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**CONCEPTS OF SECURITY  
AND SECURITY FUNCTIONS  
OF THE GERMAN ARMED  
FORCES IN TIMES OF  
CHANGE: PERCEPTIONS OF  
THE YOUNG IN THE OLD AND  
NEW LAENDER**

Perspectives of 16 to 25-year-old  
men and women in the western  
and eastern Laender of the Fed-  
eral Republic of Germany in De-  
cember 1990/July 1991

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## **1. Introduction**

Considering the radical change of values in western industrial and "post-industrial" societies, the understanding of terms such as "security", "threat" and "risk" has changed especially during the past twenty years. New value priorities have developed (cf. e.g. Inglehart 1977, 1981, 1989; Klages & Kmiecik 1984), new problems have arisen and old ones are being seen in a new context. In 1986 Beck introduced the term "risk society" for the Federal Republic of Germany. Among other things, this society is characterized by new, basically irreversible risks, such as the degradation of the environment, changes in the climate and nuclear potentials.

In the context of this change of values and the new understanding of political tasks and priorities, Raschke (1980) is talking about a "change of political paradigms". The currently prevailing paradigm of a social market economy would gradually be superseded by a paradigm in which ecological and social priorities would prevail over economic priorities and the focal point of which would be the way how people live.

The empirical studies which we have carried out since 1981 to verify this thesis of a change of paradigms (cf. also the article of Ralf Zoll in this volume) have shown that a change of consciousness and orientation in terms of a change of paradigms can be identified particularly for adolescents with a high level of formal education, and this is not only true for the Federal Republic of Germany but - as our research cooperation with France and particularly with Italy has shown - also applies to other western societies (cf. Kohr & Räder 1990, 1991; Kohr, Nuciari, Räder & Sertorio 1992).

As shown by these empirical studies, this change is coupled with a new outlook on security matters and the armed forces (cf. Kohr 1991, Table 1; Räder 1992). The change of problems and perspectives generally described by this change of paradigms had already taken place before East-West relations were redefined in the wake of the radical political changes in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. The decrease in military "threat from the east", the German unification, the democratization efforts and reformatory processes towards a market economy in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union have considerably influenced the understanding of security in general, in particular the understanding of military security - and, as a consequence, the comprehension of the mission of the Federal Armed Forces - that major sections of the German public now have (cf. also Kohr & Lippert 1990).

Today, security is no longer understood primarily as "external security" or "military security" (cf. Räder 1992). The terms "insecurity" or "threat" do no longer refer primarily to the military enemy or enemies.

The reasons for this change are intricate and complex; by no means are the real political changes in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union the only reason for this development. These changes rather had some kind of catalytic effect on security-related mental attitudes and opinions which had already been modified, which means that it accelerated and, as it were, intensified the reformatory processes.

## **2. Questions**

In the following, a few results of a comprehensive empirical study shall be presented, the last phase of which (interviews and group discussions) will be completed in spring 1992. This study, inter alia, deals with the following questions:

- were there any differences in the general socio-political orientation patterns between adolescents in the old Laender and adolescents in the new Laender at the time when the political unity of the two German states was established? This being the case, what differences can be identified?
- what (probably differing) conceptions of security/insecurity in general and external/military security in particular do adolescents have?
- what positions do adolescents in the old and new Laender take on the Federal Armed Forces? What security functions, what social mission do they envisage for the Federal Armed Forces? What functions should be performed by civil organizations? What functions/tasks do generally strike adolescents as problematic?

## **3. Results**

The following tables, graphs and figures refer to the results of two polls carried out separately in the old and new Laender (OL and NL) as part of the overall project "Security, Sociomorality and Change of Values". The first poll was made in December 1990 after the first all-German general elections had taken place (OL, n=493; NL, n=387); the second poll was carried out in July 1991 (OL, n=394; NL, n=274). The persons polled were adolescents (16 to 25-year-old men and women; representativity approximated by quota samples). The samples of July 1991 consist of panel cases (repeated poll of adolescent who had already been polled in December 1990), supplemented by about 190 first-poll cases each from the old and new Laender.

### **3.1 Aspects/factors which, in the opinion of adolescents, contribute to or have nothing to do with security/insecurity**

The complex of questions asked was introduced by the question whether adolescents now feel generally "more secure" or "more insecure" regarding their personal social and political situation. In December 1990 (i.e. after the first all-German elections) as well as in July 1991 the answers given by adolescents in the old Laender clearly differed from those given by adolescents in the new Laender. While in the western part of Germany about two thirds of the respondents felt "more secure", in the eastern part of Germany an approximately equal number of adolescents replied that they felt "more insecure". (The change which occurred between December 1990 and July 1991 are negligible).

The result is certainly alarming. It reflects the numerous problems which adolescents in the former GDR were faced with and still are, probably even more severely. The huge difference between the assessments made by adolescents in the old Laender and those in the new Laender must, however, not block the view to the fact that "in

the west", too, there is definitely a considerable number of young people, i.e. about one third, who seem to perceive problems and risks for themselves - despite a material basis of existence which, compared to the East, is largely secure.

Which factors then contribute to the global assessments "more secure" or "more insecure"? Which of them are less relevant in this context? What importance do adolescents attach to external security and defense?

The results of the analyses of the answers given with regard to specific issues frequently addressed in open polls are shown in Table 1 and Ia for December 1990 and July 1991 respectively. These tables show the results of cluster analyses in which the cluster algorithm operated simultaneously on the "rows" (the aspects) and on the "columns" (the groups of respondents) and seeks to achieve a "simple structure" of the percentages. As the tables show, such a kind of structure is indeed discovered by the algorithm (SYSTAT; Euclidean Distance, Average Linkage Method), i.e. the order of rows and columns in the tables is a result of the cluster analysis, not an arbitrary arrangement of the researcher.

The results of cluster analyses combined in these tables show a distinct structure. From the adolescents' point of view pollution/destruction of the environment, terrorism, criminality and crime are dominant factors of insecurity in the old and the new Laender. Another important factor is the housing situation, particularly in the new Laender. (Factors are considered as "dominant" if they were selected by at least 50% of the respondents).

