorism government surveillance programs. More specifically, we expect that Homeland Security majors will express the highest levels of satisfaction for these programs, followed by Criminal Justice majors, with students majoring in other academic disciplines exhibiting the lowest levels of support.

METHODOLOGY

Data. The data analyzed in this study were gathered through the administration of an online survey questionnaire to the approximately 4,700 undergraduate students at a mid-sized, private university in the Northeast between November 9 and November 22, 2015. A cluster sampling technique was employed to ensure that appropriate numbers of students majoring in Homeland Security, Criminal Justice, and other academic disciplines were surveyed. After soliciting support from randomly selected instructors teaching courses in Homeland Security, Criminal Justice, and all other disciplines, students in six Homeland Security courses, eleven Criminal Justice courses, and twenty non-Criminal Justice or Homeland Security courses completed the online survey questionnaire.[1] Fifty-eight students self-reported that they were Homeland Security majors, 54 were Criminal Justice majors, and 145 were studying other academic disciplines, for a total of 257 completed online questionnaires. This sample represents an estimated 35 percent response rate based on the approximately 740 students who were solicited via the online survey request.

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[1] The majority of non-Criminal Justice and Homeland Security majors were also studying disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, such as Political Science and Sociology.

Dependent variables. Two dependent variables are analyzed in this study. The first dependent variable represents whether survey respondents believe that the two government surveillance programs in question are constitutional. This item is an index that combines the data from four survey statements that required participants to respond on a five-point scale that ranged from "strongly agree" through "strongly disagree." The statements include: "The National Security Agency's bulk surveillance programs infringe on your individual privacy rights," "The National Security Agency's bulk collection of telephone records is constitutional," "The National Security Agency's bulk collection of internet-based communications is constitutional," and the reverse-coded item, "Phone and Internet-based companies giving the government access to information about their customers is an infringement on the costumer's constitutional rights." The Cronbach's alpha for this item is 0.773, indicating an acceptable level of internal reliability for this index.[2]

The second dependent variable is comprised of responses from five statements on the survey that represent whether respondents perceive the bulk surveillance programs as effective. Respondents were also required to report the degree to which they agreed or disagree with the statements on a five-point scale that ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." These statements include: "National Security Agency bulk surveillance programs are essential in order to prevent terrorism," "National Security Agency bulk collection of telephone records has helped to prevent terrorism," "National Security Agency bulk collection of internet-based communications has helped to prevent terrorism," "National Security Agency bulk surveillance programs have been a major factor in not having another large-scale terrorist attack occur on U.S. soil since the attack on the World Trade Center on September 11th, 2001," and, "Even if the National Security Agency bulk surveillance programs have only stopped one terroristic plot from occurring, the programs are worthwhile." The Cronbach's alpha for this index item is 0.878, indicating a high level of internal reliability.

Independent Variables. Our analysis includes three blocks of independent variables: demographics, academic characteristics, and terrorism awareness. Demographic predictors include gender (male or female), ethnicity (non-White or White), and age. The academic characteristics include academic year (freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior) and two dichotomous items representing whether the students are Criminal Justice majors or Homeland Security majors. Finally, four items are included to estimate the effects of awareness of terrorism on perceptions of the bulk surveillance programs. The first two items measure the degree to which respondents consume the news from traditional sources (television, newspapers, and magazines) and social media sources. Both items are measured on a four-point scale, with a "1" denoting "never" and a "4" denoting "often. The third item asked students to respond to the statement "Terrorism is still a major issue for the United States after September 11th, 2001" on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to strongly disagree." The fourth terrorism awareness predictor was included due to the terror attacks in Paris on November 13, 2015, in which 130 individuals were killed. Since the survey was administered between November 9 and November 22, 2015, we felt that the well-publicized

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[2] We initially intended to conduct separate analyses to determine the predictors of the two NSA bulk surveillance programs (internet and telephone), but early analyses indicated that respondent perceptions were very similar for both programs. This is further evidenced by the high levels of internal reliability of the dependent variable scale items that contain items representing perceptions of both programs.

terror attacks in Paris might have an effect on how students perceive anti-terrorism policies, such as the TSA bulk surveillance programs, during the administration of the survey. As a result, we also include a dichotomous item in the models that represents whether students completed the survey after the Paris terror attacks.

