

UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

Bachelor Thesis

**Step Down - The Way to the Decision to end Compulsory Military
Service in Germany-**

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Submission: 30th June 2019

Word Count: 18.693

Abstract

The Bachelor thesis explores the process behind the decision to suspend compulsory military service in Germany. The guiding research question is: Why was the decision to suspend compulsory military service in Germany successful? Termination is seen as a process and therefore the question is answered by the help of termination literature and literature about the political process as such. A new theoretical framework is developed out of the existing literature on termination and the policy process. The thematic analysis is made with secondary qualitative data, derived from reports and newspaper articles. The thesis concludes that the termination was successful because none of the identified obstacles were big enough to stop the termination process. The external political environment, with its actors, prevailing beliefs and circumstances influenced the termination attempt positively.

Keywords: policy termination, political process, compulsory military service (Wehrpflicht), German

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1. Introduction

“On résiste à l'invasion des armées; on ne résiste pas à l'invasion des idées” (eng. “One can resist the invasion of armies; one cannot resist the invasion of ideas”) -assigned to Victor Hugo.

In average there are more than 920 legislative acts within the two German legislative bodies during one legislative period (Bundestag, 2018). Some are getting discussed more broadly, some get huge attention from all sides and some just pass by, without having a huge impact on everyday life or are too complex to understand for the broader society or are just uninteresting. Some are new and innovative policies, others end with existing policies. The case on hand, the suspension of compulsory military service, here called Wehrpflicht, in Germany is an example for a legislative action which received huge attention and had a huge impact. But it is most and foremost an example for policy termination.

The proposal of terminating the Wehrpflicht was brought into discussion mid-2010 and at the end of the year, the German government decided to accept it. The Wehrrechtsänderungsgesetz was passed and the Wehrpflicht was suspended. With this decision, Germany followed its neighbour states like France, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, and Belgium which ended with conscription several years ago and are now operating with a professional army.

The idea to terminate the Wehrpflicht was brought forward by the conservative Minister of Defense, Karl Theodor zu Guttenberg, from the CSU. Guttenberg came into office in October 2010. He served as a conscript and voluntary within the Bundeswehr. He even described himself as a “passionate advocate” of the Wehrpflicht (Resing, 2013). He was the youngest German minister of defense and is described as an innovative and unconventional politician (Lohse & Wehner, 2011).

Some argue that this decision was surprising in the German context, others would say, it was obvious for several years that the Wehrpflicht is not made for infinity. In general, one might ask oneself the question if policies are made to last forever? Is it desirable that policies last forever? If one answers the questions with a “no” it is necessary to think about the consequence, a termination.

Termination research

Termination is an understudied field of research (Daniels, 2001). This is due to several reasons. First, it is about the fact that termination is a rare occurring political phenomenon

because policies are created to last and the impact of a possible termination is unclear (Behn, 1978). Further, conducting and researching a termination is not as rewarding as creating and examining new and innovative policies (Daniels, 2001). The last-mentioned reason by Daniels (2001) is the fact that termination is hard to conceptualize and operationalize, is a little change within a policy or a restructuring of an organization already a termination? Nevertheless, termination occurs, and therefore research is necessary. The case on hand is a prime example of policy termination. This is one of the reasons why this case is chosen for analysis. Starting by the potential for finding relevant and useful data and theories and ending up by the low number of policies which had been terminated. The case has the potential to bring about new insights for the research of policy termination. First, it is about policy termination, whereas many types of research were conducted about termination of organizations (Kirkpatrick, Lester & Peterson, 1999). Second, the topic is highly debatable and was discussed very often. The termination of the policy was at the beginning and during the process not taken for granted. The re-introduction of the Wehrpflicht had been on the public agenda in 2018 again (CDU diskutiert über Rückkehr zur Wehrpflicht, 2018). Third, there is data available. The used data is secondary and derived from newspaper articles and reports. Fourth and most important, the termination had been successful, which is not often the case. It has clear boundaries and the impact and whole extent of it can be observed eight years after the decision was made and implemented.

Academic and social relevance

The aim of the research is to add new knowledge to the field of policy termination. But next to the scientific relevance of the study, to add further knowledge about policy termination, it is about social relevance. Policies affect many people, directly in their everyday life and indirectly, for example, due to taxation and cost effects. Therefore, the study shall, not only contribute to generating abstract knowledge, but it shall also contribute to the ongoing practical and political processes. Public policymakers can use this knowledge to terminate a policy successfully or to prevent it from being terminated. Especially the first aspect of bringing redundant policies to an end is important. We are living in an ongoing world of change, new circumstances need new answers and these new answers are not always innovative and new policies, also the termination of specific policies can support change and development. Think about climate change, a lot of old policies and activities had been terminated or are likely to be changed, maybe actually terminated, like the exit of the nuclear energy sector or the discussion about air transport. Not only “harmful” policies can be

terminated, but also policies which are ineffective or inefficient. The termination of these ones can save fiscal money which can be spent on other projects. Some policies can act against overall beliefs within the broader public. A good example for it are the terminated policies in the field of tolerance and anti-discrimination, for example, the termination of the policy that only man and woman can marry each other and with it the prohibition of same-sex marriages.

Research question

To better understand the undergone process of termination in the Wehrpflicht case, the following research questions guide through this research.

The research question of the bachelor thesis is: *Why was the decision to suspend compulsory military service in Germany successful?* The following sub-questions shall help to answer the overall research question:

a) *Why and how did the termination process start?*

b) *Which factors presented obstacles to the termination and which one supported the termination attempt?*

The research question aims not to find answers for normative aspects and questions, was the decision the right one or did the expected outcomes result afterward, in the sense of doing an evaluation. Therefore, successful in this context rather means, coming to the final decision to suspend compulsory military service in Germany. The question determines the causes for and of the successful decision.

The two supporting sub-questions highlight different aspects and steps of the decision-making process by detecting factors which explain the successful and final termination of compulsory military service in Germany. The first sub-question introduces the process and asks for its reasons, the initiating motivations and its characteristics. The second sub-question focuses on the one hand on hindering factors within the process and on the other hand on factors and circumstances which supported the termination.

The questions are answered on the following pages. The thesis is structured as follows. First, practical knowledge about the Wehrpflicht, its history, and impact, is presented. Next to the practical knowledge theoretical knowledge about the policy cycle and termination as such is provided in the theory section. Second, the case gets analyzed under the use of thematic analysis. The thesis concludes with an answer to the overall research question, states implications for further research and present limitations. The thesis ends with an excursion about the Bundeswehr and German defence after the suspension in the year 2011.

2. The Wehrpflicht

Conscription means the compulsory enlistment in the national armed forces here in the Bundeswehr. All German men, reaching the age of 18 had the duty to perform the service.

1813-1932

The German Wehrpflicht goes back to the times of Napoleon, more than 200 years ago. The conscripted armed forces replaced at that time the standing army and the mercenary principle. Because of Napoleon's military success, the French conscription system was adopted by other nations. The conscription system at this time was a measure to combat the unreliability and unloyalty of mercenaries (Steinbach, 2015). In the year 1871, following the Unification of Germany, the Reichsverfassung was passed, in which the Prussian conscription system was expanded to the whole German Nation. The conscription time was more than one year, and soldiers were not allowed to vote during elections. Some thinkers, like Friedrich Engels, saw conscription as a democratisation of power and therefore as a chance for a revolution against the authoritarian political system (Steinbach, 2011). World War I ended with these revolutionary hopes. World War I was fought with a conscription army. After the defeat of the German Empire the Weimar Republic was declared in 1918. The Treaty of Versailles limited the size of the German army, the Reichswehr, to 100,000 men. The conscripted army was replaced by a professional army. The reduction of the army from 400,000 to 100,000 men led to the first huge crisis of the Republic, the Kapp-Putsch in 1920. Veterans, mainly right-conservatives refused the orders of the democratic leaders to lay down their weapons. They organized themselves in the so-called Freikorps, irregular militia corpses. They denied democratic control and acted as a state-in-the-state (Asmuss, 2011). The military leaders refused to fight on the side of the government, arguing that troops do not shoot on troops. But the civil society did not back the coup. A general strike was declared by most political parties and unions, which forced the putschists to surrender after 100 hours. Many putschists drew swastikas on their helmets to articulate their nationalistic thoughts, which foreshadowed another movement using the political instability to promote an anti-democratic agenda.

1933-1948

After Hitler's election in 1933, the German Reich withdrew from international treaties which limited the size of the German army. In 1935 conscription was reintroduced to increase the manpower of the newly created army, the Wehrmacht. Every German man, from the age of 18 until 45, had the duty to serve first for at least one year and later on it was extended to a

service time of two years. Rejection of the service was punished by death. The conscripts and all other soldiers swore on Hitler and were the basis for his power. In May 1945, the German Wehrmacht capitulated and with the surrender of Japan World War II ended. Germany got occupied by the Soviet Union, France, USA, and Great Britain.

1949-1989

Four years later in May 1949 the Grundgesetz was passed. The victorious powers wanted to prevent a new phase of political instability and therefore there was no article about German armed forces. 1955, the year of the German accession into the NATO, started a discussion about the German rearmament. German office holders called for a German army to comply with the demands of their allies in the NATO and to defend themselves against the Warsaw Pact. Simultaneous the Federal Republic of Germany, BRD, developed a new political self-image and placed values on the separation of powers (Steinbach, 2015). In 1956 the Bundeswehr was established. Article 87a from the Grundgesetz states: “The Federation shall establish Armed Forces for purposes of defense”. The armed forces are parliamentary armed forces and so controlled by the legislative. The aim was to prevent a repeated misuse of power of and by the armed forces. The Bundeswehr created the guiding principle of the “Staatsbürger in Uniform” (eng. Citizen in uniform) for themselves to present and ensure the close connection to the society and to express the soldier's self-image (Köster, 2017). With the rearmament, the Wehrpflicht was reintroduced to reach the personal power of 500,000 soldiers and 700,000 reservists. On the first of April 1957, 10,000 conscripts started their service, based on Article 12a Grundgesetz, “Men who have attained the age of eighteen may be required to serve in the Armed Forces.”. The time of conscription was 12 months. In 1962, the German Democratic Republic, GDR, introduced the conscription in their army, the National People's Army, one year after the Berlin Wall was built. At the same time, the BRD raised the time of conscription to 18 months due to new threats from the Eastern Bloc. Conscientious objectors had the possibility to perform alternative service in social institutions, the Zivildienst. This was not possible in the GDR. Until today Article 4 section 3 from the Grundgesetz states “No person shall be compelled against his conscience to render military service involving the use of arms”. Nevertheless, the number of conscientious objectors was low within the first ten years, only 3300 men. The number increased during the Vietnam War and the 68er movement. In the year 1990, the Iron Curtain had fallen, and the 4+2 Treaty was signed. The political logic of mutual deterrence was replaced by a logic of cooperation and

contracts. Due to the decrease of security danger the compulsory military service was reduced to 12 months.

1990-2011

Since the year 1990 the duration of the Wehrpflicht had been reduced several times, from 12 to nine months and from nine to six months in the year 2010. In the same year, December 2010, the federal cabinet accepted a proposal that the Wehrpflicht gets suspended from the first of July 2011. The Bundestag gave its consent in March 2011 and the necessary approval from the Bundesrat followed in April 2011. Hereby the last convocation took place in January 2011. From 2011 onwards the conscript army is replaced by a professional army, the Wehrpflicht is replaced by a voluntary military service, the Freiwilliger Wehrdienst and the Zivildienst by the Bundesfreiwilligendienst and by the Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr. All new services are on a voluntary basis and shall compensate for the loss of thousands of people within the facilities and organizations. The German Wehrpflicht existed from 1956 until 2011 but can be reinforced in the state of defense. Therefore, Article 12a from the Grundgesetz, which contains the Wehrpflicht principles, exists until today.

3. Policy Termination as a Concept

3.1 Policy Termination

Termination, from policy to organization termination, is a rarely studied phenomenon (deLeon, 1978; Bardach, 1976). Termination is the result of a deliberative political process from stakeholders and decision-makers. It means the spatial or temporal end of something, like a policy, an organization or a program (deLeon, 1978). This definition encompasses several attributes. First, it is an active and most often justified process. It must be enforced (Zhang, 2009) or as Daniels (2001) states it, “termination is a premeditated behavior” and has the intent to end the policy. Second, it is a political process (Adam, Bauer, Knill & Studinger, 2007; deLeon, 1997) and part of the policy cycle (May & Wildavsky, 1979).

