New Zealand's National Security Framework: A recommendation for the development of a National Security Strategy

A thesis
Submitted partial fulfilment
Of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts in International Relations and Security Studies

at

The University of Waikato

By

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2018

Abstract

New Zealand's national security system is based upon a collection of siloed plans and policies. New Zealand has adopted an 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach to national security that is based upon a reactive system. There does not exist a national security strategy that seeks to address emerging security threats. In essence, New Zealand's approach is oriented to 'wait for the crisis to occur before acting'. Much of the literature relating to national security is overly theoretical, which does not assist in the development of a New Zealand national security strategy. This research examines academic theory and New Zealand's policies and plans that relate to national security in order to identify the gap between theory and policy. It is recommended that New Zealand develop a national security strategy that is based on a concept of the protection of a citizens 'normal way of life'. This concept provides the strategy with 'what should be protected'. By successfully focusing on this concept, it will allow New Zealand citizens to go about their daily business free from fear. Building upon this concept, a national security strategy is proposed that would take a forward-looking risk reduction approach to five emerging security threats facing New Zealand. These are: The Cyber threat, the Terrorist threat, Climate Change, Biosecurity, and threats to Territorial Security. This would enable the New Zealand government agencies responsible for supporting national security the ability to develop capabilities to meet these threats. Although New Zealand articulates a whole-of-government approach to national security, the individual plans and policies relating to national security are not connected. There is a deficiency in collaboration and commonality between government agencies within the national security framework, which could be improved with the implementation of a national security strategy that is focussed on emerging threats and allowing New Zealanders to live free from fear.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Reuben Steff for his extreme patience and support during this project, especially in the final month.

My wife Sheree needs a very special mention for her long hours spent alone while I read, wrote, lost hope and wrote some more.

My two children for having the unique ability to interrupt me at critical moments of concentration. Your timing was amazing!

Gizmo the cat for sitting on my desk and keeping me company. The bite marks on my notepad will be a reminder of our hours spent together.

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Abbreviations

2016 DWP	2016 Defence White Paper (Australia)
ADF:	Australian Defence Force
ANZUS:	Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty
ASEAN:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASIO:	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
CDEM:	Civil Defence and Emergency Management
CERT:	Computer Emergency Response Team
CSIRT:	Computer Security Incident Response Team
CTAG:	Combined Threat Assessment Group
DFAT:	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DPMC:	Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
DNZM:	Dame Companion of The New Zealand Order of Merit
DWP 2016:	Defence White Paper 2016 (New Zealand)
FTF:	Foreign Terrorist Fighters
GCSB:	Government Communications and Security Bureau
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
HADR:	Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief
Hon:	Honourable
ICT:	Information and Communications Technology
JCNSS:	Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy
KNZM:	Knight Companion of The New Zealand Order of Merit
MBIE:	Ministry for Business, Innovation & Employment
MCDEM:	Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management
MFAT:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
MOD:	Ministry of Defence
MP:	Member of Parliament
MPI:	Ministry for Primary Industries
MSD:	Ministry for Social Development
NCPO:	National Cyber Policy Office
NRU:	National Risk Unit
NCS:	National Security Council
NCSC:	National Cyber Security Centre (Abbreviation used by New Zealand and Singapore)

NRU:	National Risk Unit
NSCS:	National Security Coordination Secretariat
NSS:	National Security System
NSS Handbook:	National Security System Handbook
NSS&SDSR	National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review
NZDF:	New Zealand Defence Force
NZSIS:	New Zealand Security Intelligence Service
ODESC:	Officials' Committee for Domestic and External Security Coordination
PM&C	Prime Minister and Cabinet
SAF:	Singapore Armed Forces
SIG:	Security and Intelligence Group
UK:	United Kingdom
US:	United States of America
WMD:	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chapter One: Introduction

Much of the contemporary narrative surrounding national security identifies the need to approach security from a whole-of-society perspective. Barry Buzan argued that security has three levels: security of the individual, of the state and of the international system (Buzan, 1991). Donald Snow presented the concept that there are two core elements of national security: physical security and the sense of security for the population (Snow, 2016). Philip Bobbitt argued that states should continually rethink the way that a state secures itself, to ensure that security is offered to all (Bobbitt, 2008). The government's requirement to provide its citizens with not only a physical state of security, but also a mental state of security highlights the fact that the topic of national security is a highly contested one. Buzan, describes how the concept of security is a contested concept, as it is characterised by 'unsolvable debates about its meaning and application'. The contest involves what priorities the government will focus national security on and how it will allocate national resources for security. The traditional concept of security considers under what circumstances will the State employ violence to protect the safety of its citizens. However, if what is being secured is not specified by the State, then the concept of national security can be ambiguous.

Although Wolfers (1952) argued that the State must decide what values it is willing to secure, Baldwin (1997) added that within the State, individuals and other social actors will have many different values that they want protected, that go beyond the traditional security objectives of ensuring political independence and territorial integrity. In addition to this, the State no longer has the monopoly on the control of many of the institutions that support national security and the State as a whole. Institutions such as banks, education providers, medical services and national transport fleets are some of these 'out-sourced' responsibilities. This shift to what Bobbitt calls the 'market state' (a State where core parts of the economy are not run by the State) will have an impact on how national security is conceptualised and approached. With the emergence and deepening of globalisation, characterised by interconnected global supply chains, trading networks and economies, and expansion of communications and migration systems, New Zealand is at a point where it needs to determine if the lens through

which it defines its national security is accurate enough to establish appropriately calibrated strategies and policies.

The primary question for this research project is: Is the current approach to national security effective in providing a whole-of-society framework? To answer this question, this dissertation will analyse the national security framework of New Zealand to determine if it achieves a whole-of-government approach to the security for the whole-of-society. The dissertation considers what should be protected by the New Zealand government to provide a basis for the development of a national security strategy. Contemporary commentary on New Zealand's national security is overly theoretical, which does not discuss the practical development of security policy. There is a need for research that will establish a framework for the development of a national security strategy. This will enable a cohesive approach to be adopted across government agencies in the development of security policy.

This dissertation is focussed on bridging the gap between academic theory in relation to national security and the current national security policy and plans of New Zealand. It is acknowledged that International Relations theory and geopolitics have a significant influence on national security, however, these topics go beyond the focus of this research project.

Drawing on literature examining the creation of national security strategies, this research will review the different schools of thought to determine if there is an approach that best fits New Zealand's requirements. It develops a concept of what it means to have a normal way of life for the citizens of New Zealand. This is achieved through a historical review of the evolution of the State constitutional order to determine what elements of the State enable people to go about their daily business free from fear. The security policies and plans of four nations are utilised as case studies, including: the United Kingdom (UK), the Republic of Ireland, Singapore and Australia. This comparative review provides a benchmark to determine if New Zealand's national security framework is similar to that of some of New Zealand's partners and allies. It also offers examples for possible utilisation in the development of a New Zealand national security strategy.

Examining current New Zealand security related policy and plans will determine the appropriate architecture upon which to develop a whole-of-government approach to provide security to the whole-of-society.

Literary Review

Barry Buzan in *People, States & Fear (1991)* asked the question: security of what to whom, and security and what costs? Buzan took Kenneth Waltz's concept, that there are three levels of security that need to be addressed and expanded on them. These are: the security of the individual, the state and the international system. Buzan argued that national security should be holistic and incorporate all three levels of security and aim to converge security studies, foreign policy and international relations. The key contribution of *People, States & Fear* was to identify key elements that should be taken into account in the development of a national security policy. Buzan also provided worthwhile analysis of how smaller States can use international and regional alliances and formal security arrangements to support national security. However, Buzan's conclusions dance around the topic of how to develop a national security policy in a practical sense and unfortunately, did not provide the detail to support the development of a national security strategy.

Donald Snow offered a comprehensive overview of national security theory in *Thinking About National Security: Strategy, Policy and Issues.* Snow's commentary commenced with an overview of the concept of national security. Snow argued that the most basic national security question is under what circumstances will a nation use armed forces to ensure its safety and well-being (Snow, 2016). The strength of this book is the breakdown and definitions of the different components of national security. Snow offered a comprehensive and straight-forward description of strategy, policy, risk and threats. Snow's argument that security has two elements: physical security and the sense of security was significant because it raised the important point that security is more than just the protection of the borders, a point that this research takes on board. Snow explained that security can be subjective and not everyone in the State will be or feel affected by a threat and that political influence and individual opinion will

influence how national security is viewed. The second part of the book largely focused on the impact of the changing environment on the United States (US) military. It discussed the impact on the composition of the armed forces as well as on military capabilities in the new threat environment. Additionally, like Buzan, the book skirts around the idea of national security policy development, failing to provide any great insights into this process. Despite these shortfalls, this book provided a straightforward approach to understanding the concept of national security and its core components.

Philip Bobbitt published two books on the development of the State and the emergence of terrorism as a threat to States. *The Shield of Achilles (2002)* discussed the concept of the evolution of the constitutional order, from the princely states in the 15th Century, through to the contemporary nation state, that emerged on the international stage in the late 19th Century in Europe. Bobbitt explained that there was a connection in the changes that took place to the constitutional order and the innovations that took place in warfare. Bobbitt offered the concept of the market state, where the role of the State is to allow the citizens to maximise the opportunities enjoyed by the members of society. Bobbitt proposed that the market state had evolved from globalisation, the outsourcing of government functions, advances in communications and more open borders to individual travel. *The Shield of Achilles* advanced the idea that previously, only a State could destroy a State. However, due to advances in international communications, rapid computation and the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), this is no longer the case. This idea contributed to one of the themes of this research, which is that the nature of the international environment has changed since the Cold War, therefore, New Zealand must recognise the need to re-evaluate how it seeks to provide national security.

The Shield of Achilles discussed the evolution of the State and the relationship between the constitutional order and the evolution of society. Bobbitt continued this investigation in *Terror and Consent: The Wars For The Twenty-First Century*. Written after the terrorist attacks on the US mainland on 11th September 2001, Bobbitt argued that terrorism mirrors the State. *Terror and Consent* is an extension of the discussion on the evolution of the State constitutional order from

the 15th Century and although Bobbitt does reuse his work on State evolution, the focus is the relationship between the State and terrorism. Bobbitt argued that there existed two types of States. A state of consent, that believed in the rule of law, human rights and open government and the state of terror, where groups seek to establish a State based on fear and repression. Bobbitt also argued that natural disasters can have as much impact on the normal daily functions of the State as a terrorist attack. *Terror and Consent's* main contribution to this dissertation stems from discussion about how States must continually rethink the way wars are fought and how they provide national security.

It is necessary to adopt a wider examination of the State's evolution and to view this from another approach. This was conducted during this research project so that the analysis of the evolution of the State was derived from different ideas and not just those related to *International Relations* theory. In order to move further beyond Bobbitt and Snow's approach that considered national security through an International Relations lens, Hilton L. Root's *Dynamics Among Nations: The Evolution of Legitimacy and Development in Modern State (2013)* offered a useful perspective. The purpose of this book is to examine the partnership of *Modernization Theory* and *Liberal Internationalism* and to contrast these with the evolutionary theory of *Complexity*. Root argued the necessity to expand the study of complex systems in order to understand the interactions of economic, cultural and political networks. Root challenged the idea of the success of Liberal Internationalism and argued that there is a redistribution of economic and political power to emerging nations such as China, India, Brazil and Russia. These emerging nations challenge the traditional Western view of collective security, where like-minded States join together to provide security. The emerging nations benefit from trade and economic growth, but contest the Liberal Internationalism ideals of 'democracy, labor and human rights and an open domestic democracy' (Root, 2013, p. 5). Root's discussion of the changing of the State constitutional order and the impact of this on national security, supports the contention of this research that it is necessary to analyse the context of New Zealand's environment by moving beyond traditional security ideas. Root extends the historical description of the evolution of the State and focussed on how the State's interaction with the population evolved as the State demanded more resources of

money and manpower in order to achieve its ambitions. Root's *Dynamics Among Nations* provided analysis of the challenges faced by a State as a result of growing interconnectedness and also argued that western states may no longer hold decisive sway over the international system, it's rules and major institutions.

A contemporary analysis of New Zealand's national security framework is provided by Negar Partow in her contribution to the edited proceedings of Massey University's National Security Conference 2016. Her chapter *Rethinking National Security: A new conceptual framework? (2017)*, Partow provided a brief overview of the traditional conception of national security in which the State is the main referent object of security and the main producer of security. The chapter also discussed the global ideational changes taking place and their significance to nationalism. In essence, being a member of a nation is non-voluntary and this, Partow explains 'is an important security challenge for today' (Partow, 2017, p. 127). Citizen's allegiances are increasingly less tied to the State in which they were born. Citizens can now easily travel, live in multiple countries throughout their lives and connect with micro-communities in distant lands through the internet. This is where Partow offered a refreshingly different view of the security discourse reviewed. Although she argued that national security continues to focus on sovereignty and national identity, the concept of *Human Security* better suits the challenges faced by liberal democracies in providing national security in an increasingly complex and globalised environment. As such, Partow influenced the use of human security as a philosophical theory for the development of a national security framework.

Review of New Zealand's national security framework

The focus of this research project is to establish a framework for the establishment of a New Zealand national security strategy. It is necessary to review, in conjunction with academic material related to national security, the various policies and plans of the New Zealand agencies that contribute to national security. The key documents relating to New Zealand's national security are examined in more depth in Chapter Four. In New Zealand, the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) is responsible for the coordination of the

National Security System (NSS). Published in 2016, the *National Security System Handbook (NSS Handbook)* detailed the arrangements for the governance of national security as well as the response to potential and an actual national security crisis. The *NSS Handbook* provided the strategic context and the objectives of New Zealand's national security framework. The bulk of the *NSS Handbook* provided an overview of the different government agencies responsibilities in the event of a national security crisis. What is absent from the *NSS Handbook* is a forward-looking approach to New Zealand's national security. New Zealand has taken an 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach to national security, based on an adaptable and reactive national security system, rather than a forward-looking approach to risk reduction (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). There is no explanation or rationale for not wanting to develop a forward-looking approach or a strategy to develop capabilities to address emerging challenges and to review current assumptions relating to national security. Examples of other nation's national security strategies are reviewed in Chapter Three.

The 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach detailed in the *NSS Handbook* is supported by a reliance on developing *resilience* in New Zealand. This includes resilience of infrastructure, institutions and communities. There is little detail on what the expectations are across each of these elements in relation to resilience. Furthermore, there is significant difference between building resilience for a key piece of infrastructure and developing resilience for a member of the community. The *NSS Handbook* does not address this issue. As a document that provides information on the structure that is in place for the response to a national security crisis, the *NSS Handbook* provided a clear guideline.

Complementing the *NSS Handbook* is the *National CDEM Plan 2015*. Civil Defence and Emergency Management (CDEM) coordinates the operational activities for the response to a security related crisis. The response to a crisis is focussed on the '4 R's': Reduction, Readiness, Response and Recovery. To support this the *National CDEM Plan 2015* set out the objectives for CDEM and provided details of how the response will be coordinated at a national level. It also detailed how the coordination with regional CDEM agencies will occur. Much of

the *National CDEM Plan 2015* is a guide to the roles and responsibilities of each agency in the event of a crisis. There are details of the associated legislation that provides the legal authority for each agency to act in an emergency and what additional powers the agencies will be granted in a crisis. The strength of this plan is that it provided information on how welfare services will be supported during a crisis. This demonstrated that there is consideration about a person's every day needs and their sense of security. The *National CDEM Plan 2015* is an operational document. It provided coordination information for agencies and their responsibilities and is not intended to be a strategic, forward looking document.

The most recent *Defence White Paper 2016 (DWP 2016)* is a continuation of white papers published by the Ministry of Defence (MOD). The purpose of the *DWP 2016* was to set out the government's objectives for the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) out to 2030. The content of the *DWP 2016* provided information relating to the strategic outlook, the likely threats that New Zealand could face, as well, as how the NZDF connects to the wider New Zealand national security framework. Much of the *DWP 2016* discussed the roles of the NZDF and what outputs are expected from each individual service. The discussion contained within the *DWP 2016* on capability development, workforce generation, the regeneration of the defence estate and organisational change, are brief statements providing conceptual information on the desired outcomes. There is little contained within the *DWP 2016* that provided a forward-looking strategy that sets a pathway for the achievements of the governments objectives out to 2030. The *DWP 2016* is also very similar in content to that of the previous defence white paper released in 2010. As a document that has the purpose of setting priorities for the next 25 years, it was assumed that the *DWP 2016* would provide a strategy for future defence capability development. However, upon review, the *DWP 2016* lacked a forward-looking approach and is limited to statements informing the public what has been achieved previously.

What is evident in the review of the literature on national security, both academic and New Zealand government policy, is that neither provide a practical framework for the development of a national security strategy. Although the academic writings reviewed, place an emphasis on academic theory that will not

substantially help in the development of policy, they did contribute to the development of what the State should focus on securing in Chapter Two. These writings also provided the basis for the development in identifying the emerging threats facing New Zealand's national security. Many of the reviewed writings discussed the need for the development of effective national security policy, however, they avoid making practical suggestions of how this can be achieved. In contrast to theoretical statements are the national security related policy and plans of the New Zealand government agencies responsible for contributing to national security. These documents are predominately operational plans that detailed what the response will be in the event of a crisis. They provided an outline of the coordination between government agencies and the legislation that authorises the agencies to act on behalf of the government.

The review of New Zealand's national security framework has identified that there lacks a central national security strategy. The overall concept of a national security strategy is that it should address the basic security needs of the citizens. It should address external and internal threats and convey how these threats will be responded to. A national security strategy would articulate the nation's security objectives and goals and marry these to the means and resources to achieve them. As New Zealand takes a whole-of-government approach to national security, a centralised strategic document would enable commonality between the different government agencies in the development of their own strategies and plans.

Purpose of the research and chapter outline

Although New Zealand occupies a relatively benign location in the world (Brownlee, 2016), New Zealand interacts with other States that live in increasingly contested security environments. New Zealand needs to be actively engaged in the world, and therefore, should have a security strategy that operates a framework for protecting the State against current and emerging threats. Possible threats to New Zealand's security can originate domestically or from external sources. As New Zealand's global interconnectedness grows, then so should its security policy evolve. New Zealand does not have a published national security strategy, instead it relies upon a number of individual agency policies and

plans to achieve security objectives and develop security capabilities. The aim of this research is to recommend that New Zealand should develop a national security strategy that seeks to bring about a cohesive framework rather than a series of bullet-point action plans, as is the current case.

Chapter Two will examine the evolution of the State to determine what components of the State require protection. These components are based on what constitutes a State and how these elements contribute to a citizens normal way of life. The examination is a chorological review from the foundation of the State constitutional order in Europe and how the evolution of the State was connected with the evolution of warfare. The Peace of Westphalia is used as a historical marker and through the examination of States in that period, it is concluded that the focus of a State's security was primarily the protection of the Realm and religion. As States developed and as the State's ambitions grew, so did the need to extract more resources from their citizens. States required a population with greater skills, that would build, manufacture and develop new technology. With this development the citizens of the State demanded more in return from their rulers and in turn the State was required to ensure the wellbeing and security of their citizens. By the end of the 19th Century, the State was providing health, education and welfare support to the population and in return the State received economic benefits and an educated population to use for the realisation of its ambitions. Chapter Two concludes by establishing what elements of the State should be protected. This provides the basis for the concept of the normal way of life. This concept is used as a base for the review and development of a State's national security strategy and for the development of a national security strategy for New Zealand.

Chapter Three reviews the national security framework of the UK, Republic of Ireland, Singapore and Australia. The chapter provides an examination of what other nations have developed in relation to their specific national security requirement, with the intent of identifying elements of their national security frameworks that New Zealand could adopt in the development of its own national security strategy. New Zealand has a long and close history with the UK and as a former colony of the British Empire, much of New Zealand's government

institutions were developed using the British model. Britain has a national security strategy and this strategy provided this research with an example of how a security strategy can be created and used within a national security framework. The Republic of Ireland is a nation similar to New Zealand in population and in military capability. Like New Zealand, Ireland relies on global trade for economic prosperity and requires a secure region. The review of Ireland's national security framework concluded that, like New Zealand, Ireland had no national security strategy and also relied on individual agency policy and plans relating to national security. The review of the Singaporean national security framework discovered a security architecture that was based predominately on the threat of a terrorist attack and the contribution of the population towards the concept of '*Total Defence*'. Singapore provided a good example of how to communicate the expectations of the government to the population in relation to national security. Singapore uses a range of communication methods aimed at different levels of society to place security into the narrative of the population's daily life. New Zealand's closet ally, Australia, is used as the final review. Australia does not have a national security strategy and like New Zealand, relies on white papers and individual agency plans relating to national security. What the review of the Australian national security framework did discover is the publication of a Foreign Policy White Paper, which linked domestic security to foreign policy.

New Zealand's national security framework is reviewed in Chapter Four. The New Zealand government has adopted an 'all-hazards/all-risks' whole-of-government approach to national security that is primarily a reactive system rather than a forward-looking risk reduction strategy (DPMC, 2016). There are two documents that provide the framework for a nationally coordinated response to a crisis event in New Zealand: the *NSS Handbook* and the *National CDEM Plan 2015*. These two documents provide an overview of the response and the roles and responsibilities of government agencies for the provision of support to a national security crisis. Chapter Four reviewed key pieces of legislation, policy and plans of other New Zealand government agencies that contribute to national security. The policy and plans that were reviewed were all released before the end of 2017 and did not consider recently released documents this year (2018). The research concluded that there exists a number of different formats and styles of

policy and plans published on national security. There is very little connection or consistency in information and format between these national security documents. The assessment is made that the agencies that contribute to national security produce plans that are siloed and not connected into an over-arching strategy.

Chapter Five developed a concept for a New Zealand National Security Strategy based on the assessments made in Chapter Four and from the concept of the normal way of life developed in Chapter Two. In its current form the New Zealand national security framework is unconnected and siloed. The strategy this dissertation proposes would include a coordinated framework for the development, publication and review of government agencies national security documents and policies. This would address the current siloed approach and unconnected method in which national security plans are developed. From the analysis of New Zealand's strategic environment, it is recommended that New Zealand develop a national security strategy based on five emerging threats. These threats cut across all parts of society and require a whole-of-government approach to a response. Additionally, it is recommended that Human Security be used as the theoretical basis for the development of a New Zealand National Security Strategy. This theory corresponds with the current New Zealand national security objective of ensuring citizens can live 'free from fear'. The recommended strategy would provide coherency to the current New Zealand national security framework and enhance the whole-of-society approach to national security.

This is a practical research project that aims to close the gap between academic writing in the theory of national security and the national security operational plans that have been developed in New Zealand. As such, given this focus, this research does not utilise or position International Relations theory as a core component in the research. The provision of New Zealand's national security is through a whole-of-government approach to the whole-of-society. Yet the policy and plans of New Zealand's national security architecture is constituted by a series of isolated documents with little or no connection to each other. There exists no overarching New Zealand national security strategy that could be used to inform and direct the development of the individual agency national security strategies and plans. In addition to proposing a New Zealand national security

strategy, this research will determine the threats against which the strategy will be developed.

Chapter Two: The evolution of the State and the development of the normal way of life concept.

The Evolution of the State

This chapter will examine the evolution of the modern State by interrogating how the State order has evolved. It will demonstrate that the focal point of security, which was previously the ruler of the State is now the people of the State. Additionally, it provides a historical basis for the evolution of the State and discusses how, as the State evolved, so did the framework for security. The examination of the Pre-Westphalian State discusses how the referent object of State security was Realm and religion and how the State used its population to achieve security. This provides the basis to demonstrate the evolution of State security from a system that was focussed on the protection of a central ruling authority through to the protection of the whole of society of the nation state. The examination of the Post-Westphalian State discusses how if States wanted to realise their ambitions, they needed to increase their extraction of resources and people for their military from within the State. This increased extraction led States to realise that the population was becoming the referent objective of security, as without a willing population, ambition could not be realised. The chapter examines how by the end of the 19th Century, the State realised that the population needed to have access to welfare support, education, health care and be allowed the opportunities to advance in business and in social status. This historical review leads into the analysis of what constitutes a State and establishes what are the pillars that allow for the citizens to live and thrive. The chapter concludes by establishing a concept for a normal way of life, based on six components, that if secured, will enable a secure society.

The State came into existence in order to protect its jurisdiction and territory from foreign intervention and interference. If a State was unable to protect its citizens and homeland then it would cease to exist (Bobbitt, 2002). It is the State that must decide under what circumstances violence will be used to ensure the safety and well-being of its territory, institutions and population (Snow, 2016). Throughout history, States in some form or another have always existed. From the early

Mycenaean states of Greece that were governed by kings through a central bureaucracy (Parker, 2014) to the populous Romanus and the Dynasties of China, a structure and system of protection has been in place and controlled by these States. The leadership of the State was based on ancestral legitimacy, which was replaced in the 20th Century by a system that transposed the material and legal attributes from the person to the State (Bobbitt, 2002). The modern State evolved out of the transition from ancestral legitimacy to that of a constitutional order that is centralised and has the responsibility to defend its territory and wealth (Weisband & Thomas, 2015). It is from this requirement to defend the territory and wealth of the State that the security of the State is necessary (Bobbitt, 2002).

