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MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**SECURITY AND PROSPERITY: REEXAMINING THE
CONNECTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC, HOMELAND
AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

by

Bijan P. Karimi

September 2015

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

Christopher Bellavita
Fathali Moghaddam

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BETWEEN ECONOMIC, HOMELAND AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

Bijan P. Karimi
Assistant Deputy Director,
San Francisco Department of Emergency Management
B.A. (Biology), University of California at Santa Barbara, 1995
B.A. (Environmental Studies), University of California at Santa Barbara, 1995
MBA, California Polytechnic State University, 1998

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September 2015**

Author: Bijan P. Karimi

Approved by: Christopher Bellavita
Thesis Advisor

Fathali Moghaddam
Second Reader

Mohammed Hafez
Chair, Department of National Security Affairs

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ABSTRACT

What is the relationship between economic, homeland, and national security? This question drove the investigation of journal articles and federal doctrine to determine the answer. Through qualitative and quantitative research, I explored definitions, examined connections, and made observations. From this effort I found that the definitions for these security elements are cloudy; furthermore, the relationships between the elements are primarily described in relation to the elements explored but not in the context of the security environment, which plays a significant role. Key findings include: 1) there is not a balanced relationship between economic security, homeland security, and national security; 2) the security relationship is an uneven overlap of the elements; and 3) metamorphic forces shape the security relationships. All combined, when some security decisions are being made they lead to unintended consequences. To align national security efforts, the focus should be on discussion the nation's health through the lens of security and prosperity. The first steps to accomplishing this goal are: 1) develop a national narrative, 2) integrate Department of Homeland Security and Department of Defense, 3) create a Department of Prosperity, 4) continue combatting violence and extremism and, 5) continue promoting prosperity abroad.

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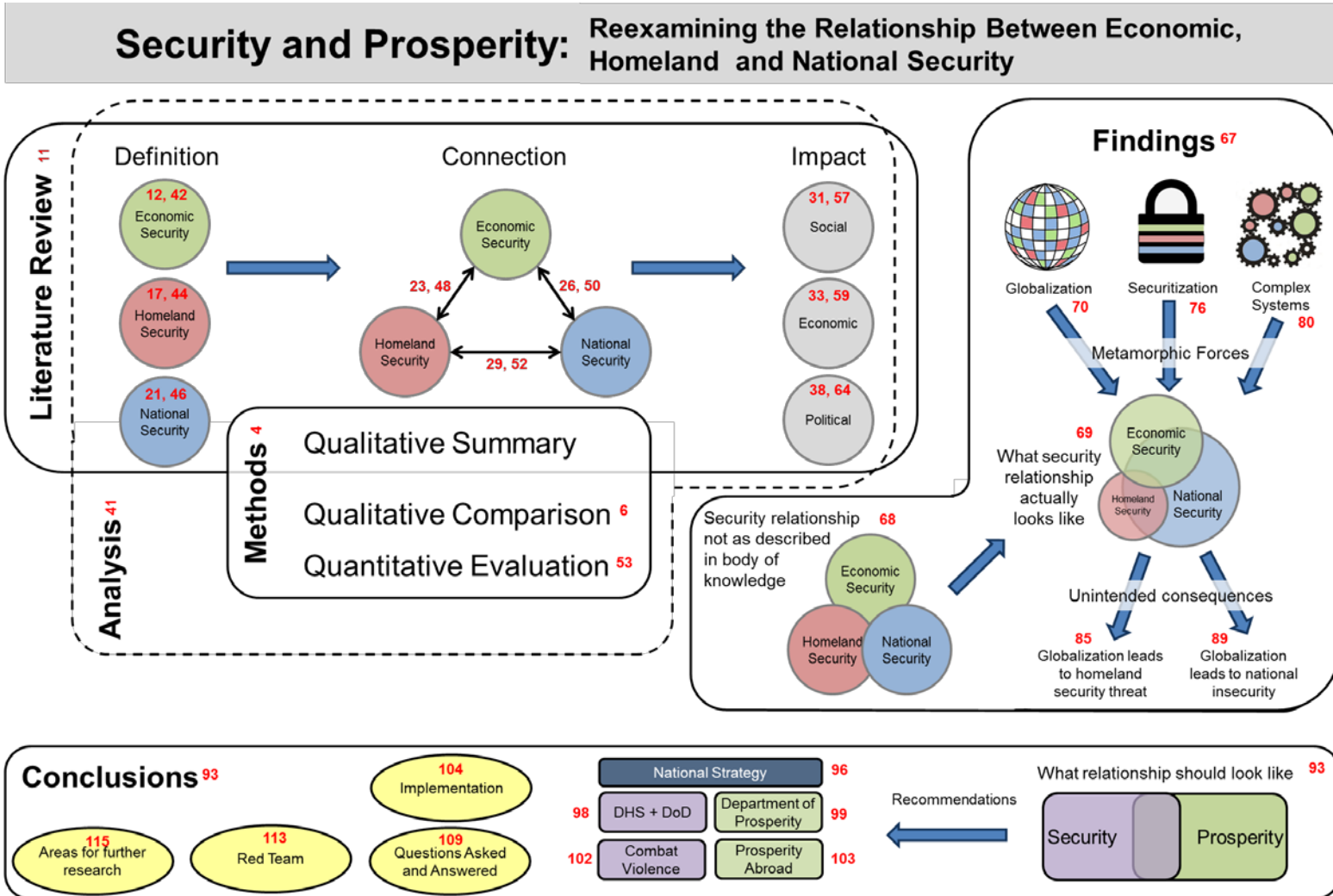
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AUTHOR'S NOTE

The arguments made in this research are not necessarily complex, but they are complicated. In an effort to provide the reader with an overview of the analytical progression of this paper, a visual table of contents has been created and provided on the next page. Numbers adjacent to images indicate the page(s) where discussions can be found. Graphical elements from this visual also appear within the document to facilitate quick orientation to the location in the overall discussion.

Overview of the Analytical Progression of this Thesis



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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOD	Department of Defense
DOP	Department of Prosperity
ES	Economic Security
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
G7	Group of Seven
GATT	General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade
HS	homeland security
HSE	homeland security enterprise
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NS	national security
NSS	National Security Strategy
QHSR	Quadrennial Homeland Security Review
WEF	World Economic Forum

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The relationship between homeland and economic security sounds so casual in the 2014 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*. It states, “Homeland security supports economic security.”¹ So it is surprising that this connection is embraced with little qualitative or quantitative evidence. The initial focus of this research sought to explore the connection between economic security (ES) and homeland security (HS); however, national security (NS) continued to appear as a significant component of the discussion. Ultimately, it became a component of the research question. Figure 1 summarizes the research, initial findings, the impact of metamorphic forces on the security relationship and recommendations for moving to a security and prosperity based view of the security relationship.

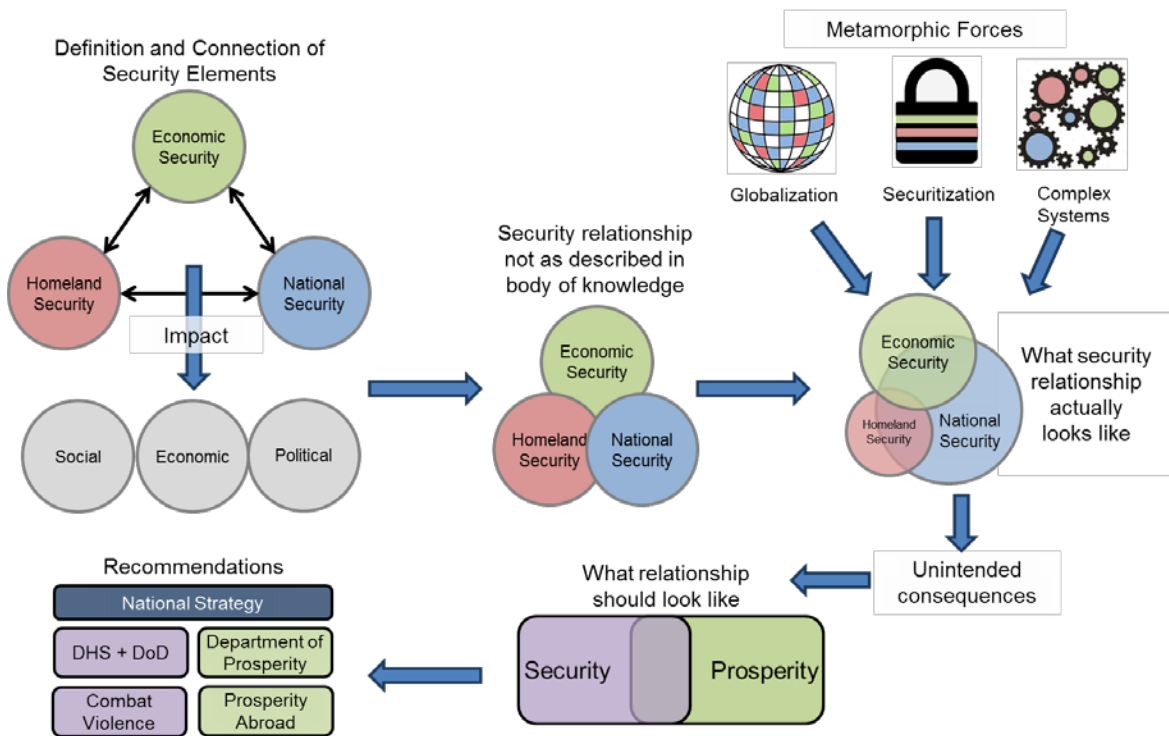


Figure 1. Analytical Process Used to Explore the Relationship Between Economic, Homeland and National Security?

¹ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014), 31.

Figure 2 summarizes the different security elements and their connections that were explored in the research. Through this process, I found that journals primarily focus on investigating the ES-NS relationship, whereas federal doctrine attempts to discuss the ES-HS connection but often ends up describing the stronger NS connection. In total, the relationship that is described in the literature is not the one that actually exists. Metamorphic forces are at work on the security relationship, which leads to unintended consequences. In effort to align strategic priorities, the security relationship should focus on security and prosperity through the implementation of five recommendations.

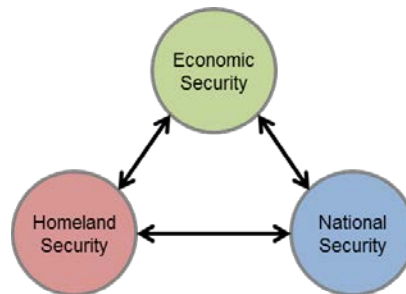


Figure 2. Security Elements and Conceptual Connection

Scholarly journals describe a relationship between ES and HS but in a different way than the federal doctrine. ES is the source from which national strength emanates, for without economic security, the U.S. government is unable to project itself militarily and diplomatically across the globe.

1. Definitions

Economic security, or some variation thereof, has been discussed for several decades but economic globalization has made it a more pressing issue. Some believe that ES is not only the protection of national interests but also the readiness and ability of government institutions to foster a national economy; others extend this view to include the absence of threats that could endanger

economic stability and independence.² One author offered three conceptual definitions for economic security: 1) the investments that directly impact a country's ability to defend itself, 2) the economic policy instruments that can be used for the purpose of aggression, and 3) a weak economy may undermine the ability for a country to project power.³ Many authors believe that the ambiguity of the concept means that definition of economic security, like homeland security, is dependent on the values of the individual studying it. Homeland security was not part of the national discussion until the 1993 World Trade Center bombing; the phrase appeared in documents prior to that but was used interchangeably with homeland defense.⁴ It entered the common lexicon after 9/11, defined as the "implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure U.S. from terrorist threats/attacks"⁵ The multiple definitions that are used by today's homeland security enterprise (HSE) professionals are primarily dependent on the perspective (e.g., terrorism, all hazards, outcome driven, national security) of the person being asked. Some advocate a more holistic description that encompasses law enforcement, fire protection, and emergency medical services.⁶ ES and HS are concatenations of several different activities, and their definitions are driven primarily by the lens of the person being asked which leads to inconsistent interpretations. By clearly defining HS, resources could be better aligned to support the department mission and other items that do not align could be grouped under the broader heading of NS.

² Vladimir Pankov, "Economic Security: Essence and Manifestations," *International Affairs [Moscow]* 57, no. 1 (2011): 199; Sasa Mijalković, and Goran Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," *Megatrend Review* 8, no. 2 (2011): 441.

³ Vincent Cable, "What is International Economic Security?," *International Affairs* 71, no. 2 (April 1995): 306.

⁴ Cynthia A. Watson, *U.S. National Security* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2002), 14.

⁵ Robert W. Smith, "What is Homeland Security? Developing a Definition Grounded in the Curricula," *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 11, no. 3 (August 2005): 234.

⁶ Christopher Bellavita, "Changing Homeland Security: What is Homeland Security?," *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, no. 2 (June 2008): 2, <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/118>;

Ramesh Thakur, "A Political World View: What is Human Security?," *Security Dialogue* 35, no.3 (2004): 348.

There has been a tremendous amount of research on NS, most of which fairly consistently defines it as the ability to maintain the nation's physical boundaries, economic relations, and social institutions from outside threats. The first *National Security Strategy* in 1987 characterizes national security as the blueprint for freedom, peace, and prosperity.⁷ NS has existed longer than HS and has been studied more extensively, leading to more consistency in function and definition.

2. Connections

The central area of exploration is the macro connection between ES, HS and NS (7 in Figure 3). There is no empirical nexus between ES and HS (4 in Figure 3) and little research connects the two elements together. This is likely because there is no common definition from which to make the comparison. One of the key components of national security is economic security (5 in Figure 3). According to Siminiuc, “security and stability, both political and social, are multi-dimensional concepts, and that economics is one of the most important drivers. Moreover, there is a direct link between economy and security.”⁸ The connection between HS and NS (6 in Figure 3) can be inferred from the definitions—one focusing inward and the other internationally. Bellavita states “Homeland security is an element of national security that works with the other instruments of national power to protect the U.S. against threats and aggression.”⁹

⁷ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington DC: White House, 1987), <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-1987/>, 1.

⁸ Mona Siminiuc, “Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2005), 18.

⁹ Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security,” 2.

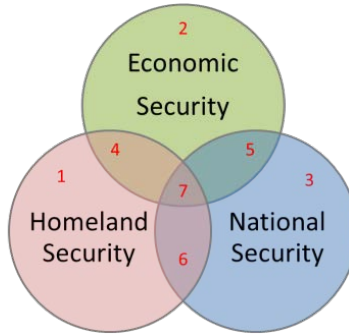
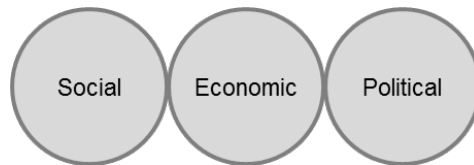


Figure 3. Areas of research within ES, HS, and NS

3. Impact

Definitions and connections may be unclear, but the security elements have economic, social, and political impacts on the surrounding world. There are social components to both economic and homeland security. If a country invests too much on one area (e.g., tech/finance), then other sectors may suffer a decrease (e.g., manufacturing), which can create income disparity and foster social unrest. Maintaining a social standard that supports U.S. citizens' feeling of overall security is complicated when there is an increasing wealth gap. In addition, economic disparity and globalization are disrupting this social balance leading to violent activity in some areas. Globalization (a primary driver of ES) leads to social pressures that some Muslim fundamentalists view as a significant threat against which they must defend themselves and their traditional heritage.¹⁰ While not justifying violent action, it provides one explanation of the possible genesis.



The increasing globalization of business operations has made local economies more susceptible to shocks and uncertainties triggered in other parts of the world. Initial economic models were designed to foster self-sufficiency, and economic globalization has brought the need to increase cooperation (and

¹⁰ Fathali M. Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism: The Lopsided Benefits of 'One World' and Why That Fuels Violence* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 6.

security) with partners.¹¹ Therefore, if countries want national economic security, they need to support policies that reinforce a stable international economy.¹²

Increased political stability comes with improvements in the local economy; however, countries that are not able to realize the benefits of integration will see stagnation and more political unrest, creating an environment for political, ethnic, and cultural extremism and associated violence.¹³ Political economic power supports national power and helps define a state's position on the international political-security continuum.¹⁴

Through the analysis, we find the security elements have some level of definitional clarity, often driven by a narrow focus; however, when viewed as a component in a complex system, the relationship of ES, HS, and NS becomes cloudy. This challenge is compounded by the separation of these concepts in the U.S. security discourse. This is unique because in many other countries they are considered part of one overall concept. Thus, the connections between security elements are misaligned and do not reflect the correct importance or existing relationships between the elements

Decision makers need to balance economic welfare with optimizing political power. Ultimately, their goal is to minimize the ability to be coerced by outsiders.¹⁵ There are clear political implications driven by the relationship of ES to HS and NS. We begin to see more clearly that the connection between ES and NS are essential to having the political strength to remain a global leader and the

¹¹ Siminiuc, "Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership," 16.

¹² Pankov, "Economic Security," 198.

¹³ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Non-government Experts* (Washington DC: National Intelligence Council, 2000), 10.

¹⁴ Mijalković, and Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," 439.

¹⁵ Theodore H. Moran, *American Economic Policy and National Security* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993), 3.

ability of the U.S. to influence world events is becoming more dependent on the economic strength we possess.¹⁶

B. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the body of knowledge, three key findings were made.

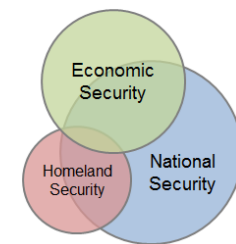
1. There Is Not a Balanced Relationship between ES, HS and NS

The definitions for ES, HS, and NS vary in terms of complexity and acceptability, and the connections between these elements are confusing because the descriptions are often dependent on the individual doing the viewing. For example, the author of military doctrine focuses on HS and chooses to discuss those activities most relevant to the mission. Taken individually, the discussions would suggest a balanced relationship; however, when examined more broadly, the relationships are uneven. Most of the literature and doctrine explore the elements in this one-to-one relationship (e.g., ES to HS or HS to NS). This ignores the broader context (e.g., ES relationship to HS within the context of NS), and it is this context that truly defines the how the elements interact and impact one another



2. The Security Relationship Is an Uneven Overlap of the Elements

The relationship between different security elements is a wild mash-up of activities and strategies; the push-pull between the elements does not benefit each equally. Economic security is concerned with the overall fiscal health of the nation, which includes personal financial health, business stability, economic growth, and protection from circumstances that would degrade any of the same. Homeland security is domestic protection from threats



¹⁶ Ibid., vii.

(intentional) and preparation for hazards (natural) and the response and recovery from these events. The large list of activities related to HS has given DHS (and the homeland security discipline) a large area of responsibility with competing priorities. National security is still seen as an overarching concept to which other elements are dependent but not in a balanced way.

3. Metamorphic Forces Shape the Security Relationship

Economic, homeland, and national security elements do not exist in a vacuum; rather, they exist within a broader system and are shaped themselves by metamorphic forces that provide subtle but substantial pressure. Globalization is the exchange of social and cultural ideals and the extension of economic ties between countries. It is also characterized by greater integration other countries and cultures into the primarily western (liberal) perspective.¹⁷ To support U.S. economic strength, companies look to globalization for a way to expand into new markets. Securitization involves saying something (person, place, or thing) or some condition of the item poses a security risk.¹⁸ An issue may become securitized because there is a real existential threat or because the issue is presented as a threat by an individual who would benefit from the elevated concern. This practice confuses the true importance of issues and is often politically motivated. A system is:



... a set of people, cells, molecules or whatever—interconnected in such a way that they produce their own pattern of behavior over time. They system may be buffeted, constricted, triggered or driven by outside forces, but the system's response to these forces is characteristic of itself and is seldom simple in the real world.¹⁹

¹⁷ Fathali M. Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations: Psychological Implications for Democracy in a Global Context* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2008), 10.

¹⁸ Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 26.

¹⁹ Donella H. Meadows, and Diana Wright, ed. *Thinking in Systems* (White Water Junction, VT: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 2.

ES, HS, and NS are all systems; they each operate independently and with one another.

4. Unintended Consequences

Manifestations of the metamorphic forces at work on the security relationship can be seen in two examples, both of which are initiated by the drive to maintain ES through globalization: 1) cultural pressure that metastasizes into terrorism and effects homeland security and 2) short-term thinking and misappropriation of resources contributes to national insecurity (see Figure 4).

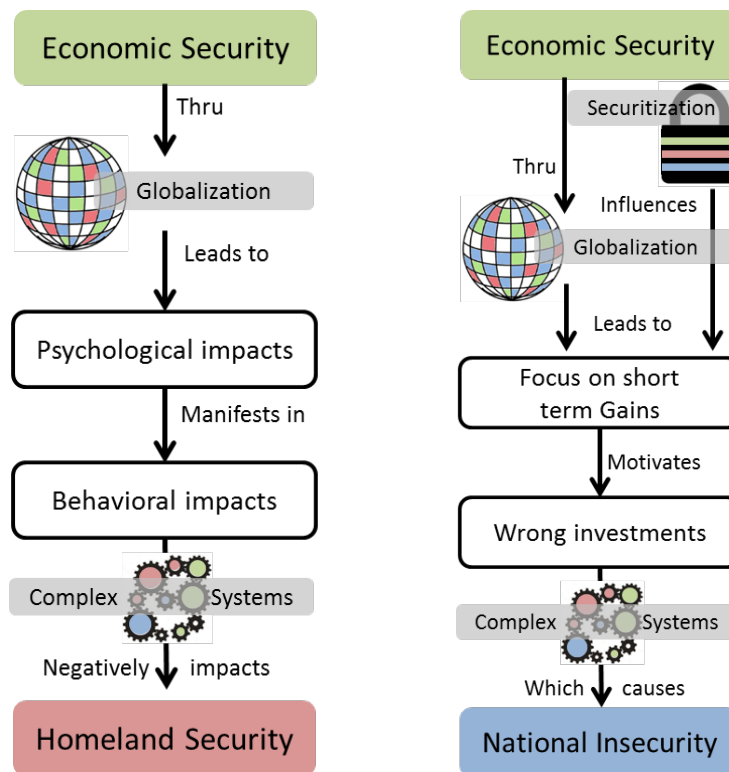


Figure 4. Pursuit of Economic Security thru Globalization Leads to Unintended Homeland and National Security Consequences

In the process of expanding markets, cultures and ideas are coming together at a speed and in a way with which individuals are not prepared to emotionally cope. This cultural thrust can create the feeling of lack of environmental control, which leads to anxiety and fear, causing radicalization,

conflict, violence, and terrorism—in some cases.²⁰ According to Moghaddam, “For Muslim fundamentalists, the threat posed by globalization is terrifying and immediate, and they feel they must defend their traditional heritage against this gigantic global force.”²¹

To maintain a strong economy and support political and military strength abroad while ensuring prosperity domestically, businesses seek access to larger markets in which they can sell their products and services. Yet the increasing globalization of business operations has made the domestic economy more susceptible to shocks and uncertainty. There are unintended NS consequences of using globalization to bolster economic security. While the expansion does provide short-term economic benefits, it comes at the expense of lasting innovation. Thus, the economic foundation needed to project global strength is not solid, weakening national security.

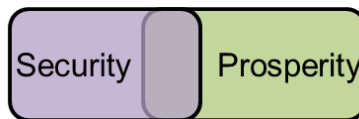
C. WHAT THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP SHOULD LOOK LIKE

Though individual definitions may be unclear, connections between the security elements are evident, but they are not the same as those described in the literature. My research set out to explore the question “What is the relationship between economic, homeland and national security?” I have come to understand that the concepts of globalization, securitization, and complex systems have a significant effect on the economic, homeland, and national security relationship. Furthermore, I believe that the blurry definitions and tight connections between these elements support the assertion that discussion on this topic should be focused on two areas, illustrated in Figure 5.

²⁰ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 46.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

Activities related to the prevention, protection, preparation, response and recovery from threats and hazards and the preservation of the nation's integrity and territory from domestic and foreign enemies.



An open, integrated economic system that supports individual health, free exchange, and the upward mobility of the nation through mutually beneficial partnerships while maintaining financial resiliency, long-term strength and national solvency.

Figure 5. Reframing and Defining the Security Relationship

When the issues of ES, HS, and NS are discussed in the U.S., they are discussed with the assumption that they are individual entities, interacting and dependent on one another, but still unique elements. This is not the same in other parts of the world. In many other countries, they are considered one in the same, and discussions about one naturally involve the other—further supporting the tight connection.

D. Recommendations

Today, the nation needs a galvanizing vision that puts the prosperity and sustainment of our nation at the forefront. We need a unifying construct that brings the security elements together, is focused on larger, long-term issues, and orients resources to address national issues. Figure 6 shows the five recommendations as they relate security and prosperity and one another; Table 1 summarizes the recommendations.

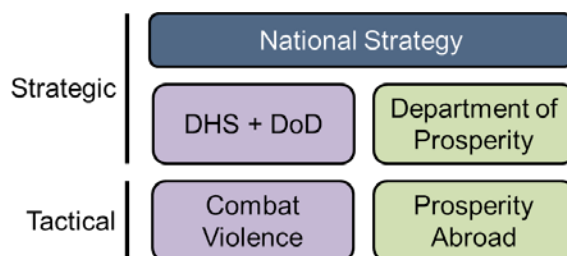


Figure 6. Strategic and Tactical Recommendations to Focus on Security and Prosperity

Table 1. Description of Recommendations

Recommendation	Description
1. Develop a National Narrative	<p>“We need a story...that will transcend our political divisions, orient us as a nation, and give us both a common direction and the confidence and commitment to get to our destination.”²² To promote economic security that will benefit national security (and in turn homeland security) it is better to focus government policy at the national level and explore its impact on the nation’s overall state of security.</p>
2. Integration of DHS and DOD	<p>Complex systems (i.e., government agencies) are structured to perpetuate themselves so recommending the integration of two of the largest departments in the federal government would be an unrivaled challenge, but one that is not without merit. There are compelling signals that the security functions in both agencies would operate more efficiently if brought together in one department rather than maintaining the artificial separation.</p>
3. Create a Department of Prosperity	<p>The Preamble to the Constitution defines our federal government’s basic purpose as “... to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” The financial market driven focus on short-term returns is detrimental to the country’s long-term health and not yielding investments in education, health care and infrastructure—essential elements for sustained prosperity.</p>
4. Continue Combating Violence and Extremism	<p>The long-term solution to terrorism is prevention but prevention is not just stopping a radicalized individual from carrying out a planned attack; it should also contain activities that prevent an individual from becoming radicalized. While long-term solutions are being implemented to change the environment that creates the crucible for radicalization, existing initiatives that have been described in national security strategies should continue in order to blunt and dismantle terrorist cells and networks that intend on doing harm to the U.S. and its citizens.</p>
5. Continue Promoting Prosperity Abroad	<p>A consistent theme in multiple <i>National Security Strategies</i> (NSS) (see Table 5) is the importance of promoting prosperity abroad. Economic stagnation has set in where strife has continued (e.g., South Sudan, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo).²³ These are some of same locations where Islamic radicalization is taking hold—not that these are directly correlated or have a causal relationship. The U.S. should increase efforts to support developing economies.</p>

²² Wayne Porter, and Mark Mykleby. *A National Strategic Narrative* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011), 2.

