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German security challenges in the area of demography and immigration

Summary

The declining German population with its proportionally ageing society represents a major challenge for Germany. All the more so since the ongoing demographic changes would affect the entire security sector. Alongside the shortage of personnel in the army, Germany also needs to find an effective way of integrating the national and ethnic minorities that were brought into the country as guest workers with the hope of hindering the negative effects of the demographic transition. The article aims to illustrate the security challenges confronting Germany in the upcoming three decades. The quality and efficiency of the proposed reforms will determine both internal and external security architecture of Germany.

Keywords: German security, demographic change, national and ethnic minorities, integration, migrations.

Introduction

Population potential is perceived as an essential element of every country's strength and prosperity. A demographic crisis can be the ultimate determinant of the fate of a nation. Thus, unlike African or Arab countries (where a high birth rate has been recorded for years), negative natural growth, that has been recorded in 17 European countries, is worrisome. Germany is a country, where de-population process was most damaging. While European demographic problems are not limited exclusively to that country, Germany is the state, where the problem is most acute. It has been a visible trend for decades, as more Germans died than were born since 1970.[1] Germany tried many methods to mitigate the

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[1] OECD, *Young population statistics: 1950-2014*, https://data.oecd.org/pop/young-population.htm#indicator-chart

problem, but none of them were effective. Even the policy of inclusiveness associated with the mass admission of immigrants and so-called *guest arbeiters* did not achieve the desired result. According to the British weekly, *The Economist*, German population continues to shrink despite receiving several waves of immigrants in last decades, and an influx of almost 1,5 million immigrants between 2015-2017[2]. As Federal Statistical Office predicts, by 2040 the number of people aged 67 and over will rise to at least 21.5 million.[3]

The demographic problem

The demographic problem has been one of the most burning issues of the German government. Looking at data of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) one can notice how fast decline of birth ratio has been registered[4]. As a remedy, Germany started to accept and incentivise economic immigrants from the Middle East as early as in the 1960's. The major waves took place between 1959–1964, 1968–1974 and 1985–1995 and successfully, but temporarily reversed negative tendencies in birth-death ratio.[5] As a result of this policy, approx. 9-10% of German citizens are foreigners, and approx. 27% are of mixed origin. In 2018, 25 % people in Germany had a migration ancestry[6], while in 2021 it was 27,2% and constituted an increase of 2%, compared with 2020[7].

Picture 1. Numbers of foreign population, provided by Destatis.de. Available at: https://www.desta-tis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html (22.05.2022)

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[2] *East Germany's population is shrinking*, "The Economist", April 2017.
[3] *Currently high immigration cannot reverse population ageing*, Federal Statistical Office (DESTA-TIS), January 20, 2016. https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2016/01/PE16_021_12421.html.
[4] *Demography – Population*, OECD Data, The OECD https://data.oecd.org/pop/population.htm.
[5] Federal Institute for Population Research, *Population Balance and Age Structure.*
[6] https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/heute/jeder-vierte-hat-migrationshintergrund-statistisches-bundesamt-100.html.
[7] https://www.destatis.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2022/04/PD22_162_125.html.

In recent years, two centres have attempted to provide an analysis of Germany's population growth, linking it to the level of immigration. Under the slightly more optimistic projections of statista.com, Germany's population will decline from 83.2 million in 2019 to 74.39 million in 2060. The German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt – Destatis) presented a more complex analysis, also assuming that the population will shrink, but made this progression dependent on the number of immigrants. In the best-case scenario, where the number of immigrants expands, it would achieve approximately 73 million in 2060. In the worst-case scenario, Germany's population could shrink to approx. 67 million. In one case or another,[8] German population will continue to decrease in the next decades.