Generally speaking, these factors of insecurity are more pronounced in the new than in the old Laender; "pollution/destruction of the environment" is the factor mentioned most frequently in connection with insecurity in the old Laender.

Taking a closer look at the factors relating to security, it becomes clear that the factors which adolescents in the old as well as in the new Laender name in the first place are personal vocational career, personal health and relations with their partners. Another common feature is the frequent mentioning of the factor disarmament.

TABLE 1: ASPECTS CONTRIBUTING TO SECURITY/INSECURITY OF 16 TO 25-YEAR-OLD MM AND **WOMEM** IN TEE OLD AND TEE NEW LAENDER

Poll carried out in December 1990; SOWI, Table by Kohr/Räder 1991  
(Simple structure based on matrix clustering (SYSTAT) of percentage frequencies)

Aspects contributing to:	security (8)			insecurity (I)		
	having nothing to do with the problem (0)					
	(OL) Old Laender (n=493),		(NL) New Laender (n=387)			
	OL	NL	NL	OL	OL	NL
Aspects contributing to:	S	S	0	0	I	I
Pollution/destruction of environment	7.9	7.1	21.8	10.3	<u>81.7</u>	<u>71.1</u>
Terrorism	3.2	0.9	21.3	25.2	<u>71.6</u>	<u>77.9</u>
criminality/crime	2.8	0.7	11.8	25.8	<u>71.4</u>	<u>87.4</u>
Housing and rents	20.9	14.3	17.0	32.5	46.7	<u>68.7</u>
German unification	23.7	27.3	26.8	<u>43.6</u>	32.7	46.0
All-German armed forces	21.5	15.2	<u>54.1</u>	<u>57.8</u>	20.7	30.7
Performance stress	7.1	12.9	<u>42.8</u>	<u>53.1</u>	39.8	44.3
Right of asylum/asylum seekers	2.0	2.6	<u>51.7</u>	<u>47.3</u>	<u>50.7</u>	45.7
Social market economy	<u>64.7</u>	29.9	24.8	22.9	12.4	45.3
Disarmament in East and West	<u>66.3</u>	<u>70.2</u>	19.0	19.5	14.2	10.8
Personal standard of living	<u>64.3</u>	44.0	30.6	26.0	9.7	25.4
Personal vocational career	58.1	<u>55.3</u>	21.4	31.9	10.0	23.3
Personal health	<u>59.8</u>	<u>54.4</u>	34.1	31.6	8.5	11.4
Strength of the Deutschmark	56.2	52.5	43.3	38.3	5.5	4.2
Partner relationship	55.0	<u>61.0</u>	36.4	41.2	3.9	2.7
lower hinge	7.5	10.0	21.3	25.5	9.8	17.3
upper hinge	58.9	53.4	39.6	42.4	48.7	57.3

Distribution characteristics for percentage of appreciation of security/ insecurity factors based on stem-and-leaf plots (SYSTAT). Underlined: percentage values of the upper quartiles.

Considering the material basis of security, a small majority of the respondents apparently regards the "strength of the Deutschmark" as a common symbol of economic

strength. There are, however, great differences between adolescents living in the western part of Germany and those living in the eastern part of Germany as to how they assess the actual economic conditions. While in the western part of Germany approx. two thirds of the adolescents associate security with "social market economy", in the eastern part of Germany this is the case only with about 30% of the adolescents. And in the eastern part of Germany the personal standard of living is considerably less associated with "security" (difference: approx. 20%) and more connected with "insecurity" than it is in the western part of Germany.

The second cluster block of Table 1 is formed by the aspects/factors which, in the opinion of the adolescents, have nothing to do with security/insecurity. Without specifying all differences in the structure of the answers given - though they are certainly very interesting -, the following can be stated:

- As regards the dimension "security-insecurity", there were very controversial assessments of the German unification already as early as December 1990. At that time the relative majority of the adolescents living in the eastern part of Germany (46%) associated the German unification with "insecurity" (OL: 33%), while the relative majority of the adolescents living in the western part of Germany (44%) were of the opinion that the German unification had nothing to do with security or insecurity (NL: 27%).
- In summer 1991 (see Table 1a) the distribution of the answers given is even less pronounced and shows an even greater variation. A bare relative majority (OL: 40%; NL: 42%) associated "insecurity" with the unification of the two German states, 38% (OL)/31% (NL) were of the opinion that the German unification had not anything to do with security/insecurity, and only 22% (OL)/27% (NL) associated the term "security" with the German unification.
- More than 95% of the respondents do not associate the issue "asylum/right of asylum/persons seeking asylum" with "security". There is a similar distribution of reactions to the aspect/issue "foreigners" (which was not part of the first poll but included in the July 1991 poll due to riots of young Neo-Nazis against asylum seekers and foreigners).

TABLE 1a: ASPECTS CONTRIBUTING TO SECURITY/INSECURITY OF 16 TO 25-YEAR-OLD MEN AND WOMEN IN THE OLD AND THE NEW LAENDER

Poll carried out in July 1991; SOWI, Table by Kohr/Räder 1991  
(Simple structure based on matrix clustering (SYSTAT) of percentage frequencies)

Aspects contributing to:	security (S) insecurity (I) having nothing to do with the problem (0)					
	(OL) Old Laender (n=394),	(NL) New Laender (n=274)				
Aspects contributing to:	OL S	NL S	NL 0	OL 0	OL I	NL I
Pollution/destruction of environment	9.8	6.9	21.5	11.9	<u>78.4</u>	<u>71.5</u>
Terrorism	4.1	0.7	19.7	30.8	<u>65.0</u>	<u>79.6</u>
Criminality/crime	4.4	0.4	10.0	29.8	<u>65.8</u>	<u>89.7</u>
Housing and rents	19.6	12.8	15.3	33.5	46.9	<u>71.9</u>
Right of asylum/asylum seekers	4.4	1.8	<u>53.6</u>	42.9	<u>52.7</u>	44.5
Performance stress	8.2	9.1	<u>50.0</u>	<u>53.7</u>	38.0	40.9
Foreigners	6.4	4.0	<u>52.0</u>	<u>56.6</u>	37.0	44.0
German unification	22.1	27.0	31.4	38.3	39.6	41.6
All-German armed forces	24.2	17.9	<u>54.7</u>	<u>58.6</u>	17.2	27.4
Social market economy	<u>64.0</u>	31.4	25.5	23.9	12.1	43.1
Personal vocational career	<u>58.6</u>	<u>59.7</u>	17.2	33.9	7.5	23.1
Personal health	<u>57.7</u>	<u>55.8</u>	31.0	32.0	10.3	13.1
Disarmament in East and West	<u>65.1</u>	<u>63.1</u>	25.9	22.0	12.9	10.9
Personal standard of living	<u>59.6</u>	42.0	36.9	28.5	11.8	21.2
Strength of the Deutschmark	51.4	51.1	43.8	39.6	9.0	5.1
Partner relationship	52.2	<u>63.9</u>	31.8	<u>44.2</u>	3.6	4.4
lower hinge	7.3	5.5	20.6	29.2	11.1	17.2
upper hinge	58.2	53.5	46.9	43.6	49.8	58.0