Different targets, different case characteristics

Termination and termination efforts can differ depending on the case and its characteristics. There are four different targets, (1) functions, (2) organizations, (3) policies and (4) programs (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999). According to Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) and deLeon (1978) organizations are designed to last and are the hardest targets for termination. Whereas policies

and programs are easier to terminate because they cannot avail themselves, have fewer resources, as well monetary ones as human capital, and they are easier to evaluate which makes them vulnerable and can lead to the realization that they are ineffective and no longer necessary. Daniels (2001) assumes that the termination of an organization differs from the termination of policies.

Next to the type of the case, it matters whether the case in question is a local public good or not and how many people are affected, is the scope of affected people rather broad or narrow (Geva-May, 2004). Additionally, organizations and programs that are more or less invisible, not every day present in the daily personal life, are less likely to be terminated, because they do not present a huge disruptive factor and can therefore be ignored. If fewer people are affected than it can be expected that the likelihood of terminating the case is rather low, due to a lack of interest in it and with-it lower levels of resistance. Explained by using the example of the nuclear catastrophe in Fukushima, 2011, more and more people cared about nuclear power plants and their environmental effects and the decision was made to stop all German power plants in the year 2022 (Haunss, Dietz & Nullmeier, 2013).

There is a tendency that longer existing institutions and policies are more resilient to termination, Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) frame it as longevity which is an essential part of the inherent characteristics of an organization. The number of years the organization exists effect termination. One reason might be due to path dependency or customary law. Cameron (1978) states for the politics of defense that “by the time the conditions that led to the creation of the defense policy have changed, the institutional mechanisms created [...] become part of the social structure and part of its *raison d’être* and cannot be discontinued” (p. 340). It gets more difficult to conduct a change on this deeply rooted policies. Additionally, recent organizations might not have as much support from stakeholders as older ones and have a lower total number of beneficiaries.

The degree of complexity of an organization effects termination and decision-making in the way that people will trust in experts when it is about complex structures (Zhang, 2009). When experts propose a termination, it is more likely to happen.

Reasons for termination

But why should one terminate a specific policy? Kaufmann (1987, p. 67) states that over the long-haul survival and not being terminated is “largely a matter of luck” and Geva-May (2004) argues that the timing of termination is mostly random. Nevertheless, the existing literature

presents possible reasons why a policy can be terminated. The purpose, which is expected to be an active one, is to bring redundant, inefficient or outdated policies or organizations to an end or to adjust policies (Brewer, 1978).

In democratic states a change in the overall public opinion can lead to a new government. This change in government can lead to termination (Zhang, 2009; Krause, Yi & Feiock, 2016). The prevailing public and political opinion as well can serve as a stimulus for termination (Anderson, 1984). A newly elected government can place focus on different aspects and decide to terminate policies because they are against their political understanding or ideology. This change in administration is not restricted to the executive, also a change in the legislative powers can pave the way for termination. Even the preliminary stage, the electoral campaigns, can trigger termination (Geva-May, 2004; Brewer, 1978). Parties and politicians can campaign with grievances. This can put pressure on the current executive to change their position and to end a policy or the electoral campaigns are used to promise a change. An example of elections as a reason for termination is the German discussion about same-sex marriages, a few weeks before the federal elections. The conservative parties, CDU and CSU, were in government, together with the SPD, and against this proposal. To put pressure on them all possible coalition partners, including the SPD, declared that they will only be part of a potential coalition with them for the next period if the same-sex marriage is allowed in Germany (bpb, 2018). Then the Bundestag voted on the proposal and it was accepted. It depends on the people in charge and their attitude, including their ideology. Therefore, policy termination is more likely if the assembly who wants to end the policy differs from the one which enacted it (Krause et al., 2016). The prevailing ideology gets de-legitimated by the majority of the involved actors (Zhang, 2009) which is then a reason for action. Ideology cannot only trigger termination it can also prevent things from being terminated (May & Wildavsky, 1979). The ideological aspect can even overcome economical and rational reasons (Harris, 1997).

Bardach (1976) adds the existence of a period of turbulence as another factor that can initiate and support termination. A period of turbulence can be an environmental catastrophe which needs an immediate response, via regulating policies or serves as a stimulus for a change in existing policies (Geva-May, 2004). Illustrated again with the Fukushima example, the Germans felt unsafe, an awareness for the topic developed and with it a change in the overall public opinion on this topic (Arlt & Wolling, 2014).

Not only the broader public can have an influence on the decision-making agenda and process. Also, pressure groups play an important role. They put pressure on the people responsible to push through their position and agenda (Zhang, 2009).

Concerns about the effectiveness and efficiency of policies can trigger terminations as well. Some researchers expect that a costly program or policy is more likely to be terminated (Zhang, 2009; Brewer, 1978; Krause et al., 2016). Whereas Frantz (2002), deLeon (1978) and Daniels (2001) conclude that saving money with a possible termination and analytical decision-making does not always mean that a policy comes to end.

In general policies are created to solve problems and if the problem is solved then there is logically no need for the further existence of this policy and a reason for termination is given (Adam et al., 2007). The *raison d'être*, the mission and purpose, of the organization is in question. It is about the question: is it still legitimate that the organization exists, also from an ethical point of view? Does it reach its aims?

Obstacles and facilitators within the termination process

Policy termination is hard to achieve and does not often take place. The reasons why a termination does not often take place are manifold. DeLeon (1978) states several obstacles for termination that must be overcome, and which makes policy termination a rare phenomenon: psychological reluctance; institutional permanence; dynamic conservatism; antitermination coalitions; legal obstacles and high start-up costs. The first describes the circumstance that humans are afraid of confronting issues pertaining to death. This is described as natural human behaviour. Additionally, policymakers may think of the policy as a well-thought product (Zhang, 2009) which has reasons, why it came into force and with it, legitimacy for existence. One can expect that politicians will not confess. Furthermore, there is uncertainty whether the termination of the program or policy results in the expected benefits and if it makes the overall situation better (Brewer, 1978; Kahneman and Tversky, 2013). One can assume that policymakers are more often risk-averse (Dalziel et al., 2007). Lambright and Sapolsky (1976) state this especially true for defense programs and policies concerning national security because a mistake can have an extremely negative impact and with it negative consequences for the national security.

Institutional permanence and dynamic conservatism can be combined. The first aspect describes the fact that organisations are created to last, are deliberately designed and try to survive. They are dynamic entities and with it they can be changed to adapt to new conditions.

This is the second aspect dynamic conservatism. Further the organization can be given a new mission, a new *raison d'être* (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999) and with-it reasons for termination can cease.

Another hindering factor are anti-termination coalitions which are strong opponents towards the termination. They are significant political or public groups, made up from beneficiaries of the policy, clienteles or operators (Cameron, 1978) and most often well organized (deLeon, 1978). These political groups do not only need to be the opposition within the parliament, NGOs and unions are important players as well. Beneficiaries of the policy do not have any incentives to terminate the policy. Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) call this characteristic Nature of Benefits. Politicians have to ask and answer the questions; who are the ones who benefit from the existence of the policy? How much do they benefit and is it legitimate that they benefit? The beneficiaries can be very powerful in the sense of having resources. Take into considerations the energy providers in the case of ending with nuclear power plants. They received a huge compensation for the closure (Kabinett beschließt Entschädigung für Atomkonzerne, 2018).

Policies are binding legal instruments and existing ones can burden termination efforts, like the constitution which permits or prohibits something to do. These legal obstacles must be overcome. According to Bauer (2009) these obstacles increase if it is about the state's function, like the state function of ensuring domestic security by providing a system of defense. The majority of the articles in the Grundgesetz can, for example, only be changed if a qualified majority of two-thirds is reached in the two legislative chambers, the Bundestag and Bundesrat. Whereas two of the existing articles can never be amended (Grundgesetz, Art. 79 Abs. 3). These two articles are Article 1 and 20, which ensure human dignity and declare constitutional principles. Additionally, the Grundgesetz regulates the competence of the federation, the Bund and the states, the Länder. The Bund is responsible for foreign affairs and defense whereas the Länder are responsible for education and the police. These are the "constraints of due process" which have to be overcome (deLeon, 1978, p. 291).

One last obstacle described by deLeon (1978) and picked up by fellow researchers are the high start-up costs (Zhang, 2009; Kirkpatrick et al., 1999; Brewer, 1978). It entails the monetary costs of ending a policy and introducing a new policy, but also sunk costs. These are costs which were paid during the existence of the policy like the already invested time and of course the invested money. Additionally, a lot of labor, energy and human capital had been invested. Another important aspect are the political costs which cannot be expressed in monetary terms, but which are about the question, what will the public think about the decision

makers?

Next to the groups which oppose the termination are the groups who support the termination. They consist of the termination coalition and its powerful allies. Like the anti-termination coalition, the termination coalition encompass different groups from political parties to civil society organizations and are most often well organized (deLeon, 1978). The groups which are in favor of termination can have different reasons to be in favour. It depends on their group membership and with it on their motives. All these groups, in favor and against, strive to arrive at their aim, a consequence out of it might be to reach a compromise. Often this compromise results in non-termination and is a typical tactic for survival (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999). The compromise possibilities depend on the speed of the decision-making process. Within a fast process, Bardach (1976) names it “bang” (p. 125), the anti-termination coalition does not have so much time to organize them properly and with it might not be so powerful to stop the termination effort or to reach a compromise. The opposite, a slow process is called “very long whimper” by Bardach (1976).

Nevertheless, termination occurs, even if it is uncommon. DeLeon (1978) summarizes it with his words of the (1) political context which has to fit, which includes the prevailing ideology and overall circumstances and there has to be awareness of the (2) natural points of a policy where it can get terminated. It is about the timing of the termination attempt. There are times and stages of a policy where a termination attempt is more likely to be successful.

The Framework of Termination

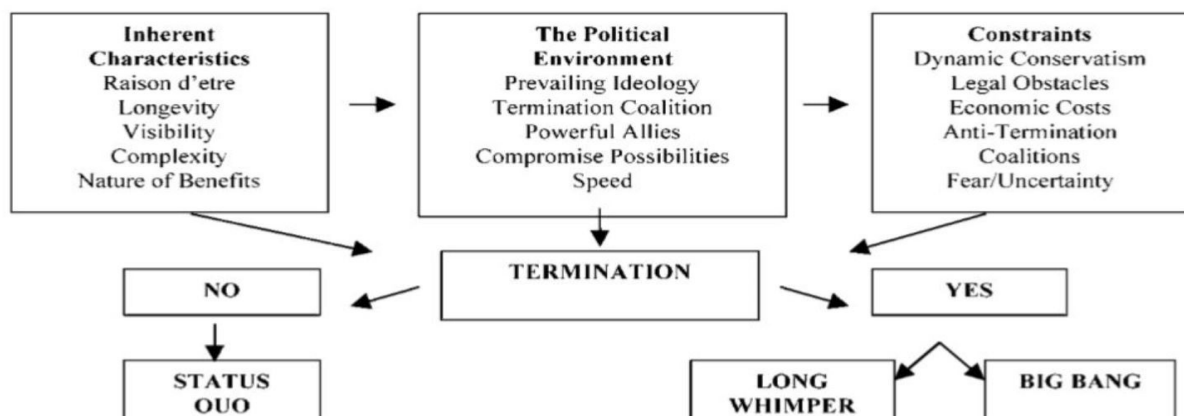


Figure 1 The Policy Termination Process (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999, p. 219)

Kirkpatrick et al (1999) create out of the existing literature a framework for policy termination with crucial variables which they believe affect organizational termination. The framework is the visual presentation of all above-mentioned aspects, characteristics, and

constraints. They are grouped into categories and are used to guide one part, mainly the second part about the second sub-question, of the research within this thesis. Data will be collected on the 15 variables within the three categories which are expected to affect termination.

One has to keep in mind that Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) developed the framework as one for organization termination. It can be expected that not all aspects also appear and play a role within the termination of policies, like the aspects of dynamic conservatism, speed and legal obstacles, because policies are lower level targets and therefore not that complex (Bauer 2009; Kirkpatrick et al., 1999).