That negative trend was publicly acknowledged by the German Federal Statistical Office at the press conference in Berlin on 27 June 2019. Despite of high net immigration and growth in birth rates, ageing population in Germany will continue to rise. It will be particularly noticeable in the working-age population, and none of actions taken by the government are currently able to stop it.[9] By 2035 there will be considerably more people of retirement age, while the number of people aged 67 or over will grow from 16 million in 2020 to expected 20 million in 2035, giving rise by 22%. It is estimated that by 2030 the labour force will comprise more people aged 65 to 74 than people under 20, in order to maintain a stable economy. The projections are relentless: it is assumed that by 2060, up to 2.2 million people will belong to the older age group, while up to 1.1 million to the younger age group in the labour market[10]. As hitherto experience shows, so-called high waves of immigration between 2014-2022 had only limited effect on the long-term population trends. Short-term population growth did not reverse the fast population ageing trend, while admittedly high net immigration slowed the pace and delayed negative consequences of that phenomenon.[11] Since 2019 the number of people living in Germany did not change much, while the number of deaths visibly exceeded the number of births. The only temporary remedy for that gap was higher net immigration, which, however, had decreased in 2020[12].
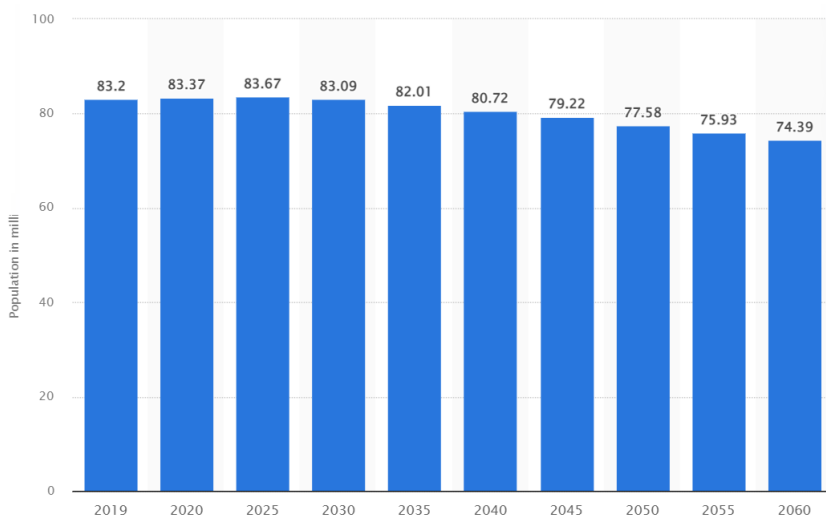
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[8] Olga Pötzsch and Dr. Felix Rößger in cooperation with staff at the "Demographic Analyses, Methods and Projections, Births and Deaths" Section. "Germany´s Population by 2060 - Results of the 13th coordinated population projection", April 28, 2015; https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/GermanyPopulation2060_5124206159004.html

[9] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2019/06/PE19_242_12411.html

[10] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2020/11/PE20_436_12411.html

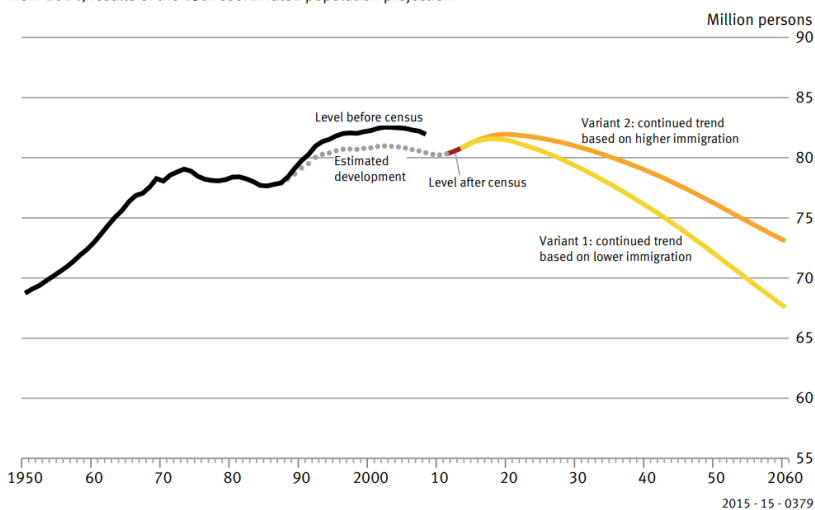[11] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2016/01/PE16_021_12421.html

[12] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Population-Projection/_node.html;jsessionid=8699115CE60AF581C7DFA5645046669B.internet732

