The Normalization of German Foreign Policy in the 1990s: A constructivist’s view

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The Conceptualisation of Normalization: A four-step approach

1. How the „normalization of Germany‘s Foreign policy“ has been interpreted by IR theories
2. Constructing „normalization“ in FP role theory
3. The normalization of German FP in the 1990s
4. The research agenda ahead
Conceptualizing „Normalization“ of German Foreign Policy in structural realism and liberal institutionalism: causal pathways

**Independent variable:** international system

**Intervening variable:**
- Lessened Security dilemma
- Fall of SU
- Gains in material power
  - Through unification

**Dependent variable:** Foreign policy behaviour
- More power/autonomy maximization => normalization
- More utility maximization => normalization

**Changes in institutional setup:**
- Enlargement
- Distributional

**Changes in domestic structure:**
- New interest groups/institutions

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Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis

social environment

role expectations (alter part)

role expectations (ego part)

role bearer
individual

culture
societal norms

sanctions
internalization

identity
individual values

role behaviour

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Socialisation: a definition

- a process by which actors, such as states, are induced to take possession of the constitutive norms and procedures of a given group/society
Learning: a definition

• as a process by which an actor changes his or her foreign policy goals and subsequently behaviour due to a change in the constituting norms and values of his or her FP role/identity

• This change of constituting norms of a role occurs when the reigning normative consensus collapses under the weight of unfulfilled collective expectations which result in undesired consequences.
The Normalization of Germany’s FP in the 1990s

Alter expectations of CEE countries = advocat of enlargement

Alter expectations of NATO/EU partners = bearer of military burden

External socialisation

Modified civilian power role

civilian power role

role confirmation

Normalization

Internal learning

Successful external unification = sense of achievement

Collective learning on military intervention = Yugoslavia as formative event

unsuccessful internal unification = sense of failure

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Normalization: a role theoretical definition

- normalization should be understood as a legitimate if not consensual reprioritisation of key norms of a FP role caused by processes of external socialisation and internal learning

advantages
- Focussing of co-constitutiveness of role
- „explains“ normalization without „fallout“ through legitimate/co-operative reformulation

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Features of Germany’s FP role transformation

1. A slight shift from other- to self-directedness of role
2. Sense of achievement as well as socialisation propel Germany’s drive for deeper European integration
3. External socialisation and internal learning lead to reprioritization of key norms in taking military action
4. Role change is limited where institutionalized norms create vested interest in continuity => military reform
Re-reading „old cases“

Exploring „new cases“

Focussing on mechanisms / interdisciplinarity

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