3.2 The Process of Termination

Terminating a policy is a political process (deLeon, 1978) and most often a newly passed law is necessary to end with the former policy (Cameron, 1978). In general, policies are developed because the current state differs from the targeted state and this is perceived as a problem (Greenwood, 1997). Policies have to be created and developed by active actors (Schubert & Bandelow, 2014). The process of creation has to start somewhere and somehow. Researchers use the heuristic of the policy cycle to explain the formation and evolution of policies (Jenkins, 1978). Within the cycle problems are articulated, political aims formulated, alternatives developed and in the end binding policies are chosen (Scharpf, 1973). It can be expected that the heuristic of the policy cycle which encompasses termination as one stage can be adjusted and afterward this concept can be applied to the process of termination as such. Bardach (1976) supports it: “It is probably most useful to think of the politics of policy termination as a special case of the more generally applicable, and better understood, process of policy adoption” (p.126).

Problem perception

Policy adoption starts with the recognition that the actual state differs from the targeted state (Schneider & Janning, 2006). The issue which is recognized as a problem can be and is most often socially constructed (Howlett, Ramesh & Perl, 2003). It can come to public awareness due to focus events (Kingdon, 1984) which are for example environmental disasters or a broader recognition of negative impacts on the society. This stage is called problem perception and presents in the case of termination the stage where reasons are gathered why the policy represents a problem. Another option for recognizing a specific problem and most

applicable to this research, according to deLeon (1978), is due to an evaluation of an existing policy. Does the application of the policy results in the expected and targeted aim? Is it not only effective but also efficient? Are there negative side effects? Does the public support it or from an ethical standpoint, is it still justifiable (Peters, 2015; Bjurulf, Vedung & Larsson, 2013)? DeLeon (1978, p. 371) states it this way: “the policy process [of termination] is initiated; if a given policy is evaluated as exacerbating the problem it was designed to correct, the termination process is begun”. This evaluation can be due to pressure from stakeholders or due to regularities which force the institutions to evaluate the policy, like the principle of Zero-Based-Budgeting or the Sunset Legislation (Behn, 1977). Evaluation is not bound to any specific point of time, rather it can occur in every stage of the process, ex-post and ex-ante (Jann & Wegrich 2007).

Agenda-setting

The problem perception is the preparation and pre-condition for a successful second stage, the agenda-setting, as well in the policy adoption, as in the termination process. The problem has to be recognized as such by a critical amount of people because not every problem can get on the agenda. Howlett et al. (2003, p. 120) ask therefore the question: “Why do some issues appear on the governmental agenda for action and not others?”. Kingdon (1984) and Downs (1996) argue with the idea of randomness and luck. Agenda-setting is seen as a lottery and not directly influenceable. Nevertheless, other researchers identified several possible characteristics which influence the possibility of getting on the agenda. Peters (2015) defines the agenda as a set of all issues that governments and all other involved actors will act upon. The agenda-setting process marks the stage where the issue has a real chance to be dealt with within the political process. The problem becomes part of “the set that actually becomes the focus of attention” (Kingdon, 1984, p. 3-4).

Howlett et al. (2003) present the idea that the inner characteristics of the issue play a role for a (un)successful agenda-setting. They present opposite characteristics for example clarity and ambiguity; strong versus marginal societal involvement; the simplicity or complexity of the issue and the symbolic importance. If the issue is rather simple and less complex it is more likely that it will be placed successfully on the agenda, the same is true for the symbolic importance of the issue. An issue with low symbolic importance is less likely to be put successfully on the political agenda.

Additionally, there are external influencing factors like the overall economy. Howlett et al. (2003) expect a connection between the economic cycle and the success of agenda-setting. If there is an economic recession, issues which have the potential to save money at the end are more likely to be on the agenda and to be dealt with. This implies for the idea of termination that it will have a bigger likelihood to be on the agenda, because it is often expected to save money with it, especially in the short run (deLeon, 1983). The already further mentioned change in administration or a change in the prevailing ideology can lead to successful agenda-setting as well.

Policy formulation

The next stage of the policy adoption is called policy formulation. It is the stage where the actors organize themselves and think about their preferred outcome in deliberative processes. It is suitable to combine this aspect with the three categories of Figure 1 which play a role in the process and decision-making. The actors have to think about the consequences, like economic costs and compromise possibilities. Here anti-termination and coalitions in favour can be established and can position themselves to the issue and the proposals. The realizable proposals get into the decision-making process and are being voted on.

Afterward, the policy gets implemented or in the case of termination terminated. Within the adoption process the policy would get implemented and after a specific period of time evaluated and the cycle starts from the beginning.

The conceptualization of the termination process

The framework, presented in Figure 2, is developed out of the presented theoretical assumptions, based on the literature. The first box illustrates the start of the process. Even if this process is successful, in the sense that an issue is perceived as a problem which has to be solved and which gets on the agenda, the process in the second box can start. The two boxes are separated but intertwined and connected. The second part cannot exist and start without a successful process in the first box.

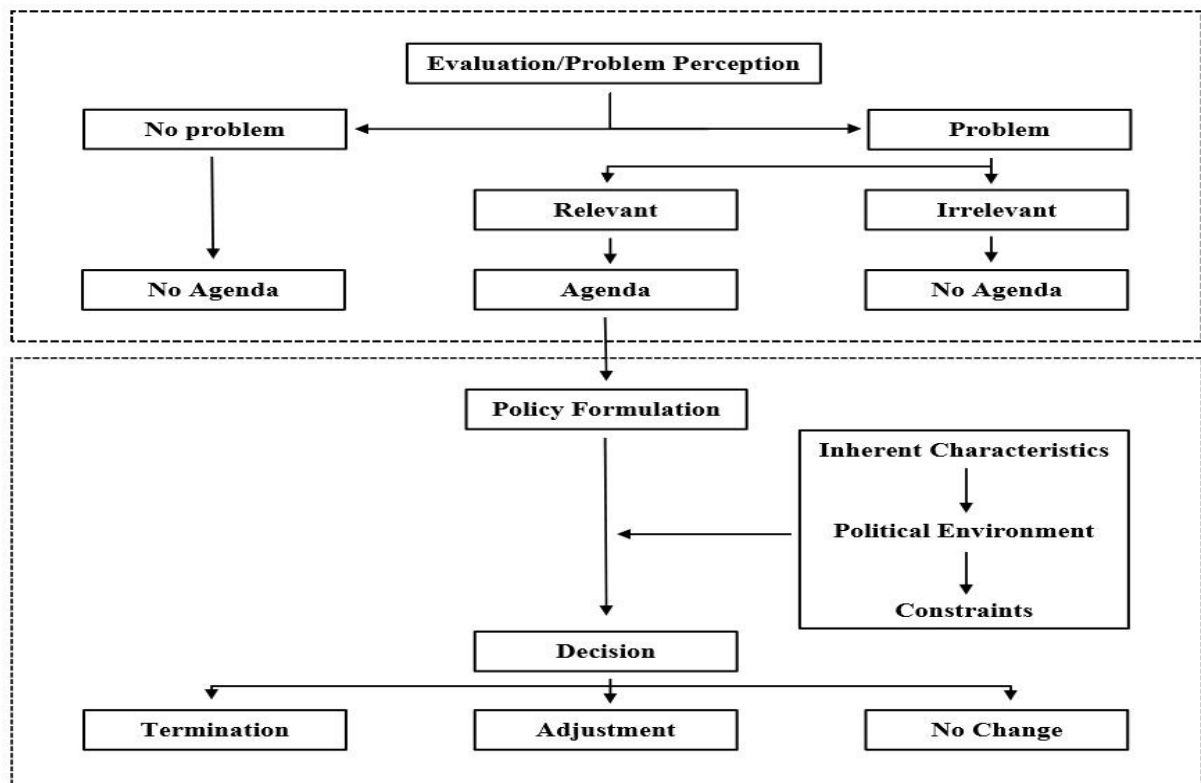


Figure 2. The conceptualization of the termination process

3.3 Expectations

Since the case on hand is a successful termination of a policy several expectations can be derived, based on the above-mentioned literature. It can be expected that there were no obstacles within the whole termination process which indicated that there will be no termination of the Wehrpflicht. Starting from the problem perception, going to the agenda-setting process and ending up in the policy formulation stage with the decision-making. Within the problem perception stage there should not be found any factors which could hindered the perception, only supportive factors. The same is expected for the agenda-setting stage, it should be seen from all involved actors as necessary. The policy formulation stage is expected to contain no obstacles which had the potential to make another decision than a termination. This means that, for example, no strong anti-termination coalition was involved or that the actors expected high economic costs. Also, the political environment should not produce any obstacles to the termination.

4. Methodology

Case study

The thesis on hand aims to answer the question why was the decision to terminate compulsory military service in Germany successful? This explanatory question with its descriptive sub-question, why and how the termination process started, and which factors presented obstacles to the termination and which ones supported the termination attempt, make it possible to get a better understanding of the process of policy termination.

Since there is not much known about policy termination and with it, it is an under-researched field of interest, a research design based on a case study is suitable and well applicable to contribute to further knowledge in political and social science (Yin, 2014). The purpose of conducting a case study is that it aims to illuminate a process with all the decisions that were made (Schramm, 1971). It is possible to perform an in-depth analysis (Yin, 2014) to understand what happened during the process of termination. One limitation of the case study research is the restricted generalizability of the findings. Therefore, this research works with the concept of Yin (2014) and his analytical generalization or also called “the lessons learned” (p. 40). This idea builds up on Cronbach (1975) with his aspect of producing a working hypothesis in the end. The gained knowledge shall adjust or confirm existing literature, theoretical generalization, or shall help to develop new concepts which can be tested by further research or to reinterpret other findings from different studies (Yin, 2013). The underlying case in the bachelor thesis is a typical case, or also called representative case (Seawright & Gerring, 2008, p. 299). It includes a clear policy termination and shows insofar typicity as it is an example of termination. This design is used to test the existing theory and its assumed causal relationships. The case and its characteristics are judged according to the theory. If the theories do not fit perfectly, what most often can be expected, then the theory may be rejected or adjusted to explain variations and to extend previous research (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). The research is deductive, it applies existing literature on the specific case. The used data is qualitative, derived from written and published documents, as secondary literature.

The qualitative approach enables the research to interpret the data. This is done by the development of different codes, out of the data, which are then categorized. The use of qualitative data is suitable for the field of social research because it helps to construct social means and to demonstrate developments adequately.

The research design includes considerations to ensure reliability and validity. Yin (2014) distinguishes between three types of validity which have to be ensured. Starting with securing

construct validity, by using multiple sources and by establishing a chain of evidence also to enhance reliability. In this thesis several independent sources are used, and for every topic and point of argument, at least two different sources are used to counter check the information. Internal validity is the second type making sure that especially in explanatory research, there are no spurious effects. To safeguarding this internal validity the method of pattern matching (Yin, 2014) is used. It means comparing an empirically based pattern with a predicted pattern (Trochim, 1989). It is about the question if the expected patterns fit with identified patterns. The third test is about the external validity and in how far the research findings are generalizable (Yin, 2014). Flick (1995) states that standardization is not the aim of qualitative work, and that generalization does not mean generalization in the statistical sense, and therefore the above presented concept of the analytical generalization is used (Yin, 2014). The last important point of doing scientific research is reliability. By ensuring reliability it is possible for fellow researchers to conduct the same study again, with the same described steps and coming based on this to the same conclusions. Reliability is given due to the extensive description of the research design with all the conducted steps and by giving evidence of the assumptions and conclusions.

There is no chance that the researcher manipulates which her research activities any segment of the real process, its characteristics, stakeholders and actors or inside processes because the process is clearly ended.

The next step is defined by the collection of data for the final analysis. The collected data is analyzed under the scheme of thematic analysis, more on this in the following sections about data collection and data analysis.

Regarding the explanatory type of research, it is necessary to first describe the developments of the case to then explain what happened and why it happened. Therefore, there is a description of the Wehrpflicht as such, what it is, where does it come from and what were historical developments. In the end, the conclusion derives from the conducted analysis.

Data collection

To conduct the research data is necessary on the topic of problem perception, agenda-setting and the 15 variables within the termination process. The collected data is the outcome of desk research and is mainly secondary data. The collection started from the obvious, typing into several web search engines, “Abschaffung der Wehrpflicht Deutschland” (eng. abolition of conscription Germany), clicking through the first pages and then getting deeper by focusing

on identified topics, thoughts, and adjacent themes. This method is called snowballing (Agichtein & Gravano, 2000), starting by the obvious and with the time getting deeper into the material (Flick, 1995). The first hints were newspaper articles from a variety of German newspapers. They are used to reconstruct the whole process, to capture the tensions and the impact of the decision. Additionally, they present arguments and insights which the researcher as an outsider cannot get. The political opinion can be derived as well from newspaper articles, but also from minutes of plenary sessions in the Bundestag, from committee or cabinet meetings, as far as available because defense politics is a highly sensitive field. To understand the parties' behaviour and their position on that case the electoral manifestos and coalition treaties are used.