Distribution characteristics for percentage of appreciation of security/ insecurity factors based on stem-and-leaf plots (SYSTAT). Underlined: percentage values of the upper quartiles.

The overall distribution of the answers given with regard to these two aspects suggests that a considerable number of adolescents associate "foreigners" with "insecurity". In doing so, adolescents living in the old Laender apparently make a clear distinction between "foreigners" and "persons seeking asylum/persons having been granted asylum": While 37% associate insecurity with "foreigners" in general, 53% particularly associate insecurity with "persons seeking asylum/persons having been granted asylum". In the new Laender, however, in both cases 45% of the adolescents responded with "insecurity" without making any significant distinction between these two aspects.

These differences may be attributable to the fact that adolescents in the old Laender, which are more accustomed to EC foreigners, primarily regard citizens of western foreign countries as "foreigners", while relating the term "persons having been granted asylum/persons seeking asylum" mainly to foreigners coming from other continents. In the new Laender, however, which had long been isolated, this difference seems to be less common with adolescents.

Particularly remarkable with regard to the traditional context of "security" are the reactions of the adolescents when asked about the contribution of the Federal Armed Forces to their personal security perception. In December 1990 as well as in July 1991 a little more than 50% of the adolescents polled in the old and the new Laender responded that the Federal Armed Forces had nothing to do with personal feelings of security/insecurity. Approximately one quarter of the respondents in the old Laender relate the term "security" to the Federal Armed Forces; in the new Laender the share is about 5% lower. Conversely, about 30% of the respondents in the new Laender associate "insecurity" with the Federal Armed Forces; in the old Laender the share is about 10% lower.

All in all these results show that, on the one hand, "security" nowadays is no longer associated primarily with "external security" and, on the other hand, "insecurity" is no longer associated mainly with military threat. Räder (1992) reports similar results from open interviews. Nowadays young people apparently relate feelings of security and insecurity/threat primarily to health, prosperity, standard of living and well-ordered social and political circumstances. At present, adolescents regard the destruction of the environment, terrorism, criminality as well as a decline in prosperity and a loss in the quality of life as the principal risk factors.

### **3.2 Stability of the assessments of security and insecurity over time**

As shown in Graphs 1 and 2, the assessments of security and insecurity factors have altogether remained very stable over time. Although, covering a mere six months, the interval between the first and the second survey was comparatively short, this period of time was marked by a number of events which were very significant in terms of security policy, such as the Gulf War, the changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and the increasing gravity of the conflict in Yugoslavia. In the old as well as in the new Laender the distribution of responses was found to be stable.

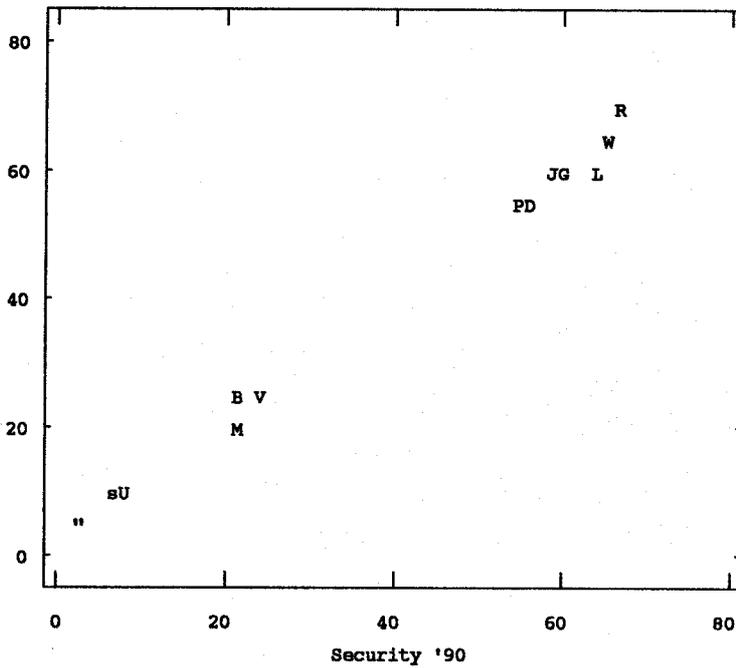
Graph 3 shows those differences in the assessments made by adolescents in the old and the new Laender; some of these differences are really substantial. The compari-

son of the temporal changes (Graphs 1 and 2) and differences in the assessments made by adolescents in the western and the eastern parts of Germany suggests that these assessments have hardly been influenced by current events. Apparently they are more determined by assessment schemes and mental attitudes, which have developed as a result of different everyday life experiences in the two parts of Germany.

