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## Table of Content

1. **Introduction**
  - 1.1 Problem
  - 1.2 Working Hypothesis
  - 1.3 Research question
  - 1.4 Procedure
  - 1.5 Research status
  - 1.6 Methodology
2. **Internal Security: Approach and Overview**
  - 2.1 Definition and Disambiguation
  - 2.2 The tension between objective and subjective safety
  - 2.3 Uncertainty and fear of crime: A result of economic and social change?
  - 2.4 Repressive crime policies as a result of a neoliberal transformation?
  - 2.5 Basic model of the security discourse
  - 2.6 The development of legislation on internal security in Germany in context of political and social discourses
  - 2.7 The debate on internal security in Germany after 11th September, 2001
3. **Preliminary considerations about the issue "internal security" as a topic of election campaigns**
  - 3.1 Election campaigns: peak or bottom of the democratic culture?
  - 3.2 Political Communication: campaigning and the "permanent" campaign
  - 3.3 Americanization, modernization or professionalization of election campaigns?
  - 3.4 Emotional Issue strategies: A recipe for success of political communication?
  - 3.5 The importance of issues in an election campaign and the importance of issues for the decision to vote
  - 3.6 Issue Management: Agenda Setting & Co.
  - 3.7 Security - a basic motif of election campaigns
  - 3.8 Strategic considerations about internal security as a theme of election campaigns
4. **Case studies**
  - 4.1 The "Willie Horton" case

- 4.2 Spain 2000: ETA helps Aznar's Partido Popular to election victory
- 4.3 USA: Did the Bush administration profit from the fear of terrorism?
- 4.4 Italy 2001: Berlusconi focuses on fighting against crime and restricting immigration
- 4.5 France 2001: Chirac and Jospin put homeland security on top of the agenda
- 4.6 The rise and fall of the "Schill Party"
- 4.7 Spain 2004: Aznar bet on ETA instead of Al-Qaeda and is voted out
- 4.8 United Kingdom: The consequences of the terrorist attacks on the British domestic policy
- 4.9 Evaluation of the case studies
- 5. **On the strategies of the parties to make issues of internal security subject of discussion in context of their campaigns for the German federal election in 2002**
  - 5.1 SPD
  - 5.2 CDU/CSU
  - 5.3 Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
  - 5.4 FDP
  - 5.5 PDS
- 6. **Conclusion**
  - 6.1 The Result of the German federal election in 2002
  - 6.2 Which role did internal security play in the 2002 election campaign?
  - 6.3 Overall review of the issue of internal security in the 2002 federal election
  - 6.4 Which requirements does the issue of internal security place in political communication?
  - 6.5 Internal Security: an issue for populists?
- 7. **Bibliography**

Appendix

## Abstract

The dissertation focuses on the interface between political communication and the German legislation and discourse concerning internal security and explores the impact of the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 on German domestic policy. Against the background of the federal election campaign in 2002, development factors and conditions of the anti-terror legislation, concerning home affairs, are going to be examined. The dissertation looks at how the circumstances, the topic of security manifested as anti-terrorism, crime and civil rights as the other side of the equation, were implemented by the parties SPD, CDU/CSU, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, FDP and PDS in their campaigns. Methodologically, the study is based on text and source analysis, the interpretation of press releases as well as on interviews with stakeholders and decision makers, who were involved in planning and implementation of campaigns for the election in 2002.

It was elaborated that the events of 9/11/2001 and the security debate in the environment of the election to the city-state parliament in Hamburg in 2001 evoked changes in the programmatic and strategic positioning of the above-mentioned parties in questions of internal security. Depending on their programmatic orientation, the various parties operate either offensively or defensively to make the topic of security by means of agenda setting subject of discussion. During the campaigns, the topic of internal security has been linked to aspects and motives which are specific for each party, including social policy, civil rights, pacifism, environmental protection, immigration, tax and moral values.

As the ruling party the SPD was able to neutralize the potential "loser issue" internal security through the practical demonstration of the ability to act to a great extent. In particular, the clear positioning of the Federal Minister of the Interior Schily as guarantors of "law and order" was responsible for the attacks of political opponents being a miss. CDU and CSU were not able to benefit from their lead in the competence assumption on issues of internal security despite the repeated attempts to put it on the agenda. The efforts to accuse the government parties of failures in domestic policy proved fruitless, and were also in contradiction to the "competence" strategy under which the economy and labor market issues were supposed to be at the center of political debate.

The campaign of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen was of a sharply polemic nature and mobilized the core supporters of the party by mixing questions of internal security with aspects of social policy. The party benefited from the backing of their coalition partner, so Bündnis 90/Die

Grünen ran no risk to encourage the libertarian values in civil rights and immigration of her electorate.

The sporadic incursions of the FDP to communicate the topic of internal security both from the aspect of anti-terrorism and civil rights ran out of focus in the face of the campaign orientated on optimism and publicity as well as the anti-semitism affair around Möllemann. Because of the fixation on economic and tax issues the theoretically present unique position in domestic policy on the basis of the party's liberal tradition remained unused. The advances of the PDS to gain ground on the field of internal security by scandalizing the anti-terrorism legislation of the government parties and careful experiments to orientate in the direction of a civil rights party remained due to party history and the delicate position of the supporters and sympathizers limited in reach.

The author concludes that issues of internal security had an impact on the election result of the 2002 German federal elections, although at first glance this theme played only a minor role in the overall picture of the federal election campaign. The government parties SPD und Bündnis 90/Die Grünen were beneficiaries as the CDU/CSU was not able to take advantage of their superiority in the perceived competence in this area as a result of the neutralization of this issue.

In his conclusion the author postulates that internal security is not the "ideal" election issue that guarantees the support of the people and electoral success using a strategy of generating fear. From the analysis of the 2002 federal election campaign further hypotheses are derived in terms of general suitability of the subject of internal security for political communication. At last the chances of radical and populist parties to succeed in this policy area are discussed.