



Germany's changing security culture and governance

**“National Security Cultures and
Global Security Governance”,
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The argument

- Common realist explanation for Germany's new robustness based on increased material power since unification are incomplete and potentially misleading
- Germany's security trajectory is a function of external expectations (mainly) for change constrained by domestic expectations and institutions to keep its distinct post-World War II security culture



Assurance

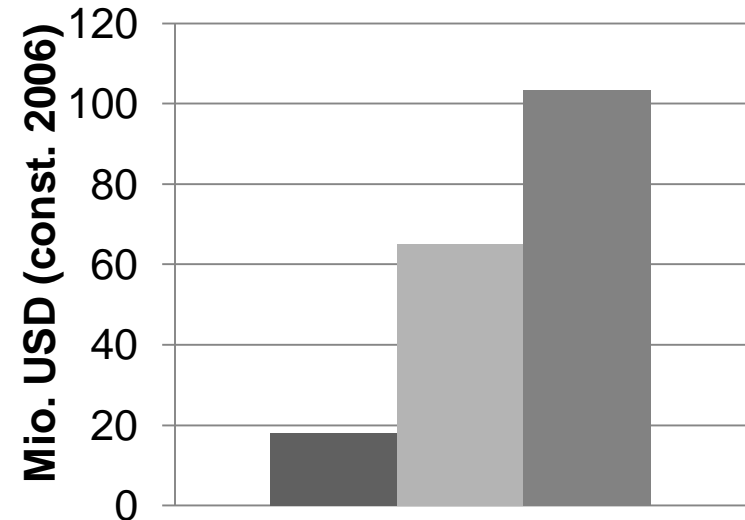
- Germany plays an active role in int. policing missions
- Recent European bias in assurance missions
- German development policy shows strong multilateral commitment



Prevention

- Conflict prevention follows traditional patterns
- Germany's migration policy has become more restrictive and more europeanized.

German ODA to Afghanistan



■ Mean annual ODA in pre-conflict years (5 years before the conflict)

■ Mean annual ODA in conflict year

■ Mean annual ODA in post-conflict years (5 years after the conflict)

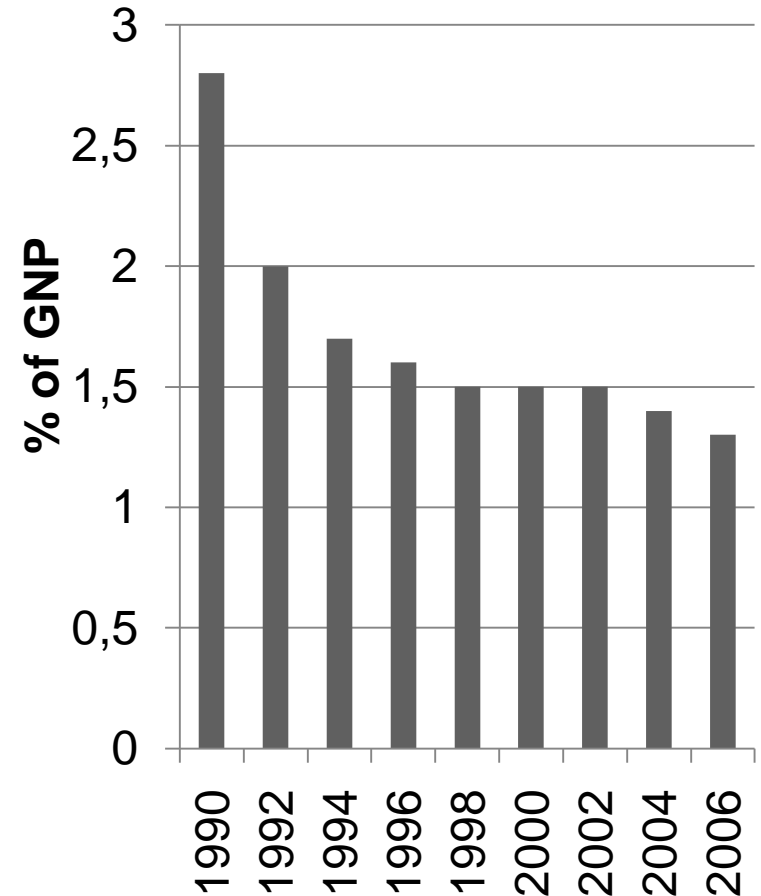
Source: OECD 2008a



Compellence

- Patterns of Bundeswehr deployment have become more robust, but remain multilaterally embedded and functionally restricted
- Military means remain short