Analytic Plan. The analysis begins with the calculation of univariate statistics to learn more about the independent and dependent variables. We then proceed with bivariate statistics to ensure that all predictors can be appropriately entered into subsequent multivariate models. Finally, we regress the two dependent variables on the blocks independent variables in order to identify significant predictors of perceptions that the TSA bulk surveillance programs are constitutional and effective. Six logistic regression models are estimated; the first three model the effects of the predictors on whether students perceive the TSA bulk surveillance programs as constitutional, while the second set of three models estimates the effects of the predictors on student perceptions that the bulk surveillance programs are effective. For each set of three models, we begin by first including only the demographic predictors. Then, the second models add the academic characteristics. Finally, the third models add the predictors representing terrorism awareness. In the sixth and final model predicting student beliefs that the bulk surveillance programs are effective, we also include the dichotomous item representing the belief that the programs are constitutional, which was used as the dependent variable in the first three models.

RESULTS

The descriptive statistics are shown in Table 1. They show that the mean value for the index representing student perceptions that the NSA bulk surveillance programs are constitutional is a 3.14, while the corresponding value for student views that those programs are effective is even higher, with a mean value of 3.63. The demographic predictors indicate that 47 percent of the sample is male, 17 percent is nonwhite, and the mean age is 20.23. The academic characteristics show that the student sample includes more upperclassmen than underclassmen and that twenty-one percent of the sample is comprised of Criminal Justice majors, while twenty-three percent are Homeland Security majors (non-CJ or HLS students are the reference category in the multivariate analyses). Lastly, descriptive statistics for the terrorism awareness items indicate that, on average, the student sample does not see terrorism as a major problem (1.55 on a scale of 1–5), and that students consume news from traditional sources (2.34) slightly more than from social media sources (2.30). Fifty-five percent of the sample completed the survey after the events of the terror attacks in Paris in 2015. Bivariate (Pearson) correlation analyses indicate that there no issues of multicollinearity between the independent variables described above. Since none of those items are significantly correlated with another, this assumption of multiple regression is not violated and all of the predictors can be entered into the subsequent multivariate models.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Metric	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Outcomes					
Programs Constitutional	Index	1.25	5.00	3.14	0.78
Programs Effective	Index	1.00	5.00	3.63	0.78

Variable	Metric	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Predictors					
Gender (Male)	0=no, 1=yes	0.00	1.00	0.47	0.50
Ethnicity (Non-White)	0=no, 1=yes	0.00	1.00	0.17	0.38
Age	continuous	18.00	37.00	20.23	48.29
Academic Year	1 – 4	1.00	4.00	2.78	1.15
Traditional News	1 – 4	1.00	4.00	2.34	0.89
Social Media	1 – 4	1.00	4.00	2.30	0.89
Terrorism is a Problem	1 – 5	1.00	5.00	1.55	0.84
After Paris Attacks	0=no, 1=yes	0.00	1.00	0.55	0.50
CJ Major	0=no, 1=yes	0.00	1.00	0.21	0.41
HLS Major	0=no, 1=yes	0.00	1.00	0.23	0.42

The results of the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models are shown in the Appendix (Table 2). As explained earlier, six OLS models are estimated: the first three models estimate the effects of the predictor variables on students' views that the NSA bulk collection programs are constitutional by adding additional predictors as we progress from Model 1 to Model 3. Models 4-6 examine the different, but related, view that these surveillance programs are effective. We begin with a description of Models 1, 2, and 3, which regress the view that the NSA bulk data collection programs are constitutional on the independent variables described earlier. Model 1 includes only the student demographic predictors and shows that gender, age, and ethnicity predict less than three percent of the variance in the view that the programs are constitutional (R^2 = 0.029). Of those items, only gender (-0.27, $p < 0.01$) is significantly related to the outcome, indicating that males are less likely to agree with the view that the bulk data collection programs are constitutional. Model 2 adds the academic characteristics and the terrorism awareness items and improves the ability of the model to predict agreement with the view that the bulk data collection programs are constitutional (R2 = 0.068). However, none of the additional items included are significantly related to the outcome measure. Model 3 adds the items representing whether the students are Criminal Justice or Homeland Security majors and further increases the R^2 to 0.090. Although being a Criminal Justice major is not a statistically significant predictor, it is shown that majoring in Homeland Security (-0.31, $p < 0.05$) decreases support for the view that the NSA bulk surveillance programs are constitutional.