Additionally, there is a paper from the Strukturkommission Bundeswehr, it was established from the German minister of defense to evaluate the Bundeswehr and several recommendations are made at the end of it. It is used next to the "Weißbuch 2006" which expresses aims, main features, and framework conditions for the next years in the field of defense and security politics, published by the ministry. The Ministry of Defense published also several publications towards the issue of the Wehrpflicht which will be used to highlight their train of thoughts. To capture the public opinion to that time already existing empirical data from surveys is used.

Since several stakeholders had an interest in that case, next to political actors, data is also derived from position papers, evaluation reports and feasibility studies from several agencies like the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, which advises the Bundestag and the federal government.

Data Analysis

The data analysis is a process where the researcher organizes her data, reduces it by summarizing and categorizing it, and subsequently identifies patterns and themes, which are linked among each other (Kawulich, 2004). In short, a process within the researcher reduces her data to develop a coherent story by interpretation (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). Within this research, all documents, articles and other written sources are analyzed under the help of ATLAS.ti, which is a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software, CAQDAS. The software supports the user with the management of the data sources and with the organization of and during the coding process (Silver & Lewins, 2014). The organization is an essential part of the approach of thematic analysis which is undertaken here in the research. The

approach of thematic analysis is highly controversy, some researchers see this kind of analysis as a pre- condition for further analysis and not as a clearly identifiable approach (Bryman, 2012).

Nevertheless, Braun and Clarke (2006) argued six years earlier for a scientific recognition of this approach. They define the procedure and exactly their approach is used in this thesis. Thematic analysis is a widely used method to analyze qualitative data by the extraction of key themes within the used data (Bryman, 2012). It aims for the identification, analysis, and reporting of patterns, across all used datasets (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It starts with familiarizing oneself with the data by reading and scanning the data sources. Within the second phase initial codes are generated, also called coding. Silver and Lewins (2014) define it as: “coding is the process by which segments of data are identified as relating to, or being an example of, a more general idea, instance, theme or category. As such, coding is a means of organizing your ideas about what is interesting in the data, in relation to your research question” (p. 52). Within this research it is done driven by theory, or also called top-down or deductive coding. This way of analyzing is suitable for quite specific research questions and where the interest is an analytical or theoretical one, where existing theory should be tested (Silver & Lewins, 2014). It allows for a detailed analysis of some aspects out of the huge amount of data. The third phase is marked by the search for themes. A theme is a category which is identified on the basis of the data. It builds upon the developed codes and contribute to the answer of the research question (Bryman, 2012). The created codes of phase two are sorted and grouped together in potential themes. Due to the fact, that the analysis of data is rather a recursive process than a clear process with several steps, the themes have to be reviewed in the fourth phase. It is important to check if there is enough data to support the themes and if they fit. The question about the point of time, when to stop because there is enough information, is hard to define, there is no clear cut off point (Yin, 2014). Within this research data collection ended because there were at least two different sources and about one aspect and it started to whirl. After the completion of phase four, phase five is used to define and name the themes. The process ends with phase six, the production of the report and the provision of evidence.

This type of analysis allows for flexibility, offers an accessible form of analysis and a deductive way of research is possible. The interpretation is not arbitrary rather based on empirical data and therefore reliable. Additionally, the thesis works with semantic themes. There is no interpretive way of analyzing, nothing beyond what is said actually, only the explicit messages.

Operationalization

The identified crucial variables have to be made measurable and with it feasible. They have to be operationalized in accordance with the further described literature on theory. Table 1 gives an overview; a more detailed description can be found in Appendix I.

Raison d'être	Aim and mission of the policy: Does it solves the problem for which it was developed
Longevity	Number of years since the policy exists, little changes included
Visibility	Number of people who are affected by the policy
Complexity	Extent of scientific or technical issues within the case
Nature of Benefits	Who are the beneficiaries and how much do they benefit
Prevailing Ideology	Results of the federal elections 2009; Surveys on the public opinion on the Wehrpflicht topic
Termination Coalition	Number of seats in the Bundestag
Powerful Allies	Power of unofficial actors, power in the sense of degree of conflict potential, numbers and resources
Compromise Possibilities	Number of serious alternatives, serious in the sense of being presented by main actors
Speed	Days since the first public presentation of the idea by the minister until the end of the legislative process
Dynamic Conservatism	Adjustments from the Bundeswehr side to maintain the Wehrpflicht
Legal Obstacles	Number and the extent of requirements of the laws which set burdens
Economic Costs	Costs of the policy; costs of its non-existence; amount of anticipated costs
Anti-Termination Coalition	Number of actors and their power in the sense of seats in parliament and individual position, degree of conflict potential, numbers and resources
Fear/Uncertainty	Number of mentioned fears/uncertainties and their potential threat to higher aims

Table 1 The operationalization of the variables

5. Description of the Termination Process

5.1 Problem perception

The federal elections of 2009 and its result, a change in the administration, mark the chronological starting point of the termination process. For the first time, the Wehrpflicht is perceived as a problem, as an issue that has to be changed. In the year 2005, there was already an attempt for termination submitted from the FDP but the coalition of CDU/CSU and SPD voted against the proposal (Bartels, 2005). Their coalition treaty from the year 2005 states “The Federal Government admits itself to the Wehrpflicht” (CDU, 2005, p. 154). Also, the Weißbuch 2006 which is the fundamental document of the Ministry of Defence and accepted by the federal government for the next ten years, pleads for the continuation of the Wehrpflicht (p. 12). The question then arises, how is it possible, that the Wehrpflicht is for the first time perceived as a problem which needs to be solved? Three main patterns and motives can be detected why the Wehrpflicht was actually seen as a problematic issue.

Wehrungerechtigkeit

First, it is about the perceived injustice of the Wehrpflicht, the Wehrungerechtigkeit. The opposite, the Wehrgerechtigkeit, should ensure fairness between all men. All men of the cohort should get conscripted. So that no one is better off than the other by performing or not performing the service. This is an essential aspect of the whole Wehrpflicht idea. It shall justify the interference of the state into private life (Meyer, 2001). The however perceived Wehrungerechtigkeit was due to different aspects. One aspect was that only men had the duty to perform the service, women not. Whereby all men were also not true anymore. In general, priests, victims of the NS regime and becoming fathers were exempted, as well as the third possible conscript within one family. Additionally, there were plain and simple too many men in the age of 18. The Bundeswehr did not have enough spaces to occupy for them. Even if more and more men decided upon the Zivildienst (Bernhard, 2016). The Bundeswehr and the legislature decided then to raise up the capability requirements so that in general fewer men were allowed to perform the service. In the year 2007, less than half of the age group was convoked (Jöris & Gehring, 2009) due to the criteria of the capabilities requirements. Nevertheless, this did not improve the Wehrgerechtigkeit because it was due to a lottery if one received a letter for the medical examination or not (“Karlsruhe prüft Wehrgerechtigkeit nicht”, 2015). In the year 2009 only 15.77% of the age group performed the service by a refusal rate of 25,88% (Buch, 2010). It was also about the composition of the conscripts. The convoked men differed in their personal and educational background. 47% of the graduates from the

Hauptschule performed the service, whereas the majority of the graduates from the Gymnasium decided for the Zivildienst. Only 9% of the graduates from the Hauptschule decided for the Zivildienst (Trabold, Schneider & Vogel, 2006). The question if the draftees still represent a cross-section through society and if this ensures the validity of the guiding principle of fairness and the Staatsbürger in Uniform is legitimate to ask. Additionally, conscripts had to pay fewer taxes. Due to Trabold, Schneider and Vogel (2006) this leads to unfair taxation and with it to a feeling of unfairness.

Security situation

Second, the Wehrpflicht had been introduced due to security concerns and the need to have a huge functioning army. It was the time of the Cold War and Germany presented a special case. On the one hand, it was the buffer zone between the USA and the USSR. On the other hand, it was divided into the BRD and GDR. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the security situation changed. Germany was and is surrounded by peaceful states. This lowered the feeling of the necessity of having a huge army and with it maintaining the Wehrpflicht (Strukturkommission, 2011). Hand in hand with the change in the security situation the security request changed. Germany is part of the NATO and with it obligated to take part in common missions abroad. NATO missions urge for a fast and professional force (Klingbeil, 2010; Buch, 2010). But German conscripts were not allowed to take part in missions abroad (Europäische Sicherheit und Zukunft der Bundeswehr, n.d.) and those responsible for the conscripts lamented the short training period (Friederichs, 2010). During a service time of 9 months, W9, there were three months of basic training followed by six months of working time within the regiment, whereas six weeks of it were necessary for a specific training within the regiment. After the shortening to six months, W6, the three months basic training existed further. With it the conscript served just six weeks, the specific training already subtracted, in the regiment. The SPD, opposition party to that time, was against W6. They declared it as six months internship at the Bundeswehr (Kulak et al., 2016) and with it as unusable.

Financial crisis

Third, the financial crisis, starting in the year 2008 forced to think about saving potentials (Kulak et al., 2016). Additionally, the Grundgesetz contains an article about the debt brake, Article 109 which forces to thrift. Angela Merkel urged her members of cabinet to think about costs savings in their budget. Guttenberg, who had the second largest budget item during that time with his ministry, presented the idea of saving fiscal money by restructuring the

Bundeswehr. He expected a cost saving of 400 Million Euros, which shall increase during the following two years up to 1.1 Billion Euros (Bayer, 2017).

The three mentioned points led within the society and the political arena to the recognition that the real state differed from the desired and appropriated state. Just over half of the German population expressed the wish to end the Wehrpflicht (dpa, 2017). Due to the presented pressure and concerns, Guttenberg ordered in 2010 the implementation of a structural commission the Weise-Kommission, chaired by Jürgen Weise, colonel a.D and chairman of the Federal Labour Office. The commission was established to evaluate the current situation of the Bundeswehr and the current legislative situation. The commission presented its report and concluded that the Wehrpflicht should be suspended and the men power of the army reduced (Strukturkommission, 2011). The commission concluded it on the base of the above three mentioned points. The commission for European security and the future of the Bundeswehr (n.d.) summarizes the points with the words “everything has changed, with regard to military service everything should remain as it is?” (p.1).

5.2 Agenda-setting

The problem perception is according to Schneider and Janning (2006) a pre-condition for successful agenda-setting because not every problem can get on the agenda and can be dealt with. The issue of the Wehrpflicht got on the agenda. Different reasons and explanations can be identified.

The Wehrpflicht and its environment

The Wehrpflicht has a strong impact on the society because nearly half of the population is the targeted group and it marks a clear interference with everyone’s life (Bundesregierung, 2011). Not only the Bundeswehr and its conscripts are affected, even social institutions which rely on the Zivildienst (Wienand, 2011). It can be expected that everyone knows someone who was affected by the Wehrpflicht and with it, it is possible to have an initial attitude, in favor or against the policy. The policy is deeply rooted within the society. The symbolic impact does not have to be underestimated as well. Germany was one of eleven NATO states which had a compulsory military service during that time (Buch, 2010). The other 17 abolished it during the time. Next to it, the CSU calls itself “the party of the Bundeswehr” (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010) and Merkel argued “the Wehrpflicht is a trademark, internationally we are envied due to it, and I confess myself to it” (Scharping & Herter, 2010), she delivered this

speech in July, 2009, in front of recruits. The Wehrpflicht is almost as old as the BRD and part of the Grundgesetz. Further, it was always a highly controversial topic, like the Bundeswehr itself too. Germans did and do not always have a positive relationship with their army, due to past experiences. The former German President, Horst Köhler, described the relationship in the year 2005 as a “friendly disinterest” (Wagner & Biehl, 2013). According to Howlett et al. (2003) the presented aspects affect the agenda-setting process positively. The issue seems to be clear, Wehrpflicht yes or no; there is strong societal involvement; it impacts society and there is the symbolic importance for the actors. But this was more or less the situation as well during the years before 2010. In which way differed the situation and which factors changed for that? It starts with the federal elections 2009 and the new government.