German Military expenditure as share of GDP



Source: SIPRI 2008



Protection

- Germany is a forerunner and strong advocate of environmental protection measures
- Counter-terrorism measures are broad since 9/11, but domestically restricted



Findings 1

	Assurance	Prevention	Compellence	Protection
Robustness	Slightly increased	Slightly increased	Strongly increased	Slightly increased
Europeanization	Strongly increased	Increased	Strongly increased	Increased
Domestication	Stable	Stable	Increased	Slightly reduced
<i>Development</i>	<i>Continuity with few changes</i>	<i>Continuity with few changes</i>	<i>Change with few continuities</i>	<i>Continuity and changes</i>



Findings 2

- Germany's Culture of reticence is changing slowly but considerably across different issues and therefore also across modes of public goods production.
- Changes to German contribution patterns have started to europeanize after the Kosovo intervention and substantially increased after 9/11 and the US-led Iraq intervention.
- Europeanization has become the preferred strategy to overcome domestication in Germany's security policy, but absolute limits – as defined by the Bundestag and the Federal Constitutional Court – are clearly identifiable.

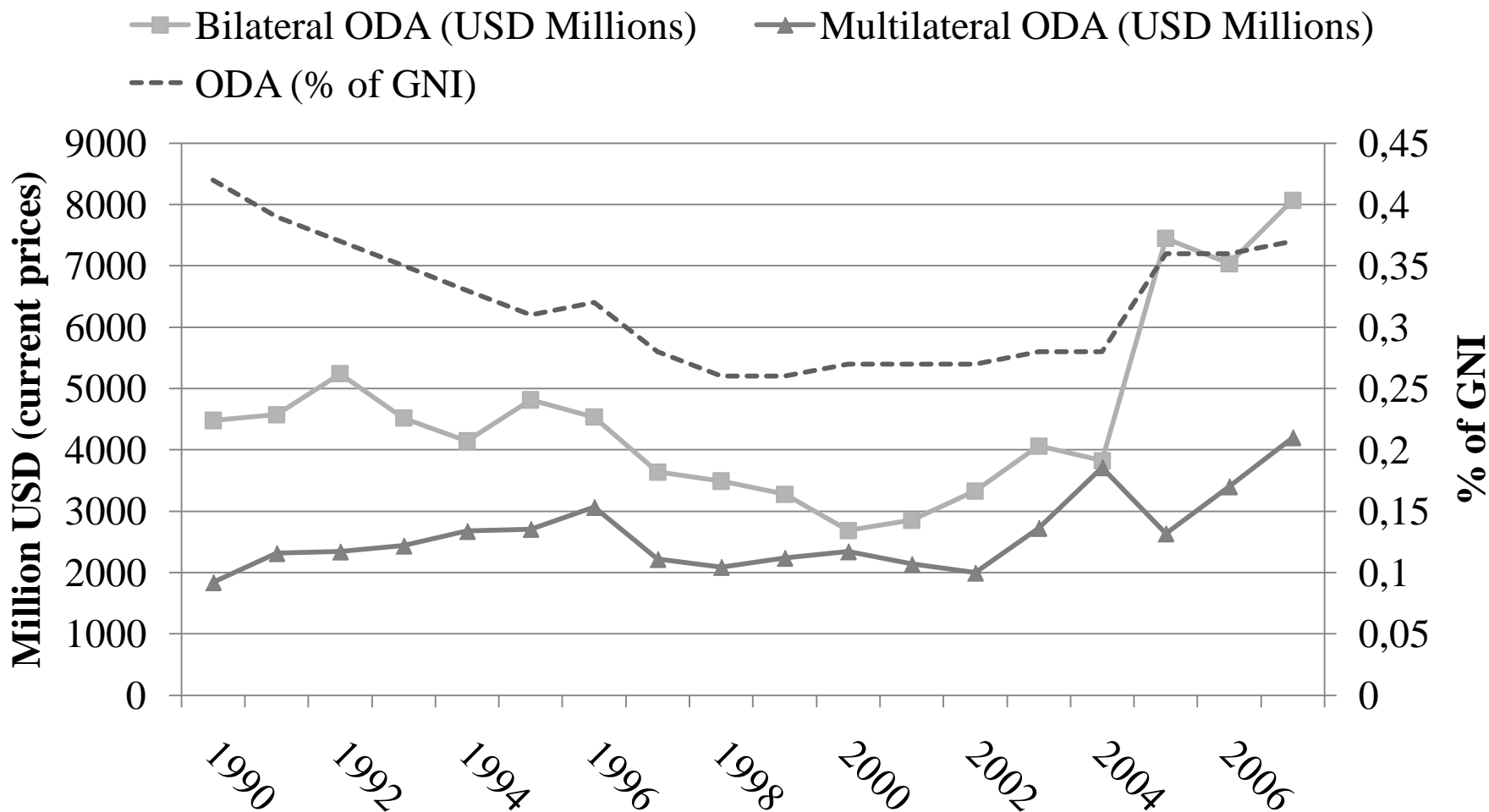


Literature

- **KA 2007**: Organisierte Kriminalität. Bundeslagebild 2007, Pressefreie Kurzfassung, Wiesbaden.
- **BMI 2006**: Zweiter Periodischer Sicherheitsbericht, Berlin.
- **Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2007**: Migrationsbericht des Bundesamts für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung. Migrationsbericht 2006, http://www.bamf.de/clin_011/nn_442522/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Migration/Publikationen/Forschung/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2006,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/migrationsbericht-2006.pdf [20.09.2008].
- **OECD 2008a**: ODA by Recipient by Country, OECD.Stat.
- **OECD 2008b**: ODA by Donor, OECD.Stat.
- **SIPRI 2008**: Military Expenditure Database, <http://milexdata.sipri.org/result.php4> [14.10.2008].