Picture 2. Prognosis of German declining population based on Statista.com (top) and the Federal Statistical Office (bottom): https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/ Population Projection/Publications/Downloads-Population-Projection/26ermany-population-20605124206159004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile;
https://www.statista.com/statistics/1127646/population-forecast-germany/ (22.05.2022)

Uniformed shortages

Next to the aging process, the multifaceted shortcomings in Germany had increased rapidly. It is certain, that the first and one of most important branches suffering from the demographic decline German will be uniformed services[13], an important branch of the national security system. In July 2011, Germany decided to suspend compulsory military service and Karl Theodor zu Guttenberg, then German Minister of Defence, proposed to reduce the number of troops from 250,000 to 185,000, with 170,000 professional soldiers. By doing so, German government wanted to save up to 8.3 billion EUR. Proposed changes brought about a new set of problems – i.a. suspension of alternative community service offered to those who refused military service and growing number of students, causing unexpected problems for German universities.[14] Bearing in mind the post-Cold War downsizing of the Bundeswehr, which led to a considerable decrease in demand for young conscripts, German government's decision to put conscription into abeyance caused deepening uniformed services problem. Even though the government put many efforts and faith in prospective new recruits originating from amongst newcomers and youngsters, the numbers of recruits were still insufficient. The potential target audience appeared to be uninterested an preferred to remain in the private sector business. In her speech to the Munich Security Conference in February 2018, Germany's defence minister at the time, Ursula von der Leyen, pledged to spend more on military[15] and to boost army spendings after years of post-Cold War decline. As a result of the Russian aggression against Ukraine in February 2022 and the escalation of the conflict into a full-scale war, German government decided to strengthen the equipment of the army, allocating an additional EUR 100 billion for defence. Chancellor Olaf Scholz has also announced greater investments in the security sector. It will be, however, extremely difficult to fulfil this mission with declining number of soldiers[16] trained for the NATO missions or to service the new weapons and military equipment. In 2021, there was an increase of 1.5% on a year earlier of pensioners in the public service, in accordance with the public officials' and soldiers' pensions law[17]. But the Ministry of Defence or Ministry of Interior are not the only ones suffering from the depopulation process. It also hampers

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[13] In 2011 Germany had abandoned obligatory conscription, and, according to the analyst, after 2030 it will be very hard to find successors of ageing soldiers. The German Police will struggle with the same problem.

[14] https://www.dw.com/en/germany-to-suspend-compulsory-military-service/a-6315122.

[15] https://www.businessinsider.com/r-germany-to-us-well-spend-more-on-defense-you-stay-involved-2018-2?IR=T.

[16] https://www.dw.com/en/german-military-lacks-equipment-and-recruits-says-damning-report/a-47281996.

[17] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2021/12/PE21_587_742.html.

country's economy, which will soon be forced to face and mitigate the problem of lack of both, highly educated and skilled as well as low paid employees.[18] According to German analysts, by 2030 Germany will suffer from lack of more than three million educated workers. Within a decade, this number will rise to 3.3 million.[19]

Assimilation problems – Parallelgesellschaft

Another pressing problem after the accelerating population aging is the assimilation of newcomers, part of which has not undergone the process, encapsulating themselves in the small immigrant collectivities. Due to the different ways of getting to Germany and the different forms of residence, the assimilation process became even more difficult. How poor it remains in this segment of society is demonstrated by the election statistics, which reflect community participation and engagement in the nation's fate. According to the latest data, approx. 21.9 million people with a migrant background currently live in Germany, while only 7.9 million of them are entitled to vote. For that reason, in 2021 Bundestag Election only one in three people with a migrant background was entitled to vote[20]. Unfortunately, many immigrants are not interested in the naturalisation process. Suffice to say, that out of 11,8 million foreigners in Germany, only 109,900 actually completed the process.[21] Immigrants from selected regions became quickly more of a problem than desired solution for the crisis. In a short term it was assessed that newcomers, predominantly from Turkey, Syria and the Arab countries, do not integrate with the German society as expected, and their presence does not bring about expected positive input to the economy. The main reason was high unemployment rate among newcomers and high percentage of their part living on the doles. Acutely aware of the origin of the problem, each subsequent German government tried to overcome it with different measures and instruments. One of them was *Agenda 2010*[22], an-