Pre-Westphalian State

Territorial boundaries in Europe prior to the 15th Century were mere frontiers, that were continually disputed and poorly administered (Birdal, 2004). Europe was an assortment of several thousand polities with varying forms of authority and autonomy (Reus-Smit, 2011). Self-survival and territorial gain was the motivation behind State security, and the model of rule was feudal and ecclesiastical (Vu, 2010). Religion maintained a stranglehold on the authority of European States, with Pope Gregory VII, who claimed authority over every type of polity in Latin Christendom and asserted that the 'secular authority was beholden to the spiritual' (John, 2016, p. 225). The focus of security (and referent object) was to maintain the rule of the sovereign leader and also maintain the sovereign's religion. Figure 1 demonstrates how the focus of security was the ruler and religion. This was safe guarded by the ruler's army, as well as any mercenary forces, if the ruler had the money to pay for them. There was little consideration for the security of the people or society. External threats to a State during this time would come from other States invading one's territory in order to capture the land, the wealth and resources associated within. Defence of the State was through the feudal system, where the nobility would be obliged to provide military service to the ruling family. The nobleman would be required to deliver a certain number of knights and troops to fight for the defence of the territory or to capture neighbouring lands. As territories grew wealthier, threats to their security would grow and so would the need to provide greater security to the population.
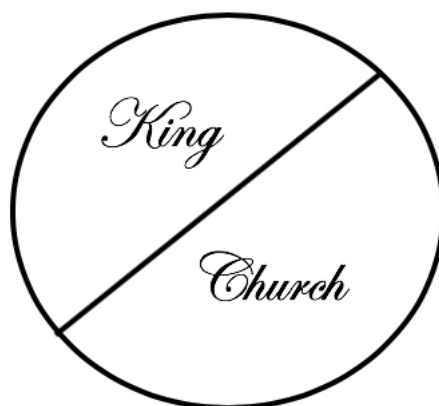
Figure 1: Pre-Westphalian Security Framework

The Italian Renaissance initiated a significant social and political change that signalled the start of the development of the modern state system in Europe. At the beginning of the 14th Century, there were more than 80 independent cities in Italy (Somaini, 2012). These cities flourished, driven by wealthy merchants and investors, the Italian city states prospered, and developed their own political system of self-rule. Bobbitt (2002) describes this combination of the dynastic conventions of medieval feudalism with a secular constitutional order that created an objectified state; the princely state. Internal instability and the inability of smaller States to protect themselves, meant that by the end the 14th Century approximately 15 princely states in Italy existed (Somaini, 2012). The scale of conflict in the 14th Century meant that many of the princely states did not have the military capacity, nor the wealth to protect themselves. The protective walls and fortifications they had built for their security, no longer afforded them the protection they once had. Advances in artillery meant that these fortifications were now obsolete (Cowley, 2007). This became a stark reality for Europe when the Byzantine Empire fell to the Turks in 1453. Constantinople had relied on its massive walls for its defence, but when the Turks employed siege cannons, these artillery pieces rendered these walls almost useless (Thackeray & Findling, 2001). The reliance on fortifications and the local militia for security was no longer suitable. What was required was a professional military organisation capable of providing the princely state with protection and a system capable of funding the military.

The traditional way of defending a city was through local communal militias, however, new threats challenged this system. The mobilisation of the citizens to raise militias in the defence of the city became entirely inappropriate for the threats that were being faced by the princely state (Somaini, 2012). The hiring of mercenaries by more prosperous princely states to fight on their behalf had two negative outcomes. Firstly, was the cost. Contracts with mercenaries were not cheap and would often require a competitive salary for the troops, in order to keep them from moving their trade to another higher bidder. There were also costs to cover arms, equipment and animals. An example of this cost was the princely state of Florence who used mercenary forces in the 14th Century. Even though Florence was considered a wealthy secular state, since their war with the Papacy in 1375, the cost of maintaining mercenary contracts had meant that by 1450 it was estimated that Florence was in debt by 8,000,000 Florins (Braver & Van Tuyll, 2008). The second issue was that it was difficult to completely guarantee the services of the mercenary company. In 1576, Spanish mercenaries, who had been hired by the city of Antwerp sacked the city because of a lack of pay and also motivated by outrage against the thriving Protestant merchant community (Bobbitt, 2008). It became problematic for a princely state to rely on mercenary groups to provide security . There were no guarantees of their loyal service. Mercenary captains had very little in the way of loyalty to those they served and were often criticised for not prosecuting war vigorously enough (Croxton, 1998). They could also turn on their masters very quickly, personal grievances were sometimes acted upon. Religious and political opinions would motivate acts of violence against those that they were contracted to protect. Only a State with an effective system of extracting the necessary resources from its own population could maintain a standing army.

The leaders of the princely states recognised the need to provide security from within and the need to develop a more centralised administrative framework that would enable a larger military of their own to be established. The development of accurate small arms and the rise of the importance of the infantry on the battlefield, meant that larger numbers of troops were required for a State's military. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and Prince Maurice of Nassau led the development of these new tactics involving larger armies (Bobbitt, 2002). During

the 16th Century, the State's administrative, tax-collecting and military structures were strengthened and centralised in order to support the requirements for a standing army (Maarbjerg, 2004). Weisband and Thomas (2015) argued that this extraction required a new form of legitimacy, as the rule by blood and ancestry could no longer justify war and taxation. This meant that the State needed to centralise its political authority. Along with a standing army and a centralised bureaucracy, princely states began to develop State policies to promote economic wealth as well as an increase in diplomatic representation abroad (Bobbitt, 2002). By the start of the 17th Century, the State had taken on the embryonic form of what could be recognised as a modern state. This also demonstrated that the State was beginning to recognise the necessity to provide security to the whole of society. It was the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 and the subsequent peace treaties between the major European competitors that is recognised as inaugurating the start of the modern state system.

The Post-Westphalian State

The Peace of Westphalia ended 30 years of war in Europe and ushered in a new stage in the evolution of the State system. The Thirty Years War was a highly-complicated conflict that combined a power struggle between the European powers, where the conflict arose from the consequences of the reformation (Straumann, 2008). The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 was the combination of two peace treaties, the first being the treaty between the Holy Roman Empire and Sweden at Osnabrück, and the second between the Holy Roman Empire and France at Münster. Croxton (1999) argued that the Peace of Westphalia recognised the right of individual States to rule their own territory. Negotiations during the development of the Westphalian treaties was an important stage in the evolution of the State system towards enshrining and recognising the sovereign nature of States. Lesaffer (1997) asserted that the treaties initiated the secularisation of the political landscape of Europe, as well as introduced the idea that States in Europe are all equal. The Peace of Westphalia lead to the division of the Church and the State. This meant that within the Holy Roman Empire, individual Stände could determine their own religion. It also meant that the church could no longer control a State's domestic and international policy. It allowed

individual States within Europe to develop their own alliances, and enter into international diplomatic negotiations and relationships. This ushered in an era where States could determine their own security arrangements and develop a framework that suited their own ambitions.
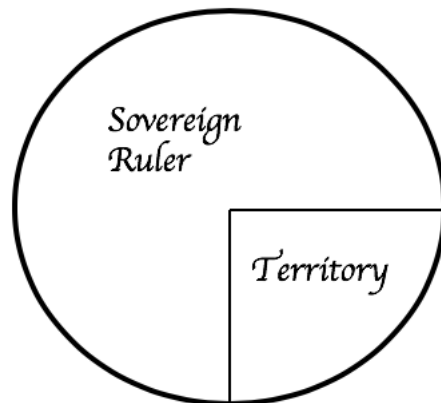
Figure 2: Post-Westphalian Security Framework

During the Post-Westphalian period, the focus of State security shifted to allow the State to focus on their own security without the influence of religion. There was an increase in diplomatic relations between States that was based on their own State ambitions and not those directed by the Church. Figure 2 illustrates these changes and shows that religion is no longer an object of security as it was during the Pre-Westphalian era (see Figure 1). During this period the focus of security remained the sovereign ruler, however, as the State acquired more autonomy from the religious governing body, their ambitions were no longer controlled by the desires and priorities of the religious establishment. Permanent standing armies now provided territorial security and through diplomacy that was aimed at preventing war, security for the State was enhanced. The State institutions also improved and through centralised control increased the effectiveness, of the State, to extract resources and manpower from the population, which was used for the protection of the ruler and the territory.

The State Nation

Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the system of statehood was subject to a competition between the emerging social democratic style of rule and traditional dynastic rule (Root, 2013). Bobbitt (2002) termed this evolution of the State order as the state nation. It was during this time that political liberalism further reduced the political authority of traditional monarchs, as it held that the people of the State should be the source of political authority (Fabry, 2010). *Nationalism* would also introduce new concepts of political rule and authority as the revolutions in France (1789-1799) and America (1765-1783) gave birth to modern nationalism. Civilisation was evolving as a capitalist and industrial economic system emerged, that had immense implications for societies. This allowed people to break free from traditional and established societal structures (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Yet, the focus of the State remained very much on increasing the rulers' ambitions and acquiring means to wage war (Bobbitt, 2002). Bobbitt asserted that this early nationalism 'focused the will of the nation in serving the state' (2002, p153). Like previous evolutions of the State system, concerns related to warfare and conflict played a considerable role in organising State structures. Armies became larger, colonies were established throughout the world, requiring large naval fleets to support global ambitions and along with this expansion came improved government administration. Larger military forces meant greater extraction of resources from the State and with rule no longer being certain, leaders needed to seek the support of society as a whole.

It was Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 – 1821) who revolutionised military service and the way in which the population served the State. For Napoleon's strategic aims to be realised, he needed to have a military force that was conscripted from all parts of society, where those that served did so out of national pride. In doing so, recruitment for officer posts was done through a merit system and not from a certain social class. The *levée en masse* fought in a decentralised manner, where the officers and the enlisted fought alongside each other (Root, 2013). This dedication to fight for the State was not enough for the people of the State to freely and openly give themselves and their money to wage war. The French and American revolutions demonstrated that the support of the people was necessary

if the ruler wanted to remain in power. As the State needed to extract more from the population, successful leaders recognised the need to protect and provide for their citizens. It was necessary for rulers to be concerned with State security and social cohesion and this meant broadening security beyond just the military (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). The State became responsible for public order and social stability. This created a symbiotic relationship between the rulers and the people within the State. The State's rulers needed the citizens for their strategic ambitions and the people needed the State to provide them access to opportunities for their own personal advancement. For this to occur the people of the State needed to serve the State.

The state nation was not only responsible to provide secure borders, but also to provide security to the daily lives of the citizens. The 19th Century saw the establishment of a modern law and order framework that was centrally controlled and resourced. Emsley (2010) argued that during this period, there were three types of police forces. The state civilian police were principally responsible for law and order within the capital cities and were also used to assist in containing mass disorder. The municipal police were resourced by local government and provided law and order in the provinces. Finally, the military had established their own law and order branch that were responsible for the control of the military. In 1829, the Metropolitan Police were established in London, England and with the formation of a detective service in 1842 (Shapayer-Makou, 2004), this was seen as a benchmark for law and order organisations across Europe (Nyzell, 2014). During this period, European States established their own modern policing organisations that were centrally controlled and provided law and order services beyond just ensuring undesirables remained off the streets. By the end of the 19th Century, law and order was an essential part of a State's security framework.
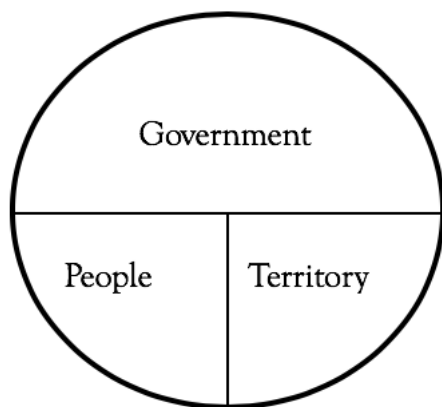
Figure 3: State Nation Security Framework

It was during the period of the state nation, that the citizens became a consideration for the State's security framework. The State needed the people to willingly participate in its ambitions. The ruling authorities would use the spirit of nationalism to gain societie's participation and in return social services such as access to education and welfare were established. Figure 3 shows the changing nature of the internal focus of security and how the people and were included with the territory and the government as a focus for national security. The framework for security was provided by large military forces that protected the territorial borders. Large maritime forces were needed to provide some level of protection to their colonies. To provide the population with internal security, constabulary forces were established that would provide citizens with law and order. The state nation confirmed the symbiotic relationship between the government and the citizens that would be enhanced with the evolution of the nation state.

The Nation State

In the last decades of the 19th Century, the State order evolved beyond the state nation towards the nation state. Like the previous evolutions, it occurred slowly and took place at different times for different nations. Prussia lead the evolution towards the nation state. Prussia underwent significant social changes to a point where it's leaders understood and embraced the concept of maintaining the will of the people. Prussia built a merit based bureaucracy, developed a public education system and pursued social security policies to mitigate revolutionary pressure (Bobbitt, 2002). The opposite occurred in Austria, as the Austrian Hapsburgs

failed to adopt the necessary reforms to protect their empire. Fearful that educating the masses would lead to revolution, the Hapsburg Empire fell behind in scientific and technical skills. As a consequence, during the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the Hapsburgs were defeated by the Prussians, who used their extensive modern rail and communications networks to mobilise faster and more efficiently (Root, 2013). Prussia understood that in order for its strategic ambitions to be achieved, the population is a vital aspect of the State. The nation state now became responsible for maintaining, protecting and improving the lives of its citizens in order to strengthen itself (Bobbitt, 2008).

Through the end of the 19th Century and the first half of the 20th Century, the evolution of the nation state continued. The Montevideo Convention (1933) concluded that a State had four elements: a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states. Considering this, Rothgang et al (2006) asserted that the modern State has four functions: (1) the Resource Dimension, which involved controlling military forces and revenue; (2) the Legal Dimension, requiring it to enforce the rule of law; (3) the Legitimacy Dimension, whereby States had to make prudent political decisions to sustain legitimacy in the eyes of the populace; and (4) the Welfare Dimension, where the State had to provide welfare for the nation. Sørensen (2005) discussed how the State must provide its citizens with order, justice, security, freedom and welfare. Sørensen's framework of the State identified the need for the State to provide security to the population, something that Rothgang et al overlooked. Sørensen (2005) goes further by describing three core elements of a nation state. These include: a Government with a centralised system of democratic rule; Nationhood, constituted by a group of people that occupy a specific territory and that have political and social rights; and a national Economy. The elements of the nation state, as Bobbitt (p175) stated, "put the state in the service of its people". Bobbitt's framework of the State is comprised of: providing the citizens with Security, from both internal and external threats; Welfare, that includes large scale education and social security services; Law and Order, Economic Development; Fair and open elections and equality to all. The views of these three writers are contained in Table 1.

Rothgang et al	Sørensen	Bobbitt
Control of the state's resources	A National Economy	Economic Development
Provision of Law and Order	Law and Order	Law and Order
Provision of Welfare	Welfare	Welfare
Political Decision Making		Open/fair political system
	Security	Security
	Freedom	Equality to all

Table 1: Summary of State Components

What Table 1 shows, is that there are six common themes that constitute the framework of a functioning nation state. These include Economic, Law and Order, Welfare, Government, Equality and Freedom, and Security. Rothgang et al did not include security, and equality and freedom as part of their framework, and Sørensen did not discuss a political aspect. What these three frameworks demonstrate is that the State is required to provide a number of services for the wellbeing of the citizens and for the State to function optimally. The makeup of this framework is displayed in Figure 4. The framework of the nation state shows what is needed to be provided to a state's citizens to enable them to pursue a normal and prosperous lifestyle. The focus of a nation state's security framework should be on providing the citizens the ability go about their daily business freely and not hindered or impacted by threats.
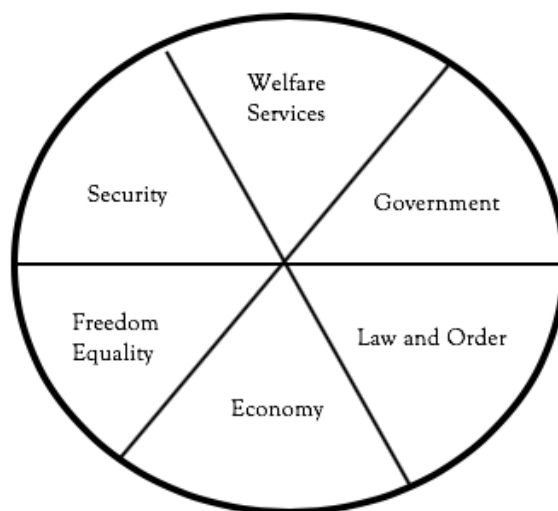
Figure 4: Nation State Security Framework

Normal way of life

The next section examines the six components of a citizen's normal way of life. A normal way of life is achieved when citizens have access to the six components presented in Figure 4. These six components will be used as a basis for evaluating a national security framework in Chapters Three and Four and establishing a New Zealand national security strategy in Chapter Five. It is concluded through the research conducted, that it is necessary to base a national security strategy on something more detailed than 'society' or 'the State'. By using the six components of a normal way of life, it is concluded that a focus for the national security strategy can be established and this can also be used for the evaluation and review of the strategy to ensure that it is achieving its objectives.

Welfare Services

The industrial revolution of the 19th Century created an environment where the welfare of a State's citizens needed protection and support. As a result of industrialism every aspect of life changed. The industrial workforce required new skills and many of the pre-industrial craft-based workers found themselves out of work (Evans, 1983). Those that were able to retrain did so, but those that could not, were left jobless and needing support. There existed a relationship between the industrial revolution and the establishment of centralised welfare programmes. Support to the poor had existed for at least 300 years prior to the emergence of the

nation state. Under Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), England had established Poor Laws. These were funds provided to support the poor in times of need. These funds were controlled by the parish and for those people settled in the parish area (Szreter, Kinmonth, Krinznik, & Kelly, 2016). This was not a centralised welfare system and driven more by religious institutions rather than the result of government policy. Amendments to the Poor Laws in England occurred in the middle of the 19th Century. The focus of these changes was to encourage people to work harder to support themselves by putting them in State run workhouses. What is evident here, is that the State realised that in order to support its ambitions, it required an effective workforce. By providing them with welfare support, they could utilise the resource of the people more effectively. In Europe, it was under Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) that the German Empire, established a centralised State controlled welfare system. A social insurance scheme was established and rather than involving a redistribution of wealth through taxation, it was an insurance plan paid by workers to the State to cover future payments to the worker if they lost their job and needed financial support (Hong, 2014).

Both the English Poor Laws and the German Social Insurance system demonstrated the relationship between the needs of the State and the needs of the people. The State required a capable workforce and, for this to exist, the workforce required to have support in times of need. This support won the loyalty of the working class and strengthened the legitimacy of the State's leaders. Welfare support does not directly support the security of a nation, but what it does is, prevent the human resources of the State deteriorating to the point that the State is unable to utilise them (Wright, 2015).

New Zealand was a colony of Great Britain at the end of the 19th Century when the nation state was emerging and although it was an emerging nation with an underdeveloped and new economy, it was able to establish its own welfare system. During New Zealand's colonial period, health services and education were delivered at provincial levels to its citizens, with the New Zealand government providing oversight. This evolved in the first half of the 20th Century, as the government centralised the provision of health and education services (The Treasury, 2012). Influenced by the Great Depression (1929-1939), New Zealand

developed a Keynesian Welfare system that protected families through the provision of health care, accommodation assistance, as well as education and pensions to the elderly (Tulloch, 2015). Between the 1950s and 1970s, New Zealand experienced a period of low unemployment. However, innovations such as the unemployment benefit, national superannuation and worker compensation for accidents were still established. During this period health services were delivered by a separate ministry under the *Health Act 1956*, and education under the *Education Act 1964*. In 1972, the Royal Commission on Social Welfare recommended that the welfare system should be structured so that all New Zealander's were able to enjoy a decent standard of living (The Treasury, 2012).

The *Welfare* component of the normal way of life provides a range services to the population, that can support people in a time of need, care for their health and also allow them the opportunities for development. Today the delivery of welfare is coordinated through the Ministry for Social Development (MSD). Services include statutory care for youth, social housing and benefit payments for those in need (Ministry for Social Development, 2017). The State is now responsible for a wide range of social services that provides support to all citizens of New Zealand. The focus of welfare in New Zealand is to ensure that all persons have access to and are able to live without poverty, sickness and with the necessary tools for their own success. This is turn allows the citizens of New Zealand to support the nation and the State in its ambitions.

Law and Order

The establishment of a modern constabulary force that provides the State with internal security has its roots in Europe. During the 19th Century there were three types of constabulary forces in these States. A State civilian police, located principally in the capital cities and who were responsible for containing disorder. These forces were answerable to the central government. Municipal police were paid for and appointed by the local government and finally a military police force that supported the military with their own law and order requirements (Emsley, 2012). In France, Napoleon had two forces. The Gendarmerie, that was a paramilitary force that controlled the policing of the countryside and also the

'administrative police', that served as a civilian secret police (Broers, 1999). In the UK, the *Metropolitan Police Act 1829* established a professional police force that was centrally controlled and replaced the system of local forces controlled by the parish. This meant that police officers patrolled the streets providing security to all members of society. This model of centralised policing established in Britain was used as a model for other nations during the 19th Century to establish their own law and order forces. Sweden adopted a similar model in 1848, where previous to this their law and order was provided by local constabulary forces supported by the military (Nyzell, 2014). The shift away from locally controlling police forces meant that central government would take a control of how law and order was administered and enforced across the State. The role of the police in Europe had primarily been on controlling the population and preventing uprisings against the government. Now the focus of law and order was to protect all citizens.

As a colonial settlement of Britain, New Zealand's law and order framework was derived from British Law. The Armed Constabulary force was replaced by the New Zealand Constabulary Force in 1877. This was a period where the New Zealand population increased significantly, requiring more resources to prevent the increase in public disorder. This saw the establishment of a professional, civilian and permanent police force (Hill, 1987). The current law and order system is centrally controlled, with a number of different agencies responsible for delivering different outputs. Underpinning this framework is the Crown Law Office. Formed in 1907 and under the direction of the Solicitor-General, the Crown Law Office provides legal advice to government on criminal, public and administrative law (Crown Law, 2016). The *Policing Act 2008*, established policing under a national framework, that mandates the police to keep the peace, law enforcement, national security, crime prevention and emergency management (New Zealand Government, 2008). Supporting the New Zealand Police is the Ministry of Justice, who administer justice services through the court system (Ministry of Justice, 2017). *Law and Order* is an essential part of the normal way of life. The laws that are established protect the citizens from harm caused by others and also provides guidelines for the behaviour of the citizens. By maintaining social order, a person can have a normal way of life knowing that if

they conduct themselves lawfully, then they will be protected through the law, the police and the justice system.

Government

The government of a State is the organisation that has the authority to control the resources of the State, formulate public policy and conduct affairs on behalf of the State. For the purpose of this research project, the description of government will focus on the western liberal democratic form, noting that within this description there are a multitude of styles and political systems. The government includes individuals who have been elected into the house of representatives or parliament as well as the institutions that support the ongoing policy and operational functions of the governments, such as ministries and departments. As such, this description is used to identify the main purpose of the government and not to characterise any particular style of democracy. A democratic regime is one where the political relations between the State and the citizens are equal (Tilly, 2007). The government is selected through free and fair electoral process, where political candidates undergo selection and can be scrutinised by the citizens who vote for their preferred candidates/s (Wolheim, 2012). Underpinning and holding a democratic government together is a legitimate constitution, or if no constitution exists a collection of legislation that protects the rights of the citizens and also organises political decision making to ensure that political outcomes are morally right (Vinx, 2013). Therefore, the government is responsible for the delivery of social services, the protection of its citizens and also allows opportunities for citizens to advance themselves. Within a democracy, a government can be held accountable by the people when they do not provide the necessary services, security and opportunities.

As a colony of Great Britain, New Zealand's political system was established under their control. New Zealand is a constitutional monarchy, where the parliamentary system was established as a Westminster style democracy. Local representation was first established through the New Zealand *Constitution Act 1852 (UK)*, after which the first elections were held in 1853. What makes the political system in New Zealand extremely unique, is that it has a highly-

centralised form of government compared with other constitutional monarchies. As a unitary state, New Zealand does not have the complexities of power sharing and that often exists in federal states and although local government exists, its function is the provision of local infrastructure and local public services (New Zealand Government, 2002). The Upper House Legislative Council was abolished in 1951 meaning the New Zealand parliament has no organisation to act as a check and balance to the sitting parliament (Geddis, 2016). Adding to this unique system is that New Zealand has no written entrenched constitution, which Vinx (2013, p.103) argued 'protects important values or rights'. Although New Zealand operates with no written constitution and has just a single chamber, it effectively carries out the functions of a modern democratic government. As a component of the normal way of life, *Government* must function effectively so that it can enable the running of the State. The government provides the services to the citizens that protect them and allow them to go about their daily business free from fear.