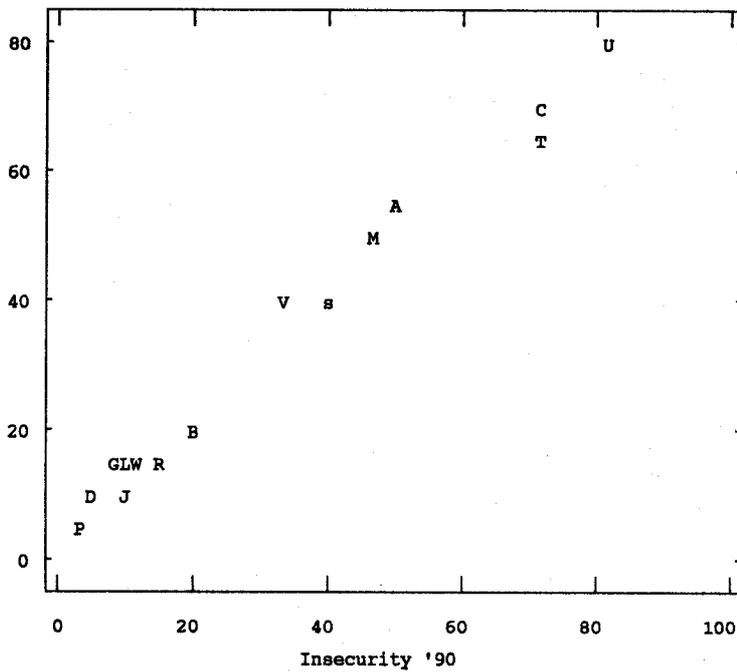
The question as to what extent the different degrees of socialization in the two German states, the different political objectives and platforms and the resulting rhetoric also had a decisive influence on this development cannot be clearly answered on the basis of these data. The results of the cluster analyses, the purpose of which is to identify a common structure for the issues addressed as well as for the answers given, show a form which comes very close to a simple structure pattern (cf. underlined figures in Table 1 and Ia). This suggests that adolescents in the eastern and the western parts of Germany have developed basically comparable associations with regard to the factors of security/insecurity, although the conditions of socialization had been very different.

Graph 1: Old Laender: December 1990 vs. July 1991

Security '91



Insecurity '91

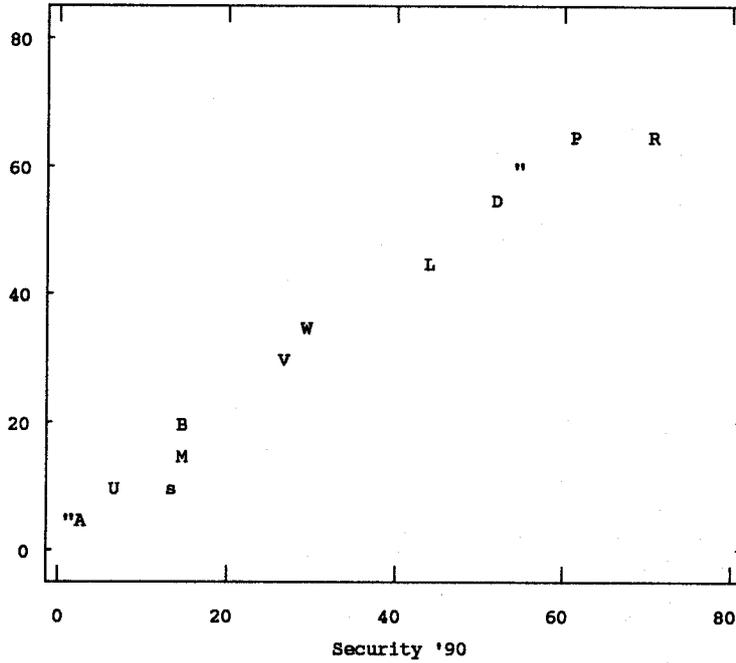


Legend:

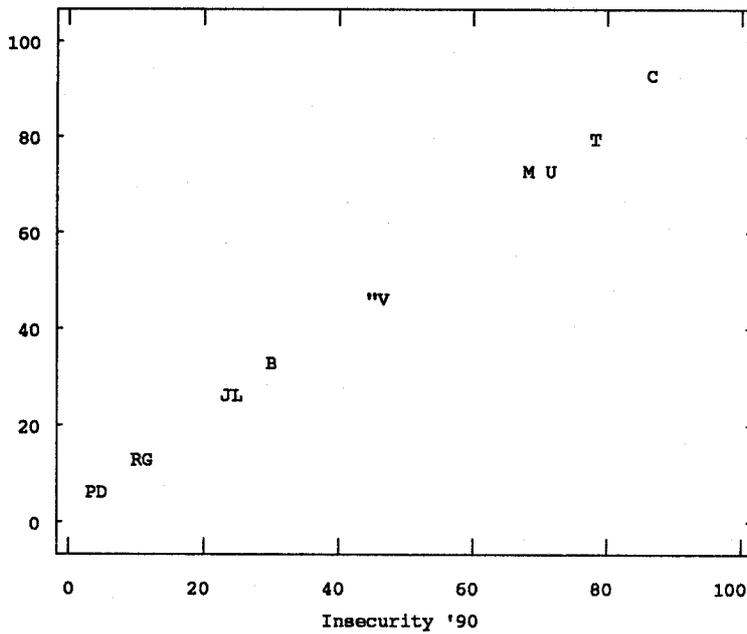
- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| A = Right of asylum/asylum seekers | s = Performance stress                       |
| B = All-German armed forces        | T = Terrorism                                |
| C = Criminality/crime              | U = Pollution/destruction of the environment |
| D = Strength of the Deutschmark    | V = German unification                       |
| G = Personal health                | W = Social market economy                    |
| J = Personal vocational career     | = Two aspects with identical coordinates     |
| L = Personal standard of living    |  |
| M = Housing and rents              |  |
| P = Partner relationship           |  |
| R = Disarmament in East and West   |  |