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[18] Studie – Arbeitslandschaft 2040, Prognos AG & Vereinigung der Bayerischen Wirtschaft e. V. May 2015; https://www.prognos.com/uploads/tx_atwpubdb/20150521_Prognos_Arbeitslandschaft 2040-final.pdf

[19] Germany could lack 3 million skilled workers by 2030, study finds." August 30, 2017. https://www.thelocal.de/jobs/article/germany-could-lack-33-million-skilled-workers-by-2040-study.

[20] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2021/10/PE21_463_125.html

[21] *State & Society – Migration & Integration* – Federal Statistical Office (DESTATIS). https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/Migration-Integration.html.

[22] S. Hegelich, D. Knollmann, J. Kuhlmann, *Agenda 2010: Strategien – Entscheidungen – Konsequenzen*, 1. Auflage, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2011, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gbv/detail.action?docID=749041.

nounced in 2003 by Gerhard Schroeder, then German Chancellor. The program focused on reducing social benefits and encouraging citizens to *take their fate in their own hands*[23]. By introducing the *Agenda*, the government tried to boost the ailing economy by reductions in health care benefits, restructuring labour regulations, tax cuts and an overhaul of the pension system. The biggest paradox was that the project fell upon the social democrats trying to dismantled the German welfare state. What the conservative governments did not dare, was implemented by one of more pro-social agenda. Schroeder used to say: *Either we modernize the state or we will be modernized by someone else*. The reforms, introduced by German Chancellor finally turned out to work out and have brought Germany more stability during economic crises, than any other highly industrialized countries had. Nonetheless, provided measures, while favourable for the economy, were not sufficient for the society. They did not stop the demographic decrease. Soon more than 400 academics were on a boycott of reform advocating changes to the program and reforming the welfare state rather than disassembling it[24]. Although positively welcomed, in the long run the reforms costed Schroeder his position.

Yet, the problems with integration were nothing new. The German media alarmed the government decades before the 2015 exodus. In 2004, Der Spiegel publicly warned the government about Germany's failure in integrating immigrants. In his editorial, Charles Hawley underlined i.a. that "Large chunks of Germany's 7.3-million foreign population have resisted learning the language and have preferred to live insulated from German society in dozens of largely immigrant neighbourhoods in big cities, that isn't the whole story. Increasingly, Germans are realizing that they, too, are to blame for the failure of integration. And the further below the surface of political polemic one searches, the louder the voices critical of German integration policy become."[25] According to Heinz Buschkowsky, former mayor of Neukoelln, Berlin's eighth district, already in 2004 more than 33% of its habitants were immigrants.[26] The Federal Institute for Population Research, in its article on the Demographic Change and Ageing admitted, that Germany's approach taken as a leading line of internal policy causes considerable changes in the population structure[27]. The Federal Office

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[23] https://dserver.bundestag.de/btp/15/15032.pdf

[24] E. Altvater, *Aufruf Von Über 400 Wissenschaftlern Gegen Agenda 2010*, "Einblick", 11/2003, [accessed: 22.05.2022].

[25] https://www.spiegel.de/international/integration-in-europe-how-germany-has-failed-its-immigrants-a-333899.html

[26] https://www.spiegel.de/international/integration-in-europe-how-germany-has-failed-its-immigrants-a-333899.html

[27] Federal Institute for Population Research "Demographic Change and Ageing"; 2015 Frankfurt's am Men statistics shows, The native Germans are already a minority in their own city. Within structure of population foreigners stated apx. 29%, German inhabitants with migration background - 23%, mostly Turkish minority.