Economy

The State has always desired to retain the control of its resources, whether they be natural, or other. As the State developed into the nation state, there has been an increase in the importance placed on controlling these resources through economic policy. Macroeconomics allows the government to maintain the performance of the State's economy as a whole. It will use variables such as the unemployment rate, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and inflation to develop economic policies that will control the economy. This is achieved through Macroeconomic policies that are concerned with the workings of the economy as a whole and focuses on the causes, cures and consequences of economic policy and influence from external forces (Fine & Dimakou, 2016). According to Lattimore and Eaquab (2012), the government has three roles; to promote efficient allocation of national resources, to ensure fair distribution of income and to provide macroeconomic stability. As New Zealand has an open economy that has numerous links to the world through its trade, market connections and financial flows (Lattimore & Eaqub, 2012), macroeconomic policy developed by the State needs to provide those investing in the economy with the confidence that their earnings will not be lost through illegal activities.

The focus on the production of goods, consumer behaviour and the operations of businesses is through microeconomics. Microeconomics considers the behaviour of the markets and the relationship with the consumers and individual businesses. In a market economy, such as New Zealand's, the government has little influence on the interactions between business and the consumers. The opposite to this is the command economy, where the behaviours and the interactions between business and consumers is controlled by the State authorities. The open market exists where businesses and consumers can trade domestically and globally and where capital can easily cross international borders (Thomas & Carson, 2014). To prevent inequalities within a market and the development of rapacious monopolies to form, a State's economy needs to be protected in a way that allows businesses to operate as freely as the rules would allow and people given the freedom as to how they interact as consumers.

Protection of the *Economy*, from the State, needs to include protecting businesses from negative outside influences and economic shocks. To support these policies a government also must provide physical security to the State. Security for the economy must include a secure environment where business and consumers can conduct their daily business freely. This secure environment needs to include the systems that are used to conduct financial transactions as well as to the areas where trade is conducted. The world's economy is heavily reliant on the cyber domain in order to conduct many of its transactions and interaction, meaning that now there is a greater requirement for the State to ensure the security of the cyber domain as well as traditional trade routes.

Freedom and Equality

Freedom and equality can be objective or subjective, with both being enshrined in international and national law. The idea of freedom and equality is wedded with the notion of rights. These rights are founded in the legal processes of the State and means that no issue or action is outside of the influence of law (Stivers, 2008). This extends to the idea of equality, where each citizen has the inherent right not to be subjected to any form of discrimination and must be treated equally

by other citizens and by the public authorities (Comsa, 2009). The idea of freedom and equality within the modern State developed slowly over the course of the 20th Century and is enabled by both international and domestic law. After the atrocities of the Second World War, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* proclaimed that 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (United Nations, 1948). In New Zealand, the Human Rights Commission - Te Kāhui Tkia Tangata work under the *Human Rights Act 1993*, and is responsible for promoting and protecting human rights of all people in Aotearoa - New Zealand (Human Rights Commission, 2017). A citizen within a State has the right to participate in the processes of the community and also has a condition of equality protected by the rule of law, both domestic and international. The citizen must recognise that the State is entitled to regulate their behaviour in return for the provision of these rights and other public goods (Bellamy, 2008). Therefore, a key role of the State as part of its relationship with, and obligations to, the people, is to provide and protect the citizens freedom and legal equality. An individual's rights and freedoms are protected by law, however, a citizen must act in a manner that does not harm another and must accept that regulation by the State is necessary for the good of all.

Freedom and equality exists as both an objective concept and a subjective idea. Citizens have their individual freedoms protected by law. An individual can enter into contracts, move around their national territory and travel internationally and participate in political discourse, without being discriminated against. Freedom and equality enables each citizen to be protected from discrimination and of being treated fairly by both those in authority and also by other citizens (Comsa, 2009). This idea of acting with the consideration of others in mind is described in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)* as acting in a 'spirit of brotherhood'. For the normal way of life, the component of *Freedom and Equality* is based on the provision that a citizen's rights are protected by law and that a citizen's actions must also be within the limits of law. The idea and desirable extent of freedom and equality depends on the individual ideas of the person and thus is, some respects, subjective. However, in a collective environment, such as the State, the idea extends to allow freedom for people to carry out their actions in their daily lives on both a personal level, but also must recognise there are

implications for the collective (other people) as a result of their actions. To enable a person to have a normal way of life, the state must ensure that the freedoms of the citizens are protected and that all are treated equally.

Security

The concept of security encompasses not only the traditional notion of protecting the territory of the State, but also the security of the whole of society. According to Snow (2016), there exists two elements of security. These include physical security and the feeling or sense of security. The physical element of security is objective and is provided by the agencies and laws of the State that are responsible for national security outcomes. This includes the State's military forces, constabulary organisations and intelligence agencies, that have been established to protect the territory and the citizens of the State. It is the responsibility of the State to protect its territory and citizens from harm and therefore, will decide under what conditions to use force for its own security. The other component of security is the sense of security, which, as it is a subjective element, will mean different things to different people. This idea has gained momentum since the United Nations world summit on the 'Responsibility to Protect' expanded the idea of security to focus on the needs to individuals and groups rather than on the State. Partow (2017) argued that the focus of national security is still cantered on sovereignty and national identity, however, there is a shift towards recognising and focusing on the human element of security. Nishikawa (2010, p. 3) identified a shift in the focus of security to one that 'places people as the focal point of security consideration for both analysis and policy'. What these ideas have in common is that they all acknowledge that security has evolved from the traditional concept, focused on protecting the State, which developed during the evolution of the state order, to the notion that protecting the population and the conditions in which they live, is of equal importance.

Providing the conditions for a normal life goes beyond securing the State and its people form external and internal threats. It also includes protection against natural hazards, which also have the ability to reduce the normal way of life. When security is orientated towards securing territory and the State, it is focused

on the threats that are able to bring down state structures (Ayoob, 1992). This security is developed through the establishment of a State's security policy which is aimed at negating or neutralising the most important threats in accordance with the national security strategy (Snow, 2016). During the Cold War, national security strategies were focused on collective defence with allies, now, threats to the population's security go beyond those of conflict and include natural threats. For the population to have a normal way of life, a person must have *Security* afforded to them via the State. This will allow them to go about their daily business free from fear. It is necessary that security for the State include the response to a threat and the quick recovery from a crisis. This would assist with an individual's sense of security, knowing that they will be protected and also cared for by the State in the event of a crisis.

Conclusion

There has always existed the desire for a State to have security, to protect their territory and their possessions. As this chapter has shown, although this fundamental desire for security has not changed, there has been a significant evolution in the concept of security in terms of how it was provided and what it is that should be secured and protected. The Italian renaissance ushered in an era where the princely states sought external support through the use of mercenaries to protect their wealth and territory. The Thirty Years War saw the focus shift from the unreliable and costly 'guns for hire' arrangements to a system that was controlled and resourced by the State. This meant that the focus of the state nation was to use all its resources in order to provide its nation with security. This increased and widened the responsibility of the State, introduced State controlled administrative systems, but also increased the worth, value and rights of the citizens. In time, it became accepted that the general population should be the focus of security and not the sovereign leader. In the 19th Century nationalism swept the world and statehood was transformed from dynastic rule, to one of popular governance. As the ambition of States grew, this in turn required the nation to be mobilised. The industrial revolution enabled this mobilisation through productivity, economic and population growth. A population needed to be used and the population needed to be educated, cared for and protected by the State to

maximise their utility. It was the responsibility of the nation state to provide this protection. There has been shift where to the people and not the ruler are being incorporated into the focus of security. By using the work of Rothgang et al, Sørensen and Bobbitt, it is proposed here that a State is comprised of six different yet interrelated components. These components provide the citizens of the State with a normal way of life. It is therefore the responsibility of the state to protect the conditions that allow normal lives to be pursued. The State is responsible to prevent the State and its people from being threatened and to use the State's resources to reduce and recover from any incident. The six components of the normal way of life are used to evaluate the national security framework of States and also used to develop a New Zealand national security strategy in proceeding chapters.

Chapter Three: Review of other nations national security frameworks.

Introduction

This chapter examines the national security framework of four nations: the UK, the Republic of Ireland, the Republic of Singapore and Australia. The different strategies, policies, plans and white papers are then assessed against the concept of the normal way of life to establish how effect these different approaches are in providing security to their State. Chapter Three will also determine what elements, concepts and ideas New Zealand could consider in the development of a national security strategy.

The Concept of National Security

The previous chapter explained the notion that as a society evolved, then so did the ideas of what was to be secured. It was explained that Pre-Westphalian society's focus of security was on the protection of the realm and territory. This concept was expanded to the current idea, that has been developed in this research, that security should focus on six elements that make up a normal way of life. Through the delivery of security, this way of life and the State is protected. This may seem a simple idea, however, the debate on what security means and what it is, is still an unresolved debate. Wolfers (1952) believed that 'the efforts for security by a particular nation will tend to vary, with the range of values for which security is being sought'. The view of security at the start of the Cold War, was very much focussed on territorial protection against the threat of invasion from an aggressor. Towards the end of the Cold War, Rothschild examined the changing nature of the idea of security. She too identified how the concept of security changed at key moments in history, such as the Peace of Westphalia, French Revolutionary Wars and the Treaty of Versailles. These key moments in history were also similar to the periods where the constitutional order of the State changed. Rothschild argued that in the 1980's public organisations began to put forward 'alternative concepts of national security' (1995) and identified how in the *1982 Report to the Palme Commission*, that security should be thought of in terms of economic, political and also the societal security of the citizens.

The challenge is to get a comprehensive definition of security that can be used for the development of a comprehensive strategy. Wolfers (1952) expanded on the idea of security in the 1950's when he explained that security was the protection of values. He discussed how it is the responsibility of the State's decision makers to choose the values that are to be protected, to what level and also what means are used to achieve them. Wolfers added that the State needed to 'specify the degree of security which a nation shall aspire to attain and the means by which it is to be obtained' (1952, p 499). The concepts of security developed by the writers of the 1980's are very broad. They expanded on the idea that security should be for all of society, however, their definition of security is heavily influenced by the Cold War and did not consider individual citizen in detail. Buzan (1991) argued that there existed an inadequate understanding of the concept of national security and that it was a barrier to policy-makers in the development of national security policy. Baldwin (1997) explained that security should be examined in terms of security for who, for which values, how much, from what threats, by what means, and at what cost. This research project has developed the concept of the normal way of life that is based on six components. This concept will be used to answer Baldwin's question of who security is for and which values should be secured. Establishing a baseline of what is to be secured will allow security policy to be constructed around it. This approach would aid in the whole-of-government coordination or resources for the provision of national security.

A national security strategy requires the coordination and direction of national resources towards the attainment of the strategic political objectives. The strategy itself contributes to the pursuit, protection and advancement of the interests and ambitions of the State. The idea of a national security strategy is that it should prevent as well as reduce the effects of threats against the State. A State will therefore be required to make certain strategic choices when it comes to the development of their strategy and these will be influenced by the environment, both externally and internally. A State must decide: how much risk they are willing to take, will they be self-reliant or lean on allies for assistance, decide what capabilities they require, and what they are willing to pay for these capabilities (Schreer, 2013). The strategy itself should then be designed within a

context of interrelated dimensions: political, socio-cultural, economic, military, technological, geographical and historical. The challenge is then for a State to develop a national security strategy that deals with the environment and also supports their international and domestic ambitions. The proceeding sections review the national security frameworks of four nations and review them against the normal way of life concept.

United Kingdom – National Security Strategy

In 2007, the research centre Demos published a report titled '*The Case for a national security strategy'*. Taken from a series of reports relating to the UK's national security, this report drew information from a series of national security seminars (Demos, 2007). The report made a series of recommendations for the UK security strategy:

1. That it should articulate a vision of the current and future security environment.
2. Communicate Britain's values in the 21st Century.
3. Develop a framework for collaboration across government on national security policy
4. Prioritise national security policies and the allocation of resources.
5. Bring together the white papers on security.

The recommendations from Demos could be used by a State for the development of a national security strategy. These recommendations will be used to inform a model for the development of a New Zealand National Security Strategy. The strength of these recommendations is that focused on ensuring that security has a framework that centrally coordinates all the departments responsible for security. Additionally, it viewed security from a people centric focus and protecting national values; rather than just protecting the territory.

National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015 (NSS&SDSR 2015) is the UK's national security strategy. Developed by the National Security Council (NSC), the *NSS&SDSR 2015* articulated the UK's

whole-of-government approach to national security. The NSC, established in May 2010, under Prime Minister Gordon Brown, was created in order to bring together a panel of organisations to advise the government on national security (Lunn, Brooke, & Mills, 2016). The council is composed of: the Prime minister, the Home Office, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Her Majesty's Treasury, Ministry of Defence, the Department for Energy and Climate Change, and the Department for International Development. Other agencies and subject matter experts are called in when required. The NSC is responsible for analysing the global strategic context, taking into consideration the current security environment and the trends affecting the security situation of the UK, from at home and abroad (HM Government, 2015). The NSC provided a central body whose focus is to articulate and understand the strategic context in which security is to be provided. It identified that threats to the UK come from both external sources: such as invasion, and internal: such as terrorism or civil disorder. It also identified other threats exist including instability caused from climatic events or financial crisis (Ministry of Defence, 2001). The *NSS&SDSR 2015*, developed through the NSC seeks to provide security to the UK through identifying threats and risks and by providing objectives for the achievement of security.

The NSC established two high-level objectives, which informs the establishment of the National Security Strategy. These two high level objectives are (HM Government, 2015):

(1) To ensure a secure and resilient UK by protecting our people, economy, infrastructure and ways of life from all major risks that can affect us directly.

(2) To shape a stable world by acting to reduce the likelihood of risks affecting the UK or British interests overseas and applying our instruments of power and influence to shape the global environment.

The rationale for establishing two high level national security objectives was to embody an integrated, whole-of-government approach, supported by greater innovation and efficiency'. (HM Government, 2015) The *NSS&SDSR* identified

that the delivery of the national security strategy will be achieved through three National Security Objectives (HM Government, 2015):

- National Security Objective 1 – Protect Our People: at home, in our overseas Territories and abroad. Protect our territory, economic security, infrastructure and way of life.

- National Security Objective 2 – Protect our global influence: reducing the likelihood of threats materialising and affecting the United Kingdom.

- National Security Objective 3 – Promote our prosperity: seizing opportunities, working with and supporting industry.

The UK government established a system for the development of a national security strategy that set out to achieve a whole-of-government approach. This was done by the formation of the NSC from across government to establish the parameters of the strategy and to set guidelines for its achievement. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* provided the articulation of the strategic 'ends', 'ways' and 'means' for the achievement of the UK's strategic goals, which is common sense in the development of any strategic plan. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* also identified 15 risks to the UK's national security. These were prioritised across three tiers, which allowed for the more important risks to be given priority for resourcing.

The UK government reviewed its performance of the implementation of the *NSS&SDSR 2015* through an annual review. In the *First Annual Report 2016* (HM Government, 2016), the UK government published its assessment of the performance of the different government departments responsible for individual parts of the strategy. The document reviewed the security context and identified changes in the threats and risks to the UK's national security. It also reviewed its operations against the National Security Objectives. In doing so, the approach by the UK government is to ensure that it has a strategic plan that encompasses how it will use its security capabilities and what diplomatic efforts it has undertaken. It reviewed how it has dealt with homeland security, including organised crime and

how it has ensured a stable UK government that supports a growing national economy. The NSC is an independent body that scrutinises the effectiveness of the strategy and its implementation and is a framework that New Zealand should consider for its own national security strategy.

Established in 2005, the Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy (JCNSS) is responsible for the scrutiny of the NSC and the structures for government decision making in relation to national security. It brings together representatives of both houses, with 10 members from the House of Lords and 12 members from the House of Commons. The JCNSS includes chairs of the UK government's intelligence and security agencies, defence, foreign affairs, home affairs, trade and justice committees (UK Parliament, n.d.). In July 2017, the UK government implemented a review of the *NSS&SDSR 2015*, due to the recent changes in the security environment as well as to ensure investment in security capabilities was in accordance with the strategy. The JCNSS report highlighted a number of issues and gaps in the *NSS&SDSR 2015*, that the JCNSS believed needed to be changed in order to meet the objectives of the strategy.

The JCNSS review of the *NSS&SDSR 2015* has two areas that highlight the importance of reviewing strategic plans. Firstly, the review noted a lack of strategic clarity, which in itself is a damning failure, since the *NSS&SDSR 2015* is a strategic document. Secondly, the *NSS&SDSR 2015* was criticised for having a heavy focus on the role of defence and not the role of other government agencies in the provision of national security. This contradicted the whole-of-government approach that the *NSS&SDSR 2015* is based upon. It is a failing for a strategic document to be criticised for not having strategic clarity. In the inquiry, the committee noted that several conceptual shortcomings existed in the *NSS&SDSR 2015*. The committee noted that there was no clear definition of security and also there was a lack of principles upon which the strategy is built. The report goes further stating that there is no identifiable road map by which progress can be measured. This lack of strategic clarity will therefore hinder the UK's ability to test the effectiveness of the investment into security capabilities. It is essential for any strategic plan to have in place the process by which progress can be monitored and the achievements of objectives measured (Porter, 2011). By not

having a clear road map on how the strategy is to be achieved, the *NSS&SDSR 2015* is effectively a myopic piece that provides little more than a series of 'bumper sticker quotes' on national security. Another criticism concluded from this research project, is that the role of the NSC is to formulate the security policy, however, they do not have a similar function to ensure that this policy is achieved. Given the experience of the UK, and the findings of its review, the establishment of a New Zealand national security strategy should have included within it a system that reviews the performance of the strategy's execution at regular intervals.

A criticism of the *NSS&SDSR 2015*, is that it considered defence as a sperate element to the remainder of the government's security capabilities. The intent of the *NSS&SDSR 2015* is to deliver an integrated whole-of-government approach to national security (HM Government, 2015), yet the separation of defence is at odds with this intent. During an Oral Evidence session to the JCNSS, Lord Ricketts (member of the House of Lords) noted that for the last 10 to 15 years the government was working towards a joined-up approach. He argued to treat defence as a separate entity from other national security policies did seem illogical, when it was all part of the same continuum (Strategy, 2018). This separation of defence contradicts the rationale of bringing other capabilities together. Robert Hannigan gives the example of how during his involvement with the drafting of the first national security strategy under the then Prime Minister Gordon Brown in 2010; cyber was brought under one umbrella as it cuts across public safety, security and intelligence. With this rationale, he also believed it hard to understand why defence is a separate consideration (Strategy, 2018). This criticism is valid. The foreword by the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, even stated that the UK must have a 'full-spectrum approach' to security (HM Government, 2015). So, it is difficult to see how separating defence out from the other agencies responsible for security will achieve the whole-of-government approach to national security.

Assessment of the UK's National Security Strategy

Although the *NSS&SDSR 2015* has been criticised for not having a whole-of-government approach and having conceptual shortcomings, it should be reviewed against the concept of sustaining a normal way life for the citizens of a State, that was presented in Chapter Two. The concept of the State and what constituted a normal way of life consisted of six interrelated components: Welfare, Government, Law and Order, Economy, Freedom and Equality and Security.

The first component; *Security,* is one that the *NSS&SDSR 2015* directly deals with. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* identified the risks that the UK faced and also set out the objectives of how the government will deliver national security. It mentioned that the objectives are part of an integrated, whole-of-government approach to security (HM Government, 2016). This is the degree of security the UK government aspired to attain, which is what Wolfers (1952) argued a State should be seeking to achieve. The UK placed significant emphasis on the relationship between security and the economy. In his Foreword, Prime Minister David Cameron stressed that the UK's security depended on its economic security and vice versa. This demonstrated the importance that the UK places on its economy for achieving its ambitions and therefore, articulated how the component of *Economy*, will be secured. The UK, with the fifth largest economy in the world and as a trading nation (HM Government, 2016) needs to have a strong economy that is supported by effective security. By placing strong emphasis on a secure economy, the UK is achieving the three roles that Lattimore and Eaquab (2012) outlined that the government has; efficient allocation of national resources, the fair distribution of income and most importantly and as identified by the Prime Minister, macroeconomic stability.

The *NSS&SDSR 2015* addressed the concept of an open and transparent government, which is the *Government* component of the normal way of life. It is the responsibility of the government to deliver services to the population of the State in a transparent and open manner. The UK espoused its values of democracy as having an open and accountable government (HM Government, 2016). As Vinx (2013) noted, the protection of the citizens and morally right political

outcomes are essential in a democratic government. Part of ensuring the transparent functioning of the government, the UK also places importance of the international rules based order that enables regional and global security. The UK has a very strong outward focus with regards to its strategy and sees the importance of projecting its influence globally through the use of soft power (HM Government, 2016). The UK places significant emphasis on the need for a stable world in order to support its own stability. Therefore, by protecting and valuing a secure international order, global security is strengthened. The provision of the *Government* component of the normal way of life concept is achieved in within the UK's national security strategy.

The provision of *Law and Order* that supports the normal way of life, is how the government can protect the citizens. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* recognised that the UK must strengthen the domestic resilience and improve its law enforcement capabilities that impact on their communities (HM Government, 2015). However, within the strategy, the provision of law and order is mentioned only twice. For a security outcome as significant as law and order and a function that enables the normal way of life, law and order should have more emphasis placed upon it. Law and order is effectively maintained in the UK through their constabulary agencies, however, there is a lack of connection with law and order and the national security strategy.

The protection of an individual's *Freedom and Equality* is an essential component of the normal way of life. Within the *NSS&SDSR 2015,* the UK government discussed the importance of human rights, the freedom of speech, equal opportunities and the empowerment of women and girls. Protection of these rights and freedoms is provided through the rule of law (HM Government, 2015). This is protecting what the government calls protecting 'our way of life', or their normal way of life as presented in this research project. The protection of human rights is also delivered through international laws and treaties, which the UK adheres to, such as the: *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (1965) and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (1981) . There is no objective that sets out how the *NSS&SDSR 2015* will directly

protect equality and freedom, however, as it is enshrined within British law and therefore, it is concluded that the *Freedom and Equality* of the UK's citizens is protected.

Of lesser discussion in the *NSS&SDSR 2015* is the protection the *Welfare* component of the normal way of life. It is the government's responsibility to provide a range of services from health care, education and the necessary tools to live without poverty. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* does not directly discus welfare services, but it does discuss the response to civil emergencies and the importance of protecting the resources of the nation. By combining this and the protection of the 'way of life', there can be a very loose linkage to the protection of welfare services.

The UK's *NSS&SDSR 2015* provided a comprehensive plan for the achievement of its national security objectives. It articulated the values that are important for the UK and those that they want to protect. It identified the possible security risks faced by the UK and also how the security objectives were to be met. When compared to the concept of the normal way of life, the *NSS&SDSR 2015* discussed in depth only the concept *Security*. The concepts of *Economy*, *Government*, and *Law and Order*, were all mentioned in the *NSS&SDSR 2015,* however, no significant detail was provided as to how these elements of society will be secured. Additionally, the *NSS&SDSR 2015* lacks significant depth of discussion on *Freedom and Equality* and also on *Welfare* services. It is concluded for this research project, that these two elements: *Freedom and Equality* and *Welfare* services are just as important as the other four components, as they contribute to the feeling of security and maintenance of the normal way of life. The *NSS&SDSR 2015* main focus is on the military's role in providing security. When viewed through the lens of the security risks to the UK, that have been identified, it us understandable why there is a heavy emphasis on the military. Context is important when developing a strategy and the context for the UK is one where there are significant external threats to its security and it is necessary to keep an effective military and a strategy that meets these threats.

The UK's approach to its national security strategy has elements that would be beneficial for the New Zealand government to consider when developing its own strategy. The first element is how the risks that have been identified facing the UK have been prioritised into tiers, with tier one risks being the most likely. It is not that New Zealand should copy the security risks that are facing the UK, as the context for each nation is different, instead New Zealand should look at adopting an approach for identifying the most significant risks in light of its own context. This would allow for accurate prioritising of capabilities and resources to mitigate these risks. Snow (2016) argued that the purpose of a national security strategy is to negate or neutralise the most important threats and that the capabilities required to mitigate these risks are expensive. Therefore, by focussing on identifying risks and having a select few as the highest priority for mitigation, this would allow for accurate resource allocation. It would also allow for better capability development. New Zealand has limited resources, and therefore any way of reducing the burden on these resources would be of benefit and politically more palatable.

The second element that would benefit a New Zealand national security strategy is the establishment of an independent body that regularly reviews current security strategies, policies and plans. The JCNSS provided an independent review of the UK's approach and takes advice and comment from a wide range of sources. One of the principles of business strategy is to ensure that the strategy is reviewed and if necessary redefined (Camillus, 2008). This would have to be balanced with some caution, as it would be unwise to have reviews that lead to constant changes. An example is the development of military capability. Military capabilities are a significant investment, both fiscally and in time. There would be considerable public anger if there was significant investment in the development of an expensive military capability just to discover a few years later, that upon review, it was no longer needed. However, if a change in the environment was identified that required a change from the current policy, then this action of review would be beneficial. It would also open the strategy up to scrutiny. Part of the normal way of life concept is to have freedoms and equality protected as well as having an open and transparent government. A review would prevent the State from having the monopoly over the security strategy (Partow, 2017) and ensure that the whole-

of-society is engaged in national security. These two elements: the identification and prioritisation of risk and the open and transparent review of the strategy would be beneficial for the development of a New Zealand national security strategy.