The new government consisted of the two conservative parties, CDU and CSU, and the liberal party FDP. The conservatives gained 239 seats, 33,8% and the FDP 14,6%, which resulted in 94 seats (Bundeswahlleiter, 2009). The former coalition, CDU/CSU and SPD, insisted on the Wehrpflicht but the new coalition partner of the CDU/CSU, the FDP campaigned with the suspension of the Wehrpflicht (FDP, 2009) and declared it as a condition for a successful coalition (Kulak et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the Wehrpflicht abolition is not a part of the final coalition treaty, only the reduction to six months, as a compromise. But with it, the issue got attention, within the cabinet and the media landscape. Guttenberg implemented, on the basis of the coalition treaty, the before mentioned structural commission. It should evaluate the current situation, develop future scenarios and had to propose solutions for the future (CDU, CSU & FDP, 2009).

Next, to the change in administration, there was a huge and unexpected change in the environment, the outbreak of the financial crisis 2008. It forced states, and their governments, to think of savings.

The issue got on the agenda.

5.3 Policy Formulation

The next step which follows is the policy formulation. Actors formulate answers and solutions to the presented issue and search for majorities. Within the next parts the process of, at this moment not decided termination, is described and analyzed.

5.3.1 Inherent Characteristics

Raisond'être

The Wehrpflicht was implemented to ensure a high and constant number of soldiers for the Bundeswehr. During the time of implementation, the Cold War was ongoing and Germany, to

that time the BRD was geographically close to the UdSSR and had a direct border with the GDR, a member of the Warsaw Pact. This led to security concerns and the Wehrpflicht was implemented. Next to the human capital and national defense argument, it was about the integration of the Bundeswehr into society (Jung kritisiert Guttenbergs Sparpläne, 2010). Germans had made bad experiences with their army and with the introduction of the Wehrpflicht the aim was to have a constant exchange between the civil society and the armed forces. It should not become possible again to have a state in the state. For that, the Bundeswehr gave itself the guiding principle of the “Staatsbürger in Uniform” and the ethical philosophy of the “Innere Führung” (eng. inner guidance) (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, n.d.). Additionally, the Bundeswehr is a parliamentary army, which shall also ensure the aspect of control and people’s power. Within the termination debate, the question was raised if the Wehrpflicht still ensures a connection between the Bundeswehr and the society. The section about problem perception already presented the fact, that less and less young men were conscripted, more and more refused the service and the men who finally went to the Bundeswehr, differed so much in the characteristics that they did not any longer present a cross-section of society. Another asked question was if it is still necessary to have a huge army, according to the number of soldiers, in a time where there are different and new politico-security considerations. New considerations are for example the international missions in Afghanistan (Von der Leyen will nicht zur Wehrpflicht zurück, 2016) and the ongoing mechanization of the Bundeswehr (Buch, 2010). As presented above, the conscripts were not allowed to be used in missions abroad.

Longevity

The policy was implemented in the BRD in the year 1956, one year after the establishment of the Bundeswehr. The GDR introduced the Wehrpflicht in 1962. This means that the policy is almost as old as the BRD. All in all, taking the Wehrpflicht of the BRD as the baseline, it existed in the year 2010 for 54 years. On the one hand, it is not as old as other laws are, for example, the Civil Law Code, which was enacted in the year 1900 and then amended. But on the other hand, the policy is almost as old as the BRD. But if you take into consideration the time after the fall of the Berlin Wall, that there was for the first time a united Germany and the policy was valid for all Germany, as it is today, then the policy is not old. Nevertheless, many opinions, especially from the CDU, highlighted the aspect of traditions (Kulak et al., 2016). The policy made itself during the years opponents and proponents. This thesis categorizes the policy as rather old, especially keeping the impact of it in mind, more on this in the next section.

Visibility

The next aspect is about the impact of the policy, was it a current and everyday life topic during that time for the society?

Theoretically, the policy of the Wehrpflicht affected half of the German population, all men from the age of 18. All these men were obliged to perform the service and if they denied, they did the alternative service. This also means that one can take for granted that everyone knew someone who served in some way. Within the 55 years of existence, there were 10 million conscripts and around 3.5 million Zivis (1. Juli: Bundesfreiwilligendienst löst Zivildienst ab, 2011). The policy had a huge impact for the society, men had to go to the army for one year after finishing school, social facilities relied on the Zivis and for the Bundeswehr it was a source for new soldiers. One can say that the Wehrpflicht and its impacts were visible for all parts of the population.

Complexity

The issue of terminating the Wehrpflicht is not a question about technical or scientific issues, it is presented as an issue of, on the one hand, ideology and on the other hand about financial aspects. Technical issues were never mentioned, neither from the official side nor in reports about the topic. It seems not so difficult to understand because more or less everyone was affected, and the issue was a concrete one. The involved actors were no technicians rather individuals with opinions. The change in the security situation was for every person visible, there were no visible threats anymore. The missions in Afghanistan were and are too far away and often not perceived as a war operation. To conclude, the issue seemed to be less complex and understandable for the broader public.

Nature of Benefits

One reason for implementing the Wehrpflicht was to secure enough soldiers for the Bundeswehr. During the existence of the policy, more than 10 Million conscripts served the armed forces (Buch, 2010). This benefitted the Bundeswehr as an organization because it had a steady supply with new employees and did not have to take part in a market-oriented competition for the best and most skilled employees. The Bundeswehr recruited higher positions out of the conscripts but especially the lower ranks (Jöris & Gehring, 2009). The conscripts performed the lower tasks because they were not allowed to serve in missions abroad. So, one identified beneficiary is the Bundeswehr for which the Wehrpflicht was implemented.

The state as such benefitted as well, of course, it had to pay the conscripts but with lower pay than the professional soldiers and saved, in comparison to professional soldiers, fiscal money. It was always possible to refuse the conscription and to perform alternative service. This alternative service should not be forgotten because more than 2.5 Million men performed the service (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). This benefited the social facilities from old people's homes, hospitals up to education institutions. The institutions relied over the years on the Zivis (Joris & Gehring). The Zivis performed low skilled, but necessary work. As it was true for the Bundeswehr the facilities recruited workers out of the service. Nevertheless, the federal office for family and civil society tasks organized the Zivildienst differently from the Wehrdienst. The Zivis chose for themselves in which institution they want to work. This increased the satisfaction and with it, the Zivildienst was not as disliked as the Wehrpflicht (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). But also, here the reduction of the Wehrpflicht duration, from nine to six months, reduced the attraction of the institutions to provide spaces, with the same arguments the Bundeswehr brought forward as well. It is not enough time introducing the men to work and then for them performing the work (Jöris & Gehring, 2009). Some argue that the Wehrpflicht and the Zivildienst were some kinds of the schools of the nation (Enders, 2011) and a duty for the state (Broemme & Dobovisek, 2018; Deutscher Bundestag, 2011).

5.3.2 Political Environment

Ideology

The federal elections in 2009 brought forth a new government, the old one with its principles and standpoint was deselected. It was possible due to the gain of the FDP, plus 4.7% and the massive losses of the SPD, minus 11.2%. The voters wanted to have a change. Now looking on the ideologies and guiding principles of each party and why this might influenced the policy termination due to a change in the prevailing ideology. Ideology in the sense of Schubert and Klein (2018) is a political orientation. DeLeon (1979) defines the fact that the administration changed as "all ideologies provide an interpretation of the present and a view of the desired future."

The conservative parties stand for the strength of traditions, maintaining the current political order and security (Schubert & Klein 2018). This is also expressed by the actors like the former Minister of Defence, Franz-Josef Jung, CDU, and at the beginning of the debate from party executives, "principles of the Union are betrayed" and the "Wehrpflicht is a fundamental conviction" (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010). The FDP on the other side is a

civil rights party which puts emphasis on the individual and the individual's freedom and is against state interference into the personal life (FDP, 2015). The FDP campaigned with the abolition of the Wehrpflicht. But in the coalition treaty, it was only possible for them to agree with its partners to a reduction of the Wehrpflicht to six months. Nevertheless, the FDP put pressure on the minister of defense and was his ally against the opponents in his party. Also, the prevailing public opinion towards the issue of the Wehrpflicht changed. In June 2010 only 36% of the people were in favor of the policy and 59% favored a voluntary army (Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, 2010). Whereas the support of the policy was in the year 2008 much higher with 62% (Buch, 2010). Thereby it is worth mentioning that the acceptance of the Wehrpflicht decreases in the cohort of the younger ones and well-educated ones (Buch, 2010).

Termination Coalition

The termination coalition existed of the CDU/CSU and the FDP. They initiated and executed the termination. It started with a steady call from the FDP to terminate the Wehrpflicht. Guttenberg then picked up the idea and presented it to the cabinet. Followed by creating a plan for its execution. Large parts of the CDU and CSU executives were against the plan. But over the time they changed their opinion and in November 2010 the party bases of both conservative parties voted in favor of a suspension of the Wehrpflicht (CDU nimmt Abschied von Wehrpflicht, 2010). With this legitimization from the party majority, the members of the parliament voted in favor in the plenary. The termination coalition held 330 seats out of 620 and with it the majority and was not reliant on other parties. Nevertheless, other parliamentarians from the Greens, supported the proposal.

Powerful Allies

Powerful allies can mean both in favor and against the termination. The focus here lies on the powerful allies which supported the termination attempt.

The opposition favored the idea of terminating the Wehrpflicht. They favored different ways of doing so but the main idea was supported (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010). The Greens even voted in line with the coalition during the vote (Deutscher Bundestag, 2011). The position and assessment of the established Strukturkommission mark the groundwork on which Guttenberg relies his arguments. They proposed the termination and a restructuring of the Bundeswehr and justified it with the loss of a direct and massive security threat (Strukturkommission, 2010).

By expanding the concept of powerful allies to individuals who have a specific level of power

and standing, one can observe interesting aspects as well. First, Guttenberg and his idea were not really supported but during the process, he gained the support. There was Hans Peter Friedrich, the CSU committee leader in the Bundestag, who liked the idea (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010) and this meant that it was to be expected that the CSU will not oppose it generally. The CDU Bundestag fraction manager Peter Altmaier spoke also in favor of termination (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010). Another person Guttenberg needed to convince was the chancellor, Angela Merkel. During her time in office as the minister for family, she often spoke in favor of the Wehrpflicht policy (Kulak et al., 2016). After Guttenberg proposed his idea, she reprimanded him for his action (Peters, 2010). Later she was on board and changed her opinion and stated: “there are no subjects that are taboo” (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010).

Compromise Possibilities

The suspension of the Wehrpflicht was not the only alternative on the table, it was the favored one by the coalition, but there were many others as well. Starting by the most obvious alternative a continuation of the policy and no reform. Besides these two extremes, several other alternatives were discussed. Guttenberg presented the idea of termination but next to it four other possible models. They differed between their timeframes and by the degree of personnel reduction of the Bundeswehr. All models were planned by the ministry of defense, more concrete by the Inspector General, Volker Wieker (Schmidt, 2010). Modell 1 proposes the continuation of the Wehrpflicht and a reduction in the number of soldiers in two steps. Until 2012 a total number of 155,00 professional soldiers should be reached, which means a reduction of 50,000 soldiers. Modell 2 would end the Wehrpflicht until mid-2011, plus the same level of reduction as Modell 1 proposes for the professional soldiers. Modell 3 would also end the conscriptions and aims for a reduction of professional soldiers until 2016 of 156,000 soldiers. Modell 4, the preferred model of Guttenberg, would end the Wehrpflicht but would keep the voluntary service, but reduce the numbers from 25,000 to 7,500 until 2013. A reduction of around 50,000 is proposed as well, which would mean that the Bundeswehr encompasses 163,500 soldiers. It was obvious from the beginning of the debate clear that this is the preferred model which also had the highest likelihood to be implemented (Löwenstein, 2010). The last modell ends with the Wehrpflicht in 2012 and with the voluntary service in 2013, though the numbers of professional soldiers remain without any changes. These were the proposals and in some kind compromises of the coalition. In short, modell 1 and 5 would keep the Wehrpflicht,

modell 2 and 3 would terminate it without any substitute. Modell 4 would end the Wehrpflicht but introduces a voluntary service (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010).

The opposition, especially the SPD, favored and proposed a voluntary service for all men who declared for themselves after the medical examination that they would serve (Arnold & Welty, 2010). Whereas the legislative proposal aims for voluntary service for all, men and women (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010) and states under the chapter of alternative, next to the suspension of the Wehrpflicht, “none” (Bundesregierung, 2011).