for Migration and Refugees (ger. The Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge), responsible i.a. for registration, integration and repatriation of migrants had implemented various measures and procedures to integrate them in the society. Unfortunately, less than a tenth of a percent of all incoming immigrants decided to take up the offer. The German media had alarmed the government numerous times to resolve the growing lack of communication between the society and newcomers[28]. In one of the articles, Der Spiegel warned openly: "It's time, say German politicians, for Germany's immigrants to finally get integrated. They've been living in parallel societies for too long. But shouldn't Germans be doing something as well? The country's approach to integration has proven a complete failure."[29] Equally difficult to assimilate are the roughly 3 million German Muslims, mostly of Turkish descent. They are considered to be the most conservative and traditionalist, not integrating with German society. The Germans used to call this phenomenon "Parallelgesellschaft" – a parallel society.[30] The Parallelgesellschaft as both political and sociologic term refers to the self-organization and hermetic closure of ethnic/religious minorities or immigrant groups with minimal contact with the majority. It was introduced in early 90. by the German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer during debate on immigration and integration of German society[31]. From a sociological perspective it describes self-organization of minorities unwilling to assimilate with the majority. From the political perspective it refers to the situation, where the minority does not follow the rules, laws and moral concepts of the majority. There is also substantially higher possibility to follow rules of minority i.a. religious[32] and ethnic isolationism,[33] building clan-alike structures and mistreatment of "aliens". Later, the term found its way to the dictionaries of Western European Countries i.a. the United Kingdom, the Netherlands or France facing multicultural society's problems.[34]

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28 Elger, Katrin, Ansbert Kneip, and Merlind Theile. "Immigration: Survey Shows Alarming Lack of Integration in Germany" SPIEGEL ONLINE January 26, 2009. http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/immigration-survey-shows-alarming-lack-of-integration-in-germany-a-603588.html

29 Hawley, Charles. "Integration in Europe: How Germany Has Failed Its Immigrants" SPIEGEL ONLINE. December 21, 2004. http://www.spiegel.de/international/integration-in-europe-how-germany-has-failed-its-immigrants-a-333899.html.

30 Schiffauer, Werner, *Parallelgesellschaften: Wie viel Wertekonsens braucht unsere Gesellschaft? Für eine kluge Politik der Differenz* (*2., unveränderte Auflage 2011)*, X-Texte zu Kultur und Gesellschaft (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2008). doi:10.14361/9783839406434, https://www.degruyter.com/isbn/9783839406434.

31 Wilhelm Heitmeyer and Reimund Anhut, eds., *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaft: Soziale Desintegrationsprozesse und ethnisch-kulturelle Konfliktkonstellationen,* Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung (Weinheim: Juventa, 2000).

32 B. Tibi, *Islamische Zuwanderung: Die gescheiterte Integration*, 2. Aufl. (Stuttgart [etc.]: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, op. 2002).

33 https://www.zeit.de/1996/35/heitmey.txt.19960823.xml.

34 https://translate.google.pl/translate?hl=pl&sl=de&tl=pl&u=https%3A%2F%2Fde.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FParallelgesellschaft.

Merkel claims multiculturalism as a failed experiment

In 2011, during the 50th anniversary of the German-Turkish labour agreement[35] the then Chancellor Angela Merkel enthusiastically stated "The migrants contributed to Germany's wealth and they became part of our nation".[36] A few months before, speaking to the young members on the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) political party meeting she admitted that the utopian idea of a multicultural German society did not work.[37]

Even though Angela Merkel was aware of the failure of adopted policy, the statistic made it brutally visible. Since the golden days, the number of deaths again exceeded the number of births, and natural growth slowed down so significantly, that it could no longer compensate for mortality rates. A sudden wave of Middle East[38] immigrants to Europe has temporarily reversed this trend and increased German population.[39] The new generation of migrants, who arrived in 2015 was described as another opportunity to solve the burning problem of declining and ageing German population. Germany's population had risen by 978,000 in 2015 as compared to previous year (+1.2%), totalling 82.2 million citizens. This was considered as the biggest population growth since 1992. In 2014 the growth had been less significant (+430,000 people, +0.5%). Therefore it must be assumed, the population increase in 2015 was the result of high net immigration.[40] Even though, the numbers of incomers had greatly improved Germany's population statistics, it became indeed a Pyrrhic victory.

The other side of the coin

In response to cold hard facts and the government's attempts to avoid sharing the blame for the existing situation, the communities increasingly bring up the issue of alleged racism[41] displayed by the state and the people, labour mar-

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[35] A. Hudson, M. Nagle, *Germans and Turks mark 50 years since first migration*, "Reuters", October 2011.