Republic of Ireland – National Security Framework

The Republic of Ireland provided a good case study to compare a small State's national security framework. There are similarities between Ireland and New Zealand. The population between both countries are almost identical with the Republic of Ireland having a population of 4.7 million (Central Statistics Office, 2016) and New Zealand with 4.8 million (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Both nations have a parliamentary democratic government that is based on the British System, however, Ireland is a republic with a President, a house of representatives known as a Dáil Éireann and also a Senate (Office of the Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018). As described in Chapter Two, the New Zealand government system is very similar to the Westminster system, however, there is no upper or lower house. Although there are differences in government, the system of democracy is similar. The GDP of Ireland is greater, with Ireland having $76 485 USD per capita, and New Zealand having $40 695 USD per capita (OECD, 2018). Both New Zealand and Ireland have an open economy that rely heavily on exports and require a secure region to enable trade. The militaries of both nations are comparable, with a slight difference in that Ireland has maintained for the last century a stance of neutrality and is focussed on international peace support and peacekeeping missions. The population, economy and government are comparable between the two nations. Both nations rely on international stability for trade and security and both nations are not considered a world power. In recent years both New Zealand and Ireland have provided a small contribution to global security operations as part of international efforts. This is due to the small size of the militaries of both countries. Additionally, both Ireland and New Zealand would rely on allies and neighbours to assist with their own national security. The key similarity is that Ireland, like New Zealand, does not have a national security strategy. Instead, it relies on individual government agency policies that concentrate on specific areas of national security.

The main document pertaining to national security for Ireland is the government's *White Paper on Defence (2015)*. The aim of the paper was to supply a comprehensive security assessment in order to provide a context for Ireland's defence policy (The Office of Public Works, 2015). With no other strategic security document, the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* is considered the key document upon which the Republic of Ireland bases it security policy upon. Three other documents provide minor input into Ireland's national security. These include: the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015-2017*, the *National Risk Assessment 2014*, and the *An Garda Síochána (Ireland's National Police Service) Strategy Statement 2016 – 2018*. These documents are not linked in any way, and are stand-alone publications, with differing intents and purposes. Contained within each document is reference to other security outcomes, such as the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* discussed cyber threats and interaction with the An Garda Síochána. However, there is no discussion how each of these documents relate to each other or how they are nested under a central policy of national security. This means that there exists no clear strategic goals or objectives for the achievement of national security.

The context of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* is broad and contains a series of generic statements relating to Ireland's national security, rather than providing a comprehensive approach to developing a long term security strategy. The Foreword provided by the Minister for Defence Simon Coveney T.D. provided the overview and intent of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)*. It discussed how Ireland is a small State that is dependent on global trade for economic well-being and how a broadening range of security threats increased Ireland's vulnerability. Coveney stated that the paper 'builds on an all-embracing Government response and situates defence policy within a state's broader security framework' (The Office of Public Works, 2015, p. iii). The aim of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* is to provide a comprehensive security assessment that provides the context for defence policy (The Office of Public Works, 2015). The *White Paper on Defence (2015)* discussed how the securing of Ireland concerns a broad range of government departments and agencies and how defence, along with the An Garda Síochána (Ireland's national police force) and Civil Defence, contribute to

the States security framework. It stated how 'security is the bedrock on which a society's cultural, social and economic achievements are built (The Office of Public Works, 2015, p. 3). The criticism, is that the discourse of Ireland's national security framework is part of a whole-of-government approach to protecting society, yet this document only dealt with a small part of the overall national security architecture.

The *White Paper on Defence (2015)* identified four key risks that could cause harm to the well-being of its citizens: natural disasters, cyber security, pandemics and economic instability. It stated that direct threats against Irish territory are possible, however the likelihood of this is very low. The final part of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* detailed the objectives of defence towards national security, however, this concentrated on the development of defence policy and the development of defence capabilities. There is no direct link between the risks and objectives identified in the white paper. There is a lack of information relating to the link between the risks, objectives and the development of military capabilities, which is an essential part of a strategic process (De Wit & Meyer, 2010).

The security environment described in *White Paper on Defence (2015)* is a cascading discussion on the global environment, direct threats against the Republic of Ireland and offers some assessment of the geopolitical situation. The white paper opens with the Overarching Trends. This a list of key challenges and threats that are likely to influence the security environment. The list included:

- Descriptions of conflict,
- Weapons proliferation,
- Climate change,
- Globalisation,
- Migration,
- Energy and resource scarcity, and
- Technological advances.

Of all of these, only globalisation is discussed in terms of its impact on Ireland, with the remainder consisting of short paragraphs comprised of very broad general points. The discussion on security threats to Ireland included:

- Conflict,
- Cyber,
- Terrorism,
- Natural disasters,
- Espionage,
- Crime, and
- Strategic shocks,

Like the previous section on the Overarching Trends, the list of threats contained a series of short descriptive paragraphs. It offered generic information on each subject, however, it failed to relate these threats to the impact on the State and its security. Buzan (1991) argued that national security policy can either focus inward, in order to reduce the State's vulnerabilities, or have an outward looking focus, to reduce external threats by addressing its source. Therefore, it would be practical to frame the security threats and provide detail on their direct impact to Ireland. Providing generic statements on the environment, as the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* has done, failed to provide an accurate context from which effective policy can be developed. It is recognised that this is a white paper and not a national security strategy, however, it should have provided more detail of the threats Ireland faces, in order to provide the rationale behind the policy decisions made later in the document.

A good example of how the strategic outlook of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* does not effectively link in to necessary capability development of a military service, is with the future plans for the land forces. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* describe the context for which the white paper was developed against. It emphasised that there is an evolving range of conventional threats; which it stated to be a low possibility, to irregular threats and also natural disasters. In Chapter 6 of the white paper, it discussed the Army's future concept to retain its all-arms conventional military capabilities, based on

two Infantry Brigades (Office of the Houses of the Oireachtas, 2018). It appears that there is no intention to evolve the structure of the army to meet the evolving threats such as irregular threats and natural disasters. Instead the intent is to keep the army structured in a manner that is able to counter a conventional threat, which it stated as a low possibility. The only detail regarding the future capability of the army, discussed the replacement or life extension of its Armoured Personnel Carriers. The *White Paper on Defence (2015)* stated that although there are new and expanding threats, there will be no evolution in the structure or the focus of the army. It is acknowledged that the white paper is intended to influence the development of defence capabilities in the next decade. It is not a national security strategy, however, the future development of Ireland's defence force appears to lack any synchronisation with the threats that are identified within the white paper, or coordinate with other security agencies.

The *White Paper on Defence (2015)* discussed a range of technology and cyber threats that can adversely impact Irish society. These threats are not addressed in any great detail within the white paper but are instead discussed within the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* (Department of Communication, Energy and Natural Resources, 2015). The *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* identified that the national Information Communication and Telecommunications (ICT) systems are critical to the functioning of the State and the economy. It also discussed how infrastructure such as electricity, water, transportation and health services are all critical and need protection. The operational function of the cyber security strategy is executed by the National Cyber Security Centre (NCSC). The role of the NCSC is to co-ordinate the protection of national systems, to reduce the vulnerability of critical systems and also to respond to cyber-attack (Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment, 2018). The NCSC is responsible for the co-ordination between the Department of Defence and An Garda Síochána. The strength of the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* is that it sets out objectives and also measures for success. One of the key objectives of the strategy is to establish a national Computer Security Incident Response Services Team (CSIRT) and have this team certified by the European Union Agency for Network and Information Security (Department of Communication, Energy and Natural Resources, 2015).

It also provided measures of when this objective will be achieved. This is a good example of what a strategic document should be. It sets out the context of the environment, its responsibilities and more importantly provides clear objectives and measures for their achievement. The weakness of this strategy is that it only deals with one specific area of providing national security in isolation. Cyber security cuts across all areas of society and for it to be successful it needs to be nested within an overall strategic plan. This silo approach hinders all departments ability to work collaboratively towards national security.

The provision of law and order is an essential part of providing a normal way of life to the citizens of the State. Ireland's National Police Service, the An Garda Síochána, provide the domestic constabulary service. In 2016 the *Strategy Statement July 2016 – 2018* was released with the aim of outlining the main priorities for protecting the communities (An Garda Síochána, 2016). Like the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* and the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* it discussed the evolution of threats, however, it specifically focussed on the threat of terrorism and the impact of radicalised individuals returning from fighting with terrorist organisations in conflict zones. There is a short statement on the increased threat of cyber-attacks, however, there is no link to the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* or the CSIRT. It provided an overview of the key objectives and the measures for success under the headings of National and International Security, Confronting Crime, Roads Policing, Community Engagement and Organisational Development. The strategy does cover the key aspects of providing law and order to the State and provided a clear statement of how this will be achieved. This document is more akin to a corporate brochure. It is light on detail and does not discuss how the An Garda Síochána will co-operate with other departments and organisations in the provision of national security. For public awareness on what the police aim to do, this is a good product. However, for a detailed plan for developing a national security framework for collaboration across government, the *Strategy Statement July 2016 – 2018* falls short. This highlights the need for a centralised document that can inform the development of individual agency's policies.

One document that should drive the objectives of the three previous documents which unfortunately did not occur, is the *National Risk Assessment for Ireland*. Released in 2017, the purpose of this document was to identify the risks which might impact on Ireland's wellbeing (Department of Defence, 2017). The release of the *National Risk Assessment for Ireland* is after the release of the other national security related documents. Had the release *National Risk Assessment for Ireland* occurred before the release of the other documents, there would have existed a common threat assessment to base their analysis from. The key focus of the *National Risk Assessment for Ireland* is to inform emergency planning. This document is like a handbook on how emergency planning is conducted at the national level. It details the government's Task Force on Emergency Planning and the key organisations that make up this Task Force (Defence, Health, Revenue, Environmental Protection, Information, Civil Defence, An Garda, Public Works and Coast Guard). These organisations make up the Office of Emergency Planning that is controlled by the Department of Defence (Department of Defence, 2017). This demonstrated that this document has utility across government and for those organisations that are responsible for delivering aspects of national security. The risks that are identified are briefly discussed and some detail, although very brief, described their possible impact. It graphically displays each risk and its impact in a matrix. This made it easy to read and see what the key risks are.

The *National Risk Assessment for Ireland* stated that the risk assessment is there to inform emergency management capabilities in the future (Department of Defence, 2017). The fact that this document discussed the risks that face all of society, defined the risks and consolidate the risks for use by all departments for future development is positive. It recognised that the risks will impact all of society and recognised that it is a whole-of-government responsibility for responding to these risks. The disappointing part is that this assessment was published after the *White Paper on Defence (2015)*, the *National Cyber Security Strategy (2015)* and the *An Gard Síochána Strategy Statement (2016)*. There should be a hierarchal and coordinated structure for the release of national security documents, based around a document that provides a common list of threats and objectives. Ireland's national security framework has a central risk

document, however, it does not have any coordination and connection for the release of other national security documents.

Assessment of Ireland's National Security Framework

When examined against the normal way of life concept, the collection of security related documents for Ireland do not address the six elements effectively. The combined documents address *Law and Order* and *Security* in some detail, the *Economy* to a lesser extent and finally *Welfare, Government*, and *Freedom and Equality* lacks any specific mention. The *White Paper on Defence (2015)* provided the detail of the roles and responsibilities of the Defence Force in providing security, both territorial and domestically. The *An Garda Síochána Strategy Statement (2016)* provided details on the provision of domestic security and law and order to the State. Therefore, the two components of the normal way of life: *Security* and *Law and Order* are discussed and represented within Ireland's national security framework. The importance of protecting the economy is mentioned in the *White Paper on Defence (2015)* and the *An Garda Síochána Strategy Statement (2016),* however, there is no connection between these two documents relating to the integration of efforts to protect the economy. The *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* is the key document that discussed security to the economy. It detailed the provision of services that will protect the national ICT systems that in turn, protect the financial services of Ireland. These documents identify that the protection of the economy is important, however, they failed to provide any further detail of how the economy will be protected. The final three areas of the normal way of life concept that are not considered in any of the documents include: *Welfare, Freedom and Equality*, and *Government*.

The documents relating to national security examined in this section provided a collection of 'bumper stick quotes' on threats and a general corporate brochure approach to communicating these threats and how they will be addressed. Finally the documents do not appear to be linked to one another. The *White Paper on Defence (2015)*, the *National Cyber Security Strategy 2015 – 2016* and the *An Garda Síochána Strategy Statement (2016)* should at least nest under the *National Risk Assessment for Ireland*. In doing so, all the separate strategies would use one

risk assessment for the development of their own strategies. The siloed approach to national security has led to a number of holes in the strategic security plans. There should be more emphasis placed on an integrated whole-of-government approach to national security.

Republic of Singapore – National Security Framework

Singapore offers a unique case study in relation to its approach to national security and the relationship between the State and its citizens. Singapore has established itself as a global city, based on liberal ideals such as free trade and economic interdependence (Heng, 2013). However, this liberal approach to maintaining a global city also contains a strong security dimension, with the narrative controlled tightly by the leadership of Singapore. Heng (2013) argued that it was necessary for Singapore to develop itself into a global city because it lacked a geographic hinterland that would provide some geographic security. It had no raw materials and no domestic market, so therefore, it needed strong links to the region and the globe. From early in its independence from Great Britain, Singapore has maintained a comprehensive view of security that goes beyond just physical or territorial security. Although Singapore is perceived as a liberal global city, the nation's leadership do not see it necessary to connect this liberal approach to the national security sector (Tan & Chew, 2008). The narrative that has been created by the small elite group of Singaporean leaders is one where Singapore recognises that it is a small State that is dependent on an open and globalised economy. In order to achieve security, Singapore depends on a resilient population, a strong and capable defence force able to deter attack and strong diplomatic relationships.

The Singaporean approach is not to have a single national security strategy, instead have a central organisation responsible for the coordination of national security objectives. Formed in 2004 the National Security Coordination Secretariat (NSCS) is responsible for the planning, policy and intelligence coordination at a whole of government level (Singapore Government, 2018). The NSCS is comprised of three bodies that lead and facilitate national security objectives. The three bodies include the National Security Research Centre;

providing strategic analysis of threats to support strategic planning, policy development and capability development. The Resilience Policy and Research Centre, is responsible for the coordination of social resilience. The National Security Coordination Centre, leads and facilitates programmes that support resilience against strategic threats. Figure 5 shows the coordination between the different agencies within the NSCS and the control of the organisation provided by the Coordinating Minister for National Security.
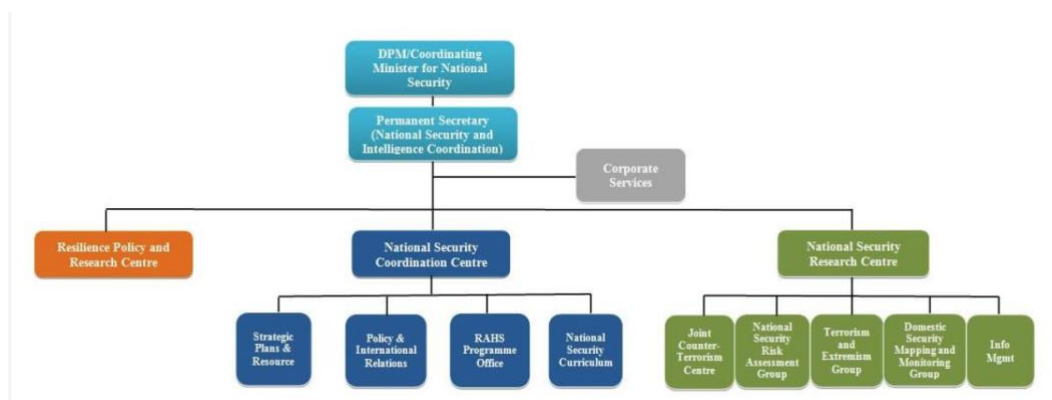
Figure 5: National Security Coordination Secretariat.

The main document released by the government of Singapore regarding national security, is *A Secure and Resilient Nation: A Networked Government, A Cohesive Society, An Engaged People* (National Security Coordination Secretariat, 2018). Resilience is an important theme for Singapore's national security, as it places the emphasis on the whole of society contributing to national security, and a lot of the information released to the public is based around this concept of the population's responsibility in supporting national security. The NSCS is very clear that this document is a corporate brochure that provided the mission, history and the functions of the NSCS. It set out the framework for the various agencies and government ministries that focus on a specific area of national security. It also detailed how the NSCS coordinates the efforts and policies of its subordinate organisations. The main threat that the brochure identified is that of terrorism. It clearly identified that the Asia region has a significant issue with terrorist and radicalised groups and that this threat poses a significant risk to Singapore. In comparison to the UK's national security strategy, where risks and objectives were clearly articulated, the Singaporean security document provided very little detail on what the threat of terrorism will be. The focus of the Singaporean

national security strategy is to engage its population in the provision of security. This approach is similar to the method of security for the early state nation that was presented in Chapter Two, where the population served the State for its security. This approach is supported by other documents released by the NSCS.

One aspect that is quite unique with the Singaporean approach to informing the public about national security, compared with the other nations reviewed in this chapter, is its engagement across all ages of the population. This is an important part of the security narrative for the Singaporean leadership, in that security can only be achieved when the people are engaged. The NSCS has released two cartoon-based documents, one for primary school aged children and one for high school aged children. These documents discussed terrorism and national security using age appropriate language and in a format that is understood by their target audience. The '*Web of Deception'* is an illustrated monograph in a format for primary school aged children that dealt with national security and terrorism. It discussed radicalisation and how terrorist organisations can influence young people. It also discussed the coordination between the different government agencies, reinforcing the networked government message. The messaging also centres around national pride and the '*Total Defence'* strategy of the Singapore Armed Forces (SAF). Likewise, the comic aimed at high school aged children; '*Fight Terrorism? Don't Joke*!'*,* contained messages of national pride and the duty of the population. It described the different aspects of what organisations do in fighting terrorism and uses recent terrorist attacks in the region to reinforce the key messages. These documents cannot be used to analyse the Singaporean national security framework in any depth or used as a credible source, however, they do demonstrate how Singapore is communicating their national security approach to the population. Singapore want a 'cohesive society' and an 'engaged people'(National Security Coordination Secretariat, 2018) and by introducing the ideas of security to the population at an early age and making it an open discussion, it becomes part of the way of life and is a method of involving society in the idea of security. This community resilience is important in Singapore's national security framework, but it also highlights how the leadership of Singapore control the narrative. It is concluded from this research that the

government of Singapore want their citizens to be engaged in security, however, they will tightly control what they are engaged in.

The SAF are an integral part of national security for Singapore and is part of their 'Total Defence' strategy. There is no white paper on defence for the SAF, or similar strategic capability plan. The information regarding national security is very much of the 'corporate brochure' style. The Singapore defence policy is based around two pillars. The first pillar is deterrence, being the establishment of a strong defence force based on their concept of 'Total Defence'. Singapore use National Service as a way to develop a resilient nation and one where the whole population is involved in defence of the State (Singpore Government, 2018). The second pillar of the Singaporean approach to defence policy is the emphasis on diplomacy and strong bilateral defence relationships. Singapore realises the need for a secure region and views international organisations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a mechanism for cooperating to address common security concerns (Singpore Government, 2018). The depth of information regarding the SAF is similar to that of other nations that publish facts about their capabilities on open source platforms. It provides a very generic overview of capabilities, information regarding structures and some information on operations that units are serving in. The lack of information on the national security framework and future capability programmes of the SAF is understandable considering the controlling nature of the Singaporean government and their control of the security narrative.

Assessment of Singapore's National Security Framework

In reviewing the Singaporean national security framework it is apparent that it is an exercise of reviewing web-pages and glossy corporate brochures and does not offer the same depth of information as the UK and the Republic of Ireland. Buzan (1991) described how States will construct or securitise their threats and in the case of Singapore, the ruling elite have constructed and tightly controlled their security narrative. As a weak power but strong State (Buzan, 1991), Singapore recognises that it cannot provide the necessary security to its citizens alone and relies on cooperation of regional and international powers. Singapore's narrative,

controlled heavily by the State, is an example of effective messaging to reinforce their security approach. Singapore needs an engaged population and by targeting all age groups with security related messaging, Singaporeans grow up with security as part of their way of life.

When it comes to comparing the Singaporean national security framework to the six components of the normal way of life, it is evident that the only the component of *Security* is considered. The component of the *Economy* has a link with the 'Total Defence' strategy, that articulates the need for the Singaporean economy to be protected. *Law and Order* is provided through their police force and is discussed as part of their networked government. The role of the police and their contribution to law and order, that contributes to national security, does appear within the documents released by the NSCS, however, with very little detail. The remaining three components: *Welfare, Government*, and *Freedom and Equality*, do not feature in any detail within the material reviewed. The Singaporean national security framework is heavily controlled by the government and they have developed a very narrow discourse on the threats to their security. Singapore have established an effective open marketing platform with their public information, in order to maintain an engaged population. However, they have not developed a security framework that focusses on the State providing security for the whole-of-society. Rather, Singapore have taken the state nation approach, calling on the national spirit of the population to provide security to the State.

New Zealand has a long history with the security of Singapore. As Britain slowly withdrew its influence in the region, New Zealand stationed military forces in Singapore to assist in the nations and the regions security. Singapore has increased its military capability, however it still relies on security partnerships to assist with its national security. Although the strategy for Singapore's security is very much focussed on the threat of Terrorism, it is the way in which the government has communicated its strategy to the public that New Zealand should take note of for its own strategy development. The narrative regarding the role of the population in supporting security has been widely publicised to all ages, means that security is in the public discourse, and not something that is discussed after a crisis event has occurred. It is not argued here that New Zealand should

adopt this model of focussing on terrorism, rather it should develop a robust method of communicating security risks and hazards that match the context of New Zealand's security environment. It should also seek to develop a communication system that is aimed at different age groups within the community and by using different communication platforms and mediums. Business discourse explains that effective strategy execution is achieved through effective communication of the strategy to all stakeholders (Collins & Porras, 2011). There is no reason why this cannot be adopted for the development of a national security strategy in New Zealand. If New Zealand intends to deliver security to the whole-of-society and develop resilience in its communities, then greater discussion across society about these issues should take place.

Australia's National Security Framework

Australia and New Zealand share a unique bond in relation to security. Both nations have, for more than 100 years combined military forces in wartime. Coalitions were formed during the First and Second World Wars, in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and more recently in operations in East Timor, the Solomon Islands and Iraq. The relationship between Australia and New Zealand extends beyond the armed forces and experience in conflict. New Zealand's national security is also reliant upon close ties and arrangements with Australia (Broad, 2017), and both nations are considered important in each other's territorial defence plans. Australia is New Zealand's closest neighbour and has significant power and influence in the South Pacific and South East Asian region. Due to this closeness and unique relationship, the Australian national security framework and approach provides a good example of how national security can be achieved without an overarching strategic document.

The responsibility for the coordination of Australia's national security falls to the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (PM&C). The National Security and International Policy Group of PM&C advises the Prime Minister on how to respond to threats to the nation's security. Advice from PM&C also includes advice on: the protection of Australia's border, preventing organised crime, defence strategies, the appropriate response to major security crises and also

policies relating to national security (Australian Government, 2018). A plethora of documents exist in relation to national security, with only one national security strategy document that was released in 2013 by Prime Minister Julia Gillard (2010-2013). In 2017 Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull (2015 – current) released a national security statement, in a parliamentary address, rather than a strategic document. Amongst numerous other documents pertaining to national security is the *Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) Annual Report 2016-17*, *National Counter Terrorist Plan 2017, Australia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2015, 2016 Defence White Paper*, and *Australia's Cyber Security Strategy*. Of all these plans and strategic documents, only two of them have a hierarchical relationship connecting them. This is the *National Counter Terrorist Plan 2017*, which is nested under *Australia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy 2015*. Although there is a controlling body for national security, there appears to be a siloed approach to the different areas of national security and no recent national security strategy has been released.

In 2013 the Australian Labor Led Government, under Prime Minister Julia Gillard released a national security strategy titled '*Strong and Secure: A Strategy for Australia's National Security*' (Department of the Prime Minister & Cabinet, 2013). This document follows the pattern of all documents reviewed so far. It set out the governments objectives for the provision of national security, the risks posed to Australia and detailed the priorities for investment in capabilities in order to achieve the objectives. The objectives included the protection and strengthening of Australian sovereignty, a safe and resilient population, secure infrastructure and the promotion of a favourable international environment (Department of the Prime Minister & Cabinet, 2013). The objectives are broad enough to cover the territorial security of the nation, securing the population as well as its resources and protect its position internationally. This means Australia has both an inward and outward security focus. The risks identified include espionage, regional instability, cyber-attacks, the proliferation of WMD's, organised crime, state-based conflict and terrorism. To balance these risks, the national security strategy has a concept of pillars, or the ways and means that it will protect against these risks. What is lacking from this group of risks are natural born risks, such as natural disasters and disease. The strategic outlook of

the strategy is focussed on traditional security threats. The most recent statement relating to national security was released in 2017 as an address to parliament by Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull.