The political youth organizations had their own ideas concerning the topic. The Junge Union, the organization from the CDU, aimed for a general compulsory service for all men, without exceptions, with the age of 18 (Junge Union will Dienstpflicht für alle Männer, 2009). The Jungsozialisten, SPD as its mother party, would like to end the policy and with it the medical examinations. The FDP called for a suspension, whereas their youth organization, the Junge Liberale, called for total removal of the Wehrpflicht. Same is true for the Grüne Jugend (Wurster, 2010).

One can argue if the suspension, and not the total termination of the policy, is a realizable compromise as such or not. But many bodies, from ministries and think tanks, advised for a suspension and not total abolition due to security concerns (Bundesregierung, 2011; Deutscher Bundestag, 2011).

Speed

The idea of terminating the Wehrpflicht was formulated and presented for the first time, with a chance of succeeding, because all other aspects and circumstances fitted, on the 26th of May 2010. On that day, Guttenberg visited the leadership academy meeting of the Bundeswehr and delivered a speech which contained a passage about the suspension of the Wehrpflicht due to the current federal budget situation (Kulak et al., 2016). A few days after this public statement the cabinet had a close meeting to talk about potential cost savings. It was the 9th of June 2010. During the last meeting of the year, the cabinet decided to suspend the Wehrpflicht from the 1st of July 2011 onwards. It was the 15th of December 2010. The proposal was brought into the Bundestag for the first reading on the 24th of February 2011. The second and third reading were held two months later, on the 24th of March 2011. On the 15th of April 2011, the second legislative chamber, the Bundesrat (Bundesrat, 2011) approved it. The last stage of becoming a binding policy is the publication in the Federal Law Gazette. The terminating policy, the Wehrrechtsänderungsgesetz, was published on the 2nd of May 2011 (Bundesgesetzblatt, 2011). The whole decision-making process lasted for less than a year. By looking on other legislative

proposals it seems to be more or less in line with the average time of law passing, two months, from the first to the third reading (Reutter, 2007). Nevertheless, voices get and got loud that this was a fast decision-making process. Harnisch and Weiß (2014) come to the same conclusion and call it a “rapid Politikwechsel” (p. 205). Volker Kauder, chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, complained about Guttenberg’s fast procedure. “It feels like making a decision from Thursday to Monday” (Guttenberg steht zur Abschaffung der Wehrpflicht, 2010). Kulak et al. (2016) describe the speed of the whole reform as “double time” (p. 18). One has to keep in mind that it was a highly discussed issue with many different opinions, stakeholders and unknown consequences. Not only the decision-making is described and categorized as fast, but also the implementation of the reform, within a few months, starting by the end of conscription in July 2011 which means that the last convocation took place in January 2011. Researchers highlight the aspect that effective reforms of the armed forces would need at least three years, if not even up to six years (Buch, 2010). DeMaiziere, the successor of Guttenberg, complained about the work of his predecessor. The reform was not prepared properly (De Maizière rechnet mit Guttenberg ab, 2011). It can be concluded that the decision-making process was rather fast than slow.

5.3.3 Constraints

Dynamic conservatism

The Wehrpflicht had the purpose to activate men to serve the Bundeswehr and with it support it in its missions and tasks, mainly the national defense. This purpose did not change over the years. Yes, the policy of the Wehrpflicht was adjusted, especially the duration of the service, but the mission never changed. One aspect that might play a role is that the Bundeswehr, as the executing organization, had no legislative power to change the policy or the form of it due to legislative obstacles. The change was only possible for elected politicians who supported the practice for a long time and saw no need to change anything. Many conscripts complained about unuseful tasks they had to perform and about wasted time because the concrete form was not any longer contemporary (Schütz & Kinkel, 2010). All in all, the aspect of dynamic conservatism was absent.

Legal Obstacles

The Wehrpflicht is and was part of the Grundgesetz, Article 12a. The Grundgesetz can only be changed with a two-thirds majority in the Bundestag and in the Bundesrat. Additionally, the new law has to be compatible with European Union law. And last but not least, the federal

government needs to have the legislative power, because some issues are in the legislative power of the Länder and the Bund is not responsible and not allowed to act. Consequential, there are three major legal obstacles to overcome. Starting by the necessary competence of the Bund to act. The Grundgesetz states here, Article 73, section 1, number 1, “foreign affairs and defense, including protection of the civilian population” are responsibilities of the federation. Therefore, the first condition is given, the federation is responsible. Second, the proposal of the government (Bundesregierung, 2011) states that there are no problems in connection with European Union law. Also, the NATO does not state, that a conscript army is necessary. Additionally, the NATO agreement is not a law or a regulation, rather a treaty. The necessity of a conscript army was also denied by the Federal Constitutional Court in the year 1978, they ruled that the Grundgesetz allows also for a volunteer army (Trabold et al., 2006). Coming to the last legal obstacle, the Grundgesetz as such with its requirements. Following article 87a, section 2, sentence 1, the federation has the obligation to “establish Armed Forces for the purpose of defense”. This includes the securing of resources, for example, human capital, financial resources, and regulations. The suspension of the Wehrpflicht and the whole reform shall therefore not threaten the operational capability or the national security by reducing the number of soldiers. The mover argued that there are enough soldiers to ensure national security. It is also possible to re-introduce the Wehrpflicht in the case of tension and defense. This regulates paragraph 2 of the Wehrpflichtgesetz. The case of tension and defense is proclaimed by the Bundestag, with a two-thirds majority (Article 80a). This passage ensures the operational capability of the Bundeswehr and with it the national defense and security. By looking on Article 12a, the article about the Wehrpflicht, it states not a legislative mandate for the legislator, rather a constitutional authority to carry out the Wehrpflicht (von Mangoldt & Klein, 2010). This detail made it possible to pass a simple law, the Wehrrechtsänderungsgesetz and to prevent a change of the Grundgesetz. With it, a simple majority within the two legislative chambers was enough to suspend the Wehrpflicht. One legal obstacle which has not directly something to do with the suspension of the Wehrpflicht is the legal standing by thinking of the consequences. One expected consequence was that more students than usual will start their studies at a higher education institution. This implies the need for more money to cope with the demand. The problematic issue is that education and therefore the funding is the sovereignty of the Länder. However, they complained about the new financial challenge and that they have to deal with the consequences of the change in defense politics, which was due to the action of the federation. Hence, the federation agreed to help financially, so-called Hochschulpakt, article

91b section 1 Grundgesetz. To sum up, the legal obstacles seemed to be rather high on the first look but having a closer look it was relatively easy to bypass them.

Economic costs

The minister of defense was accused to make politics after cash position but highlights the opposite (Guttenberg strebt keine Reform nach Kassenlage an, 2010). His reform shall save 400 Million Euros because of the suspension in the first year (Jung kritisiert Guttensbergs Sparpläne, 2010) and he confirmed to save 8,3 Billion Euros with his whole reform (Meyer, 2011), 2 Billion Euros, every year (Bundeswehr. Verlierer des Sparpakets, 2010). This does not sound very much in a federal annual budget of 305,8 Billion Euros for the year 2011. Nevertheless, this amount is 14 Billion Euros less than then in the year 2010 (Bundestag verabschiedet Haushalt 2011, 2010). These savings of 400 Million Euros, are composed of savings from the costs for bureaucratic procedures (Bundesregierung, 2011) and the reduction of personnel. Half of the defense budget is for personnel expenses (Bundeswehr. Verlierer des Sparpakets, 2010). Saving money would also mean to close army barracks (Peters, 2010). The Strukturkommission proposed also to end the policy of locating the Ministry of Defense in Bonn and Berlin. Nevertheless, the ministry is still located in the two cities (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, n.d.b). The Wehrpflicht costed the federation several billion. Economists argued that there are not only spendings but also indirect disadvantages by losing tax money and manpower for the economy (Trabold et al., 2006). They argued that at least one annual salary is lost if the man does not work within and for the economy (Ludwig, 2008), additionally conscripts pay fewer taxes (Trabold et al., 2006). Researchers calculated for example what the reintroduction of a compulsory service year would cost Germany. In 2017 that amount would be approximately 8 Billion Euros, including all direct and indirect effects for the economy (Sommerfeld, 2018). On the other hand, calculations came to the result that in the end a professional army is more expensive for the state than a conscript army (Peters, 2010). The reform and reduction of the forces were expected to save money in the short run. In the long run experts expected higher costs of 3,5 up to 7 Billion Euros, from an economic perspective (Ludwig, 2008). Observer and researchers give the economic aspect in the whole debate a subordinate role (Trabold et al., 2006, p. 2). They argue that the same or even better military-effectiveness is given if the Wehrpflicht gets suspended (Trabold et al., 2006, p. 6) and money could also be saved, approximately 7% of the defense budget. They introduce the aspect of “overmanning” into the economic debate. Overmanning means that simply too many people

performing the work which leads to inefficiency followed by a lower level of economic prosperity.

Next to the costs of the Wehrpflicht, the affected Zivildienst and its costs are also worth to mention and to keep in mind. In 2009, the Zivildienst costed the state 660 Million Euros (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). The social institutions paid around 400 Million Euros (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). Every Zivi costed approximately 5000€ per year for the institution (Jöris & Gehring, 2009). A skilled worker can cost nine times as much, 40,000-45,000€ per year. This saves money from the social institution and ensures that the work gets done. There were 37.000 institutions which accepted Zivis (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010) and 1000 people worked in the federal bureau in Cologne (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). A termination of the Zivildienst would mean a restructuring of it and maybe retraining of the staff, which would mean spending additional money on extra trainings. The Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst (2010) expected costs of 1.8 Billion Euros by the termination of the Zivildienst. These costs have to be paid by the health system and with it by every individual who has a health insurance. The government had the idea to compensate and replace the compulsory service with a voluntary service. Calculated for the volunteers in the Bundeswehr it would cost 319 Million more per year, but they would be refinanced due to fewer conscriptions, in numbers 30.000 less (Bundesregierung, 2011). The Wehrpflicht termination did not only affected the Zivildienst with its social facilities regarding their financial situation. It also affected the educational system. As pointed out in the section about legal obstacles it is about financing the new situation after the Wehrpflicht. Next to more enrolled students due to the abolition of the Wehrpflicht the graduation of the dual Abitur cohort brought more students to the universities. The Bund signed the Hochschulpakt which means an additional expenditure of 880 Million Euros more for higher education institutions, and the Federal Education and Trainings Assistance Act, BAföG. The 880 Million Euros have to be added to the already calculated expenditures, all in all, they expected costs of 1.035 up to 1.765 Billion Euros (Bundesregierung, 2011) within this area. To conclude, it was obvious that no money would be saved with a termination, rather the expenditures would increase.

Anti-termination coalition

As stated already insinuating earlier the greatest opponents were in the conservative parties itself, even if they changed their opinion in the end. Seehofer, CSU leader, states “We are the party of the Bundeswehr” (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010) and the former Minister of Defence, Franz Josef Jung, actually said that principles of the union get betrayed

and described it as a disorientation (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010). Volker Kauder, CDU/CSU fraction leader at that time, was against the suspension as well and justified it with the necessary connection between society and Bundeswehr (Guttenberg bekommt Unterstützung aus der SPD, 2010). The Wehrpflicht would be a fundamental conviction and serves as the school of the nation (Union diskutiert doch über die Wehrpflicht, 2010). Other politicians were against the idea because they feared the closure of military barracks in their constituencies and with it the anger of their voters because the Bundeswehr brings money and workplaces (Peters, 2010). They were supported by the cities and municipalities association (Peters, 2010).

The CDU youth organization, often more conservative than its mother party, does not want a suspension as well, rather a transformation in a general compulsory service (Junge Union fordert Dienstpflicht für alle Männer, 2009).

The Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, a foundation which consults the federal government (Mair & Schneckener 2008) advises them to keep the policy and to reform the Wehrpflicht as such (Buch, 2010). Even with the Wehrpflicht in use it would be possible to perform the respective duties, the NATO duties (Buch, 2010). They examined the situation of terminating compulsory military service in three other European countries and concluded that the military situation got worse and the armed forces cost much more (Buch, 2010). There would not be enough soldiers, especially for the lower ranks and the implementation of the reform comes too fast. One would need up to 6 years to implement a reform of this size (Buch, 2010). The foundation is a powerful player and its opinion and assessment often counts much. Walther Stützel, a former state secretary of the ministry of defense, warned as well of the termination (Verteidigungsexperte warnt vor Abschaffung der Wehrpflicht, 2010). Horst Köhler, the former German president, is a supporter of the Wehrpflicht. It had brought the Bundeswehr many talented people and is good for young men, they would benefit for their personality (Jöris & Gehring, 2009). Rudolf Scharping, former minister of defense from the SPD, criticized Guttenberg for the idea and especially for his reasoning, that it would be necessary to save costs (Peters, 2010). The SPD was rather cautious about the approach. In 2008, the party congresses renewed their commitment to the Wehrpflicht with a congress resolution (Merkel lehnt völlige Abschaffung der Wehrpflicht ab, 2010). Also, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, currently German president but during that time chairperson of the SPD parliamentary group and opposition leader struggled with the possible termination of the Wehrpflicht (Steinmeier & Adler, 2010). Thomas de Maizière, at that time Minister of the Interior and later the successor of Guttenberg described the suspension as something negative

(Deutscher Bundestag, 2011). Last but not least the single person Angela Merkel played a huge role. She was convinced of the idea behind the Wehrpflicht and saw a story of success behind it (Merkel hält Aussetzen der Wehrpflicht für möglich, 2010). Newspapers describe the situation that she reprimanded Guttenberg for the termination idea (Peters, 2010). In July 2010 she rejected the complete termination and one year earlier she committed herself to the idea in front of conscripts (Scharping & Herter, 2010). Other ministries and federal offices expressed reservations as well, like the Ministry for Family which is responsible for the execution of the Zivildienst. They examined the possible consequences of terminating the Wehrpflicht and came to the conclusion that it would be possible to suspend it and with it the Zivildienst but that alternatives have to be developed, rather fast than slow to cope with the loss of thousands of workers (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). But this is not as easy as it seems and therefore there should be more time for the restructuring (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). The minister for family, Kristina Schröder, CDU, argued that the society would be less human without the Zivildienst (Guttenberg bekommt Unterstützung aus der SPD, 2010).

The Federal Constitutional Court did not rule against the decision to terminate the Wehrpflicht but they supported the existing Wehrpflicht differently. They ruled that there is enough Wehrgerechtigkeit (Bundesverfassungsgericht, 2009) and with it no justification to use the argument of Wehrungerechtigkeit to terminate the Wehrpflicht. The Federal Administrative Court ruled, in the same way, some years earlier that there is enough Wehrgerechtigkeit (Bundesverwaltungsgericht, 2005).

The Deutscher Bundeswehrverband, in the form of its chairman, argued against the termination. They argued that the connection between the Bundeswehr and society would be eliminated and with it the groundwork of the German society. Additionally, national security would be threatened (Wunsch & Kirsch, 2010). The Bundeswehrverband represents around 200.000 Bundeswehr members, former and to that time current conscripts and professional soldiers (Engels & Kirsch, 2009). It is the most important representation of the interest of the soldiers. The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces in the Bundestag, to that time Reinhold Robbe, spoke against the termination as well (Robbe & Kitzler, 2009). Next to the army side the social facilities providing space for the Zivildienst were against the termination without compensation for the loss. They could imagine a replacement with a state co-financed voluntary service (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010).

Fear/uncertainty

There was never a time within the existence of the Bundeswehr without compulsory military service and therefore uncertainty existed, what will happen and will the termination impact the Bundeswehr negatively, what will happen with the social institutions providing spaces for the Zivis and are there other not thought of consequences? One huge fear was mentioned by the budget division of the ministry of defense itself that a reduction in the budget would jeopardize the force (Peters, 2010). Others feared that national security might be in danger because there are not enough soldiers to perform all the necessary tasks (Peters, 2010). Preserve national security is one of the main tasks of the federal government. Others argued that the rooting of the Bundeswehr into society would not be given anymore if there is no ongoing exchange due to the new conscripts. According to these, responsables feared that there will not be enough junior stuff because many of the later higher positions resulted out of the compulsory military service time, same is true for the sector of the Zivildienst. Especially, the sector with its institutions and workers of the Zivildienst was scared. Due to that, the inspection report was written to predict what will happen if the Wehrpflicht gets suspended and with it the Zivildienst (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). What will happen with all the staff from the administration and how will the problem be solved to get enough skilled workers for the social facilities (Bundesbeauftragter für den Zivildienst, 2010). Another identified fear was, the imaginary situation of tension and defense, what will happen if it is necessary to reintroduce the Wehrpflicht (Peters, 2010). Is it possible, can the Bundeswehr and with it the politics handle the situation if thousands of people must join them? Is there enough personnel, housing, and structures?

Another factor that was brought into the discussion are the treaties, with which the federation would have to break, like with defense companies, and the resulting costs of it, if the reform gets implemented.

6. Analysis

The theory guiding the research on hand is that there are two pre-conditions for a successful termination, mainly a successful problem perception and building up on this an agenda-setting. Regarding the problem perception, it is obvious that the Wehrpflicht represented a problem. It was no longer justifiable, from an ethical point of view, due to the Wehrungerechtigkeit (Peters, 2015) and not any longer effective or efficient, because the conscripts had too little time within the regiment and could not be deployed abroad (Bjuruluf et al. 2013). Additionally, the financial crisis was an unexpected event which put pressure on the actors to think about cost savings

(Kingdon, 1984). Furthermore, Guttenberg's commission evaluated the policy and concluded that it would be better for the Bundeswehr, the state and the people, to terminate it. According to deLeon (1978) evaluation is one of the main reasons why something gets terminated. After a successful problem perception, it got on the agenda. That was possible due to the characteristics of the issue (Howlett et al., 2013). It was not very complex; it had a symbolic impact and it was relatively easy for everyone to form an opinion on the topic. Moreover, it was about the environment and the circumstances during that time. Kingdon (1984) calls it "window of opportunity". The window was open, the external environment made it necessary to think about cost savings due to the financial crisis and it was possible for a new government to think about alternatives to the existing policies.

The issue was then on the agenda and with it the actors formulated solutions to it. This part of the research is guided by theory which assumes that there are several aspects which play a role in the decision to end a policy. Starting with the first theoretical category, the inherent characteristics of the case. The *raison d'être* was questioned, due to a change in the security requirements from the NATO and the overall feeling that a huge army is no longer necessary and that the Wehrpflicht does not contribute to the missions of the Bundeswehr. This took away its justification for existence. The termination was also supported by the visibility of the policy. Almost everyone was affected in some kind and due to theory, a high visibility increases the likelihood of a termination (Kirkpatrick et al., 1999). It is obvious that the Wehrpflicht brought benefits for the two kinds of institutions which were affected, namely the Bundeswehr and the social facilities. In retrospective, both kinds of institutions were not able to stop the suspension. This leads to the assumption that other factors weighed more than their aspects and concerns. Looking at the numbers it gets obvious that they were less to low, the Bundeswehr existed of 250.00 people, which benefited and not all saw the Wehrpflicht as something necessary and useful. The idea of replacing the services by general alternative services, the Bundesfreiwilligendienst, and the Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr, might calmed the persons responsible. Factors, which hinder termination according to theory is that the policy was rather old. According to theory an old policy will be terminated less likely because it made itself a huge number of the before mentioned beneficiaries. Nevertheless, it makes itself not only supporters but also opponents over the years and these opponents had the chance and power to suspend it. The last point of the theoretical category suggest that more complex issues are more likely to be terminated. The issue on hand was during the analysis categorized as less complex because it was not a technical issue rather a political one. Actors also created the image that it was a political decision.

The interim conclusion for this first aspect is that not all inherent characteristics of the Wehrpflicht supported the termination or to state differently, increased the likelihood for termination. Building up on this thought it might be that some aspect weight more than other ones, here the *raison d'être* more than the nature of beneficiaries.

The political environment was already detected as a supporting factor for the agenda-setting stage. It can be said that it also played a role during the policy formulation and with it in the support of the termination attempt. The decisive factor was the change in the government. The FDP brought new ideas on the agenda and to the government which they followed consequentially. But it is also noteworthy, that only the change in the prevailing ideology cannot explain the successful termination of the policy. It presents one influencing factor because one also has to keep in mind, that the CDU/CSU group was still much bigger than the junior partner FDP. The ideology of the CDU/CSU had not change within one year because ideology is defined here as a conviction which cannot be changed as easy and fast as times are changing. Other aspects had led to the change in attitude towards the policy. This paved the way for Guttenberg and the coalition partner FDP. With it they had the majority for the termination behind the proposal and the formal termination coalition was strong enough, also with the voting support of the Greens. The analysis showed that there were no huge and powerful organisations which favoured the termination in public rather it depended on individuals and their opinions. These individuals must have a specific position and power to be influential. Starting by Guttenberg who was the main driving force. Over time he was supported by other high-ranked politicians. This means that it is not always about powerful organizations in the sense of having a huge number of members or many financial resources. It can also be about individual people and their agendas. One could argue that the suspension of the Wehrpflicht is only possible because the CDU, its biggest supporter, was in the government. A comparable case was the introduction of the Hartz- Reform, a package of labour market policies within Germany. It was proposed by the SPD and criticized by other left-wing parties due to its recommendations which are in their opinion unsocial and supportive for precarious employment conditions (Hartz Gesetze, n.d.). Due to Wenzelburger (2009) it is often supportive if the normally main opponent of the reform is in the government. The fact that the termination was conducted rather fast then slow supports the theoretical idea of a higher likelihood for termination if the process is rather fast. An increased speed can lead to the fact that the opponents does not have enough time to organize themselves properly, Bardach (1976) calls it “bang” and with it to develop alternatives to the termination proposal. In the Wehrpflicht case

there were not many alternatives with a chance of success. The government decided for one of five self-suggested alternatives and other parties did not brought forward any alternatives which could have resulted in a compromise. Of course, one can argue if the suspension and not a total abolition of the Wehrpflicht is a compromise but the data show no indication that a total abolition was ever a serious idea.

For a successful termination all hindering factors and obstacles have to be overcome. The literature present six of them. Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) created their framework for the termination of organizations. The thesis on hand tried to adapt it for policy termination but it is difficult to judge the aspect of dynamic conservatism. The analysis showed that there were no chances out of the organisation as such which could have prevented the policy of being terminated. But it is very hard to use this concept for policy termination, it does not suit the characteristics of a policy, for example, it is not a dynamic entity. The legal obstacles were on the first glance rather high, but after the analysis it showed up that it was easy to bypass and even overcome them. To conclude and to assess the aspect of economic concerns it can be said that money maybe played a huge role in the beginning. Guttenberg wanted to save it and presented an idea during the closed meeting of the cabinet to do so, but in the end no money was saved. Already during the process, it was obvious that this reform would not save as much money as expected. The responsables had the same or more information as presented here in the thesis, so it is not credible that the potential for cost savings was the main driving force, even if it was sometimes presented as it is. Giving some more numbers, the defense budget increased in the years after 2011, and not only in real numbers, also proportionate to the overall general budget (Bayer, 2017).

Summarizing the aspect and influence of the anti-termination coalition it gets obvious that they were not powerful enough to stop the suspension. Guttenberg must had ignored the concerns, especially formulated by the Bundeswehr. In the beginning it looked like his leading party colleagues were powerful and willing to fight for their position. Nevertheless, their reasoning and argumentation relied on ideology and arguments of political views. Only one, the Bundeswehrverband, argued with the politico-security aspect, that a suspension would lead to risks for the national security. And only the social facilities argued with the monetary aspect, that the situation after the suspension would cost much more than before. But they were not able to stop the termination attempt.

Guttenberg had the chance to implement his proposal because after a specific time he convinced the critical leading persons who supported his idea afterwards in public and internally, like Angela Merkel. This shows again the importance of individual persons and their ambition.

The analysis presents identified fears due to uncertainties. For some questions and concerns answers and solutions were formulated simultaneous with the termination, for example, the introduction of the Federal Voluntary Service and the Voluntary Social Year in social and state facilities and for the replacement of the Wehrpflicht a Voluntary Military Service. Other questions already raised are not answered until today, like the question what will happen if it is necessary to reintroduce the Wehrpflicht?

In the whole discussion it gets obvious that it was never really argued with security arguments. They were identified as a reason but not as a real argument from the actors. It was always about costs and its traditional and symbolic impact. Arguing with the aspect of ideology was the main identified line of argumentation.