[36] At the same time, she also urged German Turks to learn good German, and admitted that there was still much work to be done on integration process.

[37] M. Weaver, *Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed'*, "The Guardian", October 2010.

[38] Federal Institute for Population Research, *External Migration*.

[39] Idem, *Population Balance and Age Structure*.

[40] *Population at 82.2 million at the end of 2015 – population increase due to high immigration* – Federal Statistical Office (DESTATIS). August 26, 2016; https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2016/08/PE16_295_12411.html.

[41] B. Tibi, *Islamische Zuwanderung und ihre Folgen: Der neue Antisemitismus, Sicherheit und die "neuen Deutschen"*, Aktualisiert, überarbeitet, erweitert, ibidem Sachbuch (Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2018), http://www.ibidemverlag.de.

ket[42] and institutions encouraging inequality[43], which they consider to be a problem deeply rooted in the history and culture of Germans[44]. In opposition to the emphasis on parallel society, a discourse is brought up on the need to create opportunities for integration and to encourage active social participation. The classification of certain ethnic minorities as a wholistic group is considered a far-reaching oversimplification, dramatization[45] and instrumentalization, while the idea of parallelism faces grows criticism[46]. The theory's supporters are accused, among other things, of being prejudiced and narrowing the phenomenon to the German ground, entirely ignoring similar phenomena existing in other states[47], such as Little Sicily or China Towns in the U.S. There is also a strong disapproval of the idea of voluntary isolation and segregation, which can either come from the cultural norms imposed by the rest of the community or from the outside, i.e. from the majority of German population, as a form of racial, social and cultural exclusion. The fact of partial assimilation (as in the case of the Turks[48]) and participation in Germany's socio-economic system with simultaneous isolation/exclusion is also often omitted in the Parallelgesellschaft context. In 2018 national and ethnic minorities in Germany were sounding off against racism With #MeTwo campaign on Twitter[49].

The lack of strong internal policies related to the integration process[50] also cause significant increase[51] in racist acts, previously only occasionally committed by German citizens. Most of these were actions of extreme right-wing affiliates or those with religious motives, like i.a. Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West, PEGIDA (German: Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisie-

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[42] R. R. Luthra, *Explaining Ethnic Inequality in the German Labor Market: Labor Market Institutions, Context of Reception, and Boundaries*, "European Sociological Review" 29, no. 5 (2013).

[43] L. Kaas, Ch. Manger, E*thnic Discrimination in Germany's Labour Market: A Field Experiment*, "German Economic Review" 13, no. 1 (2012).

[44] L. Holzner, *Minority Relations And Conflict In The Emerging European Community Specifically Germany, France And Great Britain*, "Humboldt Journal of Social Relations" 19, no. 2 (1993): 157–92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23262733.

[45] W. Köster, ed., *Parallelgesellschaften: Diskursanalysen zur Dramatisierung von Migration; Beiträge studentischen Forschens*, 1. Aufl., Essen: Klartext, 2009.

[46] D. Halm, M. Sauer, *Parallelgesellschaft Und Ethnische Schichtung*, "Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte", 2006, https://www.bpb.de/system/files/pdf/AQ6PWB.pdf. [accessed: 23.05.2022].

[47] M. Biersack, T. Hiergeist, B. Loy, *Parallelgesellschaften*: *Instrumentalisierungen Und Inszenierungen in Politik, Kultur Und Literatur*, "Romanische Studien", 8/2019 (2019).

[48] R. Alba, *Bright Vs. Blurred Boundaries*: *Second-Generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States*, "Ethnic and Racial Studies" 28, no. 1 (2005).

[49] #MeTwo – Vom Hashtag zur Bewegung gegen strukturellen Rassismus, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ZvwpMtuI3g

[50] On a lack of a proper immigration policy which led to today's integration problems were writing Matthias Bartsch, Andrea Brandt and Daniel Steinvorth in the article *A Sorry History of Self-Deception and Wasted Opportunities,* Der Spiegel (SEP 2010).