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull addressed the House of Representatives in June 2017 with an address on defence and national security. The address differed in content from the 2013 national security strategy, in that it did not describe in detail the objectives and possible risks and threats or provided any information of how the objectives were to be achieved. Prime Minister Turnbull spoke of how the number one priority is to keep Australians safe and maintain their way of life, their values and their freedoms (Turnbull, 2017). The Prime Minister discussed the investment in law enforcement and security agencies as a result of the increase in terrorist threats to Australia. The address focussed on the threat of terrorism, which appears to be the main theme of the Turnbull government's national security narrative. The Prime Minister spoke of the implementation of a comprehensive cyber security strategy. He discussed how critical infrastructure such as power networks, water supply and other systems vital for the national wellbeing must be managed to prevent foreign interference. The address concluded with remarks on the importance of maintaining a close partnership with business and the community for the provision of national security. The address to parliament is a different approach to the previous government's national security strategy document and it is that this method is ineffective in providing an overarching concept for a strategy. It described in very generic terms the security risks and outlined some information on how these risks are to be responded to. In the same year as this address, a white paper on foreign policy was released, that outlined strategic objectives relating to national security.

The *Foreign Policy White Paper (2017)* articulated Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) strategic policy. The purpose of a white paper is to set out major developments and major new directions in government policy. Released in the same year as the Prime Minister's Defence and National Security address to parliament, the *Foreign Policy White Paper (2017)* is 'grounded in our national foundations of freedom, equality, the rule of law and mutual respect' (Australian Government, 2017, p. iii). The policy articulated that the foundations

for success are Australia's democratic institutions, open society and strong economy that underpins their significant defence and foreign policy, their border protection, law enforcement and security capabilities. These foundations could be considered the values that Wolfers (1952) stated as being the 'thing' that should be secured. Many of these foundations listed in the white paper could be considered the foundations of a national security strategy. Therefore, it is assessed from this research, that this foreign policy white paper considers domestic security matters. The five priorities of the white paper include: a prosperous Indo-Pacific region, global opportunities for business, the safety of Australians, the promotion of international rules and the increase of support to the Pacific and Timor-Leste (Australian Government, 2017). *The Foreign Policy White Paper (2017)* merges with elements of domestic security when it discussed the foundations of the policy. These included:

- Countering terrorism,
- Secure borders,
- Tackling organised crime,
- Cyber security,
- Guarding against foreign interference, and
- Assisting Australian's overseas. (This is the only foundation of the foreign policy that has is a non-domestic security focus).

When these objectives are compared with the *Strong and Secure: A Strategy for Australia's National Security* and the Prime Minister's security and defence address to parliament in 2017, there are some similarities in the associated threats, however, they are discussed slightly differently. This highlights the need for one central document that articulates the threats that Australia faces. This would enable all documents, plans and strategies developed for national security can work from a common threat picture and synchronise their objectives and plans.

When the *2016 Defence White Paper* (*2016 DWP*) was released, it was the third defence white paper in seven years. The *2016 DWP* was released as a way of re-establishing the credibility of the old white papers as the two previous defence white papers were released under the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd years of political turmoil

(Edwards, 2016). The *2016 DWP* was 'based on a comprehensive review of Australia's strategic environment', with the aim to 'align defence strategy, capability and resources' (Department of Defence, 2016). The strategic outlook discussed the ever-changing regional environment, the risks of instability and the threats that these risks have on Australia. The *2016 DWP* explained that although there is a remote prospect of a military attack on Australia, strategic planning must go beyond defending borders and focus on attacks from non-state actors such as terrorists (Department of Defence, 2016). This threat of terrorism is quite prevalent in this document and is the focus of a number of other security policies and documents released. The *2016 DWP* included detail of the Australian security context which drives the development of security capabilities.

The *2016 DWP* identified six drivers that will shape the security environment: the United States and China relationship, regional fragility, challenges to the global rules-based order, enduring terrorism, the pace of military capability development and new complex threats. Of these drivers, only terrorism and the instability of fragile states were mentioned in *A Strategy for Australia's National Security (2013)*. Terrorism was mentioned in the *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*. Therefore, there exists a disconnect between the range of different policy documents and what each has identified as key threats to Australia. The remainder of the *2016 DWP* set out the future of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) and the capability's that will be developed in order to mitigate the threats and risks identified. Behm (2016) argued that this white paper did not deal with the use of armed forces in the defence of the nation, which is an important factor when considering the employment of a nation's military. The *Defence White Paper 2009* discussed the use of military power as part of the Defence and National Security Chapter (Department of Defence, 2009), however, this did not appear in the 2016 iteration. Behm also argues that the *2016 DWP* failed to address other security issues such as global warming, internal migration and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) operations. These threats would contribute to regional instability, which is one of the drivers identified in this document. It is concluded that the *2016 DWP* is an attempt by the current Australian government to establish the credibility of defence white papers,

however, in doing so did not nest this document itself within other security related documents.

Terrorism appears to be the most significant threat to Australia's national security. *Australia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy – 2015* was released to articulate how the Australian government will respond to the terrorist threat. Like the previous documents reviewed, this document set out the framework for Australia's counter-terrorism arrangements. It articulated how the Australian Government will counter the terrorist threat (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015). It identified social cohesion as vital, the peaceful expression of diverse political, religious and ideological views as highly valued features of Australian life. In order to maintain this social cohesion, the strategy detailed five objectives that it will focus on (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015);

- The challenging of violent extremist ideologies,
- Preventing people from becoming terrorists,
- Shaping the global environment,
- Disrupting terrorist activity domestically and
- Having an effective response and recovery.

As a strategic document, *Australia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy – 2015*, provided a sufficient base to analyse how Australia will respond to a terrorist threat and what the Australian population can expect during a response. This strategy is one of the few documents reviewed that informs a subordinate document that relates to counter-terrorism.

Nested underneath *Australia's Counter-Terrorism Strategy – 2015* is the *2017 National Counter Terrorist Plan*. This plan outlined the arrangements, governance and operational responsibilities of the Commonwealth, State and Territory agencies responsible for counter-terrorist operations (Australia New Zealand Counter-Terrorist Committee, 2017). What is unique about these two documents is that this is a rare case where there exists an over-arching strategy, with an operational plan nested below it. It is discussed in the documents where they fit within each other and more importantly, they also use the same five strategic objectives. Additionally, the Australia New Zealand Counter Terrorist Committee

has also released 'strategies' that deal with: Protecting Crowded Places as well as guidelines for countering Improvised Explosive Devices, Armed Offenders and Chemical attacks at crowded places. It is not clear why these three other documents could not be contained within the *2017 National Counter Terrorist Plan*, or why they engage with only one specific threat. However, since terrorism is the most common threat identified amongst the documents reviewed it is understandable why so much effort is placed on dealing with his threat.

The Australian government conducted a self-review of its national security framework, with a focus on the intelligence function. ASIO provides the Australian government, various government agencies and Australian businesses information regarding threats to security (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, 2017). ASIO released its annual report in 2017, where it reviewed its performance against five focus areas;

- Countering terrorism,
- Countering espionage,
- Border security,
- Protective security advice to business, and
- The collection of foreign intelligence in Australia.

This self-review document provided information relating to each of the five threats, described what they were and how they impact on Australia's national security. It described the performance of ASIO against each of these threats, what has been achieved and what will occur in the future. Much of the information released is unclassified and there would be a lot more classified details that could not be released. However, the strength of this document is that it provided clear information on the threats and also what they mean to Australia. This demonstrated that the Australian security framework is open to review, which is an important part of a transparent government. What is apparent through the review of Australia's national security framework, is the lack of commonality between the threats listed in this document and the threats listed in the other seven security related documents that have been reviewed.

Buzan (1991) argued that a major difficulty for the development of national security policy is to distinguish between those threats that arise as a result of normal day-to-day consequences of life, verses those that constitute a serious national security issue. What is evident in this review of the seven Australian security related documents, is that there is no common threat assessment or list of common threats that Australia is facing. Table 2 below, lists the seven documents with their threats. Only terrorism is a common threat amongst all documents. There have been a number of terrorist acts in Australia, which would indicate why terrorism is assessed as a significant threat. Over the period 2016-17 there were six terrorist related events, one was a stabbing of a person in September 2016, the killing of four people in June 2017, and four terrorist plots disrupted. Espionage and counter foreign interference is the second most common threat and can range from external States collecting information through to State and non-state actors attempting to damage or interfere with critical infrastructure. What this demonstrated is that there are 12 different security threats identified to Australian national security and that there has not been a central security strategy for five years. Although there are some similarities in the threats identified and that security is coordinated under the PM&C, there lacks a clear framework for the collaboration across all government departments. A coordinated framework and a common list of threats to be guarded against would strengthen the Australian national security framework.

Policy	2013	2015	2016	2017			
	National Security Strategy	Counter Terrorism Strategy	Defence White Paper	PM's NS address to Parliament	Foreign Policy White Paper	Counter Terrorism Plan	ASIO Report
Treats	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism	Countering terrorism	Terrorism	Terrorism
	State conflict				Secure borders		Border security
	Cyber			Cyber	Cyber		
	Espionage			Espionage	Foreign interference		Espionage
	Fragile states		Regional instability				
	Organised crime			Law enforcement	Organised crime		
	WMD's						
					Assisting Australians overseas		
			US and China relations				
			Challenges to the global rules-based order				
			New military capabilities				
			New complex threats				

Table 2: Comparison of Australian Security Documents 2013 – 2017

Assessment of Australia's National Security Framework

Australia is New Zealand's closest international partner, both geographically and in terms of our international relationships. Furthermore, it is New Zealand's only formal ally. There are two aspects of the Australian security framework that New Zealand should bear in mind for the development of its own national security strategy. One is positive, and the second is something that New Zealand should avoid doing. The strength of the Australian national security framework is the *Foreign Policy White Paper 2017*. This document articulates how Australia will respond to threats to Australian citizens abroad. Although it is extremely difficult to accurately determine, it has been estimated that at any one time there could be up to one million New Zealand Citizens living or travelling overseas (Philp, 2013). With greater travel and work opportunities, it is logical that there should

be some provision for how the State intends to protect its citizens abroad. Recent terrorist attacks in Europe, such as the attacks in Paris in 2015 and Brussels in 2016 have demonstrated that any nations citizens can be caught up in a crisis on foreign land and whether these people have confidence that they will be protected is a necessary part of the 'feeling of security'. As New Zealand supports the international order and regional and global peace-keeping efforts – efforts that, in turn, strengthen the likelihood New Zealand citizens abroad will not be threatened – there should be a larger focus of how this will be achieved. The articulation of a how New Zealand will protect its citizens abroad should be considered for inclusion in the wider national security objectives.

The Australian national security framework also provided a good example of what not to do when developing a series of national security planning documents. A good strategy will have a clear and coherent plan (Porter, 2011), not a range of different plans, strategies, statements and white papers that characterises the Australian model. The seven documents that were reviewed in relation to the Australian national security strategy were all released within a four-year timeframe. There was also a different array of documents, from strategies, to plans to white papers and addresses to parliament. The intent of strategic documents is to chart the course for the future and in the case of national security, allow the agencies and organisations responsible for the provision of security, the ability to plan and develop their capabilities to meet the intent of the government. Capabilities that deliver national security are expensive and take time to develop, especially military capabilities. From concept, to construction through to operational effectiveness, military capabilities are significant investments for the government, and continually changing or updating the policy surrounding national security will lead to uncertainty and confusion, and possibly the purchase of capabilities that are not necessary. New Zealand should take note of how the Australians have delivered their strategy for national security, and note the constant release of documents and with no coherent plan for their release timeframe may cause confusion amongst the different security agencies for being able to build a whole-of-government security framework. New Zealand should look at adopting a coherent system of security strategy policy development that contains a hierarchy of policy, nested beneath or within an overarching strategic

document, that articulates when other plans and policies are to be reviewed and released.

Conclusion

In its simplest form, enforcing or restoring security occurs when a State uses violence to ensure the safety and well-being of itself (Snow, 2016). For this to occur there needs to be a system in place that articulates what the State will be protecting and how. The four nation's national security strategies and frameworks examined in this chapter provide a broad overview of how different States have approached this dilemma. New Zealand has a close historical relationship with the UK. Our parliamentary system, our police force and military have all been shaped by their influence. The UK has a well-established national security framework and has faced conventional state on state aggression and terrorist attacks, so their framework provides a good example of a system that is based upon an overarching strategy that provides a central base for the development of security capabilities. The Republic of Ireland has many similarities with New Zealand including a small population size, military capabilities and approach to foreign policy. Ireland is a 'small player' on the international stage, and like New Zealand focusses on contributing to the international order of peace and security rather than attempting to lead in this area. The manner in which the Republic of Ireland, as a small state has taken a collaborative approach between the military and the constabulary forces is a good example of how New Zealand can link their domestic and territorial security systems.

New Zealand's involvement in the security of Singapore goes back to when the UK withdrew its security influence in South East Asia. Up until 30 years ago, New Zealand had a significant military element permanently stationed in Singapore. New Zealand is heavily invested in the South East Asian region, for political, security and economic reasons, therefore the approach that a regional State like Singapore takes to developing their security framework can help New Zealand to understand and also to measure its own strategy against. Singapore provides a very good example of how to effectively communicate security matters to the population. Like Singapore, New Zealand sees resilience in its population

as an important part of security, therefore, this needs to be effectively communicated. Finally, Australia as New Zealand's only formal ally and closest international partner, offers an example of how to frame foreign policy and link it to national security. New Zealand contributes significantly to regional security and therefore a clearly articulated foreign policy will maximise the chances of enhancing national security. The recent political turmoil in Australian politics with the constant changing of Prime Ministers, both through election and internal leadership challenges spilled over into the national security framework process. This unsettled time, complicated the policies and resulted in a number of different strategies and policies on national security being released within a short timeframe. New Zealand cannot just rely on copying other nations strategies and policies and its national security strategy and framework should be developed within its own context. New Zealand can, however, look abroad for examples, both positive and negative, for how to construct an effective national security strategy that protects its values and provides robust guidance for security capability development.

Chapter Four: A review of New Zealand's national security framework

Introduction

Chapter Four will review New Zealand's national security framework with the intention of establishing how it is structured and what the connections exist between the different New Zealand government agencies that are responsible for delivering national security. New Zealand has a unique history, albeit a brief one, but it demonstrates that New Zealand has a unique place in the world. New Zealand's history is rooted in its early existence as a colony of the British Empire and as a loyal servant to the homeland, New Zealand as a young nation participated in the Boer War, the First and Second World Wars, as well as the conflicts in Asia and the Middle East. None of these conflicts directly threatened New Zealand's territorial sovereignty, however, as a member of the Commonwealth and later of the wider global community, New Zealand committed its military and other resources in order to provide and assist with the establishment of New Zealand's allies' security. Throughout the Cold War period New Zealand's national security focus was, like most of the world, predominately on territorial integrity and the defence of the borders. New Zealand is a member of international and regional agreements and formal alliance agreements that deliver regional and international security. Since the beginning of this century the world as experienced a rapid changing global environment, with new security threats emerging that require a different approach to dealing with them. This chapter will explore the evolution of New Zealand's security environment, how it has evolved from contributing to global security to becoming more focussed on non-traditional threats, both man-made and natural. Chapter Four will also explore New Zealand's current national security framework and analyse the government's approach in providing security to the population and the nation. The chapter will then examine the framework in relation to the concept of the normal way of life.

New Zealand's National Security System

The role of the New Zealand Government is to provide security and ensure the territorial integrity of New Zealand. The government must protect the institutions that sustain confidence, promote the achievement of national goals and through providing security, support the pursuit of economic opportunities, the provision of international relationships and help to build a sense of community (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). The New Zealand Government defined national security as 'the coordination which permits the citizens of a state to go about their daily business confidently free from fear and able to make the most of the opportunities to advance their way of life. It encompasses preparedness, protection and preservation of people, property and information, both tangible and intangible' (Government of New Zealand, 2017). The government recognised that New Zealand's security is increasingly linked to security in other countries and therefore seeks to reinforce its national security through partnerships and by supporting an international rules-based order (Broad, 2017). New Zealand's approach national security is provided through an 'all-of-government' national security system that has tended to react to events, rather than systematically bringing a forward-looking approach to risk reduction' (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). It is a system that emphasises risks and a resilience-based methodology (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). It is a reactionary approach with a system centrally controlled by government. New Zealand does not have a national security strategy. It is the responsibility of DPMC to coordinate New Zealand's national security framework.

As stewards of New Zealand's system of government, DPMC is charged with advising the government on policy and constitutional arrangements and within the seven business units of DPMC, is also responsible for the coordination of the National Security System (NSS). One of the founding principles of New Zealand's NSS is the nation's ability to respond to and recover from shock and stressors in a timely and effective way through an integrated system (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). The government identified six threats to New Zealand (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017):

- State and armed conflict,
- Organised crime,
- Cyber security,
- Natural hazards,
- Biosecurity, and
- Pandemics.

This list of threats, takes into consideration not only man-made but natural threats, including those that will occur within the territory of New Zealand and those externally. The New Zealand approach reinforces the New Zealand government's definition of national security as being able to allow citizens to 'go about their daily business', or as it has been presented in Chapter Two to conduct a normal way of life. The broad nature of the hazards and also the complexity of an all-of-government approach to security, requires significant coordination.

The NSS detailed seven key objectives that underpin the comprehensive "all hazards" approach that the New Zealand system takes for national security (DPMC, 2016). Included in the hazards are (DPMC, 2016):

- Ensuring public safety,
- Preserving sovereignty and territorial integrity,
- Protecting lines of communication, both physical and virtual,
- Strengthening the international order,
- Sustaining economic wellbeing,
- Maintaining democratic institutions, and
- Protecting the natural environment

This approach to hazards is broad enough to allow for the protection of the citizens of New Zealand and enable them to go about their daily business free from fear. There exists a danger that this broad approach to hazards identification can allow for misinterpretation by agencies responsible for responding to these hazards because they are not prioritised. A lack of prioritisation of hazard identification could prevent agencies effectively attempting to reduce risk and hazards (Johanson, 2017). Therefore, New Zealand should prioritise hazards and

risk to prevent this ambiguity. The approach of the NSS is therefore reactionary and places a significant amount of emphasis on the ability of the agencies to provide a response with little guidance as to what threats they should focus on responding to. As it is reactionary, the NSS is a framework that relies upon effective coordination at all levels of government, both central and local.

The NSS is designed to ensure that the security architecture performs as intended and the details of how it operates is contained within the *NSS Handbook*. When a crisis event occurs that challenges national security, the NSS is activated. The response to the crisis is built around the threat that occurs, therefore, its makeup will vary depending on the threat and has varying levels of coordination. At the executive level, the Official's Committee for Domestic and External Coordination (ODSEC) provides strategic advice to ministers and the Prime Minister on such matters as priorities for resource and capability allocation. An example where ODSEC provided guidance was during the 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris. ODSEC provided advice on possible implications for New Zealand citizens in France and also any threats to New Zealand (DPMC, 2016). Informing the NSS and ODSEC is the Security and Intelligence Group (SIG). SIG provides assessments to the Prime Minister, senior ministers and senior officials on security events and security related developments. SIG performs a collaborative leadership role within the wider New Zealand intelligence community and with the Intelligence and Assessments Bureau, coordinates all the source assessments for response and advice decision making. (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017).

When a security event occurs, the NSS activates and forms a number of sub-groups in order to coordinate the collective response. For any national security event, a lead agency is identified. When a crisis occurs that requires a national response, a government agency is allocated the responsibility of taking the lead for the planning and coordination of the response. For instance, in the event of a natural disaster, the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management (MCDEM) will be identified as the lead agency. Likewise if the event is a Bio-security risk then the Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI) will lead (DPMC, 2016). It is important for the effective response to a crisis that that individuals who represent their agencies to able to make decision and have the authority to

commit resources on behalf of their organisations. In addition to the lead agencies, the NSS forms Watch Groups. These are formed in order to obtain situational clarity and to ensure that the systems are in place for effective response (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017).

Example of the National Security System activation in New Zealand

On 27th November 2014 the Chief Executives of Federated Farmers and Fonterra received anonyms letters stating that infant formula was poisoned with 1080 (a chemical pesticide used for the eradication of introduced animal predators). The letters demanded that the use of 1080 be stopped immediately, or the contaminated infant formula would be released into the public. Once these letters were reported, the NSS was activated (DPMC, 2016). DPMC provided its normal policy advice role in support of the Prime Minister, with ODESC providing the focal point for agency cooperation (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2017). A Watch Group was established by DPMC on the 27th November 2014 that included government agencies and representatives from Fonterra and Federated Farmers. MPI was given the lead agency at the national level role, as MPI has the lead agency role under the NSS for a food safety hazard (DPMC, 2016). The New Zealand Police was given the lead for the criminal investigation in support of the response. ODESC convened a meeting on 28th November to provide a focal point for agency coordination, while the Watch Group analysed and developed the response. Key to this response was the release of public messages to inform the communities of the situation and provide information on how to assist and what to do if someone suspects being affected. These messages were released in consultation with the New Zealand Police, MPI and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2017). The communications plan included information being released to medical services, pre-schools, financial markets and business stakeholders. On 15th October 2015 a person was arrested and charged in relation to the threats.

The case study of the activation of the NSS is an example of a successful response to a threat to New Zealand's national security. Although this threat can be considered a 'weak' threat. There was a swift response from DPMC, with the

Watch Group formation occurring on the same day as the threat was discovered. The following day, ODESC convened a meeting to oversee agency coordination. For the duration of the response, regular meetings were held for ODESC and the Watch Groups. During the investigation into the threat, the New Zealand Police considered over 2600 people, with 60 people interviewed (Ryan, 2015). There was more than 150,000 batch tests carried out on Fonterra's infant formula supply. This threat gained international attention and had the possibility of damaging New Zealand's dairy export industry. It is concluded that the response to this threat by DPMC and the coordination between government agencies, the private sector and the New Zealand public was swift and demonstrated an effective NSS. However, this threat was against a small part of New Zealand's society and did not have the ability to significantly impact all of societies normal way of life. The purpose of this case study was to demonstrate how the NSS activates and the interaction between the government and the private sector.

The NSS and the *NSS Handbook* are the responsibility of DPMC in the management and coordination of responding to a crisis within New Zealand. The proceeding section of this chapter will review the different government agencies policies and plans that relate to New Zealand's national security.

New Zealand Defence White Paper – 2016

The New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) released *The Defence White Paper 2016 (DWP 2016)* against the backdrop of changes in the international environment. These changes caused the National-led government to reassess its defence policy and capabilities that it articulated in the *Defence White Paper 2010*. The *DWP 2016* articulated the role of the NZDF as part of New Zealand's broader security system and stated that it acts in collaboration with other agencies (Ministry of Defence, 2016). A positive aspect of this document is that it uses the seven overarching national strategic objectives listed in the *NSS Handbook*, demonstrating a rare link within a central security policy. The *DWP 2016* discussed the strategic outlook facing New Zealand, with the main area of interest the security of the Asia/Pacific region and identified newer challenges, such as:

- Competition for resources,

- Increase in natural disasters,

- Increased interest in the Antarctic region, especially from China,

- Increase in the cyber threat, and

- Ensuring the maintenance of a global rules-based order.

The proceeding chapters of the *DWP 2016* articulated the roles and tasks for the NZDF as well as detailing future capability development. The white paper focussed on what capabilities the NZDF currently have and how they are currently employed. According to Rolfe (1993), the purpose of a white paper should be to articulate policy based on significant changes to the environment and allow for capability development. However, what appears in the *DWP 2016* is a list of current capabilities and a justification for their purchase and how they are employed. The *DWP 2016* is not a document that is looking forward as it states that it is. Instead, it discussed the emerging security threats to New Zealand with no connection to the future capabilities required by the NZDF that will meet these new challenges. Rogers (2017) argued that the *DWP 2016* fails to consider the relationships between the State, economic and social factors that shape armed conflict and not providing the necessary analysis for the major security challenges facing New Zealand. There is a lot of truth in what Rogers asserted, as this document is intended to be a strategic look forward in order to develop future capabilities. *The DWP 2016* discussed current capabilities and their employment and not the capabilities that will be developed over the next 25 years.

Intelligence and Security

The documents and policies relating to the collection of intelligence in New Zealand is restricted to legislation and information on the intelligence agencies contained on their public websites. This is due to the confidential nature of their role in supporting national security. The responsibility of providing this information falls to the intelligence agencies, which in New Zealand are the Government Security and Communications Bureau (GCSB) and the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (NZSIS). The collection of intelligence is conducted covertly and through concealed methods, which in a free and democratic nation such as New Zealand presents a number of issues. The issue of balancing the

requirement for effective intelligence gathering to support national security and the basic human right of freedom and liberty was addressed in *Intelligence and Security in a Free Society Report of the First Independent Review of Intelligence and Security in New Zealand* conducted in 2015 by Hon Sir Michael Cullen, KNZM and Dame Patsy Reddy, DNZM. The review was called for after concerns were raised about the legislation that the GCSB and the NZSIS operated under (Cullen & Reddy, 2016). The review was primarily focused on the legislation of intelligence and security: however, it did make recommendations for changes to the role and function of the two organisations.