²³ Ivor Ichikowitz, “Security is Key to Africa’s Economic Rise,” *African Business* no. 391 (2012): 25, <http://africanbusinessmagazine.com/tag/november-2012/> 24–25

C. CONCLUSION

The relationship between ES, HS, and NS is a complex one and has tangible impacts on the social, economic, and political well-being of the nation. The actual security relationship differs from what is described in literature and doctrine leading to a misunderstanding of the security environment. Furthermore, metamorphic forces press down on the security elements and have unintended, sometimes violent consequences. By reimagining the relationship between security elements as the connection between security and prosperity and setting a national strategy, decisions can be made that will support the long-term health and success of the nation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between homeland and economic security sounds so casual in the 2014 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (QHSR), when it states, “Homeland Security supports economic security.”¹ It seems intuitive but at the same time puzzling. In the QHSR, this is discussed in conjunction with border security/expediting lawful trade and travel, infrastructure protection, and homeland security. It is surprising that such a significant piece of national guidance embraces this connection when there is little qualitative or quantitative evidence to support the assertion. Further complicating the situation is the mention just a few sentences later that the relationship between homeland and economic securities has been recognized in successive national security strategies. That statement suggests that homeland security and economic security are both part of national security. So how are all three security elements related, and what does it really mean?

A. PROBLEM STATEMENT

As recognized in successive national security strategies, homeland security is inseparable from economic security.²

The 2014 QHSR identifies the primary missions and strategic direction for homeland security in the United States. The document claims that homeland security and economic security are connected, based on claims in the *National Security Strategy* (NSS). The NSS states that America’s economic growth and power supports national military strength.³ This would suggest that there is a national security (NS) component to the country’s economic strength. Economic security (ES) and homeland security (HS) are concepts that have been linked in

¹ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014), <http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/2014-qhsr-final-508.pdf>, 31.

² Ibid.

³ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: White House, 1987), <http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-1987/>, 11.

foundational homeland security documents; however, the interrelationship between economic and homeland security is not clearly explained or justified. Scholarly journals acknowledge that a relationship does exist between ES and HS but not in the way that the federal doctrine suggests. In fact, the journals focus their research on investigating the more important relationship between ES and NS. Government doctrine and academic literature are at odds about the relationship between ES and HS. The QHSR states, “Homeland security supports economic security.”⁴ Beyond the “supports” comment, there is little substantive evidence to support this assertion.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

The initial research question was to explore the connection between economic and homeland security. However, as the investigation began, national security continued to appear as a significant component of the discussion, so much so that the research scope was expanded to include it. This decision turned out to be pivotal in the exploration of the security relationship and ended up becoming a pivot point for the research. The research question became, “What is the Relationship between Economic, Homeland and National Security?”

I am studying the relationship between ES, HS, and NS because I want to understand how they affect one another in order to improve homeland security policy development and decision making. The QHSR states, “homeland security supports economic security” but refers back to the *National Security Strategy* as the basis for this statement.⁵ Those documents, the policy spheres they represent and the connection between them is the starting point for further questioning as illustrated in Table 1.

⁴ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014), 31.

⁵ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (1987), 11.

Table 1. Exploratory Questions Driving the Research

1. <i>What evidence is there that homeland security is inseparable from economic security as stated in the 2014 QHSR and National Security Strategy?</i>	This question focuses specifically on the relationship between economic security and homeland security. This research will delve into locating and reviewing the specific documents that link the concepts and validate/refute the assertion being made by the document. The QHSR states “homeland security is inseparable from economic security” ⁶ but does not clarify if the relationship is mutual or hierarchical. Does a stable economy lead to more domestic homeland security? Can the relationship be reversed?
2. <i>How are ES, HS, and NS defined, and what is the relationship between them?</i>	The QHSR is the most recent document produced by the federal government that explicitly mentions homeland and economic security together. At the heart of this discussion is the definition of ES and HS and whether the <i>National Security Strategy</i> , <i>Quadrennial Homeland Security Review</i> , and <i>National Strategy for Homeland Security</i> consistently describe the relationship.
3. <i>What are the social, economic and political impacts of the economic, homeland, national security relationship?</i>	How does a secure homeland benefit other areas of life in the U.S. (as suggested in the QHSR statement)? Homeland security is often framed in the concept of physical security, but the investment may also be yielding returns in the political and economic arenas. Research would explore the impact and attempt to draw a connection.

C. SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Economic security, or some variation thereof, has been discussed for several decades, and there is little debate on its importance. It is an assumed component of a functioning society and homeland security; however, there is no evidence to explicitly link the two in the literature. Losman points out that the “relationship” between homeland and economic security has been assumed and its importance persists in domestic policy without any check for validation.⁷ Adding to the confusion is that a majority of the literature points to economic security as a tool of national security. So, why is homeland security considered inseparable from economic security as stated in the *National Security Strategy* and what are the implications for this connection?

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Donald Losman, “Economic Security: A National Security Folly?” *Policy Analysis* no. 409 (August 2001), Cato Institute, <http://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/economic-security-national-security-folly?print, 2>.

If national security is outward facing and homeland security is inward facing, will taking steps to ensure economic security have different impacts on these two areas? Does global economic interconnectedness blur the lines between domestic and international policy? If so, do homeland security decisions impact the global economy? If HS is inseparable from ES and HS is part of NS, do ES decisions have the same impact on both areas? Perhaps defining this relationship is just an intellectual mystery. Then again, understanding the tangled triangle between economic, homeland, and national security may impact decisions on domestic and foreign policy in order to ensure the success of each initiative. Are there any consequences to not the defining the relationship at all? Herein lies the crux of the issue and why it is an important one to explore—major policy decisions in one area may impact another with unforeseen or unintended consequences. What if the very steps being taken to increase economic security were actually making homeland security more difficult?

D. METHODOLOGY

The methods section provides detail on the analytical process used to understand the relationship between ES, HS, and NS and derive the implications for policy development. The analysis began by looking for common definitions for each element based on existing research (Figure 1, areas 1–3). The analysis focused on the relationship between each security element (Figure 1, areas 4–6) with the intent of describing area 7 (the problem space). There is extensive research on national security and its link to economic security (Figure 1, area 5), which suggests that this may be where the primary connection is with ES, not in HS as suggested by the QHSR. The primary source of research data was journal articles, books, and a detailed study of the national security doctrine.

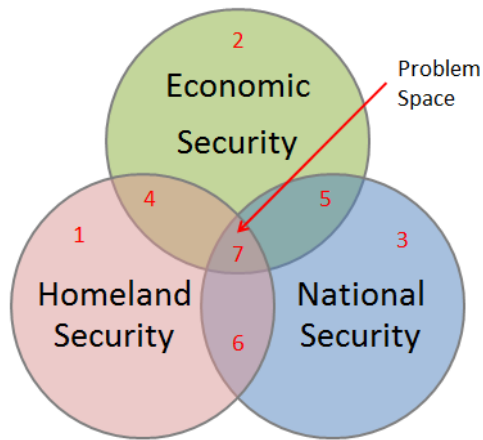


Figure 1. The Economic, Homeland and National Security Problem Space

E. BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

There is extensive research in area 5 (overlap of economic and national security) and it will be important not to overshadow areas 4 (economic and homeland security) and 6 (homeland and national security) if the problem space is to be clearly defined. The initial research was intended to focus on area 4; however, as previously mentioned, national security was added to the analysis because of the contextual reference in the majority of the literature and doctrine. The primary source of research data was journal articles, books and a detailed study of the 15 *National Security Strategies*, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, *National Strategy Homeland Security*, and *DHS Strategic Plan*, which has been published since 1995. The research focused primarily on western sources but does include the international view of these relationships when extrapolating to international affairs.

F. PROCESS

The research approach was a combination of exploring to find evidence of relationships between subjects by looking for patterns and describing them and then deducing similar themes through study of current federal doctrine and identifying similar themes across the QHSR, NSS, and *National Strategy for Homeland Security*. The first portion relied on constant comparison, and

subsequent iterative analysis proved inductive as themes emerged from the data.⁸ In addition, I explored what the literature already said about the definitions of economic security, homeland security, and national security and what concepts they are composed of in an effort to yield insight on how they are connected.

The body of knowledge was “coded” using qualitative information transformation and then analyzed using constant comparison analysis. Figure 2 summarizes these steps.

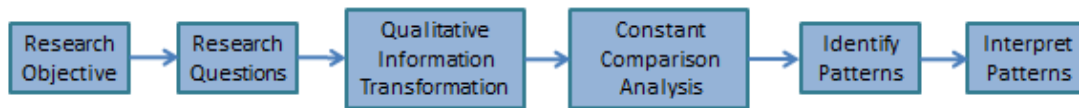


Figure 2. Research and Observational Coding Process⁹

Qualitative information transformation is a standard practice for many social science studies and involves studying the body of knowledge (e.g., literature, notes, research) related to a topic and grouping it into categories. Categorizing brings order to what can be an initially chaotic interaction of themes, topics, and observations. In the notes from Gail Thomas’s lecture “Research Methods: Qualitative Data Analysis,” she describes the process of reading the literature closely to develop an understanding of key themes, then using those themes as “codes” that can be used to tag research.¹⁰ Coding then puts the information into “buckets” and allows the mind to better process the information and see relationships more easily. The initial categories and sub-categories used as buckets for this research are in Table 2.

⁸ Jane F. Dye et al., “Constant Comparison Method: A Kaleidoscope of Data,” *Qualitative Report* 4, no. 1/2 (2000): 2, <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-1/dye.html>.

⁹ Adapted from Lauren Wollman, “Qualitative Research” (on-line lecture, Naval Postgraduate School), accessed December 4, 2014, <https://www.chds.us/moodle/mod/resource/view.php?id=9177>. Source not publically accessible.

¹⁰ Gail Fann Thomas, “Research Methods: Qualitative Data Analysis” (on-line lecture. Naval Postgraduate School), accessed November 21, 2014, <https://www.chds.us/moodle/mod/resource/view.php?id=9199>. Source not publically accessible.

Table 2. Categories and Sub-Categories Used in Research Coding

Definition	Connection	Impact
Economic Security	Economic – Homeland	Social
Homeland Security	Economic – National	Economic
National Security	Homeland – National	Political

These categories served as a framework to create the scaffolding from which the detailed analysis was built. This categorization was a deductive process because the terms were identified ahead of time; however, the second analysis mode, constant comparison, allows for more natural themes to develop. A sample of the coding rubric for the literature and doctrine is shown in Table 3.

A similar process was applied to the national security strategies, quadrennial homeland security reviews and the national strategies on homeland security to look for similarities and differences in the way that economic security is referenced as a component of national and homeland security.

Table 3. Sample Categorization of Research Observations

Research Summary

Total Observations = 449			Count		
			59	55	94
			Lit rev		
Source	Page	Observation/Comment	Define	Connec	Impact
2	11	Greater the interdependency between countries, industries, economies, the greater t the potential for unforeseen cascading effects		EN	EP
2	11	revelations about data leakage have impact on economic interactions			E
2	14	fiscal crisis occurs when investors doubt government ability to repay bond debt. This debit arises because government is spending more than it brings in. Also exacerbates because including interest b/c including risk - spiral begins			E
2	17	Income disparity can led to critical infrastructure breakdown			ES
2	17	Financial crisis is considered the most significant in terms of global impact			
2	21	fiscal crisis and economic security		EH	
2	21	Fiscal crisis in key countries can significantly affect stability of global economy. Then led to economic downturn in countries and increased unemployment			E
2	23	increased economic concerns also lead to decline in trust of government institutions			EP
2	26	Systemic risk occurs when complex systems interact with one another and the developers do not understand the connections. When something goes wrong it is unclear what affect that will have on the overall system.		EN	x

Through the process of constant comparison, I studied and inductively re-categorized (i.e., coded/bucketed based on observations of the data)¹¹ observations about national, economic, and homeland security. This process was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss as a way to inductively code and compare data at the same time.¹² Boyatzis terms this process “thematic analysis,” which permits comparison of different sources across a consistent framework.¹³ This is the exploratory portion of the research intending to find existing relationships between items.

From these new relationships, different patterns emerged (pattern analysis), which, as expected, yielded new interactions. Dye et al. use a kaleidoscope as a metaphor for the constant comparison process—review the data, make observations, rotate the “view,” review the data, and make new observations.¹⁴

For the quantitative portion of the text analysis, I used QDA Miner 4 from Provalis Research. As cases to be studied, all federal documents, were loaded into the tool. A series of codes were identified, grouped into common themes, and used for the case analysis. I developed the codes after reviewing the documents and determining what words/phrases were being used by the document authors to describe concepts.

The text analysis was done at the sentence level (highest fidelity available in the tool). The sentences were then tagged each time one of the codes appeared. If a code received fewer than five records (across all documents), it was eliminated. See Table 4 for a summary of the code counts.

¹¹ Dye et al., “Constant Comparison Method,” 2.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Richard E. Boyatzis, *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1998), 4.

¹⁴ Dye et al., “Constant Comparison Method,” 6.

Table 4. Count of Thematic Codes in Federal Doctrine

Theme	Code	Count
Economic Security	Economic	1583
	Economy	378
	Financial	303
	Global Economy	102
	Finance	39
	Globalization Banking	37
	Economic Security	21
Homeland Security	Homeland	1726
	Homeland Security	1447
	Domestic	216
National Security	National	1879
	Defense	665
	National Security	587
	U.S. Security	33
Inseparable	Inextricably	14
	Inseparable	5

The themes and codes do not predispose the analysis tool to search within the terms, rather they are just for research categorization. Each of the codes was considered a unique variable when running the quantitative analysis. Four different quantitative analysis were performed on the qualitative information:

- Dendrogram—Hierarchy of codes based on how frequently they appear adjacent to other codes
- 2-D bubble plot—Frequency of code appearance and “strength” of relation with related codes
- Proximity plot—How likely is one code to appear when compared to a code held as independent variable
- Code frequency by case—How often does each code appear in each case

There was additional analysis performed on the documents to look for similarities across objectives, missions, goals and priorities using the documents table of contents. The findings were aggregated into an MS Excel worksheet and results tabulated. The completed research clarified what the relationships are between each security element (i.e., sense-making) as suggested by the samples in Figure 3. The visuals represent potential ways the relationship between these elements can be characterized.

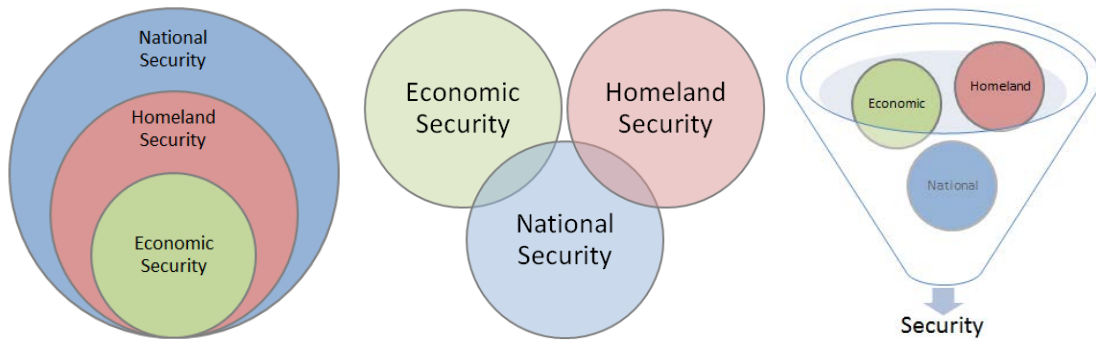


Figure 3. Initial Concepts to Represent Security Relationship

Using a deductive approach, this interpretation yielded the analytical insight and, clarified the relationship between ES, HS, and NS, which are primarily associative in nature. These are not necessarily the solution, but they served to identify the key components and visually represent how the security elements are related to one another.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of the literature review was to explore if there are common working definitions for ES, HS, and NS to establish a baseline from which the relationship between the elements could be explored. The review also explores how United States security doctrine (e.g., *National Security Strategy*, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, and *National Strategy for Homeland Security*) describes the relationship between these concepts to derive a holistic view of the security space (see Figure 4).

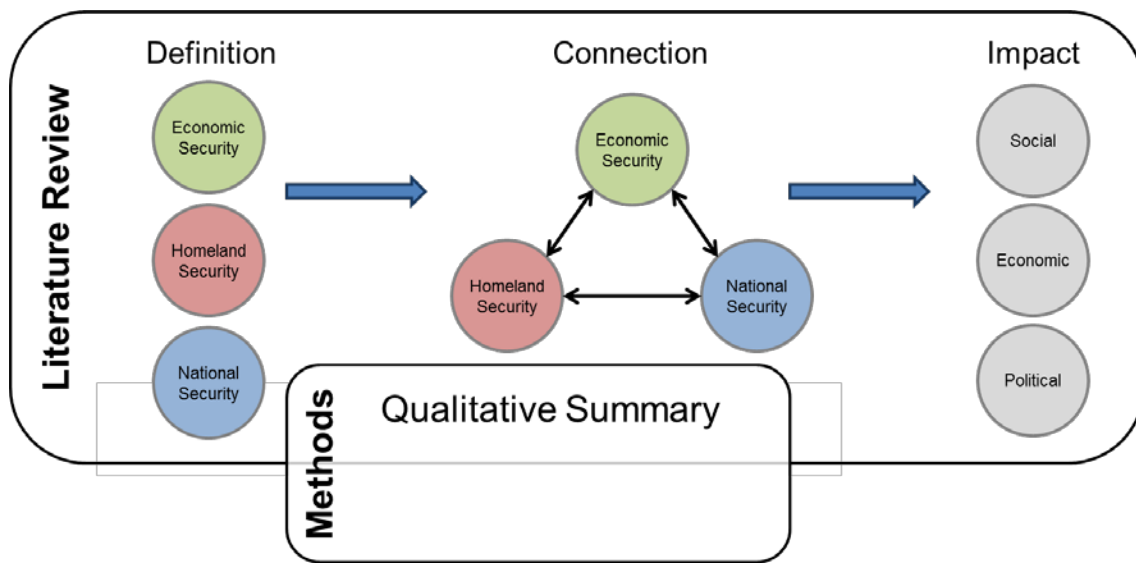


Figure 4. Literature Review Process

The literature review suggests that while there is a connection between ES and HS, the more important relationship to explore for policy development lies between ES and NS. Additionally, where there are connections discussed between ES and NS, it is primarily in the literature. When ES-HS connections are discussed it is primarily in government doctrine, and there is little explanation of why the connection exists.

A. DEFINITION

There is frustratingly little literature that provided clear definitions for any security element. Consistent definitions are the result of many people viewing an entity (person, place, or thing) and interpreting it the same way. ES and HS encompass many disciplines and are relatively newer concepts than NS. As we will see, this difference in scope and less time for consistent evaluation contributes to the definitional challenges.

1. Economic Security

Economic security, or some variation thereof, has been discussed for several decades; in a collection of essays on national economic security from 1982, editors Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans explain why the topic was gaining more interest by economists and governments. According to them:



After exposure to two oil shocks, booms in raw material prices, the threat of a world food crisis ... and rising popularity of economic coercion among nation-states, there was little surprise in observing economic security to rise to the most prominent element of national security¹⁵

At the time, there was some overall agreement that economic security refers to something bigger than just what is necessary to promote the economic wellbeing of the country.¹⁶ Just over 20 years later, in *Economic Security*, Kahler states, “the economic uncertainty of the last decade has caused countries to revisit their understanding of this concept and the associated definition.”¹⁷ A fluctuating economy and its impact on domestic conditions continues to be a significant issue, but whatever the issue is, “it” seems to extend beyond just the

¹⁵ Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans, *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies* (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), v.

¹⁶ Jacques Pelkmans, “The Many Faces of National Economic Security,” in *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies*, ed. von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), 3.

¹⁷ Miles Kahler, “Economic Security in an Era of Globalization: Definition and Provision,” *Pacific Review* 17 no. 4 (December 2004): 486.

economy. Pelkmans says, "...the shear challenge and magnitude of understanding economic security and the ambiguities surrounding the subject matter both in theory and in policy making, impose some limitations."¹⁸ Limitations that still lead us to wonder, "What is economic security?"

Pankov believes that economic security is not only the protection of national interests but also the readiness and ability of government institutions to create mechanisms to implement and protect national interests in the development of a national economy.¹⁹ Mijalković supports this view but extends it to include the absence of threats that could endanger economic stability and independence.²⁰ In a report published by RAND, Neu and Wolf believe that economic security is the ability of the U.S. to protect its own economic prosperity via domestic policies and international influence.²¹ This perspective is clarified by Cable a year later when he identified three conceptual definitions for economic security: 1) the investments that directly impact a country's ability to defend itself, 2) the economic policy instruments that can be used for the purpose of aggression, and 3) a weak economy may undermine the ability for a country to project power.²²

Mijalković and Milošević explore the concept of linking economic health and power projection more fully in *Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security*; they are one of the few authors that defines and then ties the concepts together. Most authors view ES as a function of a healthy economy that

¹⁸ Pelkmans, "The Many Faces of National Economic Security," 3.

¹⁹ Vladimir Pankov, "Economic Security: Essence and Manifestations," *International Affairs [Moscow]* 57, no. 1 (2011): 199.

²⁰ Sasa Mijalković, and Goran Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," *Megatrend Review* 8, no. 2 (2011): 441.

²¹ Carl R. Neu, and Charles Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1994), xi.

²² These definitions are summarized from a more lengthy explanation by the author over several pages in the article. Vincent Cable, "What is International Economic Security?," *International Affairs* 71, no. 2 (1995): 306.

is resilient to change, and this is a central tenant of Mijalković's writing.²³ He believes, "economic power is a traditional 'lever' of national security and the state's role in the international community."²⁴ A generally accepted definition of ES in the U.S. would be national interests are supported through an economic system that supports free exchange and supports the upward mobility of the nation.²⁵ There is no debate if a country needs economic security—all authors agree to this concept; yet, it appears to be an assumed connection that it is required as part of a functioning society, no evidence was provided to explicitly link the two.

The authors above have attempted to provide some definition of economic security in the context of a countries domestic condition. However, with rapid globalization and the opening of world markets, several other writers have focused on what impact this expansion has on individual nations and their ability to maintain economic security in the face of such change. Following World War II, the concept of economic security was firmly established.²⁶ To keep the domestic economic engine running, expansion into new markets was essential; however, it did not come without a cost. After 50 years, works by Neocleous, Pankov, and Kahler talk about the economic insecurity (often as a result of globalization) that has come to pass. Generally, economic insecurity is a state of fiscal crisis when investors doubt government ability to repay bond debt as well as income disparity and fluctuating markets as more abstractly described in the World Economic Forum's *Global Risks 2014*.²⁷

²³ Mijalković, and Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," 441.

²⁴ Ibid., 439.

²⁵ Mark Neocleous, "From Social to National Security: On the Fabrication of Economic Order," *Security Dialogue* 37 no. 3 (2006): 376.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 9th ed. (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2014), 14.

The economic upheaval caused by the 2008 financial crisis has changed the tenor of research in the last five years. There is much more focus on the impacts of globalization and how it impacts economic security—economic instability abroad can now have an impact domestically.²⁸ This is not a new topic to be sure, literature from emerging countries speaks about it much more readily as their economies are more tied to what happens abroad (i.e., western economic powers); however, because the inverse is not as true (i.e., developed economies significantly impacted by emerging economies), western literature focuses more on ensuring security with one’s business partners (allies). In effect, globalization has weakened the accepted definition of economic security; countries that were somewhat insulated from economic influence by other governments that wielded these instruments are now susceptible because of the connection.²⁹

According to Neocleous, “Foreign economic policy is viewed as an instrument which could powerfully influence the world environment in ways favorable to the security and social welfare of a country.”³⁰ National autonomy centers around a nation’s ability to have an economy that is independent from upheaval in foreign economies, but it does not exist because of the push for market access and related integration.³¹ In order to support the global expansion but insulate nations from significant fluctuations, a liberal international economic order (LIEO) was established to develop the necessary rules and regulations to guide acceptable behavior among nations.³² Therefore, actual economic security depends on the collective behaviors of the countries involved in the economic

²⁸ Kahler, “Economic Security in an Era of Globalization,” 485.

²⁹ This reference is a combination of themes from the abstract and Kahler’s initial analysis about why globalization has had caused this erosion. *Ibid.*, 485–486.

³⁰ Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 379.

³¹ Mijalković and Milošević, “Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security,” 441.

³² Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), 175.

alliance.³³ International economic security became a mode of operation and maintenance of international economic relations in a normal and effective condition in order to prohibit deliberate harm to the economic interests of any country.³⁴

In the discussion of economic security, a sub-set of literature appeared around the topic of human security. Bognar explains, “Economic security essentially means adequate employment, comparative welfare, socio-economic equilibrium and the sufficiency promising outlook to enterprises and individuals and the socio-economic policy and means by which these can be ensured.”³⁵ In his Naval Postgraduate School thesis on the United States debt and its implications to national defense, Malokofsky links the concepts in this way:

In order to have a strong economy, a country must have income; income on the national level but more importantly on the individual level. National income in many respects is derived from the ability of individuals to make purchases and earn wages, thus adding to the taxable income. Thus, when the individual prospers, the nation prospers.³⁶

In *National Economic Security and the Maintenance of the Welfare State*, Peeters believes economic security refers to the government’s ability to maintain and develop the preferred socio-economic system and welfare goal.³⁷ In effect, he is supporting Malokofsky’s point that the pursuit of personal prosperity leads to economic security. By replacing the word “individual” from Malokofsky’s quote with “entity,” there is an interesting concept that is raised by Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde in *Security: New Framework for Analysis*. Individuals, businesses, and

³³ Pelkmans, “The Many Faces of National Economic Security,” 11.

³⁴ Pankov, “Economic Security,” 194.

³⁵ Jozef Bognar, “Economic Security and Growth,” in *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies*, ed. Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), 101.

³⁶ Nicholas Malokofsky, “Blood and Treasure: The U.S. Debt and Its Implications for National Defense and Security” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 29.

³⁷ Theo Peeters, “National Economic Security and the Maintenance of the Welfare State,” in *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies*, ed. Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), 34.

states all have a similar need for economic security. For individual entities, economic security is having their basic human needs met; for a business entity, security occurs if a reasonable profit is being made; for a state entity, economic security exists when it is able to meet the basic protection and social needs of its citizens.³⁸ As Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde note, “ES concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power.”³⁹ This concept also appears in the homeland security section where personal security, separate from economic security, is a more germane discussion.

A clear discussion in doctrine that identifies how the U.S. government defines economic security is missing from this review is. A search on dhs.gov yields one page related to economic security; clicking on the overview page brings further confusion because it contains discussions about identifying vulnerabilities and the global supply chain (certainly part of economic security) but there is no definition of ES to be found.⁴⁰

The articles discussed above also directly or indirectly describe the connection between economic security and national security. Definitions for ES are consistent with its importance as a national lever of power but differ on what constitutes protection, how to protect it, and what the supporting activities are. This makes it hard to explore what specific actions can be taken to maintain economic strength.