Models 4, 5, and 6 regress support for the view that the NSA bulk surveillance programs are effective, rather than constitutional, on the same sets predictors. Model 4, as with Model 1, includes only the student demographic characteristics and is shown to explain only seven percent (R2 = 0.070) of the variance in the outcome. None of the three demographic variables in Model 4 significantly predict support for the view that the bulk collection programs are effective. Model 5 introduces the items representing academic characteristics and terrorism awareness.

Additionally, we have included the outcome variable from Models 1, 2, and 3 as an independent variable, in order to determine if the view that the NSA bulk collection programs are constitutional is related to the view that they are effective. Model 5 shows that the ability to predict support for the view that the bulk data collection programs are effective increases drastically after adding the academic characteristics and terrorism awareness variables, as the R^2

increases from 0.070 to 0.468. Regarding the effects of the individual items in Model 5, it is shown that consuming news from traditional media sources (0.14, $p < 0.05$) increases support for the belief that the bulk collection programs are effective, while the belief that terrorism Is a major problem (-0.29, $p < 0.001$) and an increase in the scale representing agreement that the data collection programs are constitutional, decrease (-0.55, $p < 0.001$) that support. Finally, Model 6 includes the academic major variables to show that majoring in Homeland Security (0.21, $p < 0.05$) is significantly related to increased support for the view that the bulk collection programs are effective, while majoring in Criminal Justice is not.

DISCUSSION

The results from this analysis indicate that it is important to investigate the various ways that students studying various academic disciplines perceive anti-terrorism policies that have been created by the United States government. Specifically, we have found that students who major in Homeland Security are less likely to support the view that the NSA bulk data collection policies are constitutional, compared to their undergraduate student peers, but also that they express higher levels of support for the view that these programs are effective. Interestingly, students who study Criminal Justice are not significantly more or less likely to support these views, compared to Homeland Security majors or any other majors, even though they are believed to have more awareness of these policies than their fellow students. Additionally, a comparison of the two sets of regression models shows that the predictors representing demographics, academic characteristics, and terrorism awareness are able to explain much more of the variance in the outcome representing agreement that the NSA bulk data collection policies are effective (Model 6 R^2: 0.477), compared to support for the view that those programs are constitutional (Model 3 R^2: 0.090).

Contrary to our hypothesis, Homeland Security majors are less likely to support the view that U.S. government bulk surveillance policies are constitutional, compared to both those majoring in Criminal Justice and students studying other academic disciplines. While this finding is not supportive of the prior literature that has linked Criminal Justice majors with increased support for criminological policies such as the death penalty (Lambert, 2004) and increased punishment in general (Mackey & Courtright, 2010), we believe that is can be explained in multiple ways. First, the research on the effects of studying criminal justice as an undergraduate are decidedly mixed, with studies both supporting (Lambert, 2004; Lambert et al., 2005; Mackey & Smith, 2012) and disputing (Miller et al., 2004; Wolfer & Friedrichs, 2001) that Criminal Justice students are more supportive of specific criminal justice policies. Secondly, researchers have shown that increased levels of education are linked with support for civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2004) and inversely related with support for government surveillance policies (Best & Krueger, 2008). This could explain why those studying Homeland security, and who are presumably among the most knowledgeable about such policies, exhibit lower levels of support. Indeed, Homeland Security students in this program are required to take a course on constitutional rights that is not required of the majority of students studying other disciplines, including those majoring in Criminal Justice. In addition, many homeland security courses incorporate specific instruction on civil liberties, civil rights, and privacy policy, while criminal justice curricula often only addresses such issues briefly in courses on criminal law and/or criminal procedure.

The other main finding that stems from this analysis indicates that Homeland Security majors are significantly more likely to support the view that government bulk surveillance programs are effective, compared to both Criminal justice majors and other students. Homeland Security students in this program complete coursework that includes material on counterterrorism policies and practices that emphasizes prevention and, therefore, may result in a "non-event." A non-event is an attack or plot that did not materialize, at least in part, because of preventive action that may include surveillance, the use of informants, information provided by civic-minded citizens and "see something, say something" campaigns (Fernandez, 2010), and other counterterrorism strategies and tactics (Weick, 2011). In addition, Homeland security students in this program are required to take courses on topics such as civil rights, law enforcement, and intelligence ethics and accountability that are not required of the students in the majority of students studying other disciplines (Ramsay, Cutrer, & Raffel, 2010). For these reasons, it may not be surprising that Homeland Security majors are less supportive of government bulk surveillance programs, but more likely to believe that those programs are effective. While Homeland Security students are more aware of the effectiveness of these counterterrorism programs, they are also familiar with the ethical conundrums that these programs pose.