7. Conclusion

To answer the overall research question, the two sub-questions needs to be answered first. Starting with the first sub-question: Why and how did the termination process started? The process started because the Wehrpflicht was perceived as a problem which has to be solved. It presented a problem due to the Wehrungerechtigkeit. The feeling arose within the broader society that it is more a disruptive factor than a beneficial policy. The security situation differed from the one during the enactment and made the policy redundant. There was and is no longer a threat from the Eastern Bloc, rather new security challenges and missions arose with which the Bundeswehr has to deal. Politics have to cope the new challenges and requirements. The newly elected government triggered the process with its new ideas, motives and actors. Finally, the tensed financial situation forced to think about savings in the federal budget. These circumstances supported the agenda-setting process which was initiated by the minority of the coalition, the junior coalition partner and the ambitious Guttenberg as the minister of defence. The second sub-question asks for the obstacles within the termination process and for factors which supported the termination attempt. The identified obstacles were primarily individual persons in the two conservative parties, but during the debate they changed their opinion on the topic and voted in favour of the termination. The government knew that the reform will be more costly than the continuation of the Wehrpflicht but this obstacle was overcome. Other factors weighted more, like the fact that the policy is redundant and exists only due to political reasons, without logical justification.

The political environment changed in the way that it was supportive for the termination. The government changed, the biggest proponents were in the government, the opposition supported the general idea of terminating the Wehrpflicht and the minister of defence followed his idea strictly. The change in the external environment, the outbreak of the financial crisis, put further pressure on the actors to think of cost savings and the change in the security situation. The fact that it was relatively easy to bypass expected legal obstacles supported the successful termination. It was only necessary to enact a simple law, and this was possible in a short time. In this case it was supportive that the decision was a purely political one. Because it is not possible to explain the suspension with cost saving arguments, because the defence budget increased, including the personnel costs and the resultant costs, like the costs for the Hochschulpakt. Due to economists the termination decision was good for the national economy. This argument might weigh much during the financial crisis. Further, it cannot be said that the ideology changed in that extent that this can explain the decision. Because many of the CDU/CSU politicians stated until the end that they are in favour of the Wehrpflicht concept but will vote in favour of the suspension. The termination coalition was in the first part the minority but powerful enough to convince other actors. They made the decision possible even though the Bundeswehr was against it and the other involved ministry, the one for the Zivildienst, stated concerns. The beneficiaries were compensated with a voluntary service which is well received. Nevertheless, one uncertainty is still there, how does the situation look like if the state of tension and defense is exclaimed and it gets necessary to reintroduce the Wehrpflicht. Other fears and uncertainties could be solved by comparing the German situation to the situation in its neighbour states which already terminated compulsory military service.

The answers of the two sub-question lead to the answer of the main research question, why was the decision to terminate compulsory military service in Germany successful? In short it can be said that the termination was successful because it was the right issue on the right time. There were obstacles but they were not that high or in some respects not present and the actors were willing to overcome the existing ones. The role of Guttenberg as an individual does not have to be underestimated, he pushed the termination all the time and defended his idea. Further, the change in the environment characterizes the aspect of the right time. There were no rational arguments which supported the continuation of the policy.

The thesis also aimed to answer the theoretical question if the framework for the termination of organization is applicable to policy termination it can be said, yes, in an adjusted and weighted way. Not every aspect counts as much as others do, like the aspect of dynamic conservatism

whereas other aspects can be added to the already existing ones. There is for example, the aspect of the public opinion which can be added as a subcategory to the topic of ideology. The relationship, from politicians and non-politicians toward the policy plays a role. A more disliked policy is more likely to be terminated or adjusted to that extent that it is more or less terminated. The category of the political environment can be widened with the aspect of the financial situation within and from the state. Economic costs are therefore not only obstacles but also supporters. The expectation of Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) that the legal obstacles will not play a huge role in policy termination can be rejected. If the policy is part of the constitution or here of the Grundgesetz there are high legal obstacles which have to be overcome and thought of.

The thesis aimed to bring around new insights of policy termination and has with it academic and social relevance. The thesis presents new ideas and insights and developed a new framework for a better understanding of termination as a political process. This helps to understand the process of policy termination which will become more and more important in a world of ongoing change. New challenges need new answers, and sometimes new answers, like in the case on hand, are to terminate with old answers. The thesis showed that individuals can make the difference. This might motivate parts of the society to engage and to change existing policies. Besides the new findings and insights, the thesis has its limitation when it comes to exact motives of individuals and why some of the actors changed them. It is only possible to assume how Guttenberg convinced his colleagues and how the discussion looked like. A look behind closed doors, by conducting interviews with the involved actors would help to clarify the situation and would support the work. Nevertheless, this was and is not possible within a bachelor thesis and leaves space for future research. Further research is necessary when it comes to the role of individual persons. How much can an individual influence the process?

8. Excursion: The Situation after the Suspension

The last convocation took place in January 2011, the convocation of July 2011 did not take place. Instead the Bundesfreiwilligendienst started on the first of July, with 35.000 vacancies (Kriegsdienst und Wehrpflicht, n.d.). This and the Freiwilliges Soziales Jahr with its branches of the Freiwilliges Ökologisches and Politisches Jahr, replaced the Zivildienst. The social facilities could provide spaces for young people, men and women, here. For the Bundeswehr the at least seven months voluntary service was implemented, and it is possible to extend it to 23 months (Bundesregierung, 2011). The offer was taken by 13,000 people in the first year, the ministry expected and calculated with 5.000 (Kulak et al., 2016). At

the end of November 2017 more than 8.800 people performed the voluntary military service (Blandau & Bötzel, 2018). The troop strength was reduced to 185.000 professional soldiers.

As expected, the number of enrolled students increased (Bundesregierung, 2011) and the education institutions had trouble to cope with the new demand. Especially, because another terminated policy, ending with the policy that students graduate after nine years from the Gymnasium and introducing a graduation after 8 years was implemented. This led to a “Doppelabiturjahrgang” and a doubled number of potential entrants (Schüller, 2012).

Another aspect which is worth mentioning is that Guttenberg resigned from his position in March 2011 because he was accused to plagiarism in his doctoral thesis. This means that he did not administered the whole reform, rather his successor Thomas deMaiziere who was overstrained with the amount of planned reforms and criticized his predecessor that this would never be possible within the timeframe (Mayer, 2011). The Bundeswehr is in criticism due to underfunding and unusable equipment, even though the defence budget increased over the years (Meyer, 2017).

In 2018, a survey presents the figure that 39% of the respondents want back the Wehrpflicht and the Zivildienst back (Welche der folgenden Regelungen sollte die Bundesregierung Ihrer Meinung nach in Bezug auf die Abschaffung bzw. Wiedereinführung von Wehr- und Zivildienst durchsetzen?, 2018). Until today there is no serious attempt to reintroduce it, even if it is possible and only a political decision.

9. References

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Appendix

Appendix I: Operationalization

Raison d'être: The raison d'être or also called the mission. It is operationalized by looking at the aim and mission of the policy. Does it reach its aim, what is the aim and fulfils it the purpose, solves it the problem for which it was made for?

Longevity: The longevity is measured by looking on the number of years the policy is in existence.

Visibility: Visibility is operationalized by looking on the numbers of people affected by the policy, the yearly number of convocations and all convocation since the policy exists. Nevertheless, the Wehrpflicht policy does not only affect the Bundeswehr the Zivildienst affects people as well. Therefore, the number of people performing this service is also used to grasp the whole impact of the policy.

Complexity: Complexity is applied to the issue and asks for the extent of technical or scientific issues. Is the issue only one for experts in that case or can the broader public also understand it and form an opinion on it?

Nature of Benefits: The Nature of Benefits are made measurable by looking at the number of organizations that benefits from the existence of the Wehrpflicht, like the Bundeswehr. Inspired by Kirkpatrick et al. (1999) it is also about the degree to which the beneficiaries think it the policy is useful. This is done by looking on statements of Bundeswehr and alternative service institutions officials and if they see the Wehrpflicht as useful or not, if they support the termination or not.

Prevailing Ideology: The prevailing ideology is measured by looking on the election results in percentage of the federal election 2009 because it constitutes the Bundestag which decides with a majority about the termination. One can describe one specific ideology to every party and every ideology brings along several attributes and expected positions on that topic. Additionally, it is making use of surveys which measure the support of the Wehrpflicht and for the termination in the public.

Termination Coalition: The election results are also used to operationalize the power of the termination coalition and anti-termination coalition by looking at the number of seats within the legislative chambers and the composition of the government.

Powerful Allies: As mentioned in the literature section there are not only official political actors, the elected political parties, also unofficial ones like unions and the affected organizations and institutions. They can be powerful allies and this power is measured by looking at their conflict potential and impact depending in their size, the resources and their proximity to the decision-makers.

Compromise Possibilities: For the operationalisation of compromises the amount of all serious, in the sense of being presented by the main actors, parties and the involved groups, alternatives are taken into consideration. The last aspect of political environment is the speed of decision-making. It is measured by looking on the number of days of the termination process. The presentation from idea by Guttenberg is taken as the starting point and the adaption by the two legislative chambers as the end.

Dynamic Conservatism: Dynamic conservatism is operationalized by looking on the adjustments the Bundeswehr, as the direct affected institution, made to maintain the Wehrpflicht and to increase its attractiveness.

Legal Obstacles: The constraint of legal obstacles are operationalized by looking at the laws which set burdens to the policy termination. A scale for it varies from the relative or simple majority voting to the absolute and at the end qualified majority, which marks a huge legal obstacle.

Economic Costs: Economic costs are operationalized by looking on the numbers, how much does the Wehrpflicht cost and how much does the non- existence of it and with it the non-existence of the Zivildienst will cost. Additionally, the anticipated costs of the termination procedure are taken into account and the potential savings with which the politicians argued.

Anti-termination Coalition: The anti-termination coalition is bisected into the opposition within the Bundestag and into the its powerful allies, the stakeholders who are against the termination. Both groups and their power are operationalized in the same way as the termination coalition and its allies. Another aspect worth to think about are individual persons and their position. It can be expected that the party leader has more influence on the party and with it on the decision than a basis member. Therefore, one focus is on the persons in higher positions and their opinion on the topic. The higher the position the higher the influential power, for and against termination.

Fear/Uncertainty: The mentioned fears of the actors are taken into consideration. They are sampled to have an overview over the variety of them.

*Appendix II: Coding scheme**Table 2. The applied coding scheme*

Raison d'Etre	Allgemeine Wehrpflicht
Visibility	integration into society; impact
Nature of Benefits	Benefits Bundeswehr; impact
Prevailing Ideology	Proposal FDP 2006; Proposal Greens; Change in environment; Ideology; public opinion
Termination Coalition	Westerwelle; CDU; CSU; FDP; Guttenberg; Merkel; pro termination; Seehofer
Powerful Allies	Strukturkommission; Greens; Merkel; supporter; pro termination
Compromise Possibilities	Reduction to six months; Allgemeine Dienstpflicht; alternative; Compromise; Junge Union; Jusos; consequences alternative; cost alternatives; DieLinke; W6; freiwillige Wehrpflicht
Speed	duration
Legal Obstacles	Wehränderungsgesetz; BVerfG; obstacle; requirement; defence companies
Economic Costs	Who pays?; economic costs; bad for economy; Bureaucracy costs; cost savings; economic aspects; Finanzpolitischer Druck; low costs; costs; costs alternative; poor Länder
Anti-Termination Coalition	Wehrbeauftragter; traditions; Steinmeier; Anti-termination; Anti-termination Merkel; Bundeswehrverband; concern; integration into society; Horst Köhler; internal constraints; Junge Union; Jusos; critique; opposition; Seehofer; SPD; Steinmeier
Fear/Uncertainty	Concern; consequences; consequences society; internal constraint; defence companies
Impact	Zivildienst; loss Zivildienst; defence companies
Reason	Wehrgerechtigkeit/Wehrungerechtigkeit; bad for economy; Strukturkommission; cost saving; ethical reasons; huge effort; Guttenberg; Ideological reasons; monetary reasons; Ideology; no missions abroad; neighbour states; new challenges; positive future; security situation
History	Wehrpflicht currently; development; Coalition CDU SPD
Bundeswehr currently	tasks; Staatsbürger in Uniform; requirement; Design, De Maizière; der Soldat heute; Image Bundeswehr
Afterwards	Bundesfreiwilligendienst; Entwicklungsdienst; Freiwilliger Wehrdienst; FSÖ/FSJ; situation after 2011