[51] A. Lewicki, *Islamophobia In Germany*, "National Report 2016".

rung des Abendlandes). PEGIDA as a movement defining itself in opposition to Islamic extremism, founded in 2014 had grown very fast and gained support of many German citizens. The formation openly calls for curbing the immigration and accuses authorities of not enforcing existing immigration laws and using double standards for German citizens. The European migrant crisis instantly re-invigorated the movement, and the speech of a Turkish-born German writer Akif Pirinçci naming the Muslim refugees as invaders making Germany "a Muslim garbage dump" swelled ranks and files of PEGIDA[52]. It grown even its own off-shoots all across Germany: Legida in Leipzig, Sügida in Südthüringen, Kagida in Kassel, Wügida in Würzburg, Fragida in Frankfurt etc. The epochal shift in Germany's political landscape defined by massive losses of conservatives and center-left parties and unexpected rise in support for the right-wing activists and populists are but symptoms of growing popular outrage at the Germany's internal policy. The Alternative für Deutschland (AfD, eng. Alternative for Germany), considered as a right-wing, populist and anti-islamist party[53] became the third largest party in Germany after the 2017 federal elections. Claiming 94 seats in the Bundestag, AfD promised to resolve "the immigration problem". Defining core values as a need "of return to the German roots which were fundamental for the state" and necessity to turnaround in security policy and public safety, claiming commitment to German as the predominant culture derived from the traditions scientific and humanistic heritage gained support to AfD without difficulties. More than 1 million people voting previously for CDU/CSU decided to vote for the AfD in 2017, the Left Party lost approx. 11-12 % of voters to the AfD, SPD lost 4,5% of its voters to AfD and other parties - approx. 27%. Moreover, AfD managed to mobilize and gain more than 1,4 million votes from non-voters[54]. Thanks to that spectacular score it become the third power in Bundestag. Majority of the AfD voters were simple people of 30-59 age group, mostly lower wage earners. They have graduated from intermediate-level high school and vocational high school. Forty-four percent of responders of ZDF survey said, that refugees and foreigners were a factor that might have helped the AfD.[55] But there are many reasons for the AfD's success. The biggest is observation of the environment and awareness of the changes occurring. German citizens observe very carefully the percentage of minorities in Germany that are integrating with the society. Today's problem has only intensified the situation that had been brewing for a long time.[56] The German

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[52] https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/22/nothing-can-take-down-angela-merkel-except-800000-refugees-germany-cdu-pegida/

[53] W. C. Thompson, *Nordic, Central, and Southeastern Europe 2015–2016*.

[54] https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2017-09/german-election-alternative-for-germany-angela-merkel

[55] https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2017-09/german-election-alternative-for-germany-angela-merkel

[56] A.-E. Younes, *Islamophobia in Germany*, "National Report 2015".

immigrant registration system also has significant gaps. The lack of credible officials to effectively verify identities allowed people with an unknown past to join the society.[57]

Minorities as a security challenge

Diversification, highly sensitive subject promoted by Germany's official approach as one of country's greatest advantages, indicating its openness, soon became part of its internal policy. In meantime however, thousands of young Germans with Turkish roots and solid German education decided to return to Turkey.[58] Between 2007-2011 more than 193,000 Turks left Germany for their fatherland, considering themselves more conservative than their elders.[59] The Parallelgesellschaft has quickly become part of a political game between Ankara and Berlin, which contributed even more to the deterioration of the image. Between 2016- 2017, there were a number of disagreements expressed by Germany and Turkey which contributed to an increasing conflict finding release in serious international decisions. The Bundestag's adoption of a resolution on the 1915 Armenian genocide by Ottoman Empire was the initial reason for the growing tensions. As part of their protest, Turkish authorities have blocked German MPs from entering Incirlik Air Base. The situation was made worse with the subsequent blockade of the parliamentarians' visit when Turkish servicemen accused by President Erdogan of a coup attempt were granted asylum in Germany in 2017. Turkey claiming official support for the president recognized that act as a significant regression of their bilateral relations. The German authorities, in turn, identified it as political blackmail. As Turkey was no longer ready to accept German representatives on its territory, on 7 June 2017, cooperation with the Turkish in the military base in Incirlik was terminated.[60] Although Germany changed base in a rapid fashion, leaving Incirlik also had strategic downsides, including the loss of operational and logistic advantages. The decision to close the base was a very visible reflection of German-Turkish political tensions. This exceptional situation brought to light how crucial influence on Germany, both its internal and external policy, the ethnic minorities can have. Playing the minority card has been repeatedly emphasized in Ankara's rhetoric. In April 2017,

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[57] L. Dearden, *German government investigating how serving soldier registered as Syrian refugee*, "Independent", April 2017.