Graph 2: New Laender: December 1990 vs. July 1991

Security '91



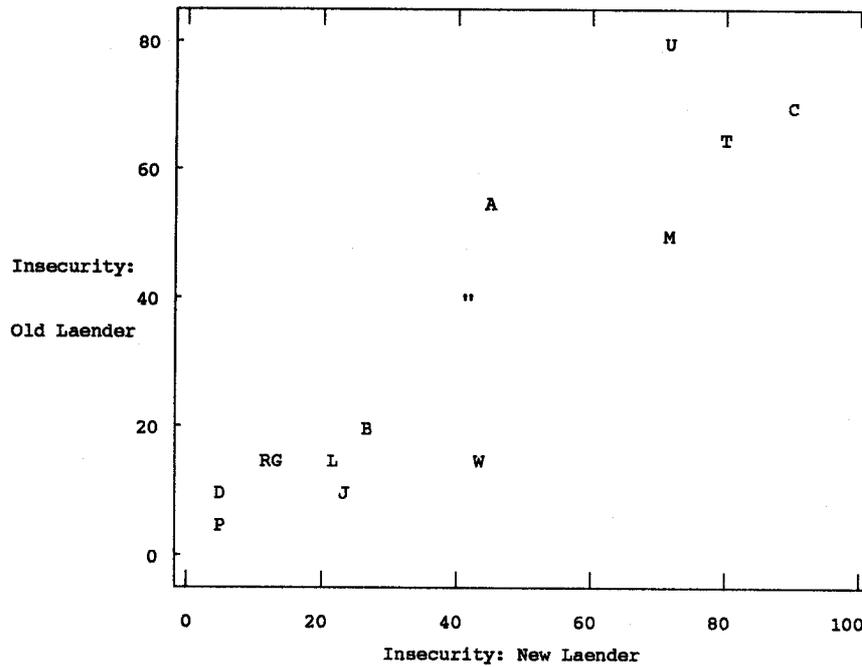
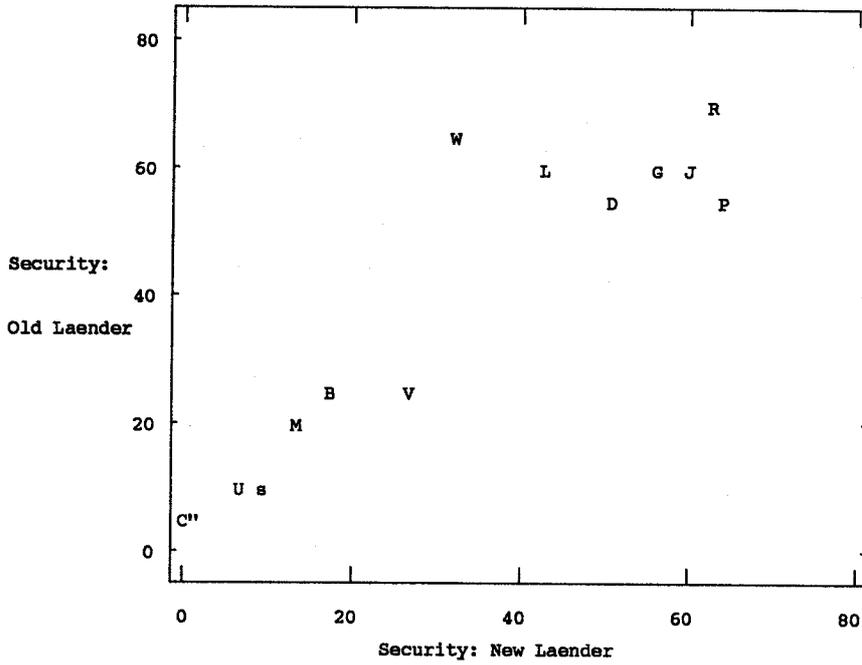
Insecurity '91



Legend:

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| A = Right of asylum/asylum seekers | s = Performance stress                       |
| B = All-German armed forces        | T = Terrorism                                |
| C = Criminality/crime              | U = Pollution/destruction of the environment |
| D = Strength of the Deutschmark    | V = German unification                       |
| G = Personal health                | W = Social market economy                    |
| 3 = personal vocational career     | - Two aspects with identical coordinates     |
| L = Personal standard of living    |  |
| M = Housing and rents              |  |
| P = Partner relationship           |  |
| R = Disarmament in East and West   |  |

Graph 3: Old Laender vs. New Laender: Security & Insecurity, July '91



Legend:

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| A = Right of asylum/asylum seekers | 9 = Performance stress                       |
| B = All-German armed forces        | T = Terrorism                                |
| C = Criminality/crime              | U = Pollution/destruction of the environment |
| D = Strength of the Deutschmark    | V = German unification                       |
| G = Personal health                | W = Social market economy                    |
| J = Personal vocational career     | = Two aspects with identical coordinates     |
| L = Personal standard of living    |  |
| M = Housing and rents              |  |
| P = Partner relationship           |  |
| R = Disarmament in East and West   |  |

Despite the huge differences in the overall assessment of the general social and political situation ("more secure" - "more insecure") between adolescents in the old Laender and adolescents in the new Laender a common structure of the responses made can be identified. The assessments made by adolescents in the old Laender and those in the new Laender do not follow different structural patterns. The dimensions of evaluation used and the criteria applied are rather identical. As a consequence, there is no fundamental difference in the dimension "understanding of security - insecurity" between adolescents in the eastern part and those living in the western part of Germany. There are, however, very substantial differences in the way how adolescents assess the materialization of security or insecurity, particularly in view of the economic conditions prevailing in the western part of Germany and those existing in the eastern part of Germany. Briefly summarized: Adolescents in the old Laender and adolescents in the new Laender basically have the same understanding of security and insecurity, though in the new Laender less adolescents felt secure and more feel insecure.

### **3.3 Assessments of (potential) tasks for the Federal Armed Forces ("primary and secondary functions") by adolescents**

The analysis of the factors associated with "security - insecurity" has shown inter alia, that adolescents primarily have a non-military orientation, which corresponds to the change in the paradigms of security policy and the new perspectives of particularly relevant political tasks (cf. Kohr 1991). As a result, the task of ensuring security is not primarily attributed to the armed forces but rather to civil organizations. In addition, it may be supposed that adolescents do not waste much thought on the tasks which could/should be performed by the armed forces: Nowadays military power is no central issue which has particularly close relation to the ego. In this general situation it cannot be sensible to put the question of which primary and secondary functions should be performed by the Federal Armed Forces in such a way that the options given only allow answers to be given either "in the affirmative" or "in the negative". It is rather necessary to differentiate the possible answers so as to permit a better diversification of the possible responses of the adolescents polled.