2. Homeland Security

Homeland security was not part of the national discussion until the 1993 world trade center bombing.⁴¹ The phrase had appeared in documents but was done interchangeably with



³⁸ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 104.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Economic Security,” last modified November 15, 2013, accessed May 22, 2015, <http://www.dhs.gov/topic/economic-security>.

⁴¹ Cynthia A. Watson, *U.S. National Security* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2002), 14.

homeland defense. It entered the common lexicon after the 9/11 via Executive Order 13228, which defined it as the “implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure U.S. from terrorist threats/attacks.”⁴² Homeland defense focuses on protecting borders; it is preventing terrorist activity in the homeland.⁴³ The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created in response to the 9/11 attacks in order to unite 22 agencies each responsible for some portion of domestic protection. When DHS was formed, it inherited many responsibilities that were not explicitly tied to the designated mission; however, they were part of the agencies being combined into DHS so these responsibilities also became DHS’s mission. Smith tackled the question of “What is homeland security?” in his paper of the same name. He stated that counterterrorism seems closest to capturing intent of early HS efforts, but the ensuing discussions revolved around institutional capabilities not necessarily the coordinated government wide efforts. Smith explains, “[Homeland security] is a system of emergency preparedness that requires military and civilian response to perceived, potential or eminent terrorist threats against U.S. citizens and interests at home.”⁴⁴ Identifying military and civilian components to terrorism prevention also puts responsibilities in two different agencies.

Christopher Bellavita in “Homeland Security, What is Homeland Security” aptly describes the multiple definitions that are being used by today’s homeland security enterprise (HSE) professionals. Many definitions of HS are derived from looking at the homeland security enterprise through the lens of a group with a niche set of interests.⁴⁵ Bellavita concludes that the definition of homeland

⁴² Robert W. Smith, “What is Homeland Security? Developing a Definition Grounded in the Curricula,” *Journal of Public Affairs Education* 11, no. 3 (2005): 234.

⁴³ Watson, *U.S. National Security*, 15.

⁴⁴ Smith, “What is Homeland Security?,” 245.

⁴⁵ Christopher Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security: What is Homeland Security?,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2008): 1, <https://www.hsaj.org/articles/118>.

security was primarily dependent on the perspective (e.g., terrorism, all hazards, outcome driven, national security) of the person being asked.⁴⁶

*The National Strategies for Homeland Security*⁴⁷ and the *Quadrennial Homeland Security Reviews*⁴⁸ are the federal documents that provide the overall framework for DHS and report on the department's performance however, they too do not provide a single definition for HS. The field is narrowed from those identified by Bellavita in that DHS could be defined more about what it does prevent, protect, prepare, respond, recovery and mitigate rather than the specific areas threats (e.g., terrorism) and hazards (e.g., floods). He provides a pragmatic summary that suggests homeland security is primarily about terrorism, the prevention of future attacks, and being prepared to respond when they do take place.⁴⁹ In a 2012 Congressional research report, Reese furthered Bellavita's research, noting "homeland security, regardless of the definition or strategic document, is a combination of law enforcement, disaster, immigration, and terrorism issues"⁵⁰

In a more holistic description, Thajur posits that HS equates to law enforcement, fire protection, and emergency medical services—a more intuitive interpretation for some.⁵¹ In a somewhat similar vein, Neocleous suggests that homeland related activities should be on "internally" focused; the United States is unique in its doctrine that domestic security involves projecting strength globally.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁷ White House, *The National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002, 2007).

⁴⁸ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014); U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2010), <http://www.dhs.gov/publication/2010-quadrennial-homeland-security-review-qhsr>.

⁴⁹ Bellavita, "Changing Homeland Security," 3.

⁵⁰ Shawn Reese, *Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations* (CRS Report No. R42462) (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012), 2.

⁵¹ Ramesh Thakur, "A Political World View: What is Human Security?," *Security Dialogue* 35, no.3 (2004): 348.

Elsewhere this is considered national security, which is often the prevue of the military.⁵²

Another perspective on the definition of homeland security comes from literature that focuses on the “state” of homeland security and derives its existence from human security. Thakur states, “Human security is concerned with the protection of people from critical and life-threatening dangers, regardless of whether the threats are rooted in anthropogenic activities or natural events.”⁵³ Hough makes the argument that the state defines its purpose as helping citizens meet the basic needs of food, water, shelter, and security and to increase access to personal opportunity, health, and education the opportunity for personal economic stability.⁵⁴ Ibrahim believes that human security is the protection from human rights abuse, physical threat, violence, extreme economic conditions, social and environmental risk.⁵⁵ Again, we see another connection between personal economic stability and overall security.⁵⁶ Thus, the government through DHS is responsible for providing a secure environment for its citizens. Hough believes there is a false choice being argued:

It is vital to avoid an artificial separation of economic growth and basic human needs. Growth is not a goal to be achieved before human needs can be addressed, nor does the satisfaction of basic human needs have to be at the expense of investments in economic growth.⁵⁷

The 2002 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* was published only a few months after the 9/11 attacks. It was the first opportunity to articulate what homeland security was. The strategy states, “Homeland security is a concerted

⁵² Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 346.

⁵³ Thakur, “A Political World View,” 348.

⁵⁴ Richard L. Hough, *Economic Assistance and Security: Rethinking US Policy* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1982), 59.

⁵⁵ Alhaji Ahmadu Ibrahim, “Issues in Security, Good Governance and its Challenges to Economic Growth and Development,” *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 13 (2013): 187.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Hough, *Economic Assistance and Security*, 59–60.

national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur."⁵⁸ The document goes on to explain that it is a companion to the *National Security Strategy* (NSS), and addresses terrorism in the U.S. by outlining an organizational framework to align efforts of federal, state, local and private organizations.⁵⁹ In doing so, it is clearly making a delineation between the two functions. Five years later, the 2007 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* tones down the terrorism focus but does not offer a revised definition of homeland security; however, it acknowledged that homeland security was a disparate collection of activities undertaken by several federal departments that were brought together by 9/11.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the 2010 *Department of Homeland Security Risk Lexicon* also does not carry a definition for homeland security.⁶¹

As seen from the summary above, journal research suggests a wider definition for homeland security than federal documents. It can encompass different things, often depending on the author's perspective. For DHS, the definition is primarily focused on addressing terrorism in its different phases. And while we settle on this definition for the research, it does not mean that the others are not without merit. On the contrary, they end up being essential when we attempt to link homeland security to national and economic security.

3. National Security

Unlike homeland security, national security is much better defined. The literature and doctrine differ on the ways to maintain



⁵⁸ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: White House, 2002), 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁰ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2007), 3.

⁶¹ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Department of Homeland Security Risk Lexicon 2010* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2010).

national security but offer similar perspectives on its contents—the ability to project militarily and politically both supported by economic strength. In *Thinking about National Security*, Brown argues,

national security is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to protect its nature, institutions, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders.⁶²

In Buzan, Wæver and DeWilds's analysis of securitization, he mentions the classic academic debate over whether to put politics before economics or the reverse, reflecting the liberal and mercantilistic views.⁶³ When viewing the issue of national security from the military perspective, Eisenhower observes the military definition of national security predisposes people to think that it is the accepted way of scoping the concept.⁶⁴

The first *National Security Strategy* (NSS) in 1987 characterizes national security as the blueprint for freedom, peace, and prosperity.⁶⁵ At the time, the United States was engaged in the Cold War with Russia. In the subsequent years, the NSS changed to reflect the prescient and emerging threats but the overall pillars of national security came from political, military and economic strength. The 15 national security strategies that followed outline the overall security strategy of the nation and consistently refer to how the national security pillars are used to ensure the safety and security of the nation.⁶⁶ The 2002 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* references the *National Security Strategy of the United States* identifying the national goals as “guarantee the sovereignty and independence of the United States, with the fundamental values

⁶² Harold Brown, *Thinking about National Security* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1983), 4.

⁶³ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 165.

⁶⁴ Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Genuine National Security: A People's Definition,” *Political Affairs* 67, no. 6 (1988): 16.

⁶⁵ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (1987).

⁶⁶ A more detailed review of the themes in each *National Security Strategy* can be found in the Analysis section.

and institutions intact.”⁶⁷ When defining its mission, the 2007 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* also provides clarity on the “instruments of national power and influence—diplomatic, information, military, economic, financial, intelligence.”⁶⁸

When an international issue area arises, the government begins using the political process to encourage the desired behavior from other nations. If a political solution cannot be found, the government may turn to economic levers (i.e., sanctions) in order to encourage change. When there is still no progress, military action may be necessary.

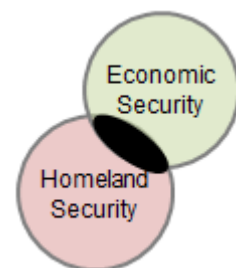
ES and HS are concatenations of several different activities, and their definitions are driven primarily by the lens of the person being asked, which leads to inconsistent interpretations. NS has existed longer and has been studied more extensively, leading to more consistency in function and definition. While the definitional foundation may be shaky, it does not prevent exploring what the connections are between these security elements.

B. CONNECTIONS

The previous section focused on the definitions for our key elements, here we explore the connection between those elements based on the definitions.

1. Economic Security—Homeland Security

There is no empirical nexus between ES and HS and little research connects the two elements together. This is likely because there is no common definition from which to make the comparison. Losman makes this the centerpiece of his article *Economic Security: A National Folly?*; he directly questions the validity that has been put into the importance of economic security and clearly states that military resources should not be used to promote economic security.



⁶⁷ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002), 5.

⁶⁸ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2007), 13.

Further, he points out that the ‘relationship’ between economic and homeland security has been assumed and the importance persists in domestic policy without any check for validation.⁶⁹ But it feels right doesn’t it...almost intuitive? ES and HS must be connected, it’s just a matter of finding out how.

As previously seen, Mijalković and Milošević believe that the two concepts are closely linked—economic interests support homeland security.⁷⁰ Losman disagrees, feeling that homeland security, or the military specifically, is used to sustain economic security.⁷¹ Kahler and Neocleous acknowledge that economic activities are part of statesmanship and that they serve as another way for a country to politically influence what is happening abroad.⁷² The continuum in Figure 5 shows the author’s respective positioning on the connection of ES to HS.

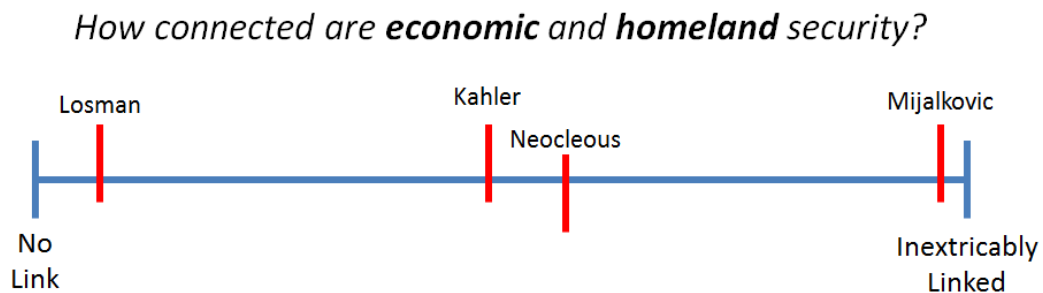


Figure 5. Author Interpretation of ES-HS Connection on Link Continuum

One theme in the research is the question of ‘How significant is ES to overall HS?’ Neocleous and Losman provide a brief historical summary of economic security and demonstrate that interest in ES has increased in the last 15 years. In addition, they rightfully ask if economic security is a truly significant

⁶⁹ Losman, “Economic Security,” 2.

⁷⁰ Mijalković, and Milošević, “Correlation between Economic, Corporate and national Security,” 439.

⁷¹ Losman, “Economic Security,” 1.

⁷² Kahler, “Economic Security in an Era of Globalization,” 491; Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 379.

issue or has it only gained significance because of the political rhetoric.⁷³ Thakur discusses how security oriented research supports the idea that investments in homeland security increases human security in “A Political World View.”⁷⁴ This is important because it highlights that the primary connection between economic security is not with homeland security but with national security. While the connection between ES and HS may (or may not) be inextricable, it is a less consequential relationship than ES and NS.

In 2011, DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano said economic and homeland security go hand in hand; “...the economy is dependent on our ability to secure and facilitate the flow of people and goods from our shores.”⁷⁵ A strong U.S. economy is part of the responsibility for customs and exchange as described in the 2010 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, “Strengthening our economy and promoting lawful trade, travel, and immigration must include security and resilience, just as security and resilience must include promoting a strong and competitive U.S. economy, welcoming lawful immigrants.”⁷⁶ This free flow of immigrants and the knowledge transfer is part of the domestic economic engine. The DHS web page mentioned in the definitions section also yielded no specific reference to the connection between economic and homeland security.⁷⁷ There are sections referring to the protection of intellectual property, fraud and counterfeiting and the disruption of terrorist financing. There are obvious connections to finance but they do not connect to any of the definitions mentioned in the previous section.

⁷³ Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 380; Losman, “Economic Security,” 5.

⁷⁴ Thakur, “A Political World View,” 347.

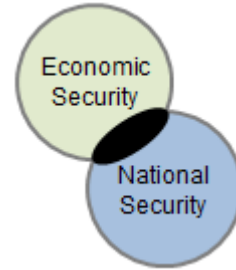
⁷⁵ Janet Napolitano, “2nd Annual Address on the State of America’s Homeland Security” (presented at National Press Club, Washington, DC, 2011).

⁷⁶ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2010), 16.

⁷⁷ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Economic Security.”

2. Economic Security—National Security

One of the key components of national security is economic security. The literature describes the connection more clearly (compared to homeland security) and discusses the significant role of globalization. Knorr clearly describes one view of the link between national security and economic security in a 1977 book chapter—two years before the mid-east oil embargo that cemented the economic security:



National security concerns arise when vital national values (i.e., core values) are perceived as being threatened by adverse foreign actions or events. What is regarded as ‘vital’ is a matter of subjective judgement depending on a nation’s hierarchy of values. There is no reason why economic values and particular patterns of economic life cannot be regarded as vital. Once these values are perceived as being vulnerable to external events, they naturally inspire security concerns and the desire to minimize these concerns.⁷⁸

Knorr also acknowledges the subjectiveness of including economic issues, and he reasoned when those economic issues are related to the countries overall health, they take on more significance. In their book *Security: New Framework for Analysis*, Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde discuss the securitization process and why the economic issue would be a focus; a concept that is discussed in detail in the analysis section.⁷⁹ In a NPS thesis, Siminiuc summarizes the relationship well when he states, “...security and stability, both political and social, are multi-dimensional concepts, and that economics is one of the most important drivers. Moreover, there is a direct link between economy and security.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Klaus Knorr, “Economic Interdependence and National Security,” in *Economic Issues and National Security*, ed. Klaus Eugen Knorr and Frank N Trager (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 8.

⁷⁹ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 26.

⁸⁰ Mona Siminiuc, “Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2005), 18.

In *National Economic Security*, von Geusau, von Geusau, and Pelkmans provides a broad definition of “national economic security” that includes economic policy as part of the broader concept of security.⁸¹ Pankov provides additional clarity by saying national economic security is a state of the national economy characterized by sustainability and immunity to the impact of internal and external factors that disrupt the normal process of living; although, as we will see, the impact of globalization may make this unrealistic.⁸²

In 2011, Shelia Ronis asks if economic security is an overlooked component of national security. She believes national security is traditionally focused on strength of infrastructure; however, national security should also include healthy economy and policies that promote that state.⁸³ In a work five years earlier, Neocleous asserts that the focus of national security appears to be outwards, concerning itself with international relations and foreign policy, and in doing so has buried a part of “national security,” that of social security.⁸⁴ If we consider social security to be part of economic security as suggested by Neocleous and as offered in the definition section of this thesis, there is a link between national and economic security.

An early view of the relationship between economic and national security can be seen in the Salera’s 1963 article, “An Approach to Economic Strategy,” in which he believes that the defense of the economy is too important to leave to the government which is already preoccupied with guiding (i.e., manipulating) the domestic economy suggesting that the military should be used to protect economic interests.⁸⁵ Almost 30 years later, Losman questions this relationship

⁸¹ von Geusau, von Geusau, and Pelkmans, *National Economic Security*, 241.

⁸² Pankov, “Economic Security,” 198.

⁸³ Sheila R. Ronis, ed. *Economic Security: Neglected Dimension of National Security?* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2011), viii.

⁸⁴ This note more clearly unites two threads from Neocleous’s work than in his original text. Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 364.

⁸⁵ Virgil Salera, “An Approach to Economic Strategy,” in *National Security: Political, Military, and Economic Strategies in the Decade Ahead*, ed. David M. Abshire, and Richard V. Allen (New York: Praeger, 1963): 658.

(although not in response to Salera) believing that “economic goals per se are inappropriate as national security objectives” although he is in the minority.⁸⁶ Kahler cites work from 1985 to support his belief that “Economic instruments have long been part of the toolkit of statecraft, a mean to influence other states and their policies.”⁸⁷ The political benefits from economic manipulation continue to be an important tool in international affairs.

In a 2010 commencement address to West Point graduates, President Obama said, “...our strength abroad begins with the steps we take at home. We must grow our economy and reduce our deficit.”⁸⁸ Two years after the 2008 financial downturn, he reinforced the importance of domestic economic strength to support other levers of national power. Yet, Losman believes that the “economic content of national security policy” has rarely been put to an “intellectual or logical test—it has simply been accepted.”⁸⁹

The 2002 *National Security Strategy* highlights the importance of globalization because a strong and robust global economy improves U.S. national security by promoting robust economies and prosperity in the world.⁹⁰ Eight years later (and two years after the 2008 recession), the theme is echoed in another national security strategy: “As we rebuild the economic strength upon which our leadership depends, we are working to advance the balanced and sustainable growth upon which global prosperity and stability depends.”⁹¹ This emphasizes the need for economic rebuilding and the importance of international cooperation therein.

⁸⁶ Losman, “Economic Security,” 1.

⁸⁷ Kahler, “Economic Security in an Era of Globalization,” 486.

⁸⁸ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: White House, 2010), i.

⁸⁹ Losman, “Economic Security,” 2.

⁹⁰ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002), 17.

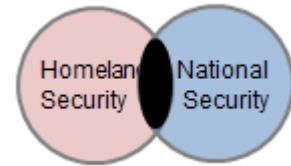
⁹¹ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2010), 4.

A clear connection between domestic economic strength and national power is evident in the 2010 *National Security Strategy*, where it states, “Our prosperity serves as a wellspring for our power. It pays for our military, underwrites our diplomacy and development efforts, and serves as a leading source of our influence in the world.”⁹² The domestic economy must be robust enough to sustain national strength and future growth. This is a deterrent to enemies and supports defense.⁹³

The link between ES and NS is stronger than that of ES and HS. The inclusion of ES with NS also introduces the concept of securitization (i.e., does the economy become a security issue because it is now tied to national security). This importance is reinforced by the economy being part of statesmanship.

3. Homeland Security—National Security

The connection between homeland and national security can be inferred from the definitions—one focusing inward and the other internationally. Bellavita describes the



connection as “Homeland security is an element of national security that works with the other instruments of national power to protect the U.S. against threats and aggression.”⁹⁴ When speaking of globalization, Lewis provides specific examples to illustrate his similar belief “national security clearly falls within the purview of the Department of Defense and for critical infrastructure protection, the Department of Homeland Security.”⁹⁵ Kahan believes “homeland security is best seen as a delimited discipline encompassed within the ever-broadening and highly generalized definition of national security.”⁹⁶

⁹² Ibid., 9.

⁹³ George Arthur Lincoln, *Economics of National Security: Managing America’s Resources for Defense* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1954), 5.

⁹⁴ Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security,” 2.

⁹⁵ James Andrew Lewis, *Globalization and National Security: Maintaining U.S. Technological Leadership and Economic Strength* (Washington, DC: CSIS Press, 2004), 33.

⁹⁶ Jerome H. Kahan, “What’s in a Name? The Meaning of Homeland Security,” *Journal of Homeland Security Education* 2 (2013): 12.

The definition of homeland security continues to undergo clarification, not by explicit definition but by description of relationship. In the 2010 *National Security Strategy* there is a movement away from strict responsibilities and move towards blend of the areas:

We are now moving beyond traditional distinctions between homeland and national security. National security draws on the strength and resilience of our citizens, communities, and economy. ... It must also include a commitment to building a more secure and resilient nation, while maintaining open flows of goods and people.⁹⁷

This suggests that portions of economic security reside both domestically and internationally. What of issues like borders, drugs, crime, or domestic and international immigration? These also do not stay in one “box,” yet each has impacts on economic stability.⁹⁸

It is also important to recognize, as Morag does in *Comparative Homeland Security*, that the construct of homeland security is a uniquely American concept.⁹⁹ The nation's geographic boundaries and location have allowed it to believe that issues take place within and outside its borders thus it is hard to compare with other nations who see homeland and national security as one in the same. Bellavita asks why maintain an artificial separation of homeland security and homeland defense.¹⁰⁰ Then it would be a sub-set of national security and function as another lever of national power.¹⁰¹

While the definitions vary in clarity, there are connections between the different security elements. They each support the other although in different degrees and with different outcomes. For instance, ES is not only a component

⁹⁷ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2010), 10.

⁹⁸ Anthony J. Blinken, “‘Is Anybody Out There Listening?’ Communicating Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era,” in *Economic Strategy and National Security: A Next Generation Approach*, ed. Patrick J. DeSouza (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 84.

⁹⁹ Nadav Morag, “Does Homeland Security Exist Outside the United States?,” *Homeland Security Affairs* 7 no.2 (2011): 1, <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/24985>

¹⁰⁰ Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security,” 11.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

of HS but the primary driver for NS and HS is a component of the broader NS element. This description helps explain some of the different social, economic, and political impacts that are discussed in the literature.

C. IMPACT

We have explored the definitions of our key terms and examined how the body of knowledge describes their link to one another. Now, we investigate the economic, social and political impact of these connections.

1. Social

In the definition section, we saw that there are social components to both economic and homeland security. The 2013 *World Economic Forum Global Risks Report* states, “Resilience is being able to bounce back faster after stress, enduring greater stresses and being disturbed less by a given amount of stress by finding out different ways to carry out essential functions.”¹⁰² Said in another way, personal resilience is needed to maintain quality of life. Frustration and social tension caused by socio-economic inequality is a significant driver of social fragility within a country.¹⁰³ Therefore, as Panakov describes, in effect, the least developed countries constantly lack economic security, balancing on the brink of survival, and relying on humanitarian aid from the world community.¹⁰⁴ The following research better connects the impacts of these two areas.



Eisenhower questioned in “Genuine National Security” that when domestic economic resources are constrained (from increasing national security funding), how can the U.S. maintain our security commitments without further impacting

¹⁰² World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2013*, 8th ed. (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2013), 37.

¹⁰³ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 10th ed. (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2015), 15.

¹⁰⁴ Pankov, “Economic Security,” 195.

social wellbeing?¹⁰⁵ Neu believes a general level of economic output is needed to ensure sufficient resources can be diverted to support military strength.¹⁰⁶ However, Thakur asserts that cloaking something in the “national security” moniker privileges the military sector, allowing for the diversion of money for armaments rather than addressing chronic issues of hunger, disease, shelter, crime, and environmental hazards—effectively supporting Eisenhower’s perspective.¹⁰⁷

Shiffman believes if a country invests too much on one area (e.g., U.S. in tech/finance), then the other sectors will not benefit from that economic growth, ultimately leading to a small group benefiting from growth rather than societal benefits spreading. Government and private capital feed growth areas rather than being more diverse investment.¹⁰⁸ Is this contributing to economic disparity, which leads to frustration, possible HS issues? President Bush in the 2002 *National Security Strategy* eludes to this possibility by stating, “Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murders. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.”¹⁰⁹

Moghaddam, in a series of books, believes that Muslim fundamentalists view globalization as a significant threat against which they must defend themselves and their traditional heritage.¹¹⁰ While it does not justify their actions, it provides one explanation of the possible genesis. Moghaddam goes on to posit, “Widespread identity crisis in Islamic communities underlies the present

¹⁰⁵ Eisenhower, “Genuine National Security,” 18.

¹⁰⁶ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 37.

¹⁰⁷ Thakur, “A Political World View,” 347.

¹⁰⁸ Gary M. Shiffman, *Economic Instruments of Security Policy: Influencing Choices of Leaders* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 149.

¹⁰⁹ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002), v.

¹¹⁰ Fathali M. Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism: The Lopsided Benefits of ‘One World’ and Why That Fuels Violence* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 6.

radicalization being experienced by these communities, as well as the terrorism emanating from them.”¹¹¹

Income disparity and the threat of lost employment as a result of globalization adds stress to westerners’ lives as well. As Moghaddam explains, “Westerners also feel threatened by globalization; and this perceived threat is not just limited to the economic arena. It has resulted in a retrenchment among Americans, a genuine concern about their national identity.”¹¹² Those in the United States and those who are having globalization thrust on them are concerned about the impact, and it affects their behavior in different ways. Globalization creates feeling of lack of control over the environment around people and may foster a sense of relative deprivation (how well-off a person feels in relation to a perceived benchmark) in egoistical (personal) and fraternal (group) identities.¹¹³

In a speech given by President Bush in 2002, he stated, “Poverty doesn’t create terror—yet, terror takes root in failing nations that cannot police themselves or provide for their people. Our conscience and our interests speak as one: to achieve a safer world, or must create a better world.” His belief was that if the U.S. and other western countries could improve the economic situation in countries with social unrest, it may decrease the likelihood of terrorism.¹¹⁴

2. Economic

The 2000 *National Security Strategy* observes that globalization is an unstoppable trend in the post-Cold War international system and has led to bigger exposure to international



¹¹¹ Ibid., 47.

¹¹² Ibid., 6.

¹¹³ Ibid., 49.

¹¹⁴ George W. Bush, “Remarks to a Special Session of The German Bundestag” (presented at German Bundestag, May 23, 2002, Berlin), <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2002/10418.htm>

crime and unfair competition.¹¹⁵ Yet Reese believes the increasing globalization of business operations has made the local economy more susceptible to shocks and uncertainty triggered in other parts of the world.¹¹⁶ Initial economic models were designed to foster self-sufficiency; economic globalization brought the need to increase cooperation (and security) with partners.¹¹⁷ Therefore, as President Obama stated, more flexibility with domestic policy is needed to adapt to external conditions.¹¹⁸

Several authors agree that economic globalization has made all world economies more connected. As such, national economies are less insulated from economic shocks on the other side of the world. As stated in *Economic Security in an Era of Globalization* and the *2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, unintended consequences with global impacts may occur as a result of increased system connectedness and complexity.¹¹⁹

The 1997 *National Security Strategy* (NSS) maintains that a priority for economic strategy is domestic strength; for through this strength we can project ourselves globally (military and U.S. values).¹²⁰ Yet three years later, the NSS states that prosperity for the United States and others is linked to economic conditions abroad, and we must do our part to maintain global economic stability.¹²¹ Most recently, Mijalković and Milošević observe that economic self-sufficiency is a means of successful defense (i.e., national security).¹²²

¹¹⁵ White House, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age* (Washington D.C: The White House, 2000), 29.