As a result of the 2015 review into the intelligence and security legislation, new legislation was quickly released, amending many of the issues identified. The *Intelligence and Security Act 2017* established a new legislative framework for the intelligence agencies to operate in and also ensured that the intelligence agencies performed in accordance with New Zealand law and all human rights laws recognised by New Zealand (Parlimentary Counsel Office, 2017). The previous legislation that the intelligence and security agencies worked under preventing the sharing of information (Cullen & Reddy, 2016). This was considered barrier for effective intelligence gathering. Previous legislation came from the Cold War era and did not provide the right framework for dealing with the new security threats (Cullen & Reddy, 2016). The new act allows for the NZSIS and GCSB to work together in order to provide effective intelligence assessment to the government, its ministers, to DPMC as part of the NSS, as well as to other authorised agencies, such as the New Zealand Police and the NZDF. The *Intelligence and Security Act 2017* recognised that intelligence gathering is a vital part of security, it also recognises that the citizens must feel safe that their rights are being protected and that the government is operating in a legal, ethical and transparent manner.

Civil Defence and Emergency Management

DPMC state that resilience is 'the right thing to do' as an approach to national security, as 'it will create a New Zealand where some risks are less likely to eventuate, where responses to events are more effective, where impacts are reduced and where recovery is faster' (Department of the Prime Minister and

Cabinet, 2017). This view and the 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach recognises that threats are not just man-made events but can also come from natural disasters. Since 2010 there have been 41 States of Emergency declared in New Zealand resulting from earthquakes, severe weather, flooding, cyclones and fire (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Magagement, n.d.). Howard Broad pointed out, 'national security is the condition which permits citizens to go about their daily business' (Broad, 2017). Therefore a disruptive natural event, which degrades the normal way life of the population must be viewed as a threat and be part of the national security framework.

The response to natural disaster falls to MCDEM, a business unit of DPMC. Two key documents outlines its approach to emergency management: the *Civil Defence and Emergency Management Act 2002*, and the *National CDEM Plan 2015*. In the event of an emergency, such as geological, weather event, or the failure of infrastructure; MCDEM will lead the national response and recovery efforts. It does this through working with local government and the regional CDEM Groups to ensure that the right resources and services are available to the impacted communities. The *Civil Defence and Emergency Management Act 2002,* is the legislation that provided the guidance to the national, regional and local organisations for their role and authority during an event. It provided details of the legislative powers that each organisation is granted as well as the details on the declaration of a State of Emergency. It is important to note that MCDEM has no formal statutory responsibilities and has more of an oversight role of CDEM and ensures the necessary resources are available. This also allowed the CDEM Groups to decide their own performance measures and response frameworks (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2017). This approach of not involving itself in the performance framework of the regional CDEM Groups has been criticised by the Ministerial Review into CDEM operations conducted in 2017. It found that different standards that existed across the regions Civil Defence branches. It is important for a successful framework, to have commonality of operational functions within agencies.

An important document that brings the legislation of the *Civil Defence and Emergency Management Act 2002* into practice is the *National CDEM Plan 2015*.

The plan 'aims to integrate and align agencies CDEM planning and related operational activities at the national level' (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2015). The *National CDEM Plan 2015* is effectively an operational execution document providing information to a wide range of government departments and businesses for the coordination at the national level. It articulated the key responsibilities for each agency, the operational arrangements with other agencies and what function they are expected to make in response to an event. The strength of the *National CDEM Plan 2015* is that it provided significant information on the Health and Disability Services, Lifeline Utilities (critical infrastructure such as water, power and communications) and also for Welfare Services. These are essential components of what has been presented as constituting a normal way of life for the population. For a citizen to go about their daily business, they should have unhindered access to health services, utilities and, if needed, welfare. Of the four other nation's security frameworks reviewed, none of them directly addressed these aspects of the State's services. The *National CDEM Plan 2015* recognised that in order to provide security to the citizens, that the normal everyday parts of people lives that must be protected.

Counter-Terrorism

Recent terrorist attacks in Europe demonstrated how the violent acts of a few can have significant impacts on the citizens of the State. The information age and globalisation has meant that terrorism is no longer just a state-based threat (Broad, 2017). The evolution of global terrorism and non-state groups such as Da'esh have demonstrated that extremist groups are willing and able to take their fight to any part of the planet. New Zealand has experienced some direct terrorist attacks over recent years. The Rainbow Warrior bombing in 1985, the bombings of the Wellington Trade Halls and the Wanganui computer bombings of the 1980's, were all domestic terrorist attacks (Battersby, 2017). Although New Zealand has not suffered an attack such as the Paris attacks of 2015, New Zealand has had terrorist organisations attempt to use New Zealand as part of their activities. New Zealand has seen individuals with links to terrorist organisations attempt to transit through New Zealand or travel overseas to conflict zones like Syria as Foreign

Terrorist Fighters (FTF) (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2015). New Zealand has developed legislation and policy surrounding the threat of terrorism, however, these documents are old and have not kept pace with the rapid evolution and increase in the terrorist threat to New Zealand.

New Zealand's first counter terrorist policy was developed in 1987 under the *International Terrorism (Emergency Powers) Act*. This was at a time when terrorist attacks were mostly limited to state-based groups such as the Irish Republican Army, in Great Britain; Euskadi Ta Askatasuna an armed leftist Basque nationalist and separatist organisation in the Basque Country; and the Palestine Liberation Organization in the Middle East. These groups concentrated their efforts on political change within their own State and territory with limited attacks being conducted outside of their borders. It was in 2001 when al Qaeda backed terrorists attacked the United States killing over 2000 persons, that New Zealand reviewed its terrorism policy. The *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002* was passed as a result of the changing nature of terrorist activity at the time. The act itself is the legislative document that allows government agencies to act in the event of a terrorist attack or activity and provides the authority and guidelines. It defined terrorism and the related activities such as the financing of terrorists, recruitment of members and defined what each different act is, such as what a terrorist bombing is (Government of New Zealand, 2002). Unfortunately, the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002* has proven to have serious shortcomings.

Operation Eight was a series of anti-terror raids conducted by the New Zealand Police against a group operating in the Urewera Forest in New Zealand. This group was conducting military style training and weapons training to conduct attacks against political leaders within New Zealand (Battersby, 2017). Due to the technical requirements of what defines a terrorist act, the 16 suspects that were arrested by the New Zealand Police were not charged with any of the laws under the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002* and instead, only four of those arrested, faced arms related charges (Cheng, 2007). It is concerning that with the threat of terrorism very real, the framework and the laws surrounding it are unable to be used effectively in the prosecution of suspected terrorists. The NSS concerning

countering terrorism is light on detail and does not provide what can be considered a strong approach to countering this threat.

Under the seven overarching national security objectives contained within the *NSS Handbook (2016)*, terrorism is not directly referred to. Instead it comes under the objective of 'protecting the physical security of New Zealand Citizens' (DPMC, 2016). Apart from the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002*, there is no other document that deals directly with terrorism. There is a section on Counter Terrorism in the *National CDEM Plan 2015*. It articulated how the strategic aim of New Zealand's Counter Terrorist effort is to ensure that New Zealand is 'neither the victim nor the source of an act of terrorism' (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2015). It set out how the Combined Threat Assessment Group (CTAG), within the NZSIS, assesses terrorist activities and how this is then disseminated to other agencies. There is no single government agency that is identified as being solely responsible for counter-terrorism, instead CDEM and the NSS appear to be the two agencies responsible for the delivery of counter terrorist coordination. In addition, the Ministry of Justice and MFAT are the two agencies responsible for administering the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002* and the New Zealand Police are the lead agency for any terrorist threat that emerges within New Zealand (DPMC, 2016). This dispersed nature of responsibility between the NSS, CDEM, MFAT, the New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Justice is a very messy approach to dealing with any terrorist threat. With all these different agencies with different responsibilities, it is difficult to see how the counter-terrorist framework can be effective. It has already been proven that the legislation surrounding counter-terrorism is ineffective. Therefore, it is concluded from this research that there are concerns about the effectiveness of a response to a terrorist event.

Cyber Security

The evolution of global trade and communication has increased global interconnectedness, where States are now connected through a vast number of complex networks. This comes with significant threats to New Zealand's national security. The development of the cyber domain provides those that would threaten

New Zealand's way of life with a new platform in which to attack, subvert or conduct espionage. New Zealand relies upon its ability to trade and because of New Zealand's geographic location also relies on its connection with the globe. With estimates that cyber-crime cost the global economy USD 6.6 Trillion last year (Nelson, 2018), it is vital for the New Zealand economy that New Zealand has an effective cyber-security framework. The coordination of cyber security sits within DPMC under SIG. The National Cyber Police Office (NCPO) is responsible for the development of cyber security policy advice to government. NCPO reports formally to the Minister of Broadcasting Communications and Digital Media (DPMC, 2018), which is interesting as this broadens the span of organisations that have input or responsibilities into the national security framework. It would make more sense for organisations that are responsible for national security to have tighter reporting lines to only a few ministers, rather than the spread that is becoming evident. It is understood that New Zealand has a whole-of-government approach to national security, however, this does not mean that the whole-of-government needs to be involved with every aspect. There should be one organisation responsible for cyber-security that can reach out to resources from the whole-of-government and the private sector.

A cyber-attack can occur from anywhere in the world and with no warning. Cyber-attacks have the ability to disable and disrupt anything form New Zealand's financial systems, emergency services, energy, communication and transport services. The New Zealand government has taken a collaborative approach with the private sector, in developing a cyber-security strategy. *The 2015 Cyber Security Strategy* has four security goals (DPMC, 2015);

- Cyber resilience – maintaining information infrastructures that can resist cyber threats,
- Cyber Capability – business and government understand threats and protection capabilities,
- Addressing Cyber-crime – the investigation and response of cyber-crime, and
- International Cooperation – through continued investment in international cyber-security activities.

Part of *The 2015 Cyber Security Strategy* is the Connect Smart partnership. This is a public-private collaboration coordinated by the NCPO, that brings together government agencies and private companies such as banks, telecommunication, software, social media, education and retail organisations. The purpose of this collaboration is to share information and develop cyber-response plans. *The 2015 Cyber Security Strategy* recognises that the private sector owns the systems and infrastructure that is used and this drives our economy, so therefore, collaboration is vital in the securing of the cyber domain. This is one of the few instances in New Zealand's national security framework where it is recognised that the private sector has an important role to play in leading the requirements of security and demonstrated how important it is for any security strategy to put the needs of the citizens at the forefront.

Two organisations from two different agencies are responsible for the operational response to a cyber-attack. The National Cyber Security Centre (NCSC) within GCSB is responsible for providing protective cyber services and guidance to 'organisations of national significance', as well as taking the lead on cyber incidents at the national level (New Zealand Government, 2017). Within the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE), the Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) provide a lower level of cyber security advice to organisations that do not require the level of specialist skills that the NCSC possess. In addition to these organisations, the Protective Security Requirements is an organisation that is supported by both the GCSB and the NZSIS. Protective Security Requirements sponsors the *New Zealand Information Security Manual*, that sets out the guidelines for the protection of information in the cyber domain. There are a number of agencies that provide cyber security to different levels of the community, across business, personal, social welfare agencies (education, health etc), each with their own level of responsibilities and capabilities.

The New Zealand cyber-security framework is quite broad, however, its control suffers from being dispersed across many different organisations. There are five different agencies that have a cyber security responsibility: NCPO, NCSC, CERT,

Protective Security Requirements and Connect Smart. These agencies report to or are controlled by five government ministries or departments: NZSIS, GCSB, MBIE, DPMC and the Minister of Broadcasting Communications and Digital Media. This wide framework aligns to the whole-of-government approach to security, however, there should be a more effective system for the control of cyber-security. It is the recommendation from this research project that control of cyber-security be changed from the current system of the five different agencies to one centralised agency. The execution of cyber-security should remain as it currently is, decentralised to different agencies responsible for different levels of response.

Assessment of New Zealand's national security framework

With no national security strategy to provide central guidance on the development and maintenance of New Zealand's national security, the framework that is in place is a series of policy, plans and legislation that is loosely connected at best and often siloed in its development and execution. The framework in place for the response to an event that may impact adversely on New Zealand is reactionary. The following section compares the six components of the normal way of life against the New Zealand national security framework. It will assess how this framework protects these components and enables New Zealand citizens to live free from fear.

Welfare

Ensuring that the conditions of people's daily lives is protected and their welfare is upheld is a component of the normal way of life concept. Whereas the other four nations reviewed in Chapter 3, mention the importance of protecting the citizens and their way of life, the New Zealand national security framework directly deals with the component of *Welfare* through the *CDEM 2015 National Plan*. The *CDEM 2015 National Plan* detailed the range of organisations and agencies responsible for the delivery of welfare services, including: the New Zealand Police, Ministry of Health, MBIE and MPI. It articulated how, during any crisis, it is essential that people have access to shelter, accommodation, financial

services and also psychological services in order to strengthen their self-resilience (Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management, 2015). Additionally, the *CDEM National Plan 2015* detailed how health and disability services will be maintained during a crisis through the Ministry of Health. The *CDEM National Plan 2015* also described how attacks on lifeline utilities such as water, transport, energy and telecommunications services will be responded to. This is a strength of the New Zealand national security framework, as it recognises the importance of continuing the provision of these services during an event that impacts on the normal way life of New Zealand citizens.

The *Welfare* component of the normal way of life is also protected through the cyber-security and counter-terrorism plans. The New Zealand cyber-security framework is to ensure that the online architecture of New Zealand is secure and protected from attack, as well as being resilient enough to recover quickly from an event (DPMC, 2015). The cyber domain is tightly interconnected and services such as banking, health and critical infrastructure are connected within this domain. An example of the impact of an attack would be if the computer system of the MSD was attacked and the financial support payments to the individuals were not completed. There would be a significant impact for those that rely on this financial support for their daily survival. Likewise, the protection of New Zealand citizens from a terrorist attack is a function of security that allows for the protection of the *Welfare* component. The threat of terrorism against the population or against critical infrastructure is an ever-present danger. The result of a terrorist attack will not only impact those that are directly involved, but can also impact those not involved, causing people to change their everyday behaviour out of fear of becoming the next victim (Luhmann & Bleidorn, 2018). Part of the *Welfare* component of the normative life is protecting the conditions that the people live in. Counter-terrorism enables this by protecting the critical infrastructure, such as transportation, and allowing the people the ability to go where they need free from harm. The importance of access to welfare services has been identified in the *CDEM National Plan 2015* response plans and there are agencies responsible for the execution of operations and protective measures in place that protect the *Welfare* component.

Law and Order

The *Policing Act 2008* is the legislation that guides the New Zealand Police in providing the population with peace, law enforcement and security and therefore contributes to the protection of the *Law and Order* component of the normal way of life. The police are supported by the Ministry of Justice in maintaining law and order on a daily business, however, it is in the aftermath of a significant crisis that law and order is most likely to break down. History has shown that law and order can collapse after a natural catastrophe. Large scale looting and civil disorder took place in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005 and in the same year after the earthquakes in Pakistan (Bobbitt, 2008). Looting also took place after the Christchurch Earthquakes in 2010, 2011 and 2015 (New Zealand Herald, 2016). It is during the aftermath of an event that law and order will most likely diminish and therefore a national security framework should be able to cope with this issue. The New Zealand Police in conjunction with the Ministry of Justice provide the protection of the *Law and Order* component of the normal way of life.

Within the *CDEM National Plan 2015,* intelligence gathering, counter-terrorism, and cyber-security contribute to ensuring that New Zealand maintains law and order. The New Zealand intelligence agencies are responsible for providing the analysis of threats and risk posed to New Zealand (Government of New Zealand, 2017). This intelligence is used by the New Zealand Police and other agencies to protect law and order. This intelligence is used enable the protection of New Zealand from a terrorist attack and feeds into the agencies that would respond to any terrorist activity. Additionally, the New Zealand Cyber-security framework, led by the NCPO, is intended to protect against a cyber-attack targeting key national systems and institutions.

The *CDEM National Plan 2015* articulated when and how a State of Emergency can be initiated as a result of an event. A State of Emergency will provide the New Zealand Police and other agencies additional powers to provide law and order and ensure public safety. The provision of the *Law and Order* component

within the normal way of life concept is well represented by the New Zealand government agencies, legislation and plans. It is built upon by the daily provision of law and order that is executed by the New Zealand Police and the Ministry of Justice. The current national security framework recognises that in an crisis where law and order may be threatened, there are sufficient plans and legislation to escalate the powers the government agencies to enable an effective response.

Government

The government of New Zealand has two roles in relation to national security. These two roles are: the maintenance of confidence in normal conditions and secondly to provide leadership in crisis conditions and to ensure minimal impact or disruption in an event (DPMC, 2016). The government maintains the citizens normal way of life through a regulatory environment and ensuring that the State's institutions are operating effectively. One of the seven objectives of national security is the maintenance of democratic institutions (DPMC, 2016). Recent changes and amendments to New Zealand's laws relating to national security indicates that governments (both current and previous) have operated in a transparent and open manner. The most significant change has been within the *Intelligence and Security Act 2017*. The independent review of this legislation in 2016 identified a number of issues with the function of the security agencies and recommended changes (Cullen & Reddy, 2016). As a result of this review, the legislation was changed, not only to ensure that the rights of the New Zealand people were protected from unwarranted intrusion and investigation, but also to ensure that national security in New Zealand was maintained.

In addition to maintaining legislation that protects the citizens of the State, the government is responsible for ensuring that security related plans are developed and maintained. The *National CDEM Plan 2015* and the *NSS Handbook 2016* are both documents that have been recently developed, that articulate the details of how security will be provided during a crisis. The *2015 Cyber Security Strategy* provides a plan for the development of cyber-security capabilities as well as providing details of how cyber-security will be conducted upon an attack against the national cyber domain. The New Zealand cyber-security framework works in

close partnership with the private sector and emphasised the importance of a collaborative effort between government and the public for delivering and developing security for the whole of society. The government has the responsibility of providing security to the people and in the normal way of life concept, government needs to exist in an open and transparent manner to provide security, while also protecting the rights of the people. It is concluded form this research project that the New Zealand government operates in a transparent manner that protects the *Government* component of the normal way of life concept.

Economy

New Zealand has an open economy that relies significantly on international trade. With 77% of the country's export merchandise coming from the primary sector (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2015), New Zealand not only relies upon the physical ability to trade via safe transport routes, but also being able to protect its products from biohazards. The New Zealand economy requires a well ordered secure environment that allows people and institutions the freedom to go about their economic activities. Some risks to New Zealand's economic security are outside of New Zealand's control. Global events such as the Global Financial Crisis of 2009 and the possibility of New Zealand's major trading nations developing trade agreements that exclude New Zealand, are risks that the government have little ability to protect against (Hoadley, 2017). Direct threats to the economy of New Zealand can be both man-made, natural or from the cyber-domain.

Direct threats to the economic security of New Zealand can come from cyber-attack, terrorist threats and threats to its physical lines of communication. New Zealand's cyber-security framework is based on a collaboration between the government agencies of DPMC, NZSIS and GCSB. Through the Connect Smart partnership, which is a New Zealand government sponsored cyber-security programme. In order to protect against direct terrorist threats and to secure New Zealand's physical lines of communication, the national security framework utilises the New Zealand intelligence agencies and the NZDF. New Zealand relies

on the ability to export its goods to international markets and customers using air and sea transport. Additionally, the nodes including: the harbours, ports and airports within New Zealand, need to be protected. The NZDF contributes to this aspect of national security by 'securing the border and approaches…and maintenance of New Zealand's prosperity via secure sea, air and electronic lines of communication' (Ministry of Defence, 2016, p. 9). A terrorist attack is another direct threat that could undermine New Zealand's economic security. New Zealand needs to demonstrate that it is a safe nation to trade with, therefore, it requires the capabilities necessary to deter and defeat terrorist activities.

Protection of the *Economy* component of the normal way of life is challenging. There exists an extensive network of business, government and personal institutions that require protection. The New Zealand government sets out its macroeconomic policies that are designed to enable effective management of the national economy. The government also influences the national economy through microeconomic interactions. Beyond the economic policy, physical security to the different economic institutions require protection. The New Zealand national security framework has a range of capabilities that provide security to the territorial borders, to the cyber-domain and overall security to allow its citizens to go about their daily business free from fear. Therefore it is concluded that the *Economy* component of the normal way of life is protected.

Freedom and Equality

The laws that govern New Zealand's national security protect the freedom and equality of its citizens. The *Intelligence and Security Act 2017* is an example of legislation that not only provide the rules for the security of the State, but also protects the people's rights. This is demonstrated through the declared purpose of the act, which is to protect New Zealand as a free, open and democratic society. Additionally, the act ensures that the functions of New Zealand's intelligence agencies are executed in accordance with the nations laws and all human rights laws, both domestic and international that are recognised by New Zealand (Government of New Zealand, 2017). The failed prosecution of the Urewera 16 showed that the New Zealand judicial system operates fairly in the application of

these laws. Although the acts of this group were considered by the New Zealand Police to be acts of terror, they were not prosecuted as the Solicitor-General deemed the evidence fell short of the requirements of the act. It was the review of intelligence and security by Cullen and Reedy, that stated that the government cannot trade off security against human rights and in the case of the Urewera 16, it demonstrated that the functioning of the New Zealand judicial system protects the freedoms of the people.

Securing the component of *Freedom and Equality* is enshrined within the *NSS Handbook 2016*. Two of the objectives of national security include: Ensuring Public Safety and Maintaining democratic institutions and national values (DPMC, 2016, p. 8). It is not a direct reference to securing the component of *Freedom and Equality*, however, it is the intent of these objectives which will provide this security.

Security

Both Bobbitt (2008) and Sørensen (2005) argued that security is part of what makes up an effective State. The purpose of security is to neutralise the most significant threats so that the population is protected from harm or at least the harm that may be caused, is mitigated as much as possible (Snow, 2016). The approach that New Zealand has taken to its national security framework is based on an 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach (DPMC, 2016). New Zealand accepts that it cannot list all possible hazards and be proactive against mitigating them all and therefore, will focus on reacting to a crisis when it occurs. This does not mean that New Zealand avoids proactively neutralising threats, as its intelligence agencies, the New Zealand Police and the NZDF all have proactive security functions. However, the major focus is on building resilience throughout the community that is supported by an adaptable and responsive NSS (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017).

Based on the research conducted on New Zealand's national security framework and its response to recent crisis it is assessed that the *Security* component of the normal way of life is provided for. New Zealand has not experienced any direct

hostilities against its sovereignty or terrorist attacks from international terrorist groups in recent history, therefore, based on this, security to New Zealand is provided. However, the New Zealand national security framework and the NSS has not been tested against a significant threat. There is no open source information on other events that have occurred that have threatened New Zealand's national security and activated the NSS. The case study of the activation of the NSS was against a threat to the production of infant formula. Although this threat had significant consequences for New Zealand's food security reputation, it was a threat that only targeted a small section of the community; being those that use a specific brand of infant formula. The New Zealand national security framework is a reactive system and can only be assessed against its response. Therefore, it is concluded that the component of *Security* has been enabled under the New Zealand national security framework.

Benefits of the New Zealand national security framework

Wolfers (1952) provided the most accurate reflection of how national security should be developed. He articulated the need for the State to choose the values that they want to be protected, what the level of security should be and also how the State is willing to achieve it. New Zealand's national security framework is articulated within the seven objectives of national security (DPMC, 2016). These seven objectives are used by some government agencies within their own security plans and policies. The objectives encompass physical security to New Zealand's borders, territory; including New Zealand's environment, lines of communication and the security of the population. It also encompasses themes such as protecting the cyber domain, national values, economic prosperity and the contribution to the international order. These objectives then feed into the 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach that has been adopted by the New Zealand government.

New Zealand's national security framework provides guidance on how the response to a crisis will occur. In contrast, the review of the four nation's security frameworks conducted in Chapter Three identified varying levels of strategy and plans. None of the nations had an open source publication that provided the detail of what will occur in response to a range of different crisis'. This approach of

having well published plans also fits into the whole-of-society approach to national security. Although it is not directly articulated as doing so, this method of publishing the plans provide the population with some understanding of what will occur in the event of a crisis and this allows them to feel 'included' in the plans. The *NSS Handbook* and the *National CDEM Plan 2015* provide the operational guidance to all government agencies on their roles and responsibilities. As a reactive national security system, it is concluded that there are the necessary documents that support the government's approach.