In the context of this change of paradigms the decisive question is whether a particular function should be performed by the armed forces or whether it had better be performed by civil organizations. In order to be able to properly interpret the answers given it is necessary to offer another option of response to the effect that the function in question should neither be performed by the armed forces nor by civil organizations, that Germany should by no means get involved in this matter (or, expressing it in the everyday language used by adolescents, that Germany should "keep out of it"). Finally, when asking about the acceptance of (new) tasks for the Federal Armed Forces, the possibility must also be taken into account that a particular function may be regarded as irrelevant or that individual adolescents may not know what to say about it or do not want to state their views on the matter. In order to take these aspects into account as well, the questionnaire explicitly provides for another two options, i.e. "don't care" and "not sure".

The questions and possible answers can be found in the appendix attached to this paper. 13 tasks/functions were given which, are primary or secondary tasks of the

Federal Armed Forces, are now at issue in current discussions and open interviews. The questions and possible answers were formulated in such a way that people who are no experts in matters of security policy can easily understand them, and that the list presented includes the options discussed in the mass media. In this context, it was also important that the "catchwords" (e.g. "blue helmets"), which help the adolescents to identify the respective option/task, be included in the questionnaire as well. In addition - as a kind of check, as it were - tasks were also formulated which are not seriously or only marginally discussed as possible tasks for the Federal Armed Forces (e.g. "fighting international drug trafficking").

The results of the survey are shown in Tables 2 and 3. Since, in general, the adolescents polled chose the options "don't care" and "not sure" only in a few rare cases, both responses were combined in the category "?" in order to include them in the cluster analyses of the percentages of responses made. This poll was carried out only in July 1991; lacking public discussion or proper structures of attention and relevance, particularly the questions relating to an international employment of German armed forces would not have been sensible when asked before the Gulf War and the conflict in Yugoslavia.

In the first place it must be noted that the results of the cluster analyses could be combined in one single cluster to represent the answers given by adolescents in the old Laender and those given in the new Laender, but that, in doing so, vital differences in the way how adolescents view the mission of the Federal Armed Forces would be concealed, which, in turn, throw light on the socialization attachment of the views held by the adolescents in this field. The results have therefore been represented in separate tables.

The old Laender (Table 2) show a distinct simple structure pattern. The civil tasks which are assessed as being predominant include "fighting international drug trafficking", "tasks to be performed in the field of environmental protection", "construction and development aid, such as, for instance, construction of roads and bridges, harvesting aid" and "fighting international terrorism" (for technical reasons, the tasks listed are represented in the tables only in an abbreviated form).

The set of tasks which follows next includes "international arms control", "border control to hold off illegal immigrants, such as 'economic refugees'" and "humanitarian aid and rescue services, such as assistance to refugees"; although these tasks generally have a slightly more "civil orientation" (except "border control"), there are strong minorities (40% of the adolescents living in the western part of Germany) which also regard them as military tasks. What is characteristic of this set of tasks therefore is the unclear situation as to what preferences adolescents in the old Laender actually have.

What comes next is a set of tasks which adolescents in the old Laender predominantly regard as being military tasks and thus attribute to the Federal Armed Forces: 58% of the respondents attribute "military peace-keeping missions - without combat missions - performed under control of the United Nations (UN 'blue helmets')" to the Federal Armed Forces; 55% are of the opinion that the Federal Armed Forces should assume "international military advisory functions", and 54% would consider it a task

of the Federal Armed Forces to participate in "military operations carried out together with NATO allies on NATO territory following a resolution of NATO".

TABLE 2: ASSESSMENTS OF (POTENTIAL) TASKS FOR THE FEDERAL ARMED FORCES BY 16 To 25-YEAR-OLD MEN AND WOMEN IN THE OLD LAENDER

Poll carried out in July 1991; SOWI, Table by Kohr/Räder 1991  
(Simple structure based on matrix clustering (SYSTAT) of percentage frequencies)

Headings of columns/groups: OL: Old Laender (n=394)  
CIV, MIL, NO, ?: see explanation under "Text of question".

Functions/tasks presented for assessment	OL CIV	OL MIL	OL NO	OL ?
Fighting drug trafficking	<u>72.5</u>	14.4	5.7	7.5
Environmental protection	<u>68.1</u>	24.9	2.6	4.4
Development aid	<u>59.1</u>	29.6	3.9	7.5
Fighting terrorism	<u>57.6</u>	28.0	5.7	8.7
Arms control	43.7	36.8	10.8	8.7
Border control	41.6	42.7	6.9	8.7
Aid/rescue services	51.4	39.8	3.1	5.7
Disaster relief	41.6	<u>54.2</u>	0.8	3.3
UN blue-helmet-mission	13.9	<u>58.0</u>	15.2	<u>12.9</u>
Int. mil. advisory functions	12.1	<u>54.8</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>11.6</u>
NATO missions (NATO territory)	3.1	<u>53.6</u>	<u>31.7</u>	<u>11.6</u>
Military UN missions	3.4	43.8	<u>41.8</u>	11.1
NATO rapid reaction forces	5.2	36.6	<u>41.8</u>	16.5
lower hinge	12.1	29.6	3.9	7.5
upper hinge	57.6	53.6	21.6	11.6

Distribution characteristics of the percentages of functional attributions (civil/military/"keep out") determined on the basis of stem-and-leaf plots (SYSTAT). Underlined: percentage values of the upper quartiles.

Text of question: "Considering the following tasks which are currently under discussion for the German armed forces, what do you think of the Federal Armed Forces performing such tasks? Or should these tasks be performed by other civil organizations, or should we Germans keep out of this business altogether?"

CIV: civil organizations should perform this task

MIL: the Federal Armed Forces (Bundeswehr) should perform this task

NO : we Germans should keep out of this business altogether

? : don't care/not sure

The only task in this set, which a huge minority (42%) considers to be a primary task of civil organizations is "international disaster relief". Regarding the other tasks contained in this set, the difference in the frequency of civil and military task allocation is

very distinct (and more pronounced than is the difference with regard to military task allocation in the set of primarily civil task attributions).

The fourth and last set of tasks contained in Table 2 consists of participation in "worldwide armed missions carried out on behalf of and under control of the United Nations (UN)" and participation in "military missions as part of a 'NATO rapid reaction force', possibly even outside NATO territory if so decided by NATO". Although a relative majority (44%) at the adolescents in the old Laender considers the first task (UN military missions) to be a sensible task for the Federal Armed Forces, an approximately equal number (42%) of adolescents in the western part of Germany is of the opinion that we Germans should "keep out of this business altogether". While 42% of the respondents in the old Laender are against an employment of German armed forces as part of a NATO rapid reaction force, 37% regard this as a legitimate military task for the Federal Armed Forces.