¹¹⁶ Reese, *Defining Homeland Security*.

¹¹⁷ Siminiuc, "Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership," 16.

¹¹⁸ Peeters, "National Economic Security and the Maintenance of the Welfare State," 37.

¹¹⁹ Kahler, "Economic Security in an Era of Globalization," 489; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014), 25.

¹²⁰ Patrick DeSouza, "Introduction and Overview," in *Economic Strategy and National Security: A Next Generation Approach*, ed. Patrick J. DeSouza (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 6.

¹²¹ White House, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, 35.

¹²² Mijalković and Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," 439.

Pankov points out that international economic security is closely related with the national economic security of all countries in the world. Therefore, if countries want national economic security, they need to support policies that reinforce a stable international economy.¹²³ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde write about the attempt post WWII for universal economic security, but it broke apart along ideological (i.e., east/west) lines.¹²⁴ Mondale provides additional detail of this period indicating there was initial international (western) economic stability but when east/third world countries joined there was less insulation from shock; the addition of “fourth world” countries only made the situation more unpredictable.¹²⁵

A threat to economic security does not come from loss of an individual or group; it comes from lack of adherence to the rules and systems that govern the relationship.¹²⁶ In his 2005 NPS thesis, Siminiuc highlights the benefits supporting just such policies: ...

European integration was a great victory for both sides of the Atlantic. Overall, it was a positive-sum game because pursuing one goal, security, helped achieve the other, economic growth, and conversely the new objectives and institutions of the economy were instruments for security policy.¹²⁷

Fiscal crisis in key countries can significantly affect the global economic stability, leading to economic downturn in vulnerable countries and the potential for increased unemployment.¹²⁸ One nation’s failure to address economic risks can have a downstream impact on global economy because of this interconnectedness.¹²⁹ For instance, Germany’s demands for Greek austerity

¹²³ Pankov, “Economic Security,” 198.

¹²⁴ Walter F. Mondale, “Beyond Détente: Toward International Economic Security,” *Foreign Affairs* 53, no. 1 (1974): 4.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹²⁶ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 107.

¹²⁷ Siminiuc, “Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership,” 76.

¹²⁸ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 21.

¹²⁹ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2013*, 36.

during the 2014–2015 debt crisis is emblematic of this interrelationship and only hints at the complexity of similar issues. This type of economic interconnectedness increases the complexity of any geopolitical conflict.¹³⁰

Mijalković and Milošević believe fiscal policy is just another tool to promote positive relationships and prosperous exchange between other nations.¹³¹ They also observe, “economic wars, blockades and sanctions are applied with the goal of disabling the enemy country’s economy and, indirectly, its military potential.”¹³² Most authors acknowledge that nations use economic incentives to encourage other governments to behave in certain ways, often favoring political allies. Where they differ is on the extent of the influence and whether it should be used for political gains at a national level. The World Economic Forum’s *Global Risks* reports clearly state its belief that the impact of globalization on economics needs to be understood more fully.¹³³

When commenting about the creation of economic security, Neocleous reveals his belief that security should not be viewed as a thing but rather as an organizing principle that will then allow organizations to align their efforts to improve the social order.¹³⁴ The World Economic Forum expresses concern around how the global economic fragility (in the attempt to achieve economic security) is diverting resources away from other social and political issues because it is not a broader concept.¹³⁵ However, the U.S. 2002 *National Security Strategy* suggests the opposite is true—social issues can be addressed through economic means and strengthen ties between nations. According to the 2002 the *National Security Strategy*:

¹³⁰ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 16.

¹³¹ Mijalković, and Milošević, “Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security,” 439.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 28.

¹³⁴ Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 376.

¹³⁵ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2013*, 17.

Free trade and free markets have proven their ability to lift whole societies out of poverty—so the United States will work with individual nations, entire regions and the entire global trading community to build a world that trades in freedom and therefore grows in prosperity.¹³⁶

In Cable's article "What is International Security," he explores what happens when a country is dependent on external sources for critical technology and materials; likely a nation would only trade with its closest partners and seek to produce critical elements when possible.¹³⁷ This example may cause other countries may decide to hedge against the impacts of global economic issues by engaging in more regional trade (economic regionalism) in order to resist shock.¹³⁸

The health of the U.S. economy relies on the ability to securely facilitate the movement of people and goods across our borders.¹³⁹ Yet in the 2010 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, it states that the exploitation of lawful travel and traffic systems for smuggling and trafficking are a threat to economic health, and this is considered a component of managing our borders.¹⁴⁰

The 2010 NSS links domestic economic health with the ability for our government to have influence in other areas of the world. The 2010 *National Security Strategy of the United States* explains:

...what takes place within our borders will determine our strength and influence beyond them. This truth is only heightened in a world of greater interconnection—a world in which our prosperity is inextricably linked to global prosperity, our security can be directly challenged by developments across an ocean, and our actions are scrutinized as never before. At the center of our efforts is a

¹³⁶ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002), vi.

¹³⁷ Cable, "What is International Economic Security?," 313.

¹³⁸ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 113.

¹³⁹ Napolitano, "2nd Annual Address on the State of America's Homeland Security," 2.

¹⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2010), 25.

commitment to renew our economy, which serves as the wellspring of American power.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, this NSS claims that American strength comes from economy and the ability for us to remain relevant and influential in world events. International cooperation with economic policies becomes much harder when U.S. economic position is weaker, which reduces our national economic health.¹⁴²

The pace of economic globalization is unrelenting. It is driven by the need for larger markets to sell products and services, resulting in sustaining economic strength. In an effort to prevent economic shocks associated with tight connections, international standards have been established, but in doing so there has been a shift in political power.

3. Political

Improvements in the global economy and related prosperity (for most) will lead to increased political stability; however, countries that are not able to realize the benefits of integration will see stagnation and more political unrest, creating an environment for political, ethnic, and cultural extremism and associated violence.¹⁴³ A state's position in the international political-security hierarchy is driven by its economic power.¹⁴⁴ The World Economic Forum observes that some countries achieve a strategic advantage by using trade relationships to project geopolitical power.¹⁴⁵ But what happens when countries are not able to make political decisions because of economic encumbrances? In "Genuine National Security: A People's Definition," Eisenhower makes the case that the U.S. has become a debtor nation and this



¹⁴¹ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2010), 2.

¹⁴² Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 18.

¹⁴³ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Non-Government Experts* (Washington DC: National Intelligence Council, 2000), 10.

¹⁴⁴ Mijalković, and Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," 439.

¹⁴⁵ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 29.

may cause leaders to adjust fiscal and monetary policy to suit our creditors because they hold significant sway in our economic health.¹⁴⁶ Though, economic power and vulnerability can exist simultaneously, a creditor nation has power over a debtor but if the debtor defaults it will also be the creditor that suffers (e.g., China holding a significant amount of U.S. debt).¹⁴⁷

Cabel raises the issue that global political strength (or the strength of countries on the global stage) may be decreasing due to: “In practice what is slowly emerging is a complex hierarchy of institutions and informal arrangements at national, regional and global level (and points in between) to deal, case by case, with various economic security threats.”¹⁴⁸ These institutions are outside of the state-system and do not have the same level of accountability as an elected official—they are a proxy.

The U.S. cannot avoid using trade as strategy to provide leverage over others in international affairs.¹⁴⁹ Neu points out that the world is a dangerous place, and there may be times when, for the protection of our interests—economic or otherwise—military force will be needed.¹⁵⁰ However, if non-state actors (business firms and non-profits) will play a more significant role in global issues, they will decrease the state’s ability to regulate issues that affect them.¹⁵¹

Establishing economic security priorities should not be influenced by political considerations because, as Medevdev observes, doing so obscures

¹⁴⁶ Eisenhower, “Genuine National Security,” 18.

¹⁴⁷ Clark A. Murdock, “Economic Factors as Objects of Security: Economics, Security and Vulnerability,” in *Economic Issues and National Security*, ed. Klaus Eugen Knorr and Frank N Trager (Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 79.

¹⁴⁸ Cable, “What is International Economic Security?,” 324.

¹⁴⁹ Salera, “An Approach to Economic Strategy,” 659.

¹⁵⁰ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 36.

¹⁵¹ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015*, 10.

which problems require immediate attention.¹⁵² The 2000 NSS observes that countries with emerging markets will likely seek a stronger voice in international economic policy.¹⁵³ This may give more weight to a smaller country or economy than it would normally have because of its size or military strength, possibly complicating the political relationship between countries. Neu and Wolf believe there is a recognized connection between the health of the domestic economic economy and the ability to influence international policy.¹⁵⁴ In *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, the authors explicate:

The most basic elements of the international commercial infrastructure have been the freedom of peaceful international passage for trade purposes and the sanctity of property rights. Throughout its history, the U.S. has exercised its diplomatic and military muscle to protect U.S. access to international shipping routes or exploitation of U.S. owned foreign assets from confiscation or expropriation.¹⁵⁵

An increase in prosperity leads to improved social conditions and political stabilization. Globalization is a driving force behind this prosperity; however, exposure to new cultures can lead to violence and economic partnerships can reduce overall political control.

Unclear definitions in the literature do not prohibit describing the interactions between economic, homeland, and national security elements or the social, economic, and political impacts they have. We can see that there is a complex network of interactions, complicated by external forces like globalization. Applying specific research methods allows a more detailed analysis of the literature and leads to some surprising results.

¹⁵² Vladimir Medvedev, "Problems of Russia's Economic Security," *Problems of Economic Transition* 40, no. 9 (1998): 21.

¹⁵³ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015*, 38.

¹⁵⁴ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

III. ANALYSIS

Through the analysis, we find the security elements have some level of definitional clarity, often driven by a narrow focus; however, when viewed as a component in a complex system, the relationship of ES, HS, and NS becomes cloudy. The definitions put forth in the literature examination (primarily in doctrine) are at odds with the scholarly research. The connections between security elements are misaligned and do not reflect the correct importance or relationship that exists. The analysis process is summarized in Figure 6.

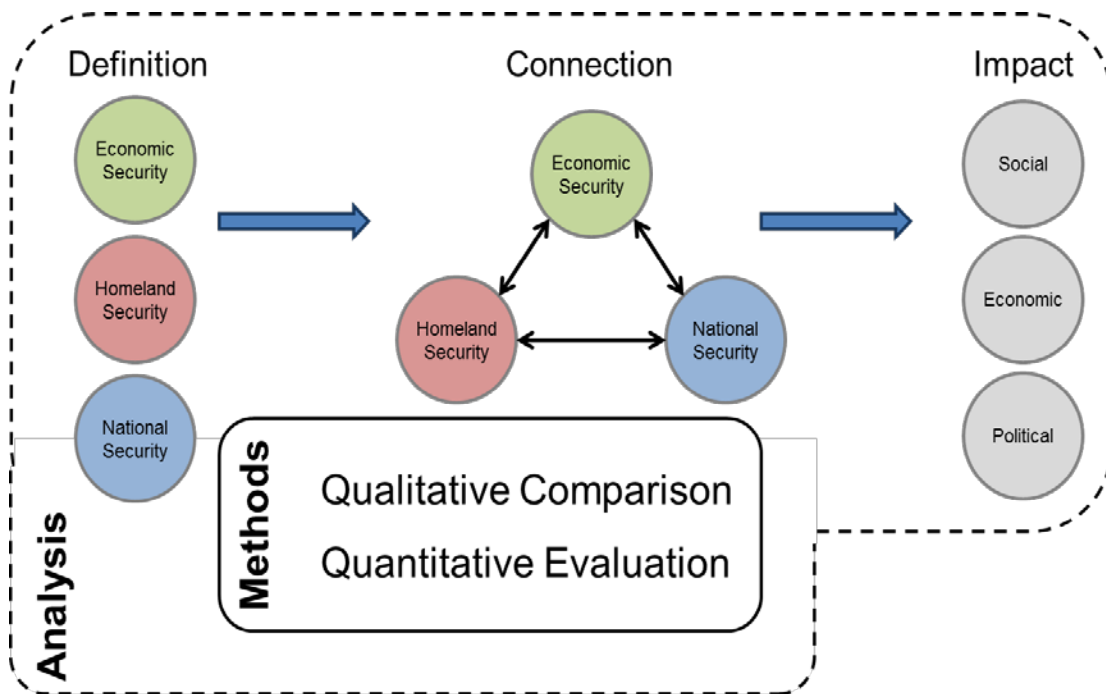


Figure 6. Analysis Process

A. DEFINITIONS

A review of the literature and doctrine related to each element reveals there is a difference in how economic and national security are discussed in these sources. Most of the literature focuses on the relationship between economic security and national security. None of the materials had a discussion

about all of the elements together, and as such the definitions are focused more narrowly.

1. Economic Security

ES has been discussed for decades, but economic globalization has made it a more pressing issue. Many authors believe that the ambiguity of the concept means that definition of economic security, like homeland security, is dependent on the values of the individual studying it. The definition of security is inherently fluid because it is often based on the context and the relationship of the item to which it is being compared.¹⁵⁶ While there certainly are components of human security related to overall economic security, the central area to explore is the macro connection between economic security, homeland, and national security. Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde consider ES a heterogeneous security complex because it spans several geopolitical levels (e.g., individual, sub-state, state, and super-state entities).¹⁵⁷



For an individual, the definition of economic security may be similarly subjective. Absolute poverty is an issue for the 2.5 billion people who live on less than \$2 per day.¹⁵⁸ However, many individuals base their perception of their own economic security using the benchmark of how well those around them are doing, not on an absolute scale. An individual may be doing well (based on standard benchmark); however, when compared with others, they feel they have less.¹⁵⁹ This is summarized as absolute deprivation (absence of basic human needs) versus perceived deprivation (having less than others). Perceived position in social circles is very important. Marmot describes a study in *The Status Syndrome* where individuals are asked which situation they would

¹⁵⁶ Siminiuc, "Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership," 9.

¹⁵⁷ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 16.

¹⁵⁸ Michael G. Marmot, *The Status Syndrome: How Social Standing Affects Our Health and Longevity* (New York: Times Books: 2004), 73.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 64.

prefer— making \$125,000 per year while their peers make \$100,000 per year or making \$175,000 while their peers make \$200,000 per year. In both cases, basic needs have been met, but people feel “better” when they perceive they have more than those around them instead of when they actually have more.¹⁶⁰

Perhaps economic security is a misnomer because of global supply-chain integration. Economic security is more an issue associated with developing economies, but it can exist in all economies. The dependence of the U.S on other countries for trade means that we will never be truly “secure” because tight coupling means that significant shocks elsewhere (over which we may have little sway) will also have significant impacts domestically.

It would be foolish not to recognize that perceptions of economic security change over time; they are often tied to the overall sentiment of the nation. If there is another recession like 2008, the view of ES may change yet again.¹⁶¹ Does ES encompass many other concepts, or is it part of human security (as several authors have explored)? Individual economic security has been addressed by insurance plans, personal savings, homeownership, etc. In effect, there are already private sector solutions for these problems.¹⁶² Is social security economic security or does ES provide social security, which leads to human security and then homeland security?

In “Perceptions of Economic Security,” Hager rightly suggests that social security was once considered a safety net for a catastrophic event; it came to be viewed as a program to ensure the public’s comfort. Will economic security, as a macro concept, be turned into something needed for every day and not just significant events?¹⁶³ Will the public begin to expect that the government will

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 96.

¹⁶¹ Wolfgang Hager, “Perceptions of Economic Security,” in *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies*, ed. Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), 19.

¹⁶² Losman, “Economic Security,” 2.

¹⁶³ Hager, “Perceptions of Economic Security,” 21.

take steps to ensure economic security and business solvency rather than let market conditions prevail?

Let us consider for a moment the Soviet Union in the decades after World War II. Economic sanctions and funding an arms race with the U.S. created an environment of extreme economic insecurity that eventually led to the country's collapse. This suggests that not meeting essential economic needs may be linked to political instability and potential (significant) political impacts. The *2010 National Security Strategy* rightly notes that a “balanced and sustainable growth, at home and throughout the global economy, drives the momentum of the U.S. economy and underpins our prosperity.”¹⁶⁴ These types of actions bolster domestic political strength and maintain a solid foundation—unlike what occurred in the Soviet Union. Although the shift in view of security away from tangible (physical) to more conceptual (political, economic),¹⁶⁵ there is still a strong relationship with national security.

2. Homeland Security

Uniting 22 agencies in the wake of 9/11 into one agency (DHS) to increase information sharing and unite disparate activities had the unintended consequence of creating an agency whose mission became so broad that it has defied definition. The Department of Homeland Security has, in effect, become a dumping ground for many items, which makes agreeing on a definition of homeland security very difficult. As a result, for the last 15 years DHS has led a fractured existence, defined as much about what it does than what it does not do. As such, when looking for a definition of homeland security multiple are available.



The 2002 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* released just months after 9/11 states, “terrorism directly threatens the foundations of our Nation—our

¹⁶⁴ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2010), 31.

¹⁶⁵ Watson, *U.S. National Security*, 4.

people, our democratic way of life, and our economic prosperity.”¹⁶⁶ This established some direction for the nation, but after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the need to help communities respond to natural hazards took center stage. This caused Bellavita and others to ask if homeland security should focus on “meta hazards,” where there are areas of confluence for issues, conditions, etc., that affect many other areas (e.g., fiscal, infrastructure, education) and require a “view” higher up than the local level.¹⁶⁷ When looking at HS as an all hazards activity, the amount of money spent on terrorism contradicts this definition. The homeland security vision articulated in 2007 national strategy is very broad, including everyone (i.e., citizens) working together to ensure a free, wealthy, and friendly nation.¹⁶⁸ In a 2012 Congressional research report, Reese furthered Bellavita’s research and describes that the events of 9/11 precipitated the creation of the DHS with the initial intent to focus on terrorism. That definition was expanded in 2005 after Hurricane Katrina “include[s] significant disasters, major public health emergencies, and other events that threaten the United States, the economy, and the rule of law...”¹⁶⁹ This may create global description that works in doctrine, but the actual department dysfunction does not align with goals.

By clearly defining HS, resources could be better aligned to support the department mission, and other items that do not align could be grouped under the broader heading of NS. As it is, with no formal definition and a handbag collection of activities under the umbrella, DHS’s mission remains murky (do what I do, not what I say) and allows homeland security practitioners to define homeland security as they see fit.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002), 7.

¹⁶⁷ Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security,” 10.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁹ Reese, *Defining Homeland Security*, 1.

¹⁷⁰ Kahan, “What’s in a Name?,” 8.

There are only a handful of authors who explore if homeland security should address basic human needs issues. For example, in *Economic Assistance and Security*, Hough believes that the conceptual connection with HS is difficult to sustain without the belief that supporting public education is a homeland security issue.¹⁷¹ No clear HS definition leads to the “securitization” of unrelated issues, which then fall under the DHS umbrella and there is no way for anyone to push back. As the DHS responsibility grows, so does the definition of HS; thus, it becomes easier to define HS by what it is not than by what it is.

There are also additional responsibilities that some believe should fall under homeland security (e.g., energy availability, global quality of life, global disease and hunger, population growth). Rather than saddle DHS with these additional responsibilities, should these be shifted to a national security umbrella so the agency can maintain focus?¹⁷² Because there is no good answer and no will to change (legislatively or otherwise), these questions are likely to persist. While the definitions for homeland security may range significantly, Bellavita concludes and the researcher agrees, the most commonly accepted definition relates to the prevention, protection, and recovery from terrorist activities.¹⁷³

3. National Security

Attempting to narrow down definitions for economic and homeland security is more challenging than national security. There has been a tremendous amount of research, most of which fairly consistently defines national security as the ability to maintain the nation’s physical boundaries, economic relations, and social institutions from outside threats. Even though the field is well discussed, it does not mean that continuing discussion is not warranted. The field of security studies was narrowly defined during the Cold War and focused primarily on military issues. Buzan,



¹⁷¹ Hough, *Economic Assistance and Security*, 62.

¹⁷² Kahan, “What’s in a Name?,” 5.

¹⁷³ Bellavita, “Changing Homeland Security,” 4.

Wæver, and De Wilde argue that the scope must be expanded to better reflect the breadth of issues that have an impact on the security field. However, they bound this expansion by offering that any additions must pose an “existential threat to a referent object” and not just a regular political issue.¹⁷⁴ If economic stability is a requirement of national security, does that make it part of the security discussion? This will be explored in the next section.

Definitions for the security elements based on the literature review were vague. While clearer descriptions would permit more consistent comparison across the body of knowledge, through the analysis we have found that they are “good enough” and a meaningful study of the connections between these elements can continue.

B. CONNECTIONS

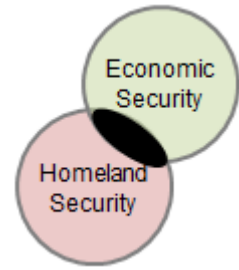
Of equal or greater importance than the definitions are the connections that exist between the elements. While it may seem the definition would drive the relationship, the reverse is often true; by seeing how these elements are related, we can also clarify their definition. In a summary of 1994 conference proceedings on the economic dimensions of national security, Neu and Wolf advocate that any discussion of economic policy must explore the relationship through an outward (international) and inward (domestic) looking lens.¹⁷⁵ This suggests that the economy has key relationships with both HS and NS and gives us a starting point for our exploration.

¹⁷⁴ This is a combination of themes contained over multiple pages in the introduction of the book. It is summarized here to establish that securitization now extends beyond the initial context but still relates to existential threats. Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 1–15.

¹⁷⁵ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 6.

1. Economic Security—Homeland Security

Domestically, the connection between ES and HS was cemented after World War II during the implementation of the Marshall plan; economic support was provided to the allies to help them rebuild. The literature review revealed that authors are consistently inconsistent when describing the impact of economic success (security) and the resulting human (homeland) security. Said another way, no one has said how the concepts are connected; people just assume they are and then begin discussing the impacts.



Dilution and lack of clarity concerning the DHS mission have occurred because many related and unrelated activities were grouped together when the department was created. None of the major responsibilities that have been transitioned to other agencies, DHS continues to operate with the untenable goal of being all things to all people. The 2010 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* attempts to clarify the context in which homeland security exists. Interestingly, it does not say what homeland security is; rather, it defines the boundaries in relation to other activities:

With the establishment of homeland security, and the linking of domestic security concerns to broader national security interests and institutions, there is a temptation to view homeland security so broadly as to encompass all national security and domestic policy activities. This is not the case. Homeland security is deeply rooted in the security and resilience of the Nation, and facilitating lawful interchange with the world. As such, it intersects with many other functions of government. Homeland security is built upon critical law enforcement functions, but is not about preventing all crimes or administering our Nation's judicial system. It is deeply embedded in trade activities, but is neither trade nor economic policy. It requires international engagement, but is not responsible for foreign affairs."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2010), 13.

The phrases “lawful interchange with the world” and “homeland security is deeply embedded in trade activities but neither trade nor economic policy” acknowledges the connection to economic related activities but does not see homeland security as the primary force driving them. In fact, there is minimal mention of ES on the DHS website; it only appears when discussing border and intellectual property protection as previously mentioned. Following September 11, there was additional exploration of how economic policy could be used to foster HS. In the years following, there was a specific House of Representatives committee on economic security; however, a few years later, it was subsumed into other sub-committees suggesting a decrease in relevance. It is unclear why this change was made unless it was to elevate the importance of infrastructure, cyber-security, etc., which themselves are manifestations of economic security.

Some of the literature in years following 9/11 suggests ES and HS are at odds. For example, articles talk about need for homeland security and tightening border protection but not so much that it impacts the flow of commerce. Lewis believes, “homeland security initiatives accelerate the loss of technological and economic leadership” because there is a lack of associated innovation.¹⁷⁷ These are essential elements of economic security because by pushing jobs and investment out and restricting entrance of skilled labor, the very resource that the U.S. needs to maintain its economic engine, is withheld. This international economic integration decreases domestic economic security because we do not know what the impact will be.

The 2014 QHSR states that due to financial constraints, the capacity of the nation’s public health system has declined in recent years. This decrease in capability is a significant obstacle to carrying out the health mission during a disaster.¹⁷⁸ This means there is a direct connection between ES conditions and negative impacts on HS. Thus, we must decide which is more important in order

¹⁷⁷ Lewis, *Globalization and National Security*, 6.

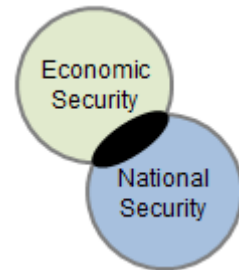
¹⁷⁸ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014), 24.

to make cost-benefit decisions, but the unclear definitions and complexity of the relationship (discussed on the interconnectedness section) make this a difficult task.

Is the relationship between ES and HS transposable so that the same exchange exists if the roles are reversed? I do not believe so; ES is supported by HS but the stronger relationship is the benefit HS gets from ES.

2. Economic Security—National Security

The connection between ES and NS is well established in the literature. Economic strength is one of the key pillars of national strength and provides the foundation from which the U.S. can project itself globally; however, it is unique to the U.S. that these concepts are separated. In many other countries, they are considered one in the same, and when there is a discussion about one, it is inferred that the other is included.



A condition for economic security as it currently exists is the expansion to new markets in order to maintain profits. Following World War II, there was a continual economic expansion into Europe and over the last several decades into Asia. The international economy plays a considerable role in domestic economic conditions; therefore, foreign policy and national security should support policies that strengthen the international economy.¹⁷⁹ The 2015 *National Security Strategy* clearly states the importance of the economy domestically and internationally:

The American economy is an engine for global economic growth and a source of stability for the international system. In addition to being a key measure of power and influence in its own right, it underwrites our military strength and diplomatic influence. A strong

¹⁷⁹ Mondale, "Beyond Détente," 23.

economy, combined with a prominent U.S. presence in the global financial system, creates opportunities to advance our security.¹⁸⁰

This reinforces the role of the economy as underwriting U.S. military and diplomatic strength. According to Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde:

Major economic breakdown would have repercussions not only in the economic sector but also in terms of political and military security. Attempting to prevent such a breakdown and to retain the known productive efficiencies of the liberal international economic order is the main globalizing dynamic for economic security.¹⁸¹

Securitization of economic issues elevates their importance and suggests that they require additional protection because of their relationship to national security.¹⁸² This also makes ES subservient to NS. Does a country securitize economic issues because of concerns for the impact on private firms or because the overall impact on the country's strength will decrease? It is also important to consider second and third order effects (i.e., indirect) if something were to happen that is ES related.

There is no debate that political influence is tied to economic policies; Kahler, Mijalković, Mondale, and Neocleous all refer to this connection in their works. Pankov believes that national economic security for countries with developing economies is much more dependent on international economic conditions.¹⁸³ Asian countries are more vulnerability to economic impacts if there is political turmoil. For example, the Vietnamese/Chinese relationship is cited as an (eastern) example that can serve as comparison to U.S. (western) economy. The global economic interconnectedness mentioned earlier underscores the influence the economic policies of mature nations can have on those with developing economies. Ichikowitz supports the theory that countries that have

¹⁸⁰ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: White House, 2015), 15.

¹⁸¹ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 112.