Criticisms of the New Zealand national security framework

The New Zealand national security framework is based around responding to events and having the measures in place for an effective response, however, it does not contain a forward-looking strategy. There are individual agency documents that do have forward-looking elements to them, such as the *DWP 2016* and *Biosecurity 2025,* however, these are not connected to each other or any other agency plan. The intent behind a national security strategy would provide government agencies with centralised and common direction and guidance, so when developing their national security capabilities, they are coordinated with other agencies (Johanson, 2017). There is very little in the way of strategic thinking when it comes to national security (Rogers, 2017). MFAT has reduced its Strategic Policy Division, highlighting that there does not appear to be an emphasis for developing strategic direction for national security. The whole-of-society approach to national security is based around collaboration between government agencies and with the private sector. However, there is no strategy for how this will occur, or how the government intends to develop a more inclusive approach.

The *DWP 2016* states that it is a forward-looking document, although this is more of an enhanced capability development paper and has much of the same information and characteristics of the previous defence white paper of 2010 (Rogers, 2017). It was noted by Demos (2007) that the boundaries between domestic and international politics have become blurred and interconnected and therefore it is necessary for the UK to take a networked approach to security

strategy. It should be no different for New Zealand. Additionally, a national security strategy should include the conduct of a comprehensive review of the strategy at regular intervals. At present the reviews are ad hoc and for one particular piece of legislation or plan at a time. The *Intelligence and Security Review* was conducted in 2017, yet there has been no review of the *Terrorism Suppression Act 2002*, which are two acts that should be viewed connected in this current threat environment. *The National CDEM Plan 2015* was reviewed in 2017, two years after its release, however there has been no identified review of the *National Security System Handbook* that was released in 2016. A national security strategy will develop a timeframe for the review of all national security documents.

It has been widely acknowledged within the documents and plans reviewed in this chapter, that the security environment is evolving and the threats faced are broadening. It would make sense therefore to develop a framework that goes beyond the current focus of government agencies involved in national security. The Cold War era saw security provided by defence, police and the intelligence agencies. Now the responsibility for security has been broadened to include a range of different agencies that can respond to a wide range of threats, however, this is not enough and there is a need to include private business in the national security architecture. The population is now becoming the focus of national security and for this to be achieved it is necessary to widen the inclusion to the private sector for the development of an effective security strategy. The need for an increase in the private-public sector dialogue is articulated by Professor Rouben Azizian, Director, Centre for Defence and Security Studies, who argued that businesses should be more vocal pre-crisis, as at the moment they only become involved after an event has occurred (New Zealand Security Magazine, 2017). This view is also championed by Captain David Morgan in his recent address to the Second New Zealand National Security Conference, where he suggested that major companies, such as Air New Zealand and Fonterra, need to be actively involved in the national security dialogue (Morgan, 2018). The protection of the economy is one of the seven objectives of New Zealand's national security. Therefore, it would make sense to have a more inclusive

environment for the private sector to be involved in the development of a security strategy and framework.

With the broadening of threats to national security, so have the number of agencies that are responsible for contributing to the provision of security. Within the *National Security Handbook* there are 17 identified hazard scenarios with 12 different government agencies responsible for taking the lead agency role during a response, and to support this there is 27 different pieces of legislation (DPMC, 2016). This broadening of responsibilities can be highlighted by examining the response to a hypothetical cyber-security threat. Under the NSS if a major cyber incident was to occur, GCSB has the lead for the response. It would fall to the NCSC in GCSB for the operational lead, and the NCPO as part of DPMC would have the policy lead. This means that during a crisis there are two agencies responding to one event. Even though they are separated between policy and operational, there is concern that cross-agency coordination could lead to delays in response; considering the speed that a cyber threat can occur this would be an understandable outcome. In addition to these two organisations, there are two other agencies that support cyber security. CERT, as part of MBIE, provides cyber security support to agencies and organisations that do not require the level of support that the NCSC provide. In addition the governments instructions for the protection of the cyber domain are published in the *New Zealand Information Security Manual*, that is controlled by the Protective Security Requirements under GCSB. This demonstrates the complicated web that exists for the provision of cyber security. The example of cyber security demonstrates that for this type of hazard there are three agencies that have an input to some part of the response. It is acknowledged that the coordination of the NSS is the responsibility of SIG within DPMC, however, with a threat such as cyber that cuts across all aspects of society, a centralised system of response within one agency would be a more efficient approach.

For New Zealand's national security framework to be effective it is necessary that the ideas of how the State will provide security to the population and what is required of them, is effectively communicated. This is not the case for the New Zealand security framework. The *NSS Handbook* is a little-known publication,

with one prominent business leader commenting that he 'didn't know about it until [he] was asked for an interview' (Durning, 2017). Even the *National CDEM Plan 2015* suffers from the same anonymity. Although Buzan and Chomsky argued that the State constructs their security discourse (Partow, 2017). In the case of the New Zealand framework there is little public discussion on the subject, meaning that security is hardly in the consciousness of the population. It appears that the only time there is a significant public debate on security matters is when there is an outcry over additional funding for a security agency such as the NZDF (Trotter, 2016) or as a result of an agency conducting an unlawful operation (New Zealand Herald, 2018). Although New Zealand has seen an increase in security concerns over the last decade (Broad, 2017), the two main security threats that New Zealanders fear are Identity Theft and Credit Card Fraud (DefSec Media, 2017). These are not significant national security threats and risks that have been identified in government discourse. There is a balance required when communicating security threats and systems to the public. On one hand, the government should ensure that the public is kept calm and provide the population with the comfort of knowing that they [the government] can provide them with security. On the other hand, if the government wants to engage with and have a resilient society when it comes to the response to a security crisis, then there needs to be an effective communication framework in place that can inform the public.

What is evident through the review of New Zealand's national security framework is the irregular publication of security related policy, plans and legislation. Table 3 shows the documents reviewed in this chapter with the year of their release. The only two documents that have a connection are the *Report of the First Independent Review of Intelligence and Security in New Zealand* and the *Intelligence and Security Act.* The report was released in 2016 and was used to assist in the development of the *Intelligence and Security Act* that was released in 2017. For strategy to be effective, a robust review system should be implemented as part of the framework, that will inform the development of policy and plans, as well as future strategy. The remainder of the documents reviewed have no connection in their release date and no pattern is set. For a coherent strategy, there should be a framework where a central document is released, that will then inform

and direct the release of subsequent documents. The current New Zealand national security framework does not have a coherent structure that connects individual government agencies, national security related policy and plans.

	2002	2008	2015	2016	2017
Policy	Terrorism Suppression Act	Policing Act	National CDEM Plan	Biosecurity 2025	Intelligence and Security Act
	Civil Defence and Emergency Management Act		Cyber Security Strategy	National Security System Handbook	
				Defence White Paper	
				Report of the First Independent Review of Intelligence and Security in New Zealand	

Table 3: Reviewed New Zealand Security document's release dates.

Conclusion

There is no central New Zealand national security strategy, instead, New Zealand has adopted a reactive based system that is centrally coordinated through DPMC. Two key conclusions were reached from the review of New Zealand's national security framework. The first key conclusion is that the national security framework under the NSS, appears on paper, to be an appropriate system to react to a national security crisis. The NSS provides central coordination to ensure appropriate agencies and resources are available in the event of a security threat. The example used in this chapter, reviewed the activation of the NSS and has concluded that the response system was effective in relation to the threat, however, the threat was not significant, nor did it effect the whole-of-society. The effectiveness of the NSS cannot be completely determined until such time as there is a significant national security crisis that impacts the whole-of-society. Therefore, the conclusion is that the NSS appears to be structured to provide a whole-of-government response to a national security crisis.

The second key conclusion, is through the review of the New Zealand national security framework, the development of the individual agency policies and plans relating to national security are done in isolation. There is no evidence of the policies and plans having coordination between them, or informing each other. There is coordination between the agencies in the response to a security threat, however, there should be a framework that includes a centralised threat analysis and a coordinated policy and plan implementation and review system.

Chapter Five: Developing a New Zealand National Security Strategy

Introduction

New Zealand should adopt a national security strategy. A strategy that takes into account the changing environment, protects the values and institutions of New Zealand and protects against evolving and emerging threats. Adopting a national security strategy will allow for the effective development of security capabilities across all government agencies and should be inclusive of the private sector and business. The national security strategy will also articulate how the different security policies and plans are nested within each other and guide when and how these are to be reviewed and changed. The national security strategy does not need to be overly complicated, instead it should provide a basis for enhancing the nation's ability to provide security to the whole of society.

Chapter Five breaks the development of the New Zealand national security strategy into four parts. Firstly a theoretical base for the development of a strategy is proposed. Based upon the analysis of the current New Zealand national security narrative it is recommended that a Human Security approach be adopted. The chapter proposes five threats to New Zealand's national security. These five threats have been identified through this research project that impact the whole-of-society and would require a whole-of-government response. The third part of Chapter Five details the recommendation for the implementation of the National Security Strategy and how it would integrate with the government agencies responsible for contributing to national security. The chapter will then discuss the meaning of the term resilience that is used in current national security discourse. The chapter concludes by asserting that New Zealand should adopt a national security strategy. A strategy that takes into account the changing environment, focuses on the values and institutions that should be protected, which has been presented as the normal way of life, comprising of six key components of the State and balanced against evolving and emerging threats

The Theoretical Base of Strategy Development

There are a myriad of ways of developing strategy and different theoretical approaches that can be utilised. There does not exist a system for the development of a national security strategy that is widely accepted or proven to be the most effective. Instead, it is up to the nation to decide how to develop and execute strategy. The idea behind national security is to protect the values of the State, or at least identify those values that are important and should be protected. One idea taken from a business approach to strategic development is to have the core values and purpose fixed while having their business strategies endlessly adapting to the changing environment (Collins & Porras, 2011). The first part that New Zealand must do is decide what the position that the State will take in the world and what core values will be protected. The first step in the process of strategy development requires New Zealand to develop its policy and consider what type of approach will be taken and what the foundations of strategy are. Secondly, the core values must be identified. In this chapter, the development of New Zealand's security strategy is based on the six components of the normal way life outlined in Chapter Two. These provide a baseline of the core values and institutions that New Zealand should protect.

New Zealand should consider a theoretical approach that it will take in the development of a national security strategy. New Zealand had previously adopted a strong *Realist* approach to its defence policy. According to McCraw (2008), New Zealand adopted a realist defence policy from the start of the 20th century, as it recognised the necessity of military forces for security and the value of having larger allies. In contrast, the core priorities of *Liberal* theory are to provide international order, justice and liberty through good governance within the State and also between States (Dunne, 2005). New Zealand's centre-left governments have traditionally supported liberalism and the international order and have historically maintained an anti-military tradition (McCraw, 1998). Having differing views of international relations theory is part of a democracy and provides balance to the national political environment. New Zealand has a bipartisan approach to national security, where the sitting government and the opposition are involved in matters of national security (Broad, 2017). Therefore it

is asserted that rather than having differing views that change with the change of government is problematic as it continually shifts the focus of security. This constant shifting has a negative impact on effective capability development. It is asserted that a single common theory be used for the development of a national security strategy.

The concept of Human Security that has become part of the security discourse since the 1990's and has shifted the referent object from the State being the primary thing that needs to be secured, to the population. The two core principles of human security are 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' (Tow, 2013). The concepts of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' already exist within the vernacular of New Zealand's security framework. It is one of the essential foundations and according to DPMC's Deputy Chief Executive, Security & Intelligence, Howard Broad 'national security is the condition which permits the citizens of the state to go about their daily business confidently, free from fear and able to make the most of their way of life' (Broad, 2017, p. 146). There is evidence in the narrative that the focal point of New Zealand's security is the people. The basis for Human Security can be expanded to include (Ministry of Defence, 2001):

- The availability of essential commodities such as water, medical aid, shelter and food.
- Broader environmental security.
- Freedom from persecution.
- Protecting cultural values.
- Responsible and transparent government.

These elements demonstrate that the concept of Human Security goes beyond just the freedom from fear and want and also presents a list of tangible objects that can be secured.

Human Security emphasises the security of the people and communities over the traditional focus on securing the territory. The two core elements of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' are what Snow (2016) described as the sense

(feeling) of security. It is therefore necessary to translate the elements of 'freedom from fear and want' from the subjective to something that is more 'objective' in the minds of security planners. This will enable a national security strategy to be developed and security capabilities built. Developing an objective basis for a strategy out of a subjective sense would be challenging, therefore, it is argued that the normal way of life concept that was presented in Chapter Two, be used as the 'objective' framework for the basis of strategy development. There needs to be something tangible that can be secured and the six components of: *Security, Economy, Freedom and Equality, Government, Law and Order,* and *Welfare*, will be used to provide that basis. What makes up a normal way of life is a person's access to and benefit from these six components. It is argued here, that these six components provide a person with the freedom from both fear and want. They have also been developed from analysis of what constitutes a modern State and therefore the make-up of New Zealand. Strategy needs to be developed from a 'Strategic Posture' – one that defines the strategy relative to the environment (Courtney, Kirkland, & Viguere, 1997). By using the concept of Human Security and by using the basis of the normal way of life and the six components that form this concept, the basis of a national security strategy for New Zealand can be developed.

Threats for the strategy development

The environment that the State exists within needs to be understood so that an effective strategy can be developed. This will allow for the development of a list of threats that New Zealand faces. The responsibility for developing a risk assessment lies with the National Risk Unit (NRU) under DPMC (DPMC, 2016). However, as New Zealand takes and 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach to threats, there is no consolidated list, as exists for example under the UK's *National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence Review (2015).* What does exist is an 'Overarching Security Context' contained within the *DWP 2016*. It lists the security context as (Ministry of Defence, 2016):

- The rise of Asia, not only in terms of economic power distribution, but also in the increase in military spending.

- The changing characteristics of conflict, with an increase in the activities and global reach of well-armed and supported non-state groups.
- Terrorism as an evolving threat.
- Resource competition and the impact on South Pacific States, in particular the demand for fish stocks.
- The increasing adoption of and reliance on information and technology.
- The proliferation of WMD and the access that non-state actors have to these.

For the development of a New Zealand National Security Strategy, one that allows all agencies responsible for security to effectively develop their capabilities, it is necessary that threats be identified. From the recent Second National New Zealand Security Conference, hosted by the Centre for Defence and Security Studies, in April 2018, the conference speakers saw the biggest threats to New Zealand national security as (Hoverd, 2018):

- Cyber threats,
- Terrorism,
- Major power competition,
- Climate change,
- Maritime threats, and
- Biosecurity.

This argument of identifying threats for the development of a national security strategy contradicts the 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach that the NSS takes. According to DPMC, the 'all-hazards/all-risks' approach is the most effective way for managing crisis' in New Zealand (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2017). This may be considered appropriate given the reactive nature of the current national security system, however, it does not provide a platform for robust analysis of security challenges. One of the strengths of the UK's approach to their national security strategy is the list of threats and risks that are identified as facing the nation. These risks are also prioritised in order of likelihood, meaning that agencies are able to prioritise capability development against the

most likely Tier One Risks (Terrorism, Cyber-attack, conflict, instability overseas, public health pandemic and major natural disaster) (HM Government, 2015). New Zealand should adopt this approach and develop a list of the most significant risks and threats to national security.

The list does not need to follow the example of the UK, as it needs to reflect New Zealand's environment. It should also embrace the philosophy of Human Security that has been recommended. It is recommended that New Zealand focus on five threats in its national security strategy. These would be considered Tier One risks and are those that cut across the 'whole-of-society' and would require a 'whole-of-government' response. There are other risks and threats to New Zealand's national security. However, for the development of a national security strategy it is recommended that there be a focus on those risks that potentially have a significant and likely impact on New Zealand. These five risks and threats are not prioritised within the list and are collectively considered Tier One risks and threats. The five risks and threats are:

- The Cyber Threat
- The Terrorist Threat
- Climate Change
- Biosecurity
- Threats to Territorial Security

The Cyber Threat

Cyber threats to New Zealand are growing owing to the increased number of global internet connections and the ability for a range of State and non-state actors to access disruptive technologies and software. Cyber-attacks can be launched from anywhere in the world, with speed and with little warning. In 2017, cyber-crime cost the globe $6 Trillion in lost revenue, with 156 million phishing e-mails sent every day and 7.5 million new malware samples discovered (Payne, 2018). In 2016 it was estimated that one in five Zealanders were affected by cybercrime with an estimated cost to New Zealand of $257 million (Cabrera, 2017). The cyber threat cuts across all aspects of New Zealand's society to include economic institutions, stock markets, communications services, homes, government services

and critical infrastructure. Virtually everything is connected in the 'internet of things'. What is concerning, is the different levels of cyber infrastructure that exists within New Zealand's critical infrastructure. Much of the computer hardware that is in New Zealand's energy infrastructure is considered legacy hardware and software that is extremely vulnerable to attack (Payne, 2018). Much of this infrastructure is owned by private companies, therefore, this strengthens the argument for more private and public collaboration for national security issues. Foreign ownership and investment in the New Zealand cyber-domain can also leave New Zealand vulnerable to potential attack. Chinese telecommunications company Huawei was involved in New Zealand's Ultrafast Broadband network development. There were considerable concerns that this was a cover for Chinese State intelligence to accesses New Zealand's national security intelligence network and also be used as a backdoor into other nations (Vaughan, 2012). It is unlikely that the level of connection in the cyber domain will decrease; New Zealand has just received its second undersea internet cable. There is also a significant debate about States having the ability to influence other State's elections, with the most recent and publicly discussed event being the 2016 United States Presidential Election. With the scale and speed that a cyber-attack can be launched and the impact that an attack is likely to have on the whole-of-society, it is necessary that New Zealand develop a forward-looking strategy that enhances the current New Zealand cyber-security framework.

There are a number of government agencies in New Zealand that are focussed on cyber-security. However, what is lacking is a strategy for cyber-security that is integrated across all sectors of society. The *2015 Cyber Security Strategy* does have an integrated approach between the public and private sector, however, it is very much nationally focussed. The first element of the proposed National Security Strategy for cyber-security, should be to simplify the overly complicated array of cyber-security policy, plans and agencies. The current system is fragmented. The NCPO, within DPMC is responsible for cyber policy and responding to cyber threats of national significance. The NCPO formally reports to the Ministry of Broadcasting, Communications and Digital Media. GCSB is responsible for the NCSC that responds to high level threats and for Protective Security Requirements. Within MBIE the CERT responds to low level threats. At

present there are five different government agencies with cyber-security responsibilities requiring cross-agency coordination. There is no open source information available to describe what constitutes a high level or a low level attack. The current approach of multi-agency responsibilities should be changed. For a cyber-security framework to be effective, it is recommended that the structure of all agencies responsible for cyber-security be reviewed with an aim of developing a more centralised system that can provide a framework that can better enable cyber-security to the whole-of-security.

New Zealand has a long-standing responsibility for the provision of regional security in the South Pacific through traditional means. The increase in all States having access to and utilising the cyber domain should become a focus area for a cyber-security strategy. Many of the States within the South Pacific are using outdated systems and many do not have the necessary tools to respond to a cyber-attack (Fenol, 2017). These outdated systems can be infiltrated by an attack and not only have disastrous effects for the State but can also be used to possibly find an access way into the New Zealand cyber-domain. In 2016, the Asia-Pacific region saw the largest amount of cyber-attacks globally, with 27% of cyber-attacks directed at individuals, private companies and government agencies (Tan A. , 2017). New Zealand already provides physical support to many of the of South Pacific nations through defence cooperation and other measures (Ministry of Defence, 2016), so it makes sense for cyber-security to be added to this support. The cyber-security strategy should focus on improving the resilience of the cyber-domains of New Zealand's South Pacific partners, not only to prevent a significant crisis through cyber-attack, but also to increase New Zealand's own cyber border. The New Zealand cyber-security framework within the national security strategy should be aimed at simplifying the cyber-security structures and framework, as well as integrating a long term cyber-security policy with New Zealand's existing foreign policy.

The Terrorist Threat

The general narrative about terrorism in New Zealand is that although New Zealand enjoys a relatively benign environment, the threat of terrorism should not be underplayed (Broad, 2017). The threat of terrorism is considered a significant threat within the current New Zealand national security framework. The main issues that have been identified in Chapter Four with the counter-terrorism framework is unworkable legislation and the complicated nature of the structure of counter-terrorist capabilities. The legislation for New Zealand's counter terrorist framework has proven to be difficult to use and has been criticised for being over-complicated to the point that it prevented counter-terrorism charges laid against suspected terrorists (Battersby, 2017). Part of the counter-terrorist strategy would be to review the current legislation and amend areas that are unworkable or overly-complicated. There is no evidence to suggest that New Zealand should not be able to create legislation that provides certainty for the New Zealand Police and the justice system to prosecute suspected terrorists. Legislation needs to support and enable law and order, therefore the development of effective legislation within a national security strategy is recommended. New Zealand should look to its allies and international partners for how they have described and developed their own counter-terrorist legislation. New Zealand maintains a number of defence and intelligence sharing agreements and alliances with other nations and it would make sense to develop a national counter terrorist strategy that aligns with New Zealand's strategic partners. It is necessary for an effective counter-terrorist strategy to have accurate legislation that enables the domestic response as well as complementing New Zealand's allies efforts.

Terrorism, like cyber-security, cuts across many agencies responsibilities and any counter-terrorist strategy needs to be developed with this fact in mind. Terrorism is not just a domestic issue and as the world has become more connected through globalisation, so have terrorist networks. Organisations such as al Qaeda and Da'esh represent the current norm in terrorist capabilities and global reach. These organisations are no longer restricted to one geographic area and have the ability to 'export' their brand of warfare to any part of the world, with the 2015 attacks in Europe an example of how damaging this type of threat can be. Counter-terrorism

involves New Zealand's intelligence, police, customs and border security, defence and foreign affairs and trade agencies. These agencies have different responsibilities and functions, with the coordination of these agencies response to a terrorist attack through the Counter-Terrorist Coordination Committee within DPMC (DPMC, 2016). Terrorism is a growing threat that has the ability to reach out from anywhere in the globe and have significant consequences, therefore, New Zealand should have a security strategy that seeks to analyse and prepare for future threats and monitor global trends in counter-terrorist activities. There is increased terrorist activity in South East Asia, with a number of terrorist groups strongly established in countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia. Therefore, part of the national security strategy needs to create a framework for how New Zealand will respond to this growing regional threat.

Terrorism has benefited from the same technological developments that have enabled globalisation. One growing issue in New Zealand is the radicalisation of New Zealander's, with some travelling overseas to become FTF's. According to the *Intelligence and Security in a Free Society: Report of the First Independent Review of Intelligence and Security in New Zealand*, New Zealand has between 30-40 people within New Zealand on a government watch list. Although New Zealand has a small number of citizens travelling overseas to become an FTF (Cullen & Reddy, 2016), New Zealand need only to look to Australia to see how radicalisation can have a significant impact on the safety and stability of the nation. In 2015, it was estimated that there were over 200 Australian citizens fighting in Iraq and Syria, with some estimates that at least 35 other citizens had returned to Australia (Barton, 2016). Significant research into radicalisation has identified that young people have a need to belong and by targeting this vulnerability and through the use of social media platforms, recruitment of terrorists has increased (Barton, 2016). Part of the counter-terrorism strategy needs to look at the prevention of radicalisation and supporting New Zealand communities to prevent this from occurring. By targeting this threat, New Zealand would have a strategy that prevents terrorism from growing internally and prevent foreign organisations from using New Zealand as a base from which to operate and recruit from.

Climate change

Climate change is one threat to New Zealand's security that is mostly ignored in the current national security discourse. New Zealand has experienced natural disasters both nationally and regionally and has contributed significantly to the recovery of these crisis events. The effects of climate change will significantly increase severe weather events but also cause longer-term changes to the environment. Rising sea levels will significantly impact on the physical landscape of nations and there are many examples of Pacific Island nations being affected by this. Ocean acidification will impact on fish stocks and cause major problems for food security. A strategy for climate change needs to look at the climate effects, the environmental impacts of these effects and then what the security impacts will be. Rising sea levels and acidification of sea water both have environmental impacts and consequential security impacts (Hauger, 2018). Rising sea levels will impact on the living space of small low-lying islands, especially in the South Pacific and Asia. As a security impact, there is likely to be greater climate-based migration from these areas, as people seek refuge. With ocean acidification, food stocks will be impacted and food scarcity will cause States to take drastic measures to secure more food. These issues need to be addressed and a strategy developed to mitigate these threats.

New Zealand will be directly and indirectly impacted from security issues relating to climate change. A National Security Strategy that addresses the threats of climate change will need to have both an internal and external focus. Domestically, New Zealand should seek to develop strategies that address energy efficiency, food production and water management. These are issues that will require significant input from the New Zealand security sector. These three areas are essential to the delivery of human security as they contribute to the provision of the freedom from want (Matthew, 2014). Beyond the contribution to the development of food and energy security, New Zealand should develop how it will react to an increase in human migration as a result of people seeking refuge from Asia and the South Pacific. New Zealand has already seen an increase in asylum seekers attempting to come to New Zealand as Australia clamp down on

their refugee intake. Although a difficult journey, there have been an increase in the number of refugee boats heading towards New Zealand and it is estimated that this will continue to increase (NZ Herald, 2018). There needs to be a robust security strategy for dealing with an increase in refugee numbers caused by the impacts of climate change. There should also be the development of a security strategy that focuses on the protection of New Zealand's food and energy resources.