In addition, it is to be noted that, although the number of adolescents who cannot decide on one of the three definite answers is, by comparison, the highest (generally a little more than 10%) for those task descriptions which explicitly feature the term "military", the individual respondent generally seems to have a very concrete idea of which tasks should be performed by the Federal Armed Forces, which tasks had better be carried out by civil organizations and which tasks are generally regarded as problematic. This is indicated by the fact that the possible answers "don't care" and "not sure", which have explicitly been included in the questionnaire to be selected by the respondent in case of indecision, were selected only rarely on the whole. This suggests that these are tasks which the respondents regard as relevant, to which they have already given some thought and which they do care about.

New military tasks which are identified by adolescents in the old Laender are mainly UN blue-helmet-missions, the performance of international military advisory functions and the accomplishment of NATO missions on NATO territory. Predominantly civil tasks, however, primarily refer to fighting international drug trafficking, environmental protection, providing development aid and fighting international terrorism. Regarding arms control, border control, aid and rescue services as well as disaster relief, the respondents are not sure whether these tasks should be assigned to civil organizations or to the Federal Armed Forces. Military tasks the views on which are quite controversial refer to the participation of German armed forces in UN military missions and the employment of German armed forces as part of a NATO rapid reaction force. Among the majority of adolescents in the old Laender there is no acceptance of these tasks.

Without going into further detail, it can be stated that in some respects the responses made by adolescents in the new Laender (see Table 3) considerably differ from those made by adolescents in the old Laender. Only the most important deviations shall be stated here.

The most striking difference is that the adolescents living in the eastern part of Germany are generally more sceptical about tasks defined as primarily military tasks. The majority of the respondents thus object to the following tasks (percentage of "keep-outs" in brackets):

- participation of German armed forces in "military operations of the NATO allies on NATO territory according to a resolution by NATO" (53%);
- participation in "worldwide armed missions carried out on behalf of and under control of the United Nations (UN)" (64%);
- participation in "military missions as part of a 'NATO rapid reaction force', possibly even outside NATO territory if so decided by NATO" (72%). The performance of "international military advisory functions" is also disapproved of by adolescents, though only by a relative majority (46%).

TABLE 3: ASSESSMENTS OF (POTENTIAL) TASKS FOR THE FEDERAL ARMED FORCES BY 16 TO 25-YEAR-OLD MEN AND WOMEN IN THE NEW LAENDER

Poll carried out in July 1991; SOWI, Table by Kohr/Räder 1991  
(Simple structure based on matrix clustering (SYSTAT) of percentage frequencies)

Headings of columns/groups: NL: New Laender (n=274)  
CIV, MIL, NO, ?: see explanation under "Text of question".

Functions/tasks presented for assessment,	NL CIV	NL MIL	NL NO	NL ?
Fighting drug trafficking	71.2	22.3	4.0	2.6
Environmental protection	70.4	24.5	2.6	2.6
Arms control	63.5	24.1	5.1	7.3
Aid/rescue services	52.2	38.7	4.0	5.1
Development aid	49.3	41.2	2.9	6.6
Fighting terrorism	57.6	28.0	5.7	8.7
Disaster relief	38.7	57.7	0.7	2.9
Border control	21.5	58.8	9.1	10.6
UN blue-helmet-mission	16.8	49.6	20.1	13.5
Int. mil. advisory functions	7.3	38.0	46.4	8.4
NATO missions (NATO territory)	1.1	35.8	53.3	9.9
Military UN missions	2.2	26.3	63.5	8.0
NATO rapid reaction forces	2.2	16.8	71.9	9.1
lower hinge	7.3	24.5	4.0	5.1
upper hinge	52.2	41.2	46.4	9.1

Distribution characteristics of the percentages of functional attributions (civil/military/"keep out") determined on the basis of stem-and-leaf plots (SYSTAT). Underlined: percentage values of the upper quartiles.

Text of question. "Considering the following tasks which are currently under discussion for the German armed forces, what do you think of the Federal Armed Forces performing such tasks? Or should these tasks be performed by other civil organizations, or should we Germans keep out of this business altogether?"

CIV: civil organizations should perform this task

MIL: the Federal Armed Forces (Bundeswehr) should perform this task

NO : we Germans should keep out of this business altogether

? : don't care/not sure

The only tasks which adolescents in the new Laender quite definitely regard as tasks for the Federal Armed Forces are "border control to hold off illegal immigrants, such as economic refugees" (59%) and "military peace-keeping missions - without combat missions - performed under control of the United Nations" (50%). Although a majority of adolescents consider "international disaster relief" to be a task for the Federal Armed Forces (58%), there is also a comparatively great number of adolescents in the eastern part of Germany who deem this to be a task of civil organizations.

What is true of adolescents in the western part of Germany, equally applies to adolescents in the eastern part of Germany: The number of indefinite and, as it were, indecisive responses is low. Adolescents in the eastern as well as in the western part of Germany thus seem to have a comparatively clear idea of whether the tasks specified should be performed by German civil organizations, by German armed forces, or whether they should not be performed by Germans at all.

The differences in the structure of the responses made by adolescents in the old and the new Laender indicate that traditional/socialized ideological attachments may be of some importance in this connection. The performance of "international military advisory functions", "development aid" or the "employment of German NATO forces on NATO territory" may thus have a specifically different meaning when seen against the background of the former GDR's policy than when viewed in the context of the policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany before the German unification.

All results combined suggest that, due to their indirect and direct experiences with the East German army and their efforts to disassociate themselves from socialization and the political objectives of the real existing socialist system, adolescents in the new Laender have a even more civil and "pacifist" concept of the tasks to be performed by the Federal Armed Forces than adolescents in the old Laender.

#### **4. Summary and Discussion**

The results of the polls conducted among 16 to 25-year-old men and women in the old and new Laender in December 1990 and July 1991 have confirmed the assumption that the prevailing concepts of security have changed in the wake of the shift in political and security-related paradigms and as result of the political changes, particularly in Eastern Europe. Nowadays, adolescents do no longer relate "security/insecurity" to friend-foe schemes and military threat.