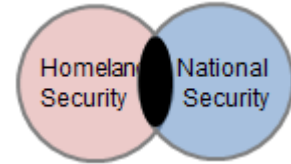
¹⁸² Mijalković and Milošević, "Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security," 451.

¹⁸³ Pankov, "Economic Security," 198.

invested (and then provided) more domestic security saw an increase in economic stability (security).¹⁸⁴

3. Homeland Security—National Security

Jane Holl Lute, former Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security, said in her 2011 speech to the American Bar Association, “National security is strategic, it’s centralized, it’s top-driven. Homeland security is operational, it’s transactional, it’s decentralized, it’s bottom-driven.”¹⁸⁵ This statement clearly articulates the different focuses of the disciplines and helps delineates responsibility. With Bellavita’s earlier explanation that HS is an element of NS,¹⁸⁶ we have a good idea of how these elements are related.



In a lecture to Center for Homeland Defense and Security students, Masals discussed new multilateralism, stating, “the boundaries between foreign and domestic policy are gone.”¹⁸⁷ HS and NS should not be viewed as separate activities (which is a view unique to the United States); rather, they are one in the same and should be treated as such. America can learn from other countries and their approach to security (homeland and national) because many of the issues are transnational and need resources from both “sides” to cooperate and work together.¹⁸⁸ This is underscored by the 2010 *National Security Strategy* statement that we need to move beyond having distinctions between the two elements.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Ichikowitz, “Security is Key to Africa’s Economic Rise,” 25.

¹⁸⁵ Christopher Bellavita, “A New Perspective on Homeland Security?,” *Homeland Security Watch*, December 20, 2011, accessed May 24, 2015, <http://www.hlswatch.com/2011/12/20/a-new-perspective-on-homeland-security/>

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 11.

¹⁸⁷ Carlo Masala, “New Multilateralism” (presented at Naval Postgraduate School, Center for Homeland Security and Defense, Monterey, CA, January 2015).

¹⁸⁸ Morag, “Does Homeland Security Exist Outside the United States?,” 3.

¹⁸⁹ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2010), 11.

4. Quantitative Evaluation of Connections

I analyzed the federal homeland security doctrine to see if a quantitative study of the documents would confirm or identify incongruities in connections among the security elements. The analysis began by looking at how frequently individual themes appeared in each document. In Figure 7, each row shows how often a code (i.e., thematic phrase) appears in a federal document (column) based on the total number of times the code occurred in all documents (as a percent of the total). The larger the bubble, the more frequently it occurs in a particular document. For example, the codes “economic,” “economy” and “financial” appear in each document with a similar frequency (similar size bubbles); however, “homeland” and homeland security references appear in homeland security related documents (as compared to national security strategies) after 2001. Economic related codes are more likely to appear in national strategy documents, not homeland security documents—highlighting the strong connection between the two security elements.

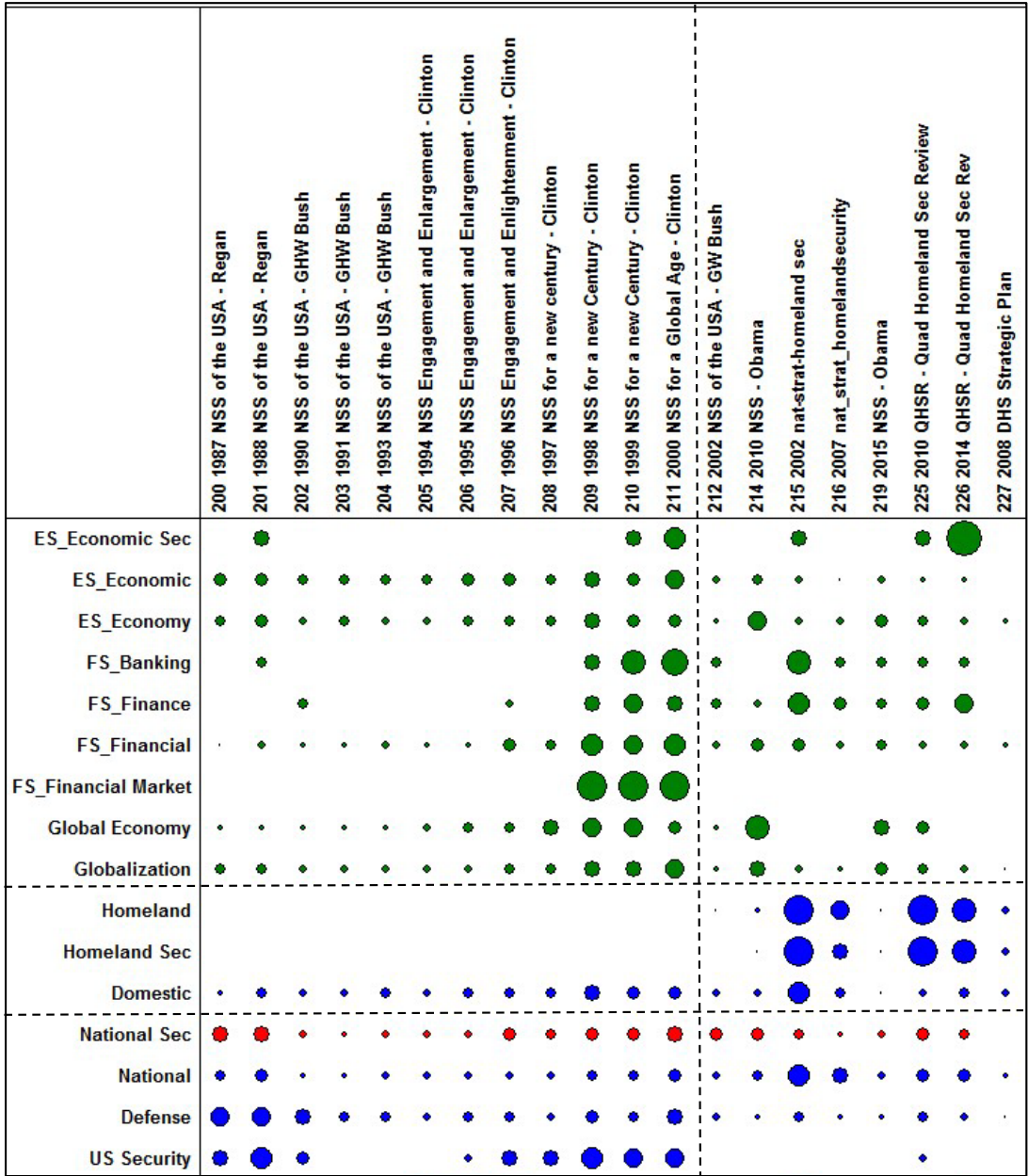


Figure 7. Frequency of Thematic Codes Across Federal Doctrine

The second analysis performed was a proximity search. A proximity plot is designed to look at which terms occur most frequently in proximity (based on a given distance) to dependent terms (in this case homeland security and national security). Figure 8 clearly demonstrates that economic terms are more frequently mentioned alongside national security codes than homeland security codes. This suggests a tighter relationship between these concepts. There is evidence that

the specific phrase economic security is mentioned in similar frequency in both documents, but the preponderance of economic themed codes still align with national security.

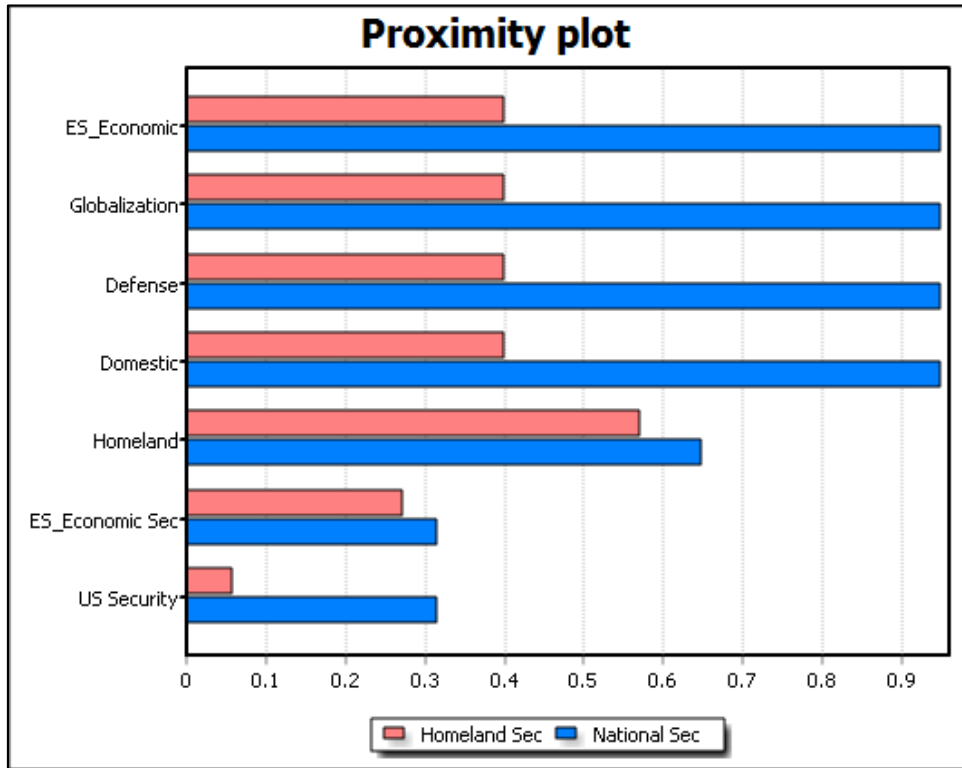


Figure 8. Likelihood of Thematic Code Appearance Proximal to Mention of Homeland Security or National Security

The next step in the research was a cluster analysis performed and results displayed using a dendrogram. Similar codes are grouped together and then branched in a hierarchical fashion to see how those groups are related to one another. Solid lines in the hierarchy indicate stronger relationships; dotted lines are weaker. Figure 9 shows that there are clusters based on search themes (which is to be expected). Homeland security is related to national security—both of which are then connected to the economic cluster. “Inextricably” is a fashionable term that has been used consistently in federal doctrine to indicate an important relationship, but it does not seem to be tied to one topic. In this

case, it is the connector between economic security and the more established theme of economics and national security.

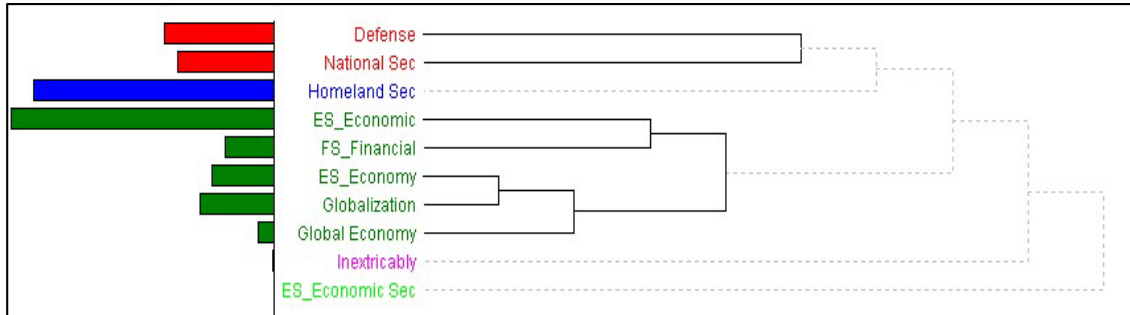


Figure 9. Hierarchy of Thematic Code Clusters in Federal Doctrine

The final study conducted was a thematic analysis of the all national security strategies, quadrennial homeland security reviews, and the national strategy for homeland securities since 1995. Table 5 shows that the promotion of prosperity is the most consistently mentioned theme across all documents. The economic theme is most often found in the NSS—a national security document, not in homeland security documents—further reinforces economy as international issue not domestic.

The link between ES and NS is well substantiated in the literature. ES is the engine that drives global growth and stability. The ES-HS relationship does not have the same foundation, but it appears ES is more important to HS than the reverse. The qualitative analysis confirms the literature’s assertion that HS is a sub-set of NS, and the boundaries (at times artificial) are falling between the two elements. The quantitative analysis confirmed the qualitative findings.

Table 5. Count of Theme Mentions in Federal Doctrine

Theme	Mentions	WH	WH	WH	WH	WH	WH	WH	DHS	WH	DHS	DHS	WH	DHS	DHS	DHS	WH
		NSS	NSS	NSS	NSS	NSS	NSS	NSS	NSHS	NSS	NSHS	IS Strat Pl	NSS	QHSR	QHSR	NSHS	NSS
		1995	1996	1997	1998	2000	2001	2002	2002	2006	2007	2008	2010	2010	2014	2014	2015
Promote prosperity - strengthen macroeconomic coordinat	10	O	O	O	O	O	O	O					O				O
Promote prosperity - provide for energy security	9	O	O	O	O	O	O	O									O
Promote prosperity - promote sustainable development	9	O	O	O	O	O	O	O					O				O
Promote democracy	9	O	O	O	O	O	O	O					O				O
Promote prosperity - enhance access to foreign markets	7	O	O					O					O				O
Promote prosperity - enhance US competitiveness	6	O	O	O	O	O	O										
Securing and managing our borders	3								M					M	M		
Preventing/disrupt terrorism and enhancing security	3													M	M		
Mature & strengthen HS enterprise	3													P	P		O
Enhance security - combat spread/use of WMD	3	O	O														O
Enhance security - peace operations	3	O	O														O
Protect american people, critical infrastructure and key res	2																
Strengthen preparedness and emergency response capabi	2								M								
Enforcing and administering our immigration laws	2														M	M	
Safeguarding and securing cyberspace	2														M	M	
Ensuring resilience to disasters	2														M	M	
Strengthen/Unity DHS operations and management	2												G		P		
Enhance security - maintain strong defence	2	O	O														
Enhance security - counterterrorism & drug trafficking	2	O	O														O
Enhance security - when/how to employ US forces	2	O	O														
Enhance security - arms control	2	O	O														
Enhance security - strong intelligence capabilities	2	O	O														
Enhance security - environment and sustainable developm	2		O														O
Promote prosperity - education and human capital	2												O				O
Intelligence and warning	1								M								
Domestic counterterrorism	1								M								
Defending against catastrophic threats	1								M								
Provide essential support to national and economic securit	1														M		
Respond to and recover from incidents	1																
Strengthen the foundation to ensure LT success	1																
Protect our nation from dangerous people	1																
Protect nation from dangerous goods	1																
Protect critical infrastructure	1																
Secure against evolving terrorism threat	1																
Safeguard and secure cyberspace	1																P
HS strategy for countering biological threats and hazards	1																P
Risk segmentation to securing/managing flows of people a	1																P
Strengthening mission through public-private partnerships	1																P
Nuclear terrorism using an IND	1																P
Immigration	1																P
National preparedness and whole community	1																P
Enhance security - major regional contingencies	1	O															
Enhance security - overseas presence	1	O															
Enhance security - fighting international organized crime	1			O													
Enhance security - Nat Sec emergency preparedness	1			O													
Promote prosperity - partnership w/ business	1	O															

Theme O – Objective G – Goal **Document** NSS – National Security Strategy
type: M – Mission P – Priority **type:** NSHS – National Strategy for Homeland Security
 QHSR – Quadrennial Homeland Security Review

C. IMPACT

Once again, we explore the social, economic, and political impacts that occur as a result of how ES, HS, and NS work together. The literature and doctrine are not consistent in their definitions or descriptions of ES, HS, and NS; however, this has not stopped the authors from observing the social, economic, and political impacts of these elements.

1. Social

A stable economy fosters a stable society. A decrease in income leads to a decrease in stability, and in turn, a decrease in social stability causes population unrest, which can cause an unstable homeland security environment. This theme is discussed by Ichikowitz,



the U.S. national preparedness report and the World Economic Forum 2013 report most often in reference to challenges faced by developing nations.¹⁹⁰ By building up the social structure, economic, and national security will follow.

If U.S. citizens have their basic needs met and they are more resilient to a disruptive event (e.g., fire, flood, terrorist event), are they better able to recover? If human security is the responsibility of the state, it can be accomplished through economic and national security activities. In effect, improve society to create the increased perception of personal security. States are not individuals, but they seek ontological security the same way, in part, because they are run by individuals who want the same consistency in their environment. The individual need for ontological security (consistency of condition) can be extrapolated to nation.¹⁹¹ Thakur discusses how security oriented research supports the idea that investments in homeland security increases human security in “A Political World View.”¹⁹² Losman believes it is preferable to spend limited national funds to create jobs, boost the economy, and increase education in order to develop personal resiliency rather than on military applications.

Maintaining a social standard that supports U.S. citizens’ feeling of overall security is complicated when there is an increasing wealth gap. Economic disparity and globalization are disrupting this social balance, leading to violent activity in certain cases. The 2015 WEF global risks report states, “A major driver of social fragility is rising socio-economic inequality within countries... While inequality and unemployment contribute to social instability, social instability impacts negatively on equality, employment and wealth creation.”¹⁹³ These are the very foundations on which domestic economic strength are built and those

¹⁹⁰ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 27; Office of the Secretary of Homeland Security. *2013 National Preparedness Report*. (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Homeland Security, 2013), 54.

¹⁹¹ Jennifer Mitzen, “Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma,” *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006): 343.

¹⁹² Thakur, “A Political World View,” 347.

¹⁹³ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 15.

that support national strength. Neu and Wolf ask, “If some U.S. citizens are left out of the general prosperity, will the U.S. have the national unity to meet foreign challenges?”¹⁹⁴ Yet attempting to continuously protect every citizen from every threat would pose an untenable cost to our freedoms, our economy, and our way of life. The challenge for DHS is managing and prioritizing our resources to address high-risk scenarios.¹⁹⁵

This global expansion is not without consequence. When western cultures and ideologies are thrust on others, they psychologically deal with it in different ways; some resort to violence or terrorism.¹⁹⁶ Shiffman observes that poverty does not cause terrorism, and prosperity often defeats violence. Terrorism has an easier time growing when there are poor conditions. Then, to defeat terrorists, efforts must also be made to increase the living conditions of those who might be prone to radicalization.¹⁹⁷ For example, if following the law yields an income of X, but following the terrorists yields an income of 2X, an individual may choose to follow the terrorists; however, if the downside of following the terrorists leads to possible arrest or other negative circumstance, then it might be less attractive in the eyes of a would-be radical. In short, make it economically disadvantageous to partner with terrorists.¹⁹⁸ A better world leads to a safer world. Economic security (i.e., better world/living conditions) bring ontological security because it minimizes the unknown and imposes cognitive order on the environment.

2. Economic

The United States economy is the source of national strength and prosperity for its citizens. Porter and Mykelelby make this point succinctly in *A National Strategic Narrative* by stating, “Our strength



¹⁹⁴ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 2.

¹⁹⁵ Michael Chertoff, *One Team, One Mission, Securing Our Homeland* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008), 27.

¹⁹⁶ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 75.

¹⁹⁷ Shiffman, *Economic Instruments of Security Policy*, 142.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 143.

as a world leader is largely derived from the central role we play in the global economy.”¹⁹⁹ The global nature of today’s economy means that the actions of one country are likely to affect the economies of others. Decisions one nation makes for its own benefit may have direct negative impacts on others; thus, ES for the United States may be at risk through no actions of our own. It is imperative to understand how economic focused decisions will impact our HS and NS as well as potential impacts to others.

Former DHS Secretary Napolitano, in a speech describing the state of homeland security, said that global supply chain requires whole-of-nation coordination to ensure security while supporting commerce. She also noted the U.S. needs to be able to get goods in and out of the country to support commerce.²⁰⁰ The U.S. can deal with most economic shocks, but we are not immune to the decisions of others (nor they of us) as evidenced in the 2008 global recession due in part to over-leveraged U.S. housing markets. Neu and Wolf observe that self-sufficiency would appear to be the preferred solution to hedge against economic shocks from elsewhere, but it also makes for the inefficient use of resources.²⁰¹ If security comes from some measure of inefficiency, is that a reasonable price to pay? If so, how much inefficiency is tolerable?

Alternative global futures are all predicated on how well economic benefits are shared among global nations. Population, technology, resources, governance are all factors that will be impacted. This underscores the importance of the economy, perhaps more than the military, as the primary driver of global stability. Majalkovic correctly states that economic coercion is often applied to encourage a change in political decisions and views regarding other security issues.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Wayne Porter, and Mark Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011), 6.

²⁰⁰ Napolitano, “2nd Annual Address on the State of America’s Homeland Security,” 3.

²⁰¹ Neu and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 51.

²⁰² Mijalković and Milošević, “Correlation between Economic, Corporate and national Security,” 444.

However, it is also important to recognize that this relationship goes both ways—ES is also a function of the economic leverage one group has over another.²⁰³ What is important to understand is that economic leverage is very powerful and its use can be more nuanced than blunt military power.

Economic policy has two modes, active and passive. National economic security can be used for defensive purposes to ensure the country is not being pushed into undesirable political, economic or military positions.²⁰⁴ Passive use is done by rules in economic coalitions; active may be tariffs and restrictions against others. The use of economic policy is not without its down falls and should be used sparingly. Contracts between organizations provide the moral code by which they will interact. If policy makers were to subvert these agreements, the foundation for exchange and reputation would suffer.²⁰⁵ All nations engaged in these agreements subscribe to the rules therein; like liberty, some economic control may be given up to maintain stability. As observed by Pelkmans, economic leverage was used overtly during the late 1970s and early 80s in response to geopolitical actions when it is typically considered a tool for more subtle influence.²⁰⁶ Governments are using economic levers more actively and effectively than military strength to frame the world and their relationships with others.

Salera describes, “Economic warfare, as such, presumably represents an effort, by a single nation, or several or more, in concert, to ‘defeat’ another power or combination of powers in nothing more than the ‘economic’ sphere.”²⁰⁷ Countries banding together (via alliance) to defeat someone else with bills and

²⁰³ Pelkmans, “The Many Faces of National Economic Security,” 11.

²⁰⁴ Penelope Hartland-Thunberg, “National Economic Security: Interdependence and Vulnerability,” in *National Economic Security: Perceptions, Threats, and Policies*, Alting von Geusau, Frans A. M. von Geusau, and Jacques Pelkmans (Netherlands: John F. Kennedy Institute, 1982), 51.

²⁰⁵ Hartland-Thunberg, “National Economic Security,” 57.

²⁰⁶ Pelkmans, “The Many Faces of National Economic Security,” 12.

²⁰⁷ Salera, “An Approach to Economic Strategy,” 660.

not bullets increases economic integration in areas of turmoil, perhaps even leading to an increase in security. In an effort to support less developed partners, will economic relationships naturally lead to security relationships benefitting both groups? Supporting development of transparent, stable political environment will enable regulatory, legal, and exchange framework, free from corruption, to exist and foster ES.²⁰⁸

Murdock comments, “The difference between a state’s economic sensitivity and its actual vulnerability depends upon its abilities to cope with sensitivities to external factors.”²⁰⁹ Economies no longer stop at geopolitical boundaries; thus, increased economic integration reduces self-sufficiency and increases vulnerability because of the tight coupling with the economies of other countries.²¹⁰ Super-state economic groups then begin to have more power than socio-political ones, but, as mentioned earlier, economic coupling for stability may be a necessary trade-off for the loss of political autonomy. If correct, the DNI 2020 report predicts that large multi-national companies and economic partnerships will have increasing sway and drive change throughout the world, yet their actions are outside the control of any nation-state.²¹¹ This puts more pressure on government to maintain control while helping the broader group benefit from gains.

The World Economic Forum has published a Global Risks Summary for 10 years. In the 2015 outlook, they raise the issue of smaller countries having a larger impact on the global economy than their size might otherwise dictate:

A driver of the intensifying interplay between economics and geopolitics is the growing direct role of the state in the world economy, which is affecting traditional trade and investment flows

²⁰⁸ Ibrahim, “Issues in Security,” 190.

²⁰⁹ Murdock, “Economic Factors as Objects of Security,” 75.

²¹⁰ Cable, “What is International Economic Security?,” 305.

²¹¹ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2020: Mapping the Global Future* (Washington DC: National Intelligence Council, 2005), 12.

and potentially enabling countries to exert geopolitical influence through economic dependency²¹²

Individual state decisions for geopolitical gain are likely to have economic impact because of the dependency between countries and a potential outsized impact of smaller countries that control critical raw materials (e.g., precious metals for electronic manufacturing). In 2000, the National Intelligence Council published its *Global Trends 2015* report that (correctly) identified that the significant exchange of information, goods, and services among countries and non-state actors will challenge government authority and force governments to modify politically in order to adapt.²¹³ The increased connection between global economies exposes the country to external shocks and reduces the ability to exert economic pressures on others.²¹⁴ Economic integration has existed for centuries but was accelerated through enabling technologies like the Internet; the connections between and tight coupling of international economies are a twenty-first century manifestation. The issues currently faced are unlike those in previous decades, and their complexity must be understood before appropriate corrective actions can be taken.

Is a poor economic situation a “threat multiplier” that will exacerbate other issues that could have been handled otherwise? Siminiuc links the importance of international market regulation with national security by remarking, “without [market] stability, economies stagnate or become dysfunctional. By the same token, without a functioning and developing economy, [domestic] security is threatened, and furthermore, without security, neither stability nor a functioning economy can be guaranteed”²¹⁵ Here, we see the importance of international market regulations and their impact on domestic security.

²¹² World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 28.

²¹³ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015*, 38.

²¹⁴ Hartland-Thunberg, “National Economic Security,” 53.

²¹⁵ Siminiuc, “Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership,” 7.

Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde explore an unlikely but theoretical condition of embracing ultimate liberalism and dissolving national economies in favor of one international economy;²¹⁶ however, if the economy is political tool of the state, is that not already happening? If the economy transcends nations would some international economic entity form own military to defend constituent interests? We have North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military forces to maintain political stability, why not North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) forces to maintain economic stability?

Economic strength supports the political foundation necessary for a stable society. The economic relationships that we enter in to with allies are no less important than NATO's military foundation. In fact, more countries are willing to join economic pacts than military ones because the requirements are lower for participation. These super-state organizations are able to exert more power and with more subtlety than the military forces. According to the 2010, *National Security Strategy of the United States*, "Power among states is more dynamic. As the balance of economic power changes, so do expectations about influence over international affairs. Shifting power dynamics create both opportunities and risks for cooperation."²¹⁷

3. Political

There is no debate that political influence is tied to economic policies; Kahler, Mijalković, Mondale, and Neocleous all refer to this connection in their works. Moreover, they all acknowledge that nations use economic incentives to encourage other governments to behave in certain ways, often favoring political allies. Where they differ is on the extent of the influence and if it should be used for political gains. State political power may be diminishing in areas where there is significant globalization. The threat for westerners is, in part, driven by feeling that they are losing influence on global



²¹⁶ Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 96.