Additional Charts 1: German ODA



Source: OECD 2008b



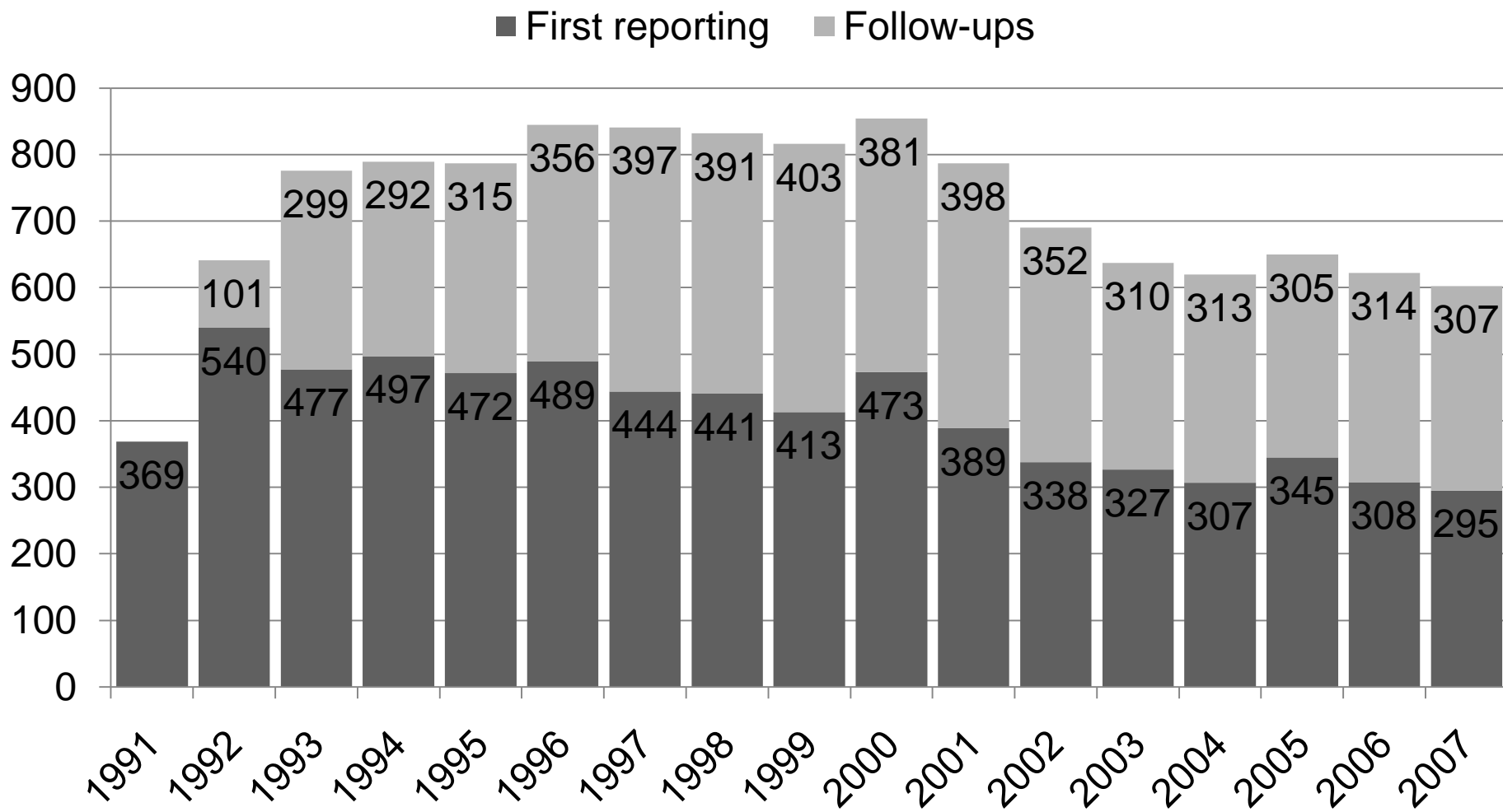
Additional Charts 2: German Migration Flows

Year	Migration			Asylum	
	Immigration	Emigration	Balance	Total applications	Rejected applications
1991	925.345	497.540	+ 427.805	256.112	128.820
1992	1.211.348	614.956	+ 596.392	438.191	163.637
1993	989.847	710.659	+ 279.188	322.599	347.991
1994	777.516	629.275	+ 148.241	127.210	238.386
1995	792.701	567.441	+ 225.260	127.937	117.939
1996	707.954	559.064	+ 148.890	116.367	126.652
1997	615.298	637.066	- 21.768	104.353	101.886
1998	605.500	638.955	- 33.455	98.644	91.700
1999	673.873	555.638	+ 118.235	95.113	80.231
2000	649.249	562.794	+ 86.455	78.564	61.840
2001	685.259	496.987	+ 188.272	88.278	55.402
2002	658.341	505.572	+ 152.769	71.124	78.845
2003	601.759	499.063	+ 102.696	50.563	63.002
2004	602.182	546.965	+ 55.217	35.607	38.599
2005	579.301	483.584	+ 95.717	28.914	27.452
2006	558.467	483.774	+ 74.693	21.029	17.781
Total	11.633.940	8.989.333	+ 2.644.607	2.060.605	1.740.163

Source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2007



Additional Charts 3: Procedures against organized crime



Source: BMI 2006; BKA 2007