The comparing analyses of the prevailing concepts of security have shown that although adolescents in the old and the new Laender largely associate the same with the terms "security" and "insecurity", adolescents in the new Laender take a considerably more sceptical view on the materialization of the factors contributing to security. Symmetrically, adolescents in the new Laender see substantially more insecurities, particularly with regard to the economic and material situation.

Generally, adolescents relate "security" primarily to social, everyday living conditions and ecology/ecologic risks. Another essential security factor identified by the adolescents is disarmament in East and West.

In the context of the firm civil security concept of adolescents, the Federal Armed Forces, as a social institution responsible for defence and "external security", are not relevant to the majority of adolescents polled in December 1990 and July 1991 (i.e. after the Gulf War). In other words: If adolescents are requested to think of what contributes to their security or insecurity, less than 50% of the adolescents in the old and the new Laender in fact think of the Federal Armed Forces in this context (be it in a positive or negative sense).

The negative reactions regarding the acceptance of the Federal Armed Forces ("... contribute to my insecurity") are stronger among the adolescents polled in the eastern part than among those polled in the western part of Germany (December 1990: NL = 31%, OL = 21%; July 1991: NL = 27%, OL = 17%).

In general, the percentage of definitely positive reactions is about just as high as that of negative reactions, though it is slightly higher among adolescents in the western part of Germany (December 1990: OL = 22%, NL = 15%; July 1991: OL = 24%, NL = 18%).

These results reflect the changes in political and security-related paradigms, the radical political changes with regard to détente between East and West as well as the concentration of social and ecological problems and risks. According to the majority of adolescents military power provides no insurance against the "new risks" (environment, poverty, migration/emigration from the East to the West and from the South to the North; cf. Kohr 1991; Räder 1992).

This situation, in which many people do no longer regard previous arguments for the existence of armed forces as realistic and valid and in which the social discussion of new objectives, functions and tasks has just begun, has led to an assessment on the part of adolescents which is designated as "acceptance crisis" in the rhetoric of politicians. If we do not succeed in achieving a new social consensus on the mission of the Federal Armed Forces (which requires discussions within and outside the armed forces, with all social groups being included as far as possible, cf. Kohr 1990), this problematic situation will continue to exist to the detriment of state and society.

This problem is too serious and too difficult to be solved by public relations measures which are designed to "increase acceptance" (cf. Kohr & Lippert 1990). The results reported on the issue "tasks for the Federal Armed Forces" as viewed from the angle of adolescents are useful in connection with the current discussion about a redefinition/modification of the mission of the Federal Armed Forces, because they show how (and how differently) adolescents view the tasks to be performed by armed forces after the end of the "cold war".

If it is true that adolescents are particularly sensible of future social tasks and problems - simply because they have yet to plan and organize their lives and future since, in all probability, this future will last longer than the future of the elder people (cf. Kohr & Räder 1983) and if it is further true that a state will always have to legitimate its monopoly of power - data of this kind will be particularly relevant to discussion.

However, this does not mean that it is possible to directly derive any recommendations from these data. Such a reception would be based on completely exaggerated assumptions regarding the possibilities of such polls. In the political context data of

this kind may at best be used as a means of communication. It is possible to refer to them, to criticize them, to develop pertinent hypotheses as to how and why these data have evolved like that and to confirm or question preliminary suppositions.

In doing so, one should, however, keep in mind that these data were primarily collected in connection with social research analyses, in the context of which they are merely used as indicators. Therefore, unlike opinion polls which do not have any scientific theoretical background and pretension and are related to current affairs, they - quite sensibly - cannot be directly interpreted but must be discussed and integrated into the context of social change and the resulting changes in social and political thinking outlined in the introduction.

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### Appendix: Questions and Format of the Questionnaire

When thinking about the current social and political situation - do you personally feel more secure or more insecure on the whole?

more secure	1
more insecure	2

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What are the reasons? Below you find a list of various factors which may contribute to this feeling of security and others which may rather cause a feeling of insecurity. Please indicate for each factor listed whether it contributes more to your feeling of security or to your feeling of insecurity or whether this factor has nothing to do with these feelings of security or insecurity.

	contributes more to my feeling of security	has nothing to do with these feelings	contributes more to my feeling of insecurity
Social market economy	1	2	3
German unification	1	2	3
Personal standard of living; what I can afford		2	3
Pollution and destruction of the environment		2	3
Disarmament in Bast and West		2	3
All-German armed forces		2	3
Terrorism		2	3
Personal health	1	2	3
Partner relationship	1	2	3
Strength of the Deutschmark	1	2	3
Foreigners		2	3
Performance stress		2	3
Right of asylum/asylum seekers		2	3
Personal vocational career		2	3
Housing and rents		2	3
Criminality/crime		2	3

When thinking about the following tasks which are currently under discussion for the German armed forces, what do you think of the Federal Armed Forces performing such tasks? Or should these tasks be performed by civil organizations, or should we Germans keep out of this business altogether?

	Federal. Armed Forces	Civil orga- nizations	keep out altogether	don't care	not sure
International arms control tasks	1	2	3	4	5
Fighting international terrorism	1	2	3	4	5
Border control to hold off illegal immigrants, such as "economic refugees"	1	2	3	4	5
Environmental protection tasks	1	2	3	4	5
International disaster relief	1	2	3	4	5
Humanitarian aid and rescue services, such as assistance to refugees	1	2	3	4	5
Construction and development aid, such as construction of roads and bridges, harvesting aid	1	2	3	4	5
Performance of international military advisory functions	1	2	3	4	5
Worldwide armed missions carried out on behalf of and under control of the United Nations (UN)	1	2	3	4	5
Execution of military missions together with NATO allies on NATO territory following a resolution by NATO	1	2	3	4	5
Participation in military missions as part of a "NATO rapid reaction force", possibly even outside NATO territory if so decided by NATO	1	2	3	4	5
Military peace-keeping missions - without combat missions - and carried out on behalf of and under control of the United Nations (UN "blue helmets")	1	2	3	4	5