²¹⁷ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (2015), 4.

stage.²¹⁸ They wanted globalization to help them improve their own economic situation but were not ready to give up any of the perceived control that goes with it. In 1963 during the Cold War, Salera claimed that if the west was truly wise it would deploy the powerful, resourceful and flexible (yet little understood) private sector system in addition to the conventional government arsenal (mainly military) to achieve political goals.²¹⁹

Heartland succinctly summarizes, in his 1982 paper “National Economic Security Interdependence and Vulnerability,” that the most advanced economy depends on military action, or the threat thereof, to protect it from encroachment.²²⁰ This comment was made when evaluating the U.S. dependency on mid-east oil and a potential inability to protect the supply. While from a different context, the relationship still exists. In a 2010 speech, President Obama underscored the importance of maintaining the economy by declaring, “At no time in human history has a nation of diminished economic vitality maintained its military and political primacy.”²²¹ Military strength may be needed to ensure economic interests if political remedies are not successful. In contrast, Losman contends that America’s military resources should not be used to protect the economy.²²²

Decision makers need to balance economic welfare with optimizing political power. Ultimately, the goal is to minimize the ability to be coerced by outsiders.²²³ The risk of terrorist activities in weak/fragile states may be exacerbated by financial instability and may also spill over into neighboring

²¹⁸ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 7.

²¹⁹ Salera, “An Approach to Economic Strategy,” 668.

²²⁰ Hartland-Thunberg, “National Economic Security,” 47.

²²¹ Barrack Obama, “Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy at West Point Commencement,” May 28, 2014, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/28/remarks-president-united-states-military-academy-commencement-ceremony>

²²² Losman, “Economic Security,” 1.

²²³ Theodore H. Moran, *American Economic Policy and National Security* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993), 3.

countries.²²⁴ Assisting allies of the United States to develop strong economies of their own helps the global marketplace and improves global security.²²⁵

Discussing the impacts of globalization and national security, Lewis observes that outsourcing the manufacture of critical components to other countries would give them the ability to introduce vulnerabilities or restrict supplies and provide political leverage against the U.S.²²⁶ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde state the “globalizing of economic efficiency is good for consumers, but it places tremendous pressures of adaptation on states and societies which have continually to reconfigure the way in which they earn a living.”²²⁷

There are clear political implications driven by the relationship of ES to HS and NS. We begin to see more clearly that the connection between ES and NS are essential to having the political strength to remain a global leader and the ability of the U.S. to influence world events is becoming more dependent on the economic strength we possess.²²⁸ The impacts discussed above allude to the complicated interaction between the economic, social, and political components of ES, HS, and NS and are not altogether different than those described in the literature review; however, the analysis identifies more nuanced impacts that more clearly reflect the complexity of the relationship. This is an essential activity when drawing findings and conclusions.

²²⁴ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 29.

²²⁵ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002), 18.

²²⁶ Lewis, *Globalization and National Security*, 10.

²²⁷ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 111.

²²⁸ Moran, *American Economic Policy and National Security*, vii.

IV. FINDINGS

The 2002 *National Strategy for Homeland Security* states that our country's economy is based on the principle of a free market and private property ownership. Citizens are asked "to work for their individual prosperity, as our government ensures that all have equal access to the marketplace."²²⁹ As we saw in the previous chapter, the economic, homeland, and national security elements do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, they exist within a broader system and are shaped themselves by external forces. Because the complex relationship is misunderstood (see Figure 10), decisions intended to advance one element may, in fact, be negatively impacting the others.

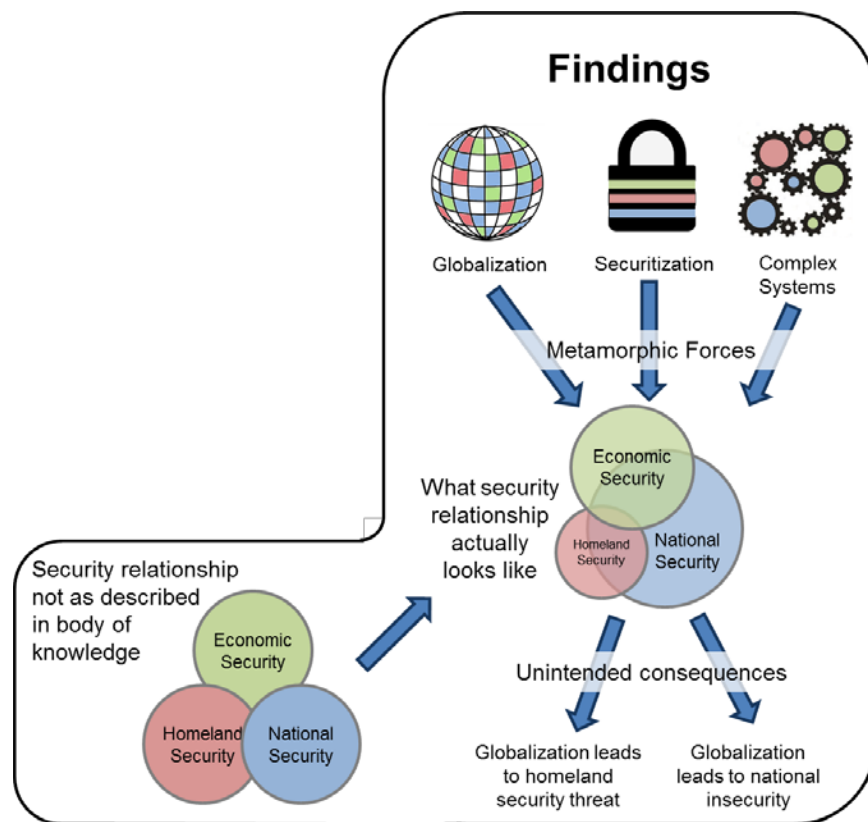
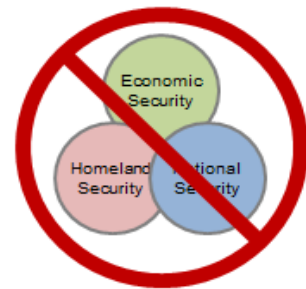


Figure 10. Summary of Findings

²²⁹ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002), 8.

A. THERE IS NOT A BALANCED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ES, HS AND NS

Through the analysis, I found that the equal-parts relationship between ES, HS, and NS described in the literature is not what actually exists. The definitions for ES, HS, and NS vary in terms of complexity and acceptability. The connections between these elements are similarly confusing and depend on the lens of the individual



evaluating the situation. For example, the doctrine authors focus on HS and chooses to discuss those activities most relevant to the mission. Taken individually, the discussions would suggest a balance relationship; however, when examined more broadly, the relationships are uneven. The relationships are a wild mash-up of activities and strategies that must function individually and do not tie together or really reference one another. Most of the literature and doctrine explore the elements in this 1-to-1 relationship, negating the broader context that truly defines the push-pull between the elements. When DHS was formed, there was some clarity to its mission but as the years went by there has been “scope creep.” The Department of Defense has also had changes in strategic direction over the last 14 years. To my knowledge, there is no single agency charged with the nation’s economic stability. We have three critical responsibilities that are overseen by two different agencies and no unifying direction.

So we see that relationship that exists is not the one that is described in the doctrine. One of the challenges noted when developing a definition for ES, and particularly HS, is that it is often dependent on the individual doing the viewing. The doctrine author is focusing on HS and chooses to discuss those activities most relevant to the mission. The relationship of HS with NS is easier to describe, but it too is not well explained.

B. THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS AN UNEVEN OVERLAP OF THE ELEMENTS

The relationship between different security elements is a wild mash-up of activities and strategies; the push-pull between the elements does not benefit each equally. Economic security is concerned with the overall fiscal health of the nation, which includes personal financial health, business stability, economic growth, and protection from circumstances that would degrade any of the same. Economic strength is an essential driver for national security, and it is the foundation for the ability of the U.S. to project influence throughout the globe. Homeland security is domestic protection from threats (intentional), preparation for hazards (natural), and the response and recovery from these events. The large list of activities related to HS has given DHS (and the homeland security discipline) a large area of responsibility with competing priorities.



National security is still seen as an overarching concept to which other elements are dependent. While that may be true; the direct connection between these is not clear. There are some connections to be sure, but they are not clearly explained or understood so as someone can understand how a decision for the benefit of HS or ES can benefit NS.

The primary issue with “where we are now” is that it does not exist in a world where only these three security components exist together. The world is connected technologically, economically, and politically, but the political connections are more fragmented Nations are economically joined but politically separated.²³⁰ They continue to be shaped by three metamorphic pressures—globalization, securitization and interconnection of complex systems. It to this that we turn now our attention.

²³⁰ Hough, *Economic Assistance and Security*, 12.

C. METAMORPHIC FORCES SHAPE THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

A metamorphic force acts on something else and changes it in the process. These forces provide subtle but substantial pressure. In the world of the HSE, these forces are globalization, securitization, and complex systems. They are constantly pushing on ES, HS, and NS and their complex relationships causing unintended and undesirable outcomes. It is important to understand these forces to better anticipate how they might shape the security relationship.

1. Globalization

Globalization is the exchange of social and cultural ideals and the extension of economic ties between countries. It is also characterized by greater integration other countries and cultures into the primarily western (liberal) perspective.²³¹ The DNI 2020 study (conducted in 2005) claimed that globalization would be a pervasive “mega-trend” that would significantly impact other global trends.²³² Its prediction proved accurate and has materialized faster than anticipated. To support U.S. economic strength, companies look to globalization for a way to expand into new markets. Regional and bilateral trade initiatives need to be in place to ensure international markets will be open to new entrants and support deeper integration among participants²³³ while bringing in allies and new partners to strengthen economic ties. Since the Bretton Woods Conference following World War II, the U.S. has taken a leadership role to encourage global economic prosperity through the establishment of international standards and the International Monetary Fund. Porter and Mykleby explain, “The Internet ushered in the information age and greatly accelerated globalization; but that expansion also brought significant



²³¹ Fathali M. Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations: Psychological Implications for Democracy in a Global Context* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2008), 10.

²³² National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2020*, 10.

²³³ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington DC: The White House, 2006), 26.

unintended second and third order effects, the implications of which are still not fully understood.”²³⁴

In the introduction to *Economic Strategy and National Security*, DeSouza describes how during the Cold War economic strategy was negatively linked to national security (e.g., use as tool against others); however, in the present day it is used to positively reinforce behavior in others.²³⁵ Neocleous believes that in the space of 15 years after Cold War, “economic security” has moved from being an anchor around which activities related to the promotion of social security could gravitate to being the focus of a worldwide effort against communism under the charter of protecting “national security.”²³⁶

Countries are entering a new era where economic-driven governance is superseding that of political nation-states.²³⁷ The interconnected financial markets make impacts wider reaching. Creation of super-state entities and agreements (e.g., World Trade Federation, North American Free Trade Agreement) move countries away from a nationalistic economic focus because global economic integration needs to have structure (i.e., common laws) to guide expansion among participating nations. The World Economic Forum's 2014 *Global Risks* survey highlighted that increased global trade and movement of capital support economic growth but also increase volatility.²³⁸ This is a condition that advanced economies will attempt to counteract through policy reforms designed to increase market resilience.²³⁹

²³⁴ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 12.

²³⁵ DeSouza, “Introduction and Overview,” 1–2.

²³⁶ Neocleous, “From Social to National Security,” 380.

²³⁷ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 167.

²³⁸ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 28.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

a. How It Happens

The promotion of fair and free trade is a critical component of American foreign policy and an essential component of political liberty.²⁴⁰ When states feel threatened (geopolitically or otherwise), they are likely to develop and cultivate strong relationships with like-minded countries.²⁴¹ They work with these economic allies and put practices in place that encourage trade between partners, expand markets for manufacturing capability, and increase market sales, ultimately facilitating joint prosperity. In doing so, they have created a global economy. This practice has been around for centuries, yet it has increased in speed and complexity primarily due to technological and communications improvements.

Promoting market oriented economic policies abroad indirectly advances international political stability and potential consumer/suppliers for U.S. companies.²⁴² These super-state groups also allow countries to address emerging issues (e.g., environmental pollution, global warming, income disparity, population migration) that have an economic nexus but may also pose international and domestic challenges.²⁴³

Some smaller countries (e.g., South Korea, Taiwan) have exploited economic integration with militarily threatening neighbors in an effort to build connections that will facilitate positive diplomatic outcomes to political issues.²⁴⁴ Global economy and related prosperity will lead to increased political stability; however, countries that are not able to participate in the benefits of this integration will likely see stagnation and more political unrest. This will create environment for political, ethnic, and cultural extremism and associated

²⁴⁰ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2006), 25.

²⁴¹ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 27.

²⁴² Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 59.

²⁴³ Stephen E. Sachs, *The Changing Definition of Security* (Oxford: Merton College, 2003), http://www.stevesachs.com/papers/paper_security.html, 2.

²⁴⁴ Kahler, "Economic Security in an Era of Globalization," 487.

violence.²⁴⁵ Are countries become disillusioned about the benefits of globalization and more likely turn to regional partnerships in a protectionist posture?²⁴⁶

b. Why It Matters

Globalization as a force has a significant effect on the ES, HS, and NS relationships. Actions taken to push ES forward may cause a pull back on NS. In its most recent *Global Risk Survey*, the World Economic Forum clearly summarizes the challenges that arise from countries making domestic economic decisions:

In today's interdependent global economy, whenever countries focus on their domestic market—even if the decisions are taken by central banks rather than politicians—there is potential for unintended effects on other countries to spill over into the geopolitical sphere.²⁴⁷

Globalization is not without drawbacks; it changes the traditional political role of the state and changes global power dynamics through super-state organizations. In a 2004 article, Lewis states that America's economic strength will be eroded with the movement of jobs around the world and the subsequent international economic reorganization.²⁴⁸ Part of globalization is giving up autonomy by agreeing to participate in trade agreements. Lewis and others believe that the U.S. strength decreases when we control less of the elements going into our economy. Globalization has also led to a retrenchment in U.S. innovation. Rather than meet the challenge of new business competition with an esprit de corps and desire to push ourselves, the U.S. creates barriers to protect our products and to retreat from hard work.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2015*, 10.

²⁴⁶ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 29.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁴⁸ Lewis, *Globalization and National Security*, 4.

²⁴⁹ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 8.

Of 10 economic issues tracked by the World Economic Forum, eight increased in likelihood (per respondents) and almost same also increased in perceived impact.²⁵⁰ The WEF considers financial crisis to have the most significant global impact of all the threats they track.²⁵¹ To hedge against economic control and dependency on others for national health, some countries try to maintain some level of economic self-sufficiency.²⁵² Thus, is economic nationalism (the effort to maintain domestic economic security) at odds with international integration and will they overall national security? These are the considerations made by legislators when evaluating the benefit of participating in economic partnerships. World leaders are focused on economic growth as solution to many problems but they are pushing it in the wrong direction²⁵³ and may not be considering all the impacts that come with it.

Globalization (and “one worldliness”) is characterized as a potential utopian concept but it has not become a reality. In *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, Fathali Moghaddam believes globalization creates a battle for resources, social inequality, and is the source for many contradictions. One of the biggest contradictions that is ignored is the pull between technology / economy / political forces and psychological factors.²⁵⁴

Globalization extends beyond the economic connections between countries. It also includes the exchange of cultural perceptions, people, ideas, and goods. Furthermore, this exchange leads to greater contact between individuals from groups that had rarely come into contact before.²⁵⁵ The social anxiety created when cultures rapidly connect can be significant. When

²⁵⁰ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁵² Mijalković, and Milošević, “Correlation between Economic, Corporate and National Security,” 439.

²⁵³ Donella H. Meadows, and Diana Wright, ed. *Thinking in Systems* (White Junction, VT: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 148.

²⁵⁴ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 74.

²⁵⁵ Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations*, 91.

individuals have no constructive outlet for their emotions, it may lead to violence, violence directed at the perceived source of this oppression (often western countries).

In the proceedings from a 1994 conference on the economic dimensions of national security, Neu and Wolf maintain:

The modern financial environment is truly global. Stable and well-functioning U.S. financial markets will be possible only within a stable and well-functioning international financial environment. Thus, international financial stability will be a central objective of U.S. economic security policy.²⁵⁶

The 2015 *National Security Strategy* highlights the U.S.'s role in helping the world recover from an economic downturn while simultaneously strengthening ties with G-20 nations.²⁵⁷ In 1982, Peeters declared, "We cannot disregard the use of economic power for political as well as economic purposes by oil exporting countries."²⁵⁸ While this was in reference to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) embargo of the late 1970s, it accurately summarizes that economic actions are not just a lever the U.S. uses on others; it can also be used on us. Countries that may not be strong militarily or diplomatically may use economic policies to exert control. In his NPS thesis, Malokofsky makes the observation that if China were to liquidate a substantial portion of its U.S. owned debt, it would create a significant shock to the U.S. economy, likely exceeding the 2008–2009 recession.²⁵⁹

The U.S. has been a leader in global economic policy and uses it as another lever to ensure national security. However, the U.S. is not able to control the world, nor should it; this represents a world-view that started in the mid-twentieth century. The creation of new super-state groups allows the U.S. to build

²⁵⁶ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 55.

²⁵⁷ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2015), 1.

²⁵⁸ Peeters, "National Economic Security and the Maintenance of the Welfare State," 37.

²⁵⁹ Malokofsky, "Blood and Treasure," 5.

credible influence in the world and focus less on threat and more on opportunity.²⁶⁰

2. Securitization

Securitization is the process of declaring that a referent object (person, place or thing) or some condition of the item, poses a security risk. As stated in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* by Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, “securitization is a more extreme version of politicization.”²⁶¹ Most securitization takes place at regional level, but economy is primarily at global level. Securitizing logic applies at the individual level when jobs will be lost or at national levels when specific element of industrial base may be impacted.²⁶² However, actual securitization comes at regional level in order to protect hedge against global issues. Figure 11 helps explain the relationship between these three states.

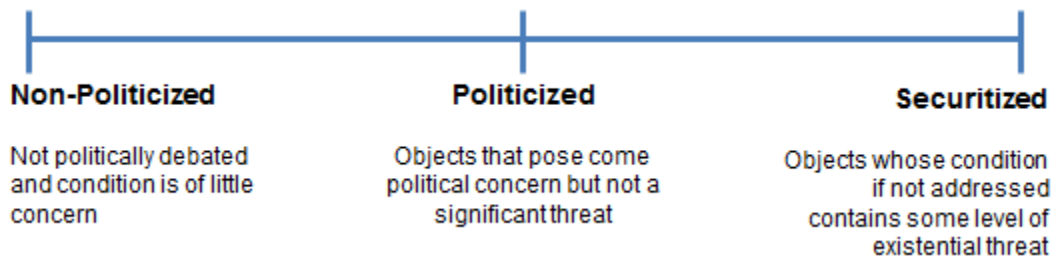


Figure 11. States of Securitization

a. How It Happens

Securitization is quite simple—all it involves in the process of a speech act; effectively, saying something is a security issue securitizes it.²⁶³ Normally, this process is done by the state because it has the legitimacy to identify something as posing an existential threat; however, media expansion has

²⁶⁰ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 3.

²⁶¹ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 23.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 100.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 26.

allowed other individuals or groups (e.g., corporate CEOs or public interest parties) to make such statements. The process of securitizing does not come only from the declaration; successful securitization does not come not from the securitizer but from those who accept the speech act and accept the assertion as true.²⁶⁴

If securitization is self-referential, that means that anyone can securitize something because she or he feels it needs to be even if the issue of concern does not pose an existential threat. It can be difficult to determine if an actual security issue exists or is someone “securitizing” an issue so it gets more prominent. Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde explore the validity of the economic security anointment. They believe that homeland security’s view of economic security is mercantilist in nature (i.e., the economy is there to support the state), whereas the national security view of economic security is liberal (i.e., state supports the economy).²⁶⁵ Economic liberalists say that the free market should be allowed to determine what issues are most important where mercantilists may choose to securitize some issues because of their impact on the nation’s health.²⁶⁶ Individuals are rarely disincentivized from making something a security issue. By attaching some form of elevated concern and moving from non-politicized or politicized to securitized, the issue takes greater prominence. This situation confuses the true importance of issues because the elevation is often done to benefit one point of view rather than for an overall benefit. One interesting question is “Can an issue be un-securitized?” Likely not, since once the bell has been rung, it cannot be unring.

It is also important to consider the “cost” of securitization—in particular to liberty and democracy. Securitization often leads to steps that reduce the very rights guaranteed to a free society—life, liberty, and property. The PATRIOT Act was passed in response to the September 11 attacks. At the time, the legislation

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 31.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 95.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 99.

was positioned as necessary to ensure the public's safety, however, over a decade later, provisions of the act are being questioned and overturned because they have been determined to infringe on the public's right to privacy. Will the securitization of economic issues lead to similar legislative infringements?

During their analysis, Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde rightly question the assumptions that have been made. They assert, "Much of what might be seen as ES issues are in fact either normal or politicized economic relations."²⁶⁷ ES has been securitized by individuals in order to elevate issue or confuse true issue. Losman continues to sound the siren and believes "economic problems, here and abroad, call for economic solutions, not military ones."²⁶⁸ Furthermore, he believes many narratives have been distorted by fear and fiction in order to increase their prominence.²⁶⁹

b. Why It Matters

A major impetus for the focus on ES came as part of an overall study of NS drivers during the 1973 OPEC embargo.²⁷⁰ Essentially, an economic issue became a political issue. Both Neocleous and Losman provide a brief historical summary of economic security and demonstrate that interest in ES has increased in the last 15 years. However, they rightfully ask if it is a truly significant issue or has it only gained significance because of the political rhetoric?²⁷¹ Liberalists (in this instance those who believe in free markets) believe that market will address inequities; therefore, it is not an issue. In contrast, mercantilists believe that the economy must be securitized because of impact to state (the economy supports the state).²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 109.

²⁶⁸ Losman, "Economic Security," 3.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 2.

²⁷¹ Neocleous, "From Social to National Security," 380; Losman, "Economic Security," 5.

²⁷² Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 99.

Has economic securitization taken place? Do ES issues qualify as true security issues? If the referent object truly faces an existential threat if something happens, then yes. However, it is unlikely the U.S. economy is going to fail completely and drive citizens into a generation-long depression. Perhaps this is more about sustaining acceptable levels of state power, for if economic power is lost, state control is decreased as well.

Is economic security really necessary? If the economy does not need to be securitized then what does it need? Just because something has not been securitized does not mean it is not important. Janet Napolitano accurately believes that globalization and economic integration requires whole-of-nation coordination to ensure security while supporting commerce.²⁷³ Twenty-first century globalization requires this level of partnership in order to ensure both goals are met. The impact of globalization in previous centuries could (more or less) be centered in the economic realm; today's multi-lateral environment does not make that possible. Porter and Mykleby observe this change, saying "the tools to be employed in pursuit of our national interests—development, diplomacy and defense—cannot be effective if they are restricted to one government department or another."²⁷⁴ Nor can they be effective if they are politicized and securitized so as to inflate and distort the issues that surround them. Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde believe that rather than have government intervention, but by embracing the liberal/mercantilist view of a market driven corrections, perhaps the problems will address themselves.²⁷⁵

Losman explains, "Over the past quarter century civilian leadership and the military community... have transformed the concept of *economic* security into a prominent *national* security issue."²⁷⁶ The events of 9/11 precipitated the creation of the DHS with the initial intent that its focus would be on terrorism.

²⁷³ Napolitano, "2nd Annual Address on the State of America's Homeland Security," 3.

²⁷⁴ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 10.

²⁷⁵ Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 165.

²⁷⁶ Losman, "Economic Security," 2.

That focus was expanded after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 to include public health emergencies, significant disasters, and other events that impact the United States, its economy, and the rule of law.²⁷⁷ The phrase “and other events that impact the U.S. and its economy,” essentially suggests that anything that has a negative effect on the economy should be considered as part of homeland security (and thus securitized).²⁷⁸ Through the securitization process management of the economy by government forces has increased as the market’s “invisible hand,” it has failed to address perceived inequalities.²⁷⁹ If economic strength is the source of military and political power, it reinforces its importance as security issue.

Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde assert, “‘Security complex’ is defined as a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another”²⁸⁰ If ES is the driving factor behind military and political strength, has it become a security complex by default? Ultimately, transforming it into a larger international economic issue, thus blurring the line between domestic and foreign policy.²⁸¹

3. Interconnection of Systems

In her posthumously published book *Thinking in Systems*, Donella H. Meadows and Diana Wright define what a system is as:



a set of people, cells, molecules or whatever—interconnected in such a way that they produce their own pattern of behavior over time. They system may be buffeted, constricted, triggered or driven

²⁷⁷ Reese, *Defining Homeland Security*, 1.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Peeters, “National Economic Security and the Maintenance of the Welfare State,” 34.

²⁸⁰ Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, 12.

²⁸¹ Murdock, “Economic Factors as Objects of Security,” 67.

by outside forces, but the system's response to these forces is characteristic of itself and is seldom simple in the real world.²⁸²

ES, HS, and NS are all systems; they each operate independently and with one another as we have seen in previous sections. As systems, they are important, but their interaction is more likely to drive complexity and challenges with managing them individually²⁸³ because the relationships within systems are stronger than relationships between systems. It is important to determine if the goal is to make alterations within the system or between systems as different approaches and downstream impacts may occur and will impact where effort is placed to drive the desired change.

Systemic risk occurs when complex systems interact with one another and the creators of those systems do not understand the connections. Then, when there is an unintended consequence, it is unclear what affect that will have on the overall system.²⁸⁴ These interactions are also at play within security systems as discussed earlier; however, it is important to conceptually understand not just the connection but the direction and strength. This requires some exploration.

Important to understand the interconnections and interdependencies in increasingly complex world in order to conduct "what-if" analysis and evaluate potential behaviors.²⁸⁵ Analysis has moved from risk identification to considering and understanding the interconnectedness of risks and their secondary and tertiary impacts.²⁸⁶ This establishes the foundation for taking a more detailed look at what the impacts of potential threats/hazards are.

Unfortunately, because of the complex connections between countries, industries, and economies, there is greater potential for unforeseen cascading

²⁸² Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 2.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸⁴ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 26.

²⁸⁵ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 6.

²⁸⁶ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 8.

effects.²⁸⁷ According to the 2014 *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, “The likelihood and consequence of specific threats/hazards may be influenced by interdependent economic, political, social, environmental and technical factors.”²⁸⁸ Thus, before a system is disturbed or changed, the observer should understand how it works.²⁸⁹ These interdependencies may also be unbalanced (i.e., the impact in one direction is different on the reverse) creating an asymmetrical relationship.²⁹⁰ Developing a solution to the wrong problem may create a new issue in a different area.

a. How It Happens

When systems are connected, knowingly or not, it can be very difficult understanding the complexity of these issues individually and how they interact with each other. In *The Watchman’s Rattle*, Rebecca Costa discusses the issue of cognitive threshold—essentially the limit at which an individual can grasp elements of a complex situation.²⁹¹ Global economic and security systems easily exceed these limits, which results in simplification. Thus, the very situations people are trying to solve are being simplified to the point of becoming a non-issue because the cognitive threshold has been reached. This causes leaders to focus on their own sub-system (the one they understand) rather than the one that actually needs solving.

People make decisions based on the information they have (or can grasp), this is called “bounded rationality.” Unfortunately, decision makers often have a difficult time grasping information related to complex systems so they unconsciously resort to “silos” to insulate and isolate key activities in order to

²⁸⁷ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 11.