From a pedagogical standpoint, this analysis suggests that Homeland Security-specific curricula do succeed in preparing students to become familiar with and critically analyze current issues in the field. Practitioners and academics have increasingly advocated for this complex and rapidly-changing field to be recognized as a distinct academic discipline (Ramsay, 2013; Ramsay et al., 2010), and the results of this study support their view. To that end, the International Society for Preparedness and Resilience (2017) identified nine knowledge domains that should be in undergraduate homeland security curricula:

- critical infrastructure and resilience
- emergency management
- human and environmental security
- intelligence
- law and policy
- professionalism
- risk management
- strategic planning
- terrorism.

Knowledge domains were identified as the core set of intellectual areas, which collectively define the homeland security curricula. Specific intelligence and terrorism domain competencies include comparing and contrasting the legal and ethical implications of foreign and domestic intelligence and counterterrorism activities. It is worth noting that many intelligence and counterterrorism courses include real-world case studies that provide evidence of the efficacy of certain intelligence and counterterrorism operations. By identifying government bulk surveillance programs as potentially effective, yet unconstitutional, we see evidence of the multi-faceted consideration by which students of Homeland Security must critically analyze counterterrorism measures.

There are limitations in this analysis that should be considered. First, the student sample comes from only one mid-sized, private university in the Northeast that possesses a relatively

homogenous study body. As a result, the findings are less likely to be representative of students attending more diverse institutions in other parts of the country. Additionally, these data are somewhat limited based on their quantitative nature. Although each of the two dependent variables is a composite measure that considers multiple dimensions of individuals' perceptions of bulk surveillance programs, future researchers would be well-served to collect more in-depth, qualitative data that can more comprehensively measure how and why individuals perceive these surveillance programs in the ways that they do.

In conclusion, this analysis has shown that Homeland Security majors at one institution are significantly less likely to view the bulk surveillance programs enacted by the United States government as constitutional, compared to students majoring in Criminal Justice and other disciplines. In contrast, Homeland Security majors are significantly more likely to perceive the bulk surveillance programs as effective, compared to their peers. We believe that our findings provide evidence of the critical thinking skills that can be successfully developed by homeland security curricula and provide support for the further development of distinct Homeland Security programs within higher education.

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APPENDIX

Table 2: OLS Regression Models Estimating the Effects of Demographics, Academic Characteristics, and Terrorism Awareness on Perceptions of the Constitutionality and Effectiveness of Government Surveillance Programs

	Model 1	Model 2 Constitutionality	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5 Effectiveness	Model 6
Intercept	3.29 (0.51)***	3.39 (0.54)***	3.63 (0.55)***	3.52 (0.50)***	5.55 (0.44)***	5.34 (0.45)***
Demographics						
Gender (Male)	-0.27 (0.10)**	-0.21 (0.10)*	-0.12 (0.11)	0.11 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.08)
Ethnicity (NonWhite)	0.04 (0.13)	0.03 (0.13)	0.04 (0.13)	-0.09 (0.13)	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.10)
Age	0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Academics						
Academic Year	--	-0.08 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.12)	--	-0.08 (0.12)	0.13 (0.09)
CJ Major	--	--	-0.15 (0.12)	--	--	0.05 (0.09)
HLS Major	--	--	-0.31 (0.13)*	--	--	0.21 (0.10)*
Terrorism Awareness						
Traditional Media	--	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)	--	0.14 (0.06)*	0.13 (0.06)*
Social Media	--	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	--	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)
Terrorism Problem	--	0.12 (0.06)	0.12 (0.06)	--	-0.29 (0.05)***	-0.29 (0.05)***
After Paris Attacks	--	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.10)	--	0.10 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Constitutional	--	--	--	--	-0.55 (0.05)***	-0.51 (0.05)***
R^2	0.029	0.068	0.090	0.007	0.468	0.477

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$