Biosecurity

One shining light amongst the New Zealand national security framework is MPI's *Biosecurity Strategy 2025*. This forward-looking document seeks to engage with the community, provide open and free flowing information, dispense effective governance and leadership, and establish skills and tools for tomorrow's threats (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2016). This strategy recognises the importance of a partnership between the whole-of-society and the impacts that a biosecurity threat can have on all parts of New Zealand. New Zealand is a trade dependent economy and all efforts must be made to protect this. New Zealand is also reliant on tourism. With every ship and aircraft arriving in New Zealand, there is the possibility of a biosecurity threat being brought in (Hoadley, 2017). Although New Zealand has a strategy for Biosecurity, there will be an ongoing requirement to continually focus on biosecurity threats facing New Zealand.

Biosecurity is not only vitally important for New Zealand industry, it also overlaps with other security threats. With the impacts of climate change likely to cause instability in Asia and Pacific, in turn causing an increase in migration, both legitimate and illegitimate. New Zealand will need to develop a robust biosecurity strategy that can cope with the possibility of people attempting to arrive in New Zealand illegally. There is strong evidence suggesting the importance of integrating border and economic security beyond policy to physical integration as well (Nicklin, 2017). Based on this argument, biosecurity should be integrated into the wider economic and border security policy and action. The threats identified within the current New Zealand national security framework include disease in agriculture, animals and humans. All of these have the ability to

severely impact on New Zealand's primary industry, export and trade industry, New Zealand's domestic food security and also the health of the population. Many of these threats and impacts are areas of focus for human security. A Biosecurity security strategy would diverge to include wider economic and border security threats and consider the impact that climate change will have on regional security and what the flow on effect will be for New Zealand.

Threats to territorial security

The protection of New Zealand's territory and sovereignty is an important part of national security. Territorial security is provided by a collaboration of government agencies that includes the NZDF, the New Zealand Customs Service, the New Zealand Intelligence agencies, the New Zealand Police and Immigration New Zealand. Traditional territorial security includes physical security of New Zealand territory, territorial waters and the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) (Rolfe, 1993). The NZDF contributes to territorial security through (Ministry of Defence, 2016):

 • The promotion of a safe, secure and resilient New Zealand, including its border and approaches.
 • The maintenance of New Zealand's prosperity via secure sea, air and electronic lines of communication.

The NZDF has a range of capabilities that provide surveillance of New Zealand's territories and approaches as well as interdiction capabilities if a threat arises. Although it is articulated in the *DWP 2016* that no direct military threat to New Zealand is envisaged in the foreseeable future, there remains the requirement to ensure that New Zealand's territories are secure. The increase in tensions in the Asia and Pacific region means that New Zealand must maintain capabilities that can protect New Zealand's territory as well as contributing to regional security (Ministry of Defence, 2016). There are emerging threats to New Zealand's territory that would require a whole-of-government approach in mitigating them.

Territorial threats are evolving and include the flow of terrorism, drugs, illegal migration and disease. It is argued by Germana Nicklin (2017) that these risks have generated a new agenda for border security. According to the New Zealand

Customs Service *Annual Report 2017*, New Zealand has experienced an increase in organised crime syndicates importing large quantities of drugs. In 2016, 176 kg of methamphetamine was seized by the New Zealand Customs Service. In this seizure, the drugs were concealed in the doors of shipping containers sent from China (New Zealand Customs Service, 2017). There was also 448kg of methamphetamine discovered on an abandoned boat in Northland in 2016 (Feek, 2016). These seizures required cooperation between the New Zealand Customs Service, New Zealand Police, NZDF and the New Zealand Intelligence agencies. The importation of illegal drugs is one example of the challenges faced by border security agencies. The threats of climate change and biosecurity have identified a number of challenges that will be faced by New Zealand's border security agencies, therefore, threats to territorial security should be considered a priority threat that should be included in the National Security Strategy.

Objectives of the New Zealand National Security Strategy

A New Zealand National Security Strategy would seek to address emerging threats to national security and allow for agencies to effectively develop capabilities to mitigate these threats. During the process of creating a new National Security Strategy, the existing framework, structures and responsibilities should be reviewed and if need be, changed. The emerging five threats identified in this chapter, cut across all aspects of New Zealand society and present potentially significant impacts for New Zealand's way of life, should they manifest. Through the examination of New Zealand's national security plans, it is apparent that the structures and agencies in place are based on historical analysis and threats and have not been reviewed to meet the emerging threats. This issue also exists within the number of different plans, policy documents and legislation. The proceeding sections provide the details of the objectives of the national security strategy.

Increasing public engagement

According to the engagement plan for MPI's *Biosecurity Strategy 2025*, New Zealand is a team of 4.7 million biosecurity people (Ministry for Primary

Industries, 2016). This is a good example of a public engagement plan that publicises how each person in New Zealand contributes to delivering biosecurity outcomes. This type of public messaging should be adopted for the formulation of a New Zealand National Security Strategy. In Chapter Three, the strength of Singapore's national security framework was identified as their public engagement strategies. The security narrative created in Singapore targeted all citizens, of all ages and discussed security threats and responses openly. The concept of developing a national security strategy is that it should provide security to the whole-of-society. As the people are the focal point for security, then they need to be aware of the threats facing them and how they fit into any response. By using MPI's example of public engagement noted above, the development of a New Zealand National Security Strategy should involve a comprehensive public awareness programme that articulates threats, as well as how the security framework is structured for a response.

For New Zealand to develop a whole-of-society approach to security, the whole-of-society must be involved in its development and execution. Azizian argued that there needs to be an ongoing dialogue between the private sector and the security agencies for the development of the national security framework (DefSec Media, 2017). There should be more than just ongoing dialogue. It is essential for the development of a whole-of-society national security strategy, to have input from the private sector. There is a lack of significant examples of this occurring. Captain David Morgan of Air New Zealand, attested that all the major national corporations should be involved in this activity (Morgan, 2018). It is also argued by Rogers (2017) that security intellectuals should be involved in the whole-of-society discussion on security. The Waikato Chamber of Commerce Chief Executive, William Durning was unaware of any involvement of business in the development of New Zealand's national security framework. With these high level private sector leaders indicating that business needs to be involved in the development and execution of the national security strategy and framework, it is surprising that this cooperation is at such a low level. For New Zealand to develop an effective whole-of-society security strategy, then the whole-of-society should be part of its collective development. Increasing public engagement in developing a National Security Strategy would include engaging with a range of experts from

the fields of business, academia, iwi and different government agencies. Workshops would be used with these experts to assess, analyse and then formulate the National Security Strategy.

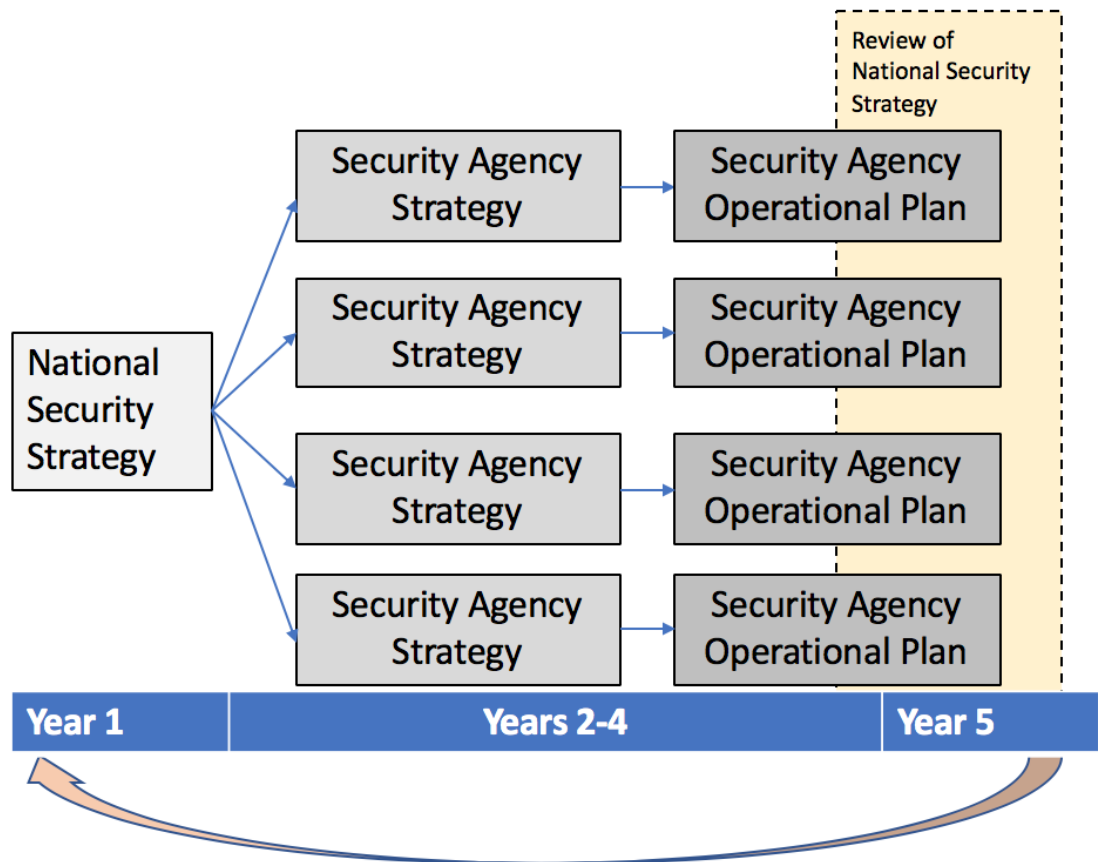**Establishing the National Security Strategy framework**

Once the National Security Strategy has been developed (using a Human Security approach, based on the five most significant risks), the execution of the strategy needs to be robust. The strategy should be used as the basis for the government agencies to develop their own strategies and operational plans. The National Security Strategy should be the lead document in the hierarchy of national security documents. It will provide the overall guidance for the agencies and provides the framework for them to base their strategies upon. It is essential for effective strategy development that the government agencies responsible for national security nest their own strategies within this overarching document. There needs to be a logical sequence and over-arching structure in the way in which the different agency strategies are produced. The National Security Strategy should articulate that each government agency is responsible for producing a strategic plan that provides details of their capability development and how it will achieve the objectives of the National Security Strategy. The National Security Strategy should also provide a timeframe for when each agency is required to release their own strategies and operational plans. The irregular manner in which agencies develop their plans demonstrates that the current national security framework is haphazard and does not have a coherent approach. By establishing a plan within the National Security Strategy, that provides clear details for each agency about their responsibilities for their own strategic and capability development, will mean that the development of the national security architecture will be coherent.

In the uncertain environment that national security exists within, it is necessary for a national security strategy to be regularly reviewed to ensure that it meets the requirements of the changing challenges. There needs to be a balance in the timeframe for the review to take place. The international environment is changing fast, however, capability development can be slow. It is recommended that the

National Security Strategy be reviewed three to four years after its release. The UK's independent review of their *NSS&SDSR* conducted by the JCNSS (HM Government, 2016) is a good example of an effective process of reviewing a strategy. It is very common within the private sector to ensure that reviews are done for business strategy to allow feedback and learning takes place, so that the strategy can be altered if needed (Kaplan & Norton, 2011). A review system of the National Security Strategy would allow for re-evaluation of the security context, identify if any changes to the threats have occurred and ensure that the operations in support of the security objectives achieve the overall intent of the security strategy. This is not a new science and is common practice within the private sector and has also effectively been carried out by the UK. It is recommended that an independent panel be established for the purpose of reviewing the National Security Strategy. This panel would include representatives from business, academia, iwi and the different government agencies responsible for security. The review of the National Security Strategy with the nesting of the different agency plans under the central strategy will allow for improved cooperation across the whole-of-government.

For the National Security Strategy to be executed efficiently, the implementation of the central strategy, agency strategies and plans, and the review system requires a comprehensive structure. Figure 6: New Zealand National Security Framework, shows how the National Security Strategy would be implemented. The framework is established on a five year cycle. Figure 6 shows the timeline for the release of the National Security Strategy and when the subsequent strategies and plans should be released by the government agencies. The release of the National Security Strategy would occur in Year One. This would allow the government agencies the time needed to conduct their own analysis and development of their agency security strategy and operational plans. These strategies and operational plans would be released in Year Two. At the start of Year Four, the independent review of the National Security Strategy and the government agency strategies and plans would be conducted. The purpose of this review would be to evaluate the threat environment, identify where the strategy needs to be amended to meet any changes in the environment. If there was a significant change in the international environment, a review of the National Security Strategy can take

place before this time. It is necessary for the National Security Strategy to be agile and flexible enough to react to emerging security threats.

Figure 6: New Zealand National Security Strategy framework.

Resilience as a concept

A common theme within the current national security framework is the need to ensure the resilience of key government structures and the community during a crisis. There is a difference between subjective and objective resilience and the challenge here is that resilience is objective for physical structures and systems, but is subjective for the people. The resilience of a system or a physical structure cannot be subjective. The *NSS Handbook* describes resilience as:

> "Resilience includes those inherent conditions that allow a system to absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the system to reorganise, change, and learn from the experience. It means that systems, people, institutions, physical infrastructure, and communities are able to anticipate risk, limit

impacts, cope with the effects, and adapt or even thrive in the face of change" (DPMC, 2016, p. 7).

It is argued by Cretney (2016) during her study into the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes in 2010 and 2011 that there is a danger when governments, both local and central, advocate for community resilience as a method to devolve responsibility for disaster response with little consideration as to the resources required for this to occur. There is a significant reliance on resilience in the current national security framework. It is even one of the principle roles of the NZDF to contribute to national resilience (Ministry of Defence, 2016, p. 11). The description of resilience is broad and arguably covers too many aspects of society. It covers national, regional and local systems, infrastructure, communities and people. Strengthening the resilience of a local power station is extremely different from ensuring the resilience of a community during a natural disaster. One is a physical structure that can be engineered to withstand certain levels of physical shock. The physical damage can be repaired and be functioning again at pre-event levels. The other is a state of mind that is dependent on the abilities and experiences of each person. Psychological resilience has been perceived as a trait amongst individuals that changes from situation to situation and also changes over time, meaning that the reactions of people may change depending on the event and their own personal state of mind (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2011). There should be a separation between the resilience of the physical infrastructure and systems and the resilience of the community.

The proposed National Security Strategy uses Human Security as its theoretical basis and places the individual as the focal point of security. The core value of human security is the 'freedom from fear', which is a cognitive state rather than a physical state. It is therefore necessary to develop a psychological resilience framework within the National Security Strategy that is separate from the resilience of the physical structures and systems. This will enhance the focus of a human security based security strategy. If there is to be a resilient population then there needs to be greater collaboration with the population in developing a framework. Much of the research into natural disasters articulated the importance of community involvement in the development of the response plan, but also in

the promotion of the plan (Thompson-Dyck, Mayer, Anderson, & Galaskiewicz, 2016). This has been identified by Thompson-Dyck *et al* (2016) as an essential component of developing an effective framework that utilises the different groups within the community to contribute to a wider understanding of their needs. They also encourage planners to think more sociologically about the communities, how they are connected and what provides them with their current way of life. This will be challenging for New Zealand and would take a significant amount of work to involve the whole-of-society in the development of security, however, it is a necessary step in providing an effective whole-of-society national security framework.

The articulation of the resilience framework needs to be incorporated into the wider narrative on national security. In Chapter Three the Singaporean national security framework was commended for having a robust public communication approach. It provided a range of different methods of communicating the objectives of national security, the threats and the responsibilities of the people. A New Zealand National Security Strategy that seeks to improve the resilience of the population should develop a public communications programme similar to that of the Singaporean model that places national security and the threats that are faced by New Zealand into the daily conversation of the people. MPI already has a similar approach to their 'biosecurity team of 4.7 million' (Ministry for Primary Industries, 2015), however, this public engagement is not very well known (Durning, 2017). There is evidence to suggest that community participation plays an important role in building community resilience and instead of hiding the expectation of community resilience in the various 'unknown' national security publications, it needs to be part of communities everyday lives.

Conclusions

New Zealand needs to develop a National Security Strategy. One that articulates a national vision for the future of New Zealand's security. It should reflect the unique national values and how, as a nation, New Zealand will act on the world stage. It is vital for a successful whole-of society approach to national security that a whole-of-society approach be taken in the development of the strategy. It is

necessary to bring together the different policy and plans that currently exist and have one central strategy that is able to provide overall direction on national security. It should provide a framework for the government agencies that have a responsibility for the delivery of national security outcomes, to develop their own strategies and plans. The national security framework should include a review system that considers the performance of the strategy against the context of the security environment, to identify if the strategy needs amendment. The centralisation of the National Security Strategy would allow agencies the ability to develop their own capabilities for the achievement of security objectives, as well as challenging the structures and opinions that are the basis for the current security framework. The proposed New Zealand National Security Strategy would have the following characteristics:

- Using a theoretical base of Human Security to develop a strategy. The core values of human security fit within the current New Zealand narrative on security and also the idea of the normal way of life.

- The strategy should be based on five threats:

  o Terrorism,
  o Cyber Security,
  o Territorial Security,
  o Biosecurity, and
  o The impacts of Climate Change.

- The objectives of the national security strategy would be to increase the collaboration with and participation of the whole-of-society. This is essential if the strategy is to deliver security to the whole-of-society.

- The strategy would also articulate the framework of how individual agencies would be responsible for the development of their own internal strategies, capability development plans and operational plans.

- The National Security Strategy would also provide a framework for the implementation and review of the national strategy as well as the individual agency strategies.

- There should be a separation between physical resilience in systems and infrastructure and the populations psychological resilience.

The current New Zealand NSS that is coordinated through DPMC and the management of emergencies through CDEM should remain in place. There is no evidence to prove that this structure and framework is ineffective and to date, has responded effectively to recent crisis' in New Zealand. The purpose of developing a National Security Strategy is to bring together all the various documents that relate to national security (but that are currently in a siloed environment) and provide a central focus for meeting the most prevalent and challenging threats to New Zealand's security.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine New Zealand's national security architecture to determine if it provided security to the whole-of-society. It could be argued that as New Zealand has not been invaded by another State, experienced a major terrorist attack on its territory, or had a cyber-attack that crippled the nation, that New Zealand has an effective national security framework. Snow (2016) argued that they key question of national security is that under what circumstances will a nation use its armed forces to ensure its safety. However, national security is more than the use of the armed forces. National security is about the protection of the State, its values, its institutions and its citizens. In the contemporary setting, national security for New Zealand is the 'condition which permits the citizens of the state to go about their daily business confidently, free from fear, and able to make the most of the opportunities to advance their way of life' (Broad, 2017, p. 147). This dissertation has argued that delivering effective national security requires a framework that should be capable of responding to a crisis that enables the citizens to return to a normal way of life as quickly as possible and is one that addresses emerging security threats. In order to be forward-looking, a New Zealand National Security Strategy should be developed that coordinates the strategies and plans of the government agencies that have a role in national security. It is essential to understand what should be protected, what elements of the State require the focus of the national security sector and how New Zealand should approach the development of a national security strategy.

Chapter Two explored the evolution of the State to determine what constitutes a State and what should be protected. This chapter used this analysis to develop and present the concept of the 'normal way of life'. This was developed from a review of the evolution of national security and its relationship with the State and was used to answer the question 'what exactly should be protected by the national security framework'? From this review, it was determined that for a citizen to have a 'normal way of life' they should have access to and benefit from six components of the state: *Welfare, Government, Security, Freedom and Equality,*

Economy, and *Law and Order*. This concept provides a tangible focus for the development of a national security strategy.

Chapter Three examined how other nations have developed their own national security frameworks, which can inform how New Zealand could approach the development of an over-arching national security strategy. The review of the UK, Ireland, Singapore and Australia provided examples of different approaches to a national security framework. Each nation has an approach based on their own specific context and assessment of their strategic environment. Each provided examples that New Zealand could adopt but also things to avoid. Only the UK had a formal national security strategy and although it was described as a whole-of-government approach, an independent review assessed that this was not the reality. New Zealand should adopt the method of an independent review of a national security strategy similar to what was carried out in the UK. A review system would identify gaps in a security strategy that would be rectified and amended if needed. Ireland and Singapore both have different environments and their approach to security is viewed through different lenses. The result of the review of these two nations national security framework concluded that there is only one main point that is useful for a New Zealand national security strategy, which is that New Zealand should develop a robust communications plan that discusses national security to the population. This would increase public involvement in national security issues that would have positive effects for improving public resilience. The review of the Australian national security framework suggests that the inclusion of foreign policy into the national security strategy would enhance the whole-of-government approach.

After considering the core research question ('is the current approach to national security effective in providing a whole-of-society framework?') a number of conclusions have been reached. The first conclusion is that New Zealand should base its national security strategy upon the theory of Human Security. Human Security fits within the current national security narrative of New Zealand citizens 'living free from fear' (Broad, 2017). The research led to the conclusion that a national security strategy is needed, as the current approach has the government agencies responsible for contributing to national security siloed in their policy and

plans. The *NSS Handbook* and the *CDEM National Plan* are two documents that contain information on the Government's response to a potential crisis. Neither document has a forward looking approach that provided detail on how to develop national security capabilities. The NSS has on only a few occasions been activated, with the majority of events a response to a natural disaster or a food security threat. From these responses, there is no evidence to suggest that the system failed, therefore, it is concluded based on the success of the response to these events, that the system is effective. The system has not been tested against significant direct threats to New Zealand's national security. Much of the contemporary narrative on national security in New Zealand focuses on traditional threats. However, recent academic debate identifies emerging threats such as cyberattack, terrorism, climate change, biosecurity and border security as the largest threats to New Zealand's national security. These threats can affect the whole-of-society and would require a whole-of-government approach when responding. From this evidence, it is concluded that the development of a National Security Strategy should be based on these five threats. The rationale of focusing on the five threats is about prioritising the most significant emerging threats to New Zealand's national security. It is these five threats that are likely to have the greatest impact on the six components of the normal way of way and therefore require a whole-of-government response. Other threats, outside of these five are not excluded from the NSS and would be responded to if they occur.

The National Security Strategy also needs an implementation plan that allows for regular review and amendments of the strategy if needed. A National Security Strategy would allow for connections between the whole-of-government and the whole-of-society. The National Security Strategy would operate as the central document from which other New Zealand government agencies analyse and produce their own individual strategies. This would provide commonality across identified threats as well as common objectives of national security. This is only evident in some of the New Zealand security related documents reviewed in this dissertation. The National Security Strategy would provide guidelines for the production and review of agency strategies. This would ensure that the government agency strategies and plans are achieving what they have been directed to do within the national strategy.

One key issue identified in this research is uncertainty surrounding the term resilience that is often used in New Zealand's national security discourse. The foundations of New Zealand's NSS is to have a resilience-based approach. The term is referring to resilience in the infrastructure, institutions and communities of New Zealand (DPMC, 2016). Arguably, this can be more readily achieved for infrastructure and institutions, as these are physical structures and systems that can be repaired, however, using the term resilience when dealing with communities is referring mainly to psychological resilience. Cretney's (2016) research on the resilience of the community after the earthquakes in Canterbury in 2010-2011 found that there is a significant issue when policies rely on community resilience. This is devolving responsibility down to the community without effectively contributing to this resilience. This is evident within New Zealand's national security discourse. Evidence that suggests resilience is a trait that is different between individuals and can also change within a person (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2011). While physical and psychological resilience are different they are not mutually exclusive. Having infrastructure and institutions that can respond quickly in order to lessen the suffering of the community, would assist with the psychological aspect of community resilience. Therefore, a New Zealand National Security Strategy would need to address resilience and have an appropriate separation between the concept of physical resilience in infrastructure and institutions and building psychological resilience within the individuals of the community.

The intention of this research project was to determine if New Zealand should adopt a national security strategy and provide practical policy-relevant recommendations. Based upon the research, it finds that for New Zealand to adopt a whole-of-government approach to improving the security of the whole-of-society, that ensures that people live free from fear, that New Zealand should have a National Security Strategy. This research was based upon reviews of academic literature on the topics of national security and international relations, as well as national security related policy. What is evident from this research is the need for greater collaboration with the New Zealand government, security agencies and the private sector. This is a subject within New Zealand's national security that could

benefit from further research. The private sector has greater influence on the State, with many of the traditional government operations now out sourced to the private sector. Banks, power distribution, the postal service and airlines are just a few of the operations that the private sector are now running, that were previously the responsibility of the government. For this reason, it is important to have state-private sector coordination for the development of a National Security Strategy. There is also an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the needs of the private sector in relation to national security and for the private sector to have a greater awareness of how the government provides national security.

Donald M Snow asked the question, 'what good is a government that can't protect its citizen's (2016, p. 8). There is a significant body of academic literature on the subject of national security and there are numerous policies, plans and legislation relating to New Zealand's national security. What is missing is the piece in the middle that brings together the academic theory and the policy into a collaborative and forward-looking national security strategy. A National Security Strategy would provide a platform for New Zealand to ensure that it has the necessary framework and capabilities to provide security to the whole-of-society.

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