²⁸⁸ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014), 15.

²⁸⁹ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 170.

²⁹⁰ Hough, *Economic Assistance and Security*, 13.

²⁹¹ Rebecca Costa, *The Watchman’s Rattle: A Radical New Theory of Collapse* (Philadelphia: Vanguard Press, 2010), 7.

make the decision process easier.²⁹² However, this behavior carries over when decisions are made and elements are operated independently when they could benefit from working with others.²⁹³

b. Why It Matters

We have already discussed the interconnectedness of the securitized systems, but do we know what the downstream impact will be if something happens in one? Because of system complexity and cognitive threshold, we are likely to break complex things down into simpler parts so it is easier to think about; however, in doing so, we are changing the very system we intend to study. Following the 2011 earthquake and tsunami in Japan, a series of cascading events lead to the closure of factories, shut-down of parts suppliers, and work stoppage at some U.S. manufacturers. This example demonstrates the global economic impact of one event that can result from the tight coupling of supply chain.²⁹⁴ Yet industry professionals did not anticipate this breakdown because they were focusing on their part of the system without considering what could happen if there were a disruption outside of their sphere.

A World Economic Forum (WEF) 2014 study remarks, “The greater the interdependencies between countries and industries, the greater the potential for events to bring about unforeseen, cascading consequences.”²⁹⁵ There is an additional balance needed between short-term benefit (domestic in nature) and the long-term prosperity (international in nature). Knowing how the systems interact and the lag between actions in one area is important to understand when projecting likely future benefit or the need to invest now in order to prevent disruption in another area.²⁹⁶ A key point of many of the WEF studies is that

²⁹² Ibid, 123.

²⁹³ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 10.

²⁹⁴ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (2014), 25.

²⁹⁵ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2014*, 11.

²⁹⁶ Neu and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 13.

there is not a single risk; it is the cascading interdependency that is of concern. As Siminiuc points out, “the link between economics, security and stability should be viewed dynamically.”²⁹⁷ A 2015 WEF study explicates:

To improve efficiency and lower cost, various systems have been allowed to become hyper dependent on one another. The failure of one weak link whether from natural disaster, human error or terrorism—can create ripple effects across multiple systems and over a wide geographic area.²⁹⁸

This example references critical infrastructure, but it can be extrapolated to financial systems as well. There are three centers of gravity for economic risks: “major systemic financial failure, severe income disparity, and chronic fiscal imbalances.”²⁹⁹ It is unlikely that there is a clear understanding of domestic and international impacts of decisions in each of the study areas. The pursuit of ES contains both domestic (social prosperity) and international (shape economic environment) components. Both interests must be constantly rebalanced to ensure final goal (still undefined) is achieved.³⁰⁰

As an example, what does the cyber-attack (allegedly by China) on the U.S. defense contractors top weapon systems designs have on HS and NS options? The 2015 *National Security Strategy* describes the issue well:

The increasing interdependence of the global economy and rapid pace of technological change are linking individuals, groups, and governments in unprecedented ways. This enables and incentivizes new forms of cooperation to establish dynamic security networks, expand international trade and investment, and transform global communications. It also creates shared vulnerabilities, as interconnected systems and sectors are susceptible to the threats of climate change, malicious cyber activity, pandemic diseases, and transnational terrorism and crime.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ Siminiuc, “Security and Economic Dimensions of the Transatlantic Partnership,” 15.

²⁹⁸ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2015*, 20.

²⁹⁹ World Economic Forum, *Global Risks 2013*, 52.

³⁰⁰ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 12.

³⁰¹ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States (2015)*, 4.

Within the U.S., the responsibility for ES resides in several different government agencies (e.g., Treasury, Commerce, International Trade Commission) each with its own view of how to measure and success.³⁰² In addition, each agency has its own goals, operations, and procedures (collectively its system) that it uses on a daily basis. All of these components, working together, form a complex system, interconnections of which are difficult to understand, much less manipulate with confidence in the outcome. How well are those systems understood before policy makers begin making changes?

Globalization, securitization, and complex systems are powerful forces that slowly and continuously change the economic, homeland, and national security relationship. They shape the individual systems and the complex interaction between them, other areas of government and, at times, lead to unintended consequences.

D. UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

Two manifestations of the metamorphic forces at work on the security relationship can be seen the following examples. In both cases, the desire for economic security has led to secondary and tertiary consequences that were not anticipated, although they were not necessarily unlikely. In one case, we see ES through globalization cultural pressure, which metastasizes into terrorism. In the second, the same drive for ES leads to short-term thinking and misappropriate of resources which causes national insecurity.

1. Economic Security Leads to Homeland Security Threat

In the process of expanding markets, cultures, and ideas are coming together at a speed and in a way with which individuals are not prepared to emotionally cope. Moghaddam believes, “Islamic societies are experiencing a vast cultural invasion, particularly from the West, in the shape of cultural elements, including films, music, clothing, architecture, technology, and also

³⁰² Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 69.

educational systems, values, beliefs, morals and gender roles.”³⁰³ This cultural thrust can create the feeling of lack of environmental control, which leads to anxiety and fear that can cause radicalization, conflict, violence, and terrorism in some cases.³⁰⁴ Not only is the west (not just the U.S. but those countries with liberal western values) tapping into new markets, we are also taking our way of life, perspectives, viewpoints, and sharing those with others as we go.

Figure 12 summarizes the social concepts behind the impact of globalization on Muslim communities, and the potential behaviors those impacts cause. To be sure, there are many reasons why an individual may become violent—power imbalance, disenfranchisement, defending community, or as is more commonly reported, because of religious beliefs. Moghaddam posits, “For Muslim fundamentalists, the threat posed by globalization is terrifying and immediate, and they feel they must defend their traditional heritage against this gigantic global force.”³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Fathali M. Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists' Point of View: What They Experience and Why They Come to Destroy* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2006), 41.

³⁰⁴ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 46.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

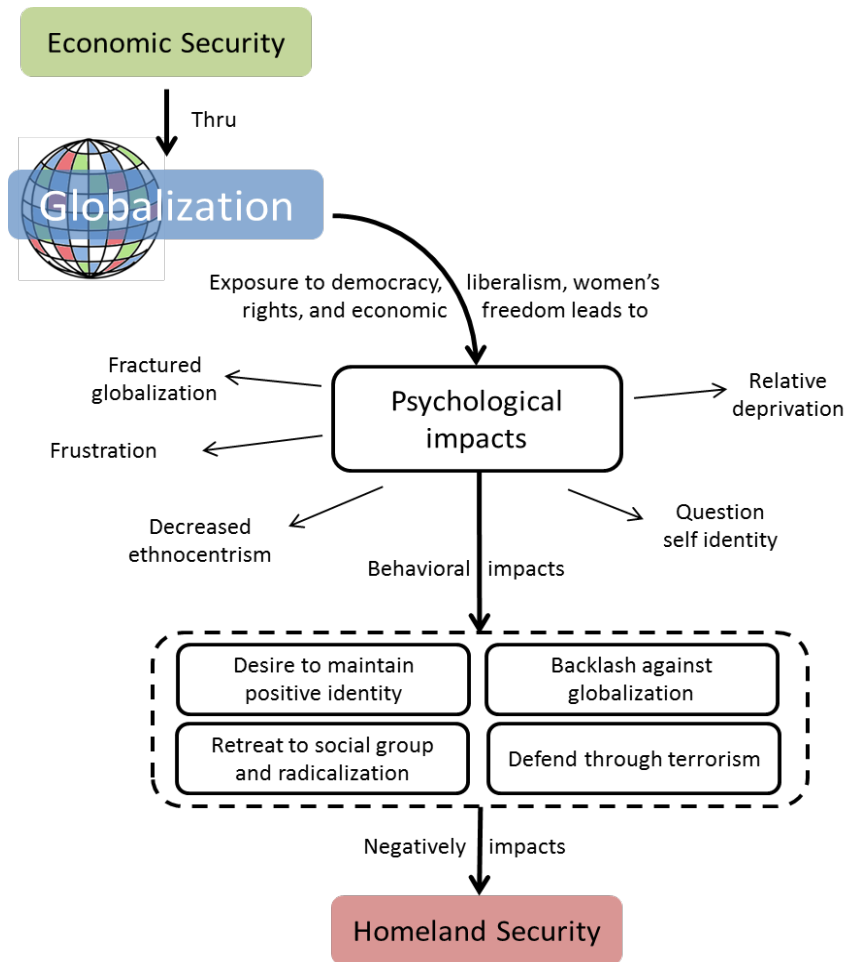


Figure 12. Unintended Consequence of Globalization on Homeland Security

Globalization is associated with greater integration in the western perspective.³⁰⁶ There is strength in those who want to maintain cultural independence. They spearhead a movement opposing globalization, intending on maintaining fragmentation and differentiation of cultures; it is a movement whose intensity is not fully captured in current discussions.³⁰⁷

Globalization (and “one worldliness”) is characterized as a potential utopian concept but when some individuals are able realize the benefits from this expansion and others do not experience the same social lift, a state of fractured

³⁰⁶ Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations*, 10.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

globalization exists.³⁰⁸ There are cultures that are being exposed to new concepts in the name of globalization, and they do not like the new world views. The speed of change and exposure to new ideas leads to a feeling of powerlessness; thus individuals turn to local identities as “anchors” to help them cope with the rapid changes and the feeling their identity is threatened.³⁰⁹

In *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, Moghaddam points out, “Islamic societies are experiencing a vast cultural invasion, particularly from the West, in the shape of cultural elements, including films, music, clothing, architecture, technology, and also educational systems, values, beliefs, morals and gender roles.”³¹⁰ In an effort to define the Islamic society of the future, fundamentalists are aggressively pushing Muslims to retreat to an “imagined glorious past” while reformers are actively pushing societies towards an opportunistic future.³¹¹ Returning to what is comfortable validates fundamentalists’ current self-concept and maintains some emotional foundation.

Globalization drives economic security but exposure to new ideas, liberal perspective, women’s rights and economic freedom leads to complex psychological impacts in the communities whose value system is very different. This causes some individuals to react in ways that negatively impact HS. Personal identity and group identity go hand in hand—people are defined by the groups to which they belong and they want to feel good about those groups.³¹²

Moghaddam explains:

From the viewpoint of Relative Deprivation Theory (how well-off a person feels in relation to the perceived benchmark), terrorism is an outcome of rising, unmet expectations, and increasing frustration

³⁰⁸ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 79.

³⁰⁹ Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists’ Point of View*, 29.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, xi.

³¹² John C. Turner, “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group,” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 33.

among millions of young people who feel they have no voice and no possibilities for a brighter future as things stand.³¹³

The quality of life expectations have been raised by exposure to western society and ideals. If there is no opportunity, then radical steps are needed to create change. Motivations for terrorism come from subjective evaluation of circumstance, not objective evaluation (i.e., relative deprivation). Marmot states that there are three issues that drive social classification: money, status, and power. How individuals react to perceived deprivation (and the lack of self-respect that may accompany it) is often derived from social classification and can create violent situations.³¹⁴ Social identity theory suggests that self-value comes from how others perceive the individual. If the very things on which the person's value is based do not or no longer exist (wealth, health, etc.), it may lead a person to murder in order to regain status among social group.³¹⁵ Globalization causes relative deprivation in egoistical (personal) and fraternal (group) identities.

Individuals begin with an overall sense of dissatisfaction with the conditions under which they find themselves (either through the impact of globalization in their own country or attempting to integrate within a society). They may perceive they are being treated unfairly or being blocked from accessing opportunities to improve their life situation (as promoted by western media). This leads to frustration and aggression that has no constructive outlet and is focused on the perceived source of the injustice (often the United States). Turning inward, they begin to look at the situation through their morality and begin to see violence as a form of social influence to change a target group's emotions, reason, perception, and behavior.³¹⁶ This process engenders categorical thinking where there is right (their way) and wrong (everyone else);

³¹³ Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists' Point of View*, 23.

³¹⁴ Marmot, *Status Syndrome*, 69

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 60 and 100.

³¹⁶ Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations*, 87.

no ambiguity leaves the individual only one clear goal—regain honor and positive social identity.

The psychological impact and “widespread identity crisis in Islamic communities underlies the present radicalization being experienced by these communities, as well as the terrorism emanating from them.”³¹⁷ In its extreme form, terrorism (religious, political, and cultural) is used to maintain differentiation and resist globalization.³¹⁸ This hermeneutic provides justification for terrorist action as they believe the rest of the world needs to change, not them.³¹⁹ Globalization and the cultural dichotomy it fosters does not guarantee creation of a terrorist, but it may drive more people towards religious affiliation because of mental, emotional, and social net it provides.³²⁰

2. Economic Security Leads to National Insecurity

To maintain a strong economy and support political and military strength abroad while ensuring prosperity domestically, businesses seek access to larger markets in which they can sell their products and services. A nation’s wealth can be increased by boosting investment and building capacity or by making existing capacity more efficient (latter is cheaper).³²¹ This extracts more from what we have but does not expand the new ideas. Panko points out that international economic security is closely related with the national economic security of all countries in the world. Therefore, if countries want national economic security, they need to support policies (i.e., globalization) that reinforce a stable international economy.³²² One nation cannot be secure on its own; it requires collaborating with others to develop win-win solutions rather than win-lose

³¹⁷ Moghaddam, *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism*, 47.

³¹⁸ Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations*, 10.

³¹⁹ Moghaddam, *From the Terrorists’ Point of View*, 2.

³²⁰ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2020*, 33.

³²¹ Meadows and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 22.

³²² Pankov, “Economic Security,” 198.

solutions.³²³ Developing economic programs with other countries helps ensure security and mutual benefit.

The 2000 *National Security Strategy* observes that globalization is an unstoppable trend.³²⁴ Yet, the increasing globalization of business operations has made the local economy more susceptible to shocks and uncertainty. The international economy plays a considerable role in domestic economic conditions; therefore, foreign policy and national security should support policies that strengthen international economy.³²⁵ Economic security provides the important link between social and national security; thus, a stable international economy is closely related to maintaining domestic (homeland) security.

The current discussion of economic security does not acknowledge the complex system in which these decisions are being made. Figure 13 summarizes the unintended NS consequence of using globalization to bolster economic security. While the expansion does provide short-term economic benefits, it comes at the expense of lasting innovation. There is a balance needed between short-term benefit and the long-term prosperity; we may need to forego benefit now for future returns.³²⁶ Thus, the economic foundation needed to project global strength is not solid, weakening national security.

Economic security and globalization are complex systems unto themselves; joining them together makes it much more difficult to determine what impact potential changes may cause. The best way to get support for these changes is to demonstrate the tangible benefit of pivoting global expansion into areas that are not faced with social identify challenges and for governments to encourage more vertical progress rather than horizontal.³²⁷

³²³ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 7.

³²⁴ White House, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, 29.

³²⁵ Mondale, "Beyond Détente," 23.

³²⁶ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 13.

³²⁷ Peter Thiel, and Blake Masters, *Zero to One: Notes on Startups, Or How to Build the Future* (New York: Crown Business, 2014), 7.

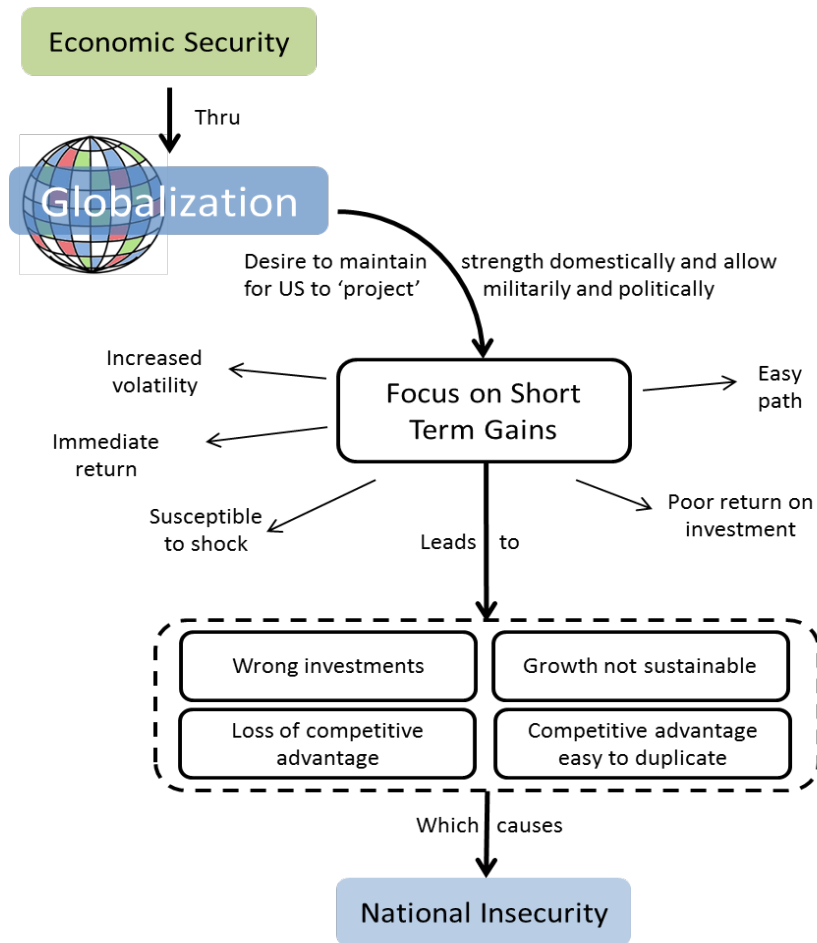


Figure 13. Unintended Consequence of Globalization on National Security

A nation’s wealth can be increased by boosting investment and building capacity or by making existing capacity more efficient.³²⁸ The investment of government funds should not be just an investment, it should be positioned as a loss of opportunity in order to play on the loss aversion bias.³²⁹ The 2015 *National Security Strategy* describes the importance of being innovative in our use of resources to build up our national power; the country’s foundation will be strengthened by growing our economy, modernizing our defense.³³⁰

³²⁸ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 22.

³²⁹ DeSouza, “Introduction and Overview,” 34.

³³⁰ White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States (2015)* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2015), 3.

V. CONCLUSIONS

We now better understand the concepts of globalization, securitization, and complex systems. In addition, it is clear that they have a significant effect on the economic, homeland, and national security relationships—an effect that is leading to unintended consequences. I propose a new way of viewing the security elements as a foundation for future discussions and research as well as providing recommendations to improve the current security environment and steps to begin their implementation (summarized in Figure 14).

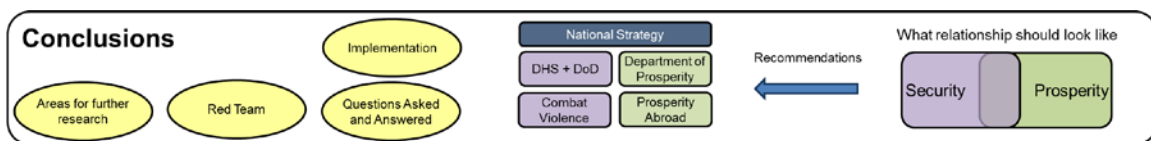


Figure 14. Research Conclusions

A. WHAT THE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP SHOULD LOOK LIKE

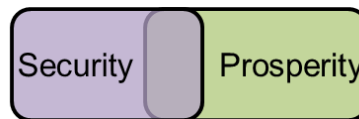
When the issues of ES, HS, and NS are discussed in the U.S., it is done so with the assumption that they are individual entities, interacting, and dependent on one another—but still unique elements. This is not the same in other parts of the world. In many other countries, they are one in the same, and discussions about one naturally involve the others. The literature review and subsequent analysis show that economic prosperity underlies security—both national and international. The U.S. government talks about military support in one way and economic support in another—they are the same. This difference creates challenges when the U.S. discusses trade agreements and other partnership agreements; if we agree to support a partner, we do so in all facets of operation.

In June 1974, NATO members discussed how economic difficulties of one member could pose big issues on the ability of other members to maintain financial effectiveness; this condition posed a threat to the foundation of western

society (i.e., ability to project power) and believed it was important to develop policies that will govern international economic issues.³³¹ According to Mondale, “Both Bretton Woods and the Marshall Plan stemmed from the recognition of the interdependence—that the economic health of the major countries of the world affected the security and wellbeing of the others.”³³² Homeland security and national security are complimentary but have been separated due to legal doctrine designed to keep domestic and international protection separate. This has created duplication of effort and fragmented goals—the opposite of what the nation needs.

Today, the nation needs a galvanizing vision that puts the prosperity and sustainment of our nation at the forefront, a unifying construct that brings the security elements together, is focused on larger, long-term issues, and orients resources to address national issues. To begin this discussion there needs to be definitional fidelity in order to develop a foundation from which to describe the desired “end state.” My recommendations are in Figure 15.

Activities related to the prevention, protection, preparation, response and recovery from threats and hazards and the preservation of the nation’s integrity and territory from domestic and foreign enemies.



An open, integrated economic system that supports individual health, free exchange, and the upward mobility of the nation through mutually beneficial partnerships while maintaining financial resiliency, long-term strength and national solvency.

Figure 15. Reframing and Refining the Security Relationship

As discussed, if ES and NS are one in the same (at least in the non-western view), and NS and HS are the same (outside of the United States), then we are not talking about discrete elements—they are all part of a collective

³³¹ Mondale, “Beyond Détente,” 1.

³³² *Ibid.*, 4.

In 2005, the National Intelligence Council developed its *Global Trends 2020* report, effectively looking 15 years in the future and attempting to predict what challenges are faced by the world. The report predicted that increased globalization decreases the individual group that someone identifies with but people still look for some affiliation; thus, people return to religion (turning from liberalism) to define who they are.³³³ Keeping the elements apart and not understanding the connection has caused leaders to make decisions without understanding the effects. Globalization, securitization, and system complexity are catalysts for significant social and economic impacts. In order to have smart power, we need to have smart growth and an economy that is stable and can support economic uncertainty.³³⁴ Currently, there is an inefficient use of resources, misaligned (or not at all aligned) goals among federal agencies, duplication of effort and a focus on short-term returns over long-term investment because there is no collective vision.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

My research set out to explore the question “What is the relationship between economic, homeland and national security.” The findings suggest that the relationship between these security elements is not as described in the literature and doctrine. I assert that a discussion of these themes should be focused on two areas: security and prosperity. The five recommendations below (summarized in Figure 16) are a combination of strategic and tactical steps that are a beginning to this transformation. Some are existing programs, others are new and some may be considered outlandish; however it begins the conversation about how we can move from where we are to where we need to be.

³³³ National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2020*, 26.

³³⁴ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 10.

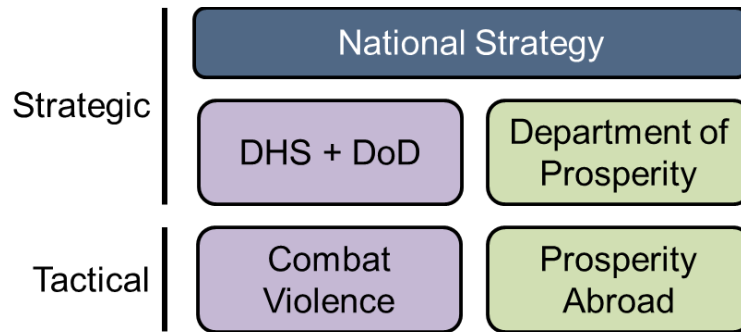


Figure 16. Strategic and Tactical Recommendations to Focus on Security and Prosperity

1. Develop a National Narrative

Porter and Mykleby advocate, “We need a story...that will transcend our political divisions, orient us as a nation, and give us both a common direction and the confidence and commitment to get to our destination.”³³⁵ This call to action is at the heart of Porter and Mykleby’s white paper, *A National Strategic Narrative*, that was developed 2011 but has yet to get the attention it deserves. Currently, there is no unifying vision of where our country is going and this underlies why the economic, homeland, and national security elements don’t have aligned missions.

This is emblematic of individual agencies focusing on their portion of a large problem and not having one person or document that directs and channels the effort—in this case the security enterprise. We have “binning” as Porter and Mackelby say.³³⁶ In the years following September 11, ground zero has been under construction to rebuild a complex web of infrastructure, transportation, public areas, and office space. Each project had its own goal and timeline yet was dependent on others in a difficult political environment. This led to stagnation in the process until then Mayor Bloomberg said that the public areas and fountains would be complete by the 10 year anniversary. Suddenly, there was a priority and all the projects could align their schedules (some being accelerated,

³³⁵ Ibid., 2.

³³⁶ Ibid.

others deferred) to make sure the fountains were ready. Our country needs to set similar alignment can take place.

Perhaps the first place to start is awareness. In 1982, von Geusau, von Geusau, and Pelkmans state:

Greater awareness of the importance of economic security has not been matched with a greater understanding of the complex set of factors that it encompasses. Lack of experience at highest political level to deal systematically with economic security is needed.³³⁷

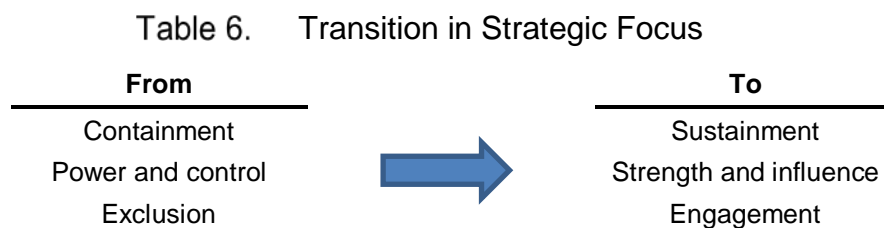
The economy it was a powerful tool then and today is arguably our greatest area of influence worldwide. Yet, it is something that we do not understand well enough to grasp how changes in one area will affect another.

Economic security is connected to homeland security in federal doctrine but the relationship is not substantiated. Scholarly articles acknowledge this connection but they focus primarily on the interrelationship of economic security and national security; homeland security has not been extensively explored. To promote economic security that will benefit national security (and in turn homeland security), it is better to focus government policy at the national level and explore its impact on the nation's overall state of security. This can be accomplished by altering how the concepts are discussed in doctrine and changing the understanding of essential decision makers in order to achieve and maintain long-term economic strength.

In particular, changes need to be made regarding how ES is discussed as part of the complex national security ecosystem and how long it takes changes in ES policy to impact the U.S.'s ability to be a strong global ally. Globalization, as part of economic security that supports national security, spreads (primarily) western ideals. This impacts the social identity of populations, contributes to the disenfranchisement and radicalization of future terrorists (a homeland security issue).

³³⁷ von Geusau, von Geusau, Pelkmans, *National Economic Security*, v.