[58] Y. Aydin, *The Germany-Turkey Migration Corridor*, "Transatlantic Council on Migration: Migration Policy Institute", 2016.

[59] *193,000 Turks come back from Germany in 4 years*, "Istanbul Hurryiyet Daily News", March 2013.

[60] S. Kinkartz, *Get out of Incirlik!*, "Deutsche Welle", June 2017; A. Smale, *Germany to Withdraw Forces From Incirlik Base in Turkey*, "New York Times", June 2017.

Turkish politicians were, without German approval, campaigning in Germany prior to the constitutional referendum in Turkey. Berlin strongly objected, while both leaders, Mrs. Angela Merkel and Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdogan accused the other of acting in bad faith. As a retaliation, the Turkish president declared Germany's three main political parties as the "enemies of Turkey", who should be punished (presumably by citizens of Turkish origin) in the upcoming parliamentary elections. Therefore, Erdogan's statement was an unprecedented act of interference into another country's sovereignty. Chancellor Merkel firmly protested reassuring at the same time that Germany will not stand for any type of interference[61]. In fact, Germany did not have any instruments to prevent the possible damage that the Turkish President's appeals could have caused. Chancellor Merkel had limited her statements to reassurances "German voters, including the ones with Turkish background, have a right to vote freely". In this particular case, in the face of attempts to externally influence on one of Germany's ethnic minorities, the statistic that only every third person with a migrant background was entitled to vote, spoke in favour of internal security by reducing the risk of a powerful destabilisation of the German political scene.

Conclusions

Germany, like other European countries, faces the serious challenge of population ageing. Although all the sectors are affected by the consequences of this process, the security sector and the uniformed services will face the most serious challenges in the coming years. This becomes particularly difficult after the Russian aggression on Ukraine and the necessity of a multidimensional strengthening of the state security. The shortage of soldiers, the increasing percentage of soldiers retiring, objections concerning recruitment based on the so-called migration background and, finally, the lack of interest among the younger generation to work in the uniformed services sector will only aggravate that problem. Germany needs a multidimensional, rational policy, including integration proposals[62] of the calibre of Gerhard Schroeder's *Agenda 2010*. While unpopular and damaging to the former cabinet, in the long run it represented one of the most sensible post-1990 German political approaches.

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[61] *Erdogan tells German Turks not to vote for Angela Merkel*, "Reuters", August 2017.

[62] S. Frenzel, *Lebenswelten jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft: Postmigrantische Perspektiven auf Integrationskurse in Deutschland und Belgien*, 1. Auflage, Postmigrantische Studien 11 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021), https://www.degruyter.com/isbn/9783839457276.

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Wyzwania dla bezpieczeństwa Niemiec w obszarze demografii i imigracji

Streszczenie

Kurcząca się niemiecka populacja wraz proporcjonalnie starzejącym się społeczeństwem stanowi dla Niemiec poważne wyzwanie. Zachodzące zmiany demograficzne dotkną w znaczący sposób sektor bezpieczeństwa. Poza brakami kadrowymi w armii, Niemcy muszą także znaleźć skuteczny sposób integracji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych, które sprowadzano do kraju jako *guest arbeiters* z nadzieją na powstrzymanie negatywnych skutków zmian demograficznych. Artykuł ma na celu zobrazowanie wyzwań z zakresu bezpieczeństwa stojących przez Niemcami w najbliższych trzech dekadach. Od jakości i skuteczności zaproponowanych reform zależeć będzie niemiecka architektura bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego i zewnętrznego.

Słowa kluczowe: bezpieczeństwo Niemiec, zmiany demograficzne, mniejszości narodowe i etniczne, integracja, migracje.