In the same way, other countries do not see a distinction between domestic and international security; they also do not separate security from the economy. These are tightly coupled and may be discussed interchangeably. The western view that bifurcates them is at odds with the views of others and complicates discussions with partners. In effect, we are not speaking the same language when meeting to discuss these broader issues. American decisions on foreign policy cannot be made on economic benefit alone; rather, they must be part of a bigger strategy that will guide overall decision making.³³⁸ The United States must regain credibility with our peers and refocus our efforts on developing long-term sustainable prosperity rather than short-term ends driven. This concept is summarized in Table 6.³³⁹



2. Integration of DHS and DOD

The recommendation to integrate DHS and the Department of Defense (DOD) is not made lightly. Complex systems (i.e., government agencies) are structured to perpetuate themselves so recommending the integration of two of the largest departments in the federal government would be an unrivaled challenge, but one that is not without merit. In response to September 11, the creation of DHS was intended to streamline information exchange and align resources. I am not aware of an evaluation that demonstrates that information exchange is now more efficient, or, perhaps more importantly, that the purported accomplishments could not have been done within the Department of Defense,

³³⁸ Moran, *American Economic Policy and National Security*, vii.

³³⁹ Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 5.

rather than requiring a new agency. Research in this paper shows that the two agencies are tightly coupled and, at times, duplicating effort.

If DHS were to become part of DOD, not all agencies would be part of this shift, FEMA in particular. The mitigation, preparation, response, and recovery related to natural disasters has been one of the complicating factors in defining homeland security. The function of FEMA is cross-department and is intended to ensure planning and coordinated response across government agencies. Prevention of and protection from terrorism would remain part of DOD, while response (depending on threat/hazard source) and recovery should be aligned with FEMA as a function of consequence management. It is outside the scope of this research to explore the relationship in depth (it could be the source of multiple research endeavors), but there are compelling signals that the security functions in both agencies would operate more efficiently if brought together in one department rather than maintaining the artificial separation.

3. Create Department of Prosperity

The Preamble to the Constitution defines our federal government's basic purpose as "... to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."³⁴⁰ This requirement is as fundamental today as when the founding fathers wrote this document.³⁴¹ The country needs to take a "generational view" of the investments we are making in order to ensure long-term security and prosperity.³⁴² The financial market driven focus on short-term returns is detrimental to the country's long-term health and is not yielding investments in education, health care and infrastructure—essential elements for sustained health.

³⁴⁰ "Constitution of United States," accessed July 8, 2015, http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html

³⁴¹ White House, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (2002), 5.

³⁴² Porter, and Mykleby, *A National Strategic Narrative*, 13.

Globalization generates profits on incremental improvements (which will be finite) rather than on creating new technologies that open up new markets. Current economic security policy focuses on expanding foreign markets, which is good for short-term return but harms the prospects for economic security in the long run. Changing government incentives to provide additional funding to projects that may have lower cost-benefit prospects but explore new technologies will support the vertical progress. The U.S. can no longer depend on ingenuity of previous generations to maintain economic strength. The country needs an educated population to invent and create new sources of strength and moral, economic and industrial wealth.³⁴³ The U.S. has moved away from willingness to compete (which makes us better and stronger); instead, we have attempted to control the environment to our advantage. That is not possible anymore with globalization where the same tools to achieve are in many people's hands. International economic involvement of U.S. means we cannot isolate ourselves from others. Instead, we need to minimize the risk from external shocks through domestic supply, financial buffer, other sources, etc.³⁴⁴

Promotion of domestic prosperity has been a tenant of the *National Security Strategy* since it was first issued in 1988. Yet, the *National Security Preparedness* report documents that economic recovery is among the bottom 10 percent of 31 core capabilities, surely an indication that more attention needs to be paid to this area in order to improve the overall ability for the U.S. to respond to an incident and have a higher level of ES.³⁴⁵ Thiel and Masters state, "Long-term planning is often undervalued by our indefinite short-term world."³⁴⁶ It is essential to change how political leaders understand economic security and

³⁴³ Ibid., 7.

³⁴⁴ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 50.

³⁴⁵ Office of the Secretary of Homeland Security, *National Preparedness Report* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Homeland Security, 2013), 3.

³⁴⁶ Peter Thiel, and Blake Masters, *Zero to One: Notes on Startups, Or How to Build the Future*. (New York: Crown Business, 2014), 79.

adopt policies in order to lay a foundation for long-term rather than short-term economic security.

Globalization is unconsciously advanced by most of current elected officials who experienced effortless progress as members of the Baby Boom generation and whose outlook characterized as “indefinite optimists.”³⁴⁷ That is not the nature of the world now. Globalization generates profits on incremental improvements (which will be finite) rather than on creating new technologies that open up new markets. Current economic security policy focuses on expanding foreign markets, which is good for short-term return but harms the prospects for economic security in the long run. This change will punish the countries that are interested in having access to consumers who will buy their goods and the positive revenue that would come from these sales. Changing government incentives to provide additional funding to projects that may have lower cost-benefit prospects, but exploration of new technologies will support vertical progress and product innovation.³⁴⁸ It will also impact the U.S. businesses that look to expand markets to increase their customer base. Globalization has focused people on short-term returns; however, for country to succeed, there must be more long term investment.

The majority of this discussion is related to the economic dimension of wealth but there is also another component—social capital. In *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam describes the decline (and perceived turn-around underway) in the reformation of social ties between individuals in a community. In his words, social capital refers to the “connections among individuals—social networks and norms of reciprocity and trust-worthiness that arise from them.”³⁴⁹ The connections take place along two dimensions: bridging (bringing groups together)

³⁴⁷ This phrase was coined by Peter Thiel in an effort to describe individuals who know the future will be better but aren't sure how so they don't make plans; they take it on faith because it is what they experienced during much of their lives. Thiel, and Masters, *Zero to One*, 68.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁴⁹ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, Simon and Schuster: 2001), 19.

and bonding (focused on one person). Bridging is primarily for the community benefit, and bonding, while primarily positive, can be directed towards antisocial activities. Fostering positive social connections and the engendered social norms creates sense of social reciprocity and helps create stronger communities.³⁵⁰

4. Continue Combating Violence and Extremism

The long-term solution to terrorism is prevention, but prevention is not just stopping radicalized individuals from carrying out a planned attack. It should also include activities to prevent individuals from becoming radicalized in the first place. Many of the recommendations in this analysis are long-term in nature; however, the U.S. faces real threats right now and we cannot ignore the danger that they present. While long-term solutions are being implemented to change the environment that creates the crucible for radicalization, existing initiatives that have been described in national security strategies should continue in order to blunt and dismantle terrorist cells and networks that intend on doing harm to the U.S. and its citizens. Current responses to terrorism are ineffective because short-term actions focus primarily on the symptom not the cause; however, existing actions should be continued in order to deal with individuals who may already be on the path to radicalization.³⁵¹ Successive national security strategies describe the importance of directly confronting terrorist activities, which are a real threat to current security. Through implementing an omnicultural approach to proactively manage cultural integration and combining with existing anti-terrorism efforts, it may be possible to counter act the growing discontent and conditions that contribute to potential radicalization. It is difficult to draw a straight line between social conditions and radicalization.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 22.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 129.

5. Continue Promoting Prosperity Abroad

A constant theme in the NSS is the importance of promoting prosperity abroad. Economic stagnation has set in where strife has continued (e.g., South Sudan, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo).³⁵² These are some of same locations where Islamic radicalization is taking hold—not that these are directly correlated or have a causal relationship. However, some of the least politically developed countries, constantly lacking economic security, are balancing on the brink of survival and relying on humanitarian aid from the world community.³⁵³ The U.S. should increase efforts to support developing economies. The 2006 NSS declares, “Economic freedom is a moral imperative. Economic freedom also reinforces political freedom.”³⁵⁴ However, any plans for economic security within a nation must include the design of policies to support those activities.³⁵⁵ Domestic prosperity supports political stability and increased opportunity, but in states that have weak governance and pervasive grievances, extremism will take root.

Would a new Marshall plan and supporting doctrine foster more strength within troubled countries or create more dependence on “western” way of doing things? In an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, DeSoto claims that economic empowerment in areas where radical groups are located can help deter future attacks by improving the living conditions of the population, thus taking away a driver for attacking the U.S.³⁵⁶ This would run counter to those who believe that direct investment in other countries as a way to reduce desire to attack us. It is also important to consider dependency theory which suggests that by supporting developing economies (i.e., the third world) through aid that makes them more dependent on first world countries and does not help them build a self-sustaining

³⁵² Ichikowitz, “Security is Key to Africa’s Economic Rise,” 25.

³⁵³ Pankov, “Economic Security,” 195.

³⁵⁴ White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2006), 27.

³⁵⁵ Moran, *American Economic Policy and National Security*, 14.

³⁵⁶ Hernando De Soto, “Capitalist Cure for Terrorism,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 10, 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-capitalist-cure-for-terrorism-1412973796>.

economy.³⁵⁷ It is, in effect, economic colonialism (a potential unintended consequence).

C. IMPLEMENTATION

None of the recommendations above can be accomplished without the public support for change; it is not a matter of just doing different things, it is doing the same or similar things with a different goal in mind. True economic or national security requires members of the public to see the common goal and orient their activities towards meeting the objective.³⁵⁸ In her discussion of defining homeland security, Reese mentions that coordination among the different federal agencies and state and local partners involved in HS (over 30 in some cases) is very challenging.³⁵⁹ Do these different agencies all looking at policy impacts differently and have competing priorities which may add to political complexity to affect change? Without having the right goals and key performance indicators, the wrong thing may get measured and encouraged. According to Meadows and Wright, “If the desired system state is national security, and that is defined as the amount of money spent on the military, the system will produce military spending.”³⁶⁰ We have systems, but they are not linked to one another to guide all together; instead, they are operating somewhat independently.

1. Who Can Effect Change?

One of the reasons economic policies from the Cold War forward are discussed in this analysis is because they represent the viewpoints that were in vogue when many of today’s legislators were beginning their careers. The target audience for this research is future leaders—those who are working on the big problems of tomorrow and need research to help them clarify (not simplify) complex issues so long term investments can be made. Changing perspectives

³⁵⁷ Ibrahim, “Issues in Security,” 189.

³⁵⁸ Neu, and Wolf, *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, 64.

³⁵⁹ Reese, *Defining Homeland Security*, 10.

³⁶⁰ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 138.

may require generations to manifest, so it is important for new leaders to inform themselves of these complex issues as they being their own careers to someday lead the nation.

So, future leaders, when considering these recommendations and potential changes to the current understanding of economic security and the rules by which elected officials operate, it is important to understand who makes up the winning coalition (essentials), key supporters (influentials), and the nominal selectorate (interchangables).³⁶¹ These are groups whose needs should be considered when contemplating any policy change. Each of these groups will be impacted differently by all the changes recommended, and each may take steps to support or derail them based on their perception of how the change will impact them (see Table 7).

Table 7. Groups to be Addressed When Implementing Political Change

<p>Essentials <i>Senior decision makers whose support is a requirement for success</i></p>	<p>Representatives of multi-lateral economic agencies (e.g., GATT, G7, ASEAN, NAFTA), foreign leaders, elected U.S. officials on Senate and House commerce committees, Secretary of Commerce and leaders of global businesses.</p>
<p>Influentials <i>Individuals who make the decision</i></p>	<p>Foreign policy makers and business leaders of large U.S. companies. These individuals are making business decisions to exploit global trading relationships and maximize profits. They are donors to political campaigns and advocate for economic incentives and tax breaks that benefit U.S. businesses.</p>
<p>Interchangables <i>Every person who has some say in the decision</i></p>	<p>These are members of the public and consumers. The challenges associated with globalization are likely to affect this group the most in the way of lost jobs (outsourcing), decreased wages (keep cost low) and lack of domestic production expansion (off shoring).</p>

Members of these groups are likely to change as the political climate changes. The overall goal is to keep the number of essentials as small as

³⁶¹ Bruce Bueno De Mesquita, and Alastair Smith, *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011), 5.

possible, the influentials content, and to do this by using resources of the interchangables and using secrecy to make sure everyone is happy with the deal they get.³⁶² Policy resistance is the tendency for decision makers to not make any significant changes to a system due to perceived unknowable impacts.³⁶³ These are perceived as unknowable because at the individual level, these systems seem too complex to understand so policy makers do not make any decisions to change for fear of adverse impacts. Current policies often lean towards supporting what exists rather than supporting the creation of new options.³⁶⁴

2. How to Effect Change

In their 2011 book, *The Dictator's Handbook*, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith discuss how any change to existing policy will have winners and losers. To generate enough support for the creation of a new policy, leaders need to overcome inherent resistance (will the decider be a “loser” after the change?) and orient individuals towards a common goal and away from individual subsystem goals.³⁶⁵ Unlike inert systems, once the change is made (winners receive more rewards and losers receive punishment), there is likely to be some oscillations in the power struggle between the different players until some balance is reached. Applying this concept to the recommendations outlined in the previous section we see in Table 8 that for each one there are those who are rewarded by the recommendation and those who are punished.

³⁶² Ibid., 76.

³⁶³ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 5.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 80.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 115.

Table 8. Groups Rewarded and Punished by Implementation of Recommendations

Recommendation	Rewards	Punishes
1. Develop a National Narrative	The public benefits from having a cohesive long-term vision for the nation. Government departments and agencies have a single goal that they can use to align their strategic plans.	Agencies whose functions will be deemed 'less relevant' to achieving the overall national goal and see their budgets decline. Also individuals who use the lack of a unifying goal to advance their own agenda.
2. Integration of DHS and DOD	DOD would see a significant increase in responsibility but it would allow for better integration of domestic and international threat protection. FEMA gets recognition as an independent agency.	DHS functions that need to be re-integrated back into old departments will be difficult. Another several years (decades) before agency functions have been reestablished.
3. Create a Department of Prosperity (DOP)	Department of Commerce who would likely take on new responsibilities associated with larger "prosperity" mission.	Department of Commerce (or whatever agency gets new responsibilities) because they will need to reorganize to support new mission. Also, any agency that loses responsibility to new DOP.
4. Continue Combating Violence and Extremism	Agencies currently involved with reducing violence and anti-terrorism initiatives.	Organizations who will receive less funding because of need to continue supporting programs underway.
5. Continue Promoting Prosperity Abroad	U.S.AID and other organizations actively involved with developing economies in other countries in an effort to promote political and economic stability.	Organizations that are focused on short-term results.

“Bounded rationality” describes the phenomenon when individuals make decisions based on the information they can process (or rationalize).³⁶⁶ The complex set of interactions between ES, HS, and NS go beyond many mental boundaries, and often there is no perfect information about such complex systems. It is difficult to accurately determine who the specific winners and losers will be when the systems themselves have their own inertia and may “react” to the proposed changes and initiate changes of their own leading to different

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 106.

outcomes than those desired. For any proposed change, it will be important to clearly define the key performance indicators and how they will be measured to ensure the proposed changes are having the desired impact (or that undesired impacts are occurring).³⁶⁷ Once the policy is in place and performance is being evaluated, then there will be a clearer view of how much the winners “won” and the losers “lost.”

3. Creating the Winning Coalition

A winning coalition consists of essential supporters—those without whom change will neither occur nor be sustained. In order to successfully make the changes above, the right people need to be incentivized (or nudged) to make activities within their sphere of influence.

Economic security and globalization are complex systems unto themselves, and joining them together makes it much more difficult to determine what impact potential changes may cause. The best way to get support for these changes is to demonstrate the tangible benefit of pivoting global expansion into areas that are not faced with social identify challenges and for the government to encourage more vertical progress rather than horizontal.³⁶⁸ However, a direct onslaught of examples, diagrams, and empirical data will likely overwhelm the decision makers.

A critical element is how the essential supporters are introduced to the proposed changes (i.e., framing the story). Thaler and Sunstein describe the ability of a choice architect to use “nudges” to influence decisions based on the greater good.³⁶⁹ They go on to describe how many decisions are made by the “automatic” cognitive system—without purposeful deliberation of the issue.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 138.

³⁶⁸ Thiel, and Masters, *Zero to One*, 7.

³⁶⁹ Richard H. Thaler, and Cass R. Sunstein, *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 4.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 21.

Attempting to change the views of essentials will be challenging because they are focused on the immediate benefit (often to themselves) and maintaining the status quo. A nation's wealth can be increased by boosting investment and building capacity or by making existing capacity more efficient (the latter is cheaper).³⁷¹ Issue positioning is essential to incentivize the creation of policies that encourage the invention of new technology rather than pushing globalization of existing products as a way to maintain economic security. The investment of government funds should not be an investment, they should be positioned as a loss of opportunity in order to play on the loss aversion bias.³⁷² The introduction of any new proposal will need to overcome the status quo bias and associated aversion to loss in order to be successful. For this reason, it is difficult to convince someone to make an investment now for a future (and potentially uncertain) return.

D. QUESTIONS, ASKED AND ANSWERED

Throughout this research, I have been posing questions, some rhetorical and others that intend to move the conversation in a different direction. The questions and where I have them, the answers that have come from the research, are summarized in Table 9–12.

³⁷¹ Meadows, and Wright, *Thinking in Systems*, 22.

³⁷² Thaler, and Sunstein, *Nudge*, 34.

Table 9. Theme: Definitions

Questions	Answers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Portions of economic security reside both domestically and internationally; what of issues like borders, drugs, crime, or domestic and international immigration? • Some believe responsibilities like energy availability, global quality of life, global disease and hunger, population growth, etc., should fall under homeland security. Yes? Or should they be shifted to a national security umbrella? 	<p>Definitions of individual terms cannot be done in a vacuum—they also depend on how they interact with other areas of government.</p> <p>Drugs and crime should be the responsibility of domestic law enforcement. Based on Recommendation 2, border security would be a DOD responsibility and global health falls to the Department of Health and Human Services. Energy and its availability is essential to the country's economic wellbeing so guidelines and goals would be set by the new Department of Prosperity.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does ES encompass many other concepts, or is it part of human security? Is social security economic security, or does ES provide social security, which leads to human security and then homeland security? • If economic stability is a requirement of national security does that make it part of the security discussion? 	<p>ES covers many concepts of which human security is part, but the overall public welfare is the responsibility of the Department of Health and Human Services. Essential human needs must be met to support the public's wellbeing.</p>

Table 10. Theme: Connections

Questions	Answers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does a stable economy lead to more domestic homeland security? Can the relationship be reversed? How does a secure homeland benefit other areas of life in the U.S. (as suggested in the QHSR statement)? 	<p>The complex systems section demonstrated that many of these questions reference the interconnectedness between the themes. A stable economy supports prosperity which relies on security—they are symbiotic but aid each other in different ways and at different time. A secure nation then supports prosperity.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the relationship between economic, homeland and national security? If national security is outward facing and homeland security is inward facing, will taking steps to ensure economic security have different impacts on these two areas? Are there any consequences to not the defining the relationship at all? 	<p>By considering security and prosperity holistically, there may be times where decisions are made at the expense of one area to benefit the other. However, a national narrative allows for this thoughtful evaluation.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What if the very steps being taken to increase economic security were actually making homeland security more difficult? 	<p>In order to definitely answer this question we would need to understand the complex push-pull relationship between the different elements. At the observational level, I believe that HS is made more difficult at times by ES decisions; however, evaluating if this is good or bad depends on the overall desired goal.</p>

Table 11. Theme: Impact

Questions	Answers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If HS is inseparable from ES and HS is part of NS, do ES decisions have the same impact on both areas? 	<p>ES decisions do not have the same impact on both areas. HS and NS are not the same thing (this has already been covered in the analysis), but just because they are different does not mean they are not similar. So ES decisions are likely to have <i>some</i> impact, just not the <i>same</i> impact.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When domestic economic resources are constrained (from increasing national security funding), how can the U.S. maintain our security commitments without further impacting social wellbeing? Will the public begin to expect the government will take steps to ensure economic security and business solvency rather than let market conditions prevail? If U.S. citizens have their basic needs met and they are more resilient to a disruptive event (e.g., fire, flood, terrorist event), are they better able to recover? 	<p>Social wellbeing will be impacted but a national narrative will help determine if these are good or bad based on the desired outcome. If citizens have their basic needs met, they will be more resilient and will be better positioned to recover from an event.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In an effort to support less developed partners, will economic relationships naturally lead to security relationships benefitting both groups? If the economy transcends nations would some international economic entity form own military to defend constituent interests? We have NATO military forces to maintain political stability, why not NAFTA forces to maintain economic stability? 	<p>With the assumption that prosperity and security are connected, by helping someone become more prosperous it will likely precipitate other relationships as well.</p> <p>The concept of having a military arm of an economic, non-state body has not been addressed.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What happens when countries are not able to make political decisions because of economic encumbrances? Is a poor economic situation a “threat multiplier” that will exacerbate other issues that could have been handled otherwise? 	<p>This already exists and demonstrates the connection between security and prosperity. We see in Argentina and Greece that these governments are not able to take their own actions because of demands by the International Monetary Fund, private investors, and creditor nations.</p>

Table 12. Theme: Metamorphic Forces and Unintended Consequences

Questions	Answers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are countries becoming disillusioned about the benefits of globalization and more likely turn to regional partnerships in a protectionist posture? • Is economic nationalism (the effort to maintain domestic economic security) at odds with international integration and will they overall national security? 	<p>This is not an all or nothing relationship. Countries still keep overall economic safety as a national priority and will work with geographic partners because they likely share cultural similarities that provide another basis for partnership. There is a continuum that exists, anchored at one end with nationalism and the other with globalization. Nations will move along this line as needed to protect their interest.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does global economic interconnectedness blur the lines between domestic and international policy? If so, do homeland security decisions impact the global economy? 	<p>Yes it does but the idea of domestic and international policy may be an anachronism. Globalization has made it difficult to differentiate (blur) between the two. Decisions in the U.S. about homeland security do impact the global economy.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the economy a security issue or is it being “securitized” for some other purpose? • Has economic securitization taken place? Is it really needed? If the economy doesn’t need to be securitized, then what does it need? • If ES is the driving factor behind military and political strength, has it become a security complex by default? • Does a country securitize economic issues because of concerns for the impact on private firms or because the overall impact on the country’s strength will decrease? • Will the securitization of economic issues lead to similar legislative infringements? 	<p>The economy’s health is an essential of the political, military and social strength of the United States. I believe that the issue is being securitized because U.S. industry has stopped innovating and turned to globalization to maintain solvency. In doing so, its health (and those that depend on it) is built on a more tenuous foundation.</p> <p>Securitizing the economy is a tactic being used to justify protectionist (nationalist) stances on global issues. If the country were maintaining the esprit-de-corps, post-WWII drive to find new solutions to problems, I do not believe our economic security would be as fragile as we are led to believe.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interconnectedness between geopolitics and economics are intensifying; how well are those systems understood before policy makers begin making changes? Do we know what the downstream impact will be if something is changed? 	<p>I have not found a clear explanation of the connection between these concepts; in fact, I believe this is one of the areas for further explanation. Politicos and economists do their best to predict first order effects but further estimations of decision impact on the complex system is cloudy at best.</p>

E. RED TEAM (OR THE OTHER PERSPECTIVE)

Throughout this work, I summarize information, extrapolate meanings, interpret data, and make recommendations for how to understand and transform

the economic, homeland, and national security relationship. Part of the research process is having these very things questioned by contemporaries. I have identified likely areas of disagreement from other researchers (Their Point Column) and provided justification for my perspective (My Point column) to help frame this discussion (see Tables 13–16).

Table 13. Area 1: Definitions Proposed for ES, HS, and NS

Their Point	My Response
How can to choose just one definition.	In order to proceed with the analysis, some assumptions needed to be made, in this case it was with the definitions. Defining homeland security continues to be the most problematic as described in the literature. I selected to use a definition that allowed for the connection and comparison across multiple dimensions.
Definitions may not actually matter that much.	There is definitely merit to this point of view. Yes, words do matter, but maybe they matter when discussing more tactical execution. This exploration is more theoretical in nature and looks for the “spirit” rather than the “letter” of the terms.

Table 14. Area 2: Analysis of Connection between Security Elements

Their Point	My Response
The very systems I am describing and their complexity don’t lend themselves to analysis.	At the detailed level, I agree with this point of view; the complex ecosystem that exists between these security elements have not been studied at the lowest level. That is why macro discussions are most beneficial. There is also the perspective that the very process of studying something alters the very interactions being studied. Meadow and Wright’s <i>Complex Systems</i> goes into great detail about the process for studying systems and the challenges therein.
I did not conduct any research to quantitatively explore the connections.	Absolutely true, this is a conceptual discussion about the relationship between the security elements based on what has been written in scholarly journals and government doctrine.

Area 3: Metamorphic Forces and Their Impact on Security Element Relationships

Their Point	My Response
Metamorphic forces are the wrong ones, there are too few, etc.	I don't agree that these points are wrong, but I concede that there may be others and perhaps those have an even stronger impact on the security element relationship. It is a dynamic relationship and many different outside forces are likely effecting the situation.
Examples of unintended consequences are not correct (or whatever reason).	The impact on homeland and national security from globalization are just two examples of unintended consequences. The research cited primarily by Moghaddam and Porter and Mykleby have grounded observations that describe these situations; however, they are not likely the only ones. By finding more the case is strengthened that we do not understand what the forces are nor their relationship to the security elements.

Table 15. Area 4: Recommendations

Their Point	My response
Combining DHS and DOD is crazy (or some other adjective indicating how preposterous this is).	Sometimes it is necessary to discuss big things to make big changes. I recognize that it is highly unlikely that DHS and DOD would ever be combined, but it is important to talk about they "what if's" and "why not's." True, ideas are easy until one actually tries to figure out how to execute. Having this discussion allows for idea exchange and fosters other solutions—maybe one that will actually work.
The Department of Prosperity sounds like something out of <i>Annie</i> .	While the name sounds juvenile, let's move past the name. Should the Department of Commerce (or some other department) expand its mandate to incorporate overall prosperity? As with the DHS + DOD suggestion, we need to talk about big things and big changes if the country is going to set a direction for overall improvement.

F. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research is a 30,000ft view of the holistic relationship between ES, HS, and NS, factoring in the complicating of globalization, securitization, and system complexity. There are elements of this exploration that could be significant research topics unto themselves and other areas that have not been fully addressed. Table 17 is a summary of these topics.

Table 16. Areas for Further Research

Topic	Description
1. Explore views and understanding of ES, HS, and NS.	Economists' models depend on a key component to predict outcomes – the rational actor. It means, that all other things being equal, an individual is most likely to choose the option that optimizes utility. However, countless studies have shown that humans don't make rational decisions. By learning how well decision makers understand the concepts of ES, HS, and NS and how they are related will inform any modeling that is done. In the implementation section, there is a discussion about the essential group—these are the ones who must be studied.
2. Model exploring the relationship strength between each element	This is an area wide open for study and a starting point may be existing study of literature that connects security and the economy. This research demonstrates that there are connections between the elements but we do not know how strong they are on one another. ES and NS are connected but is the arrow denoting impact bigger (i.e., more impact) : $ES \rightarrow NS$ or $ES \leftarrow NS$?
3. Second and third order effects between elements	To perform this level of analysis, a model that represents Topic 2 should be created. Then, second order connections need to be studied and documented in the same way. It is also important to recognize the lag time between the different parts of the system. Even if the connections are established, the lag time will create feedback oscillations that may lead to unintended consequences. In effect, it may not matter how detailed the tertiary study goes, it may not be possible to accurately predict the outcome.
4. Metamorphic forces	Am I describing the right ones? What others exist, and what is their impact on the security elements? I am certain there are other forces working on this security relationship and to understand the impact of potential policy decisions, we need to determine what they are.

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