

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahmenn

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

## States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Recent years have seen a growing role for private military contractors in national and international security. To understand the reasons for this, Elke Krahmenn examines changing models of the state, the citizen and the soldier in the UK, the USA and Germany. She focuses on the national differences both with regard to the outsourcing of military services to private companies and their specific consequences for democratic control over the legitimate use of armed force. Tracing developments and debates from the late eighteenth century to the present, she explains the transition from the centralized warfare state of the Cold War era to privatized and fragmented security governance, and the different national attitudes to the privatization of force.

ELKE KRAHMENN is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of Bristol. Her previous publications include *New Threats and New Actors in International Security* (2005) and *Multilevel Networks in European Foreign Policy* (2003).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahnemann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

---

Elke Krahnemann



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahmamm

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,  
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,  
New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521110198](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521110198)

© Elke Krahmamm 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Krahmann, Elke.

States, citizens, and the privatization of security / Elke Krahmamm.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-11019-8 (hbk.)

ISBN 978-0-521-12519-2 (pbk.)

1. National security—Case studies. 2. Security, International—Case studies. 3. Contracting out—Case studies. 4. Private military companies—Case studies. 5. State, The—Case studies. 6. Civil-military relations—Case studies. 7. Democracy—Case studies. 8. Great Britain—Military policy. 9. United States—Military policy. 10. Germany—Military policy. I. Title. II. Title: States, citizens, and the privatization of security.

UA10.5.K73 2010

355.3'54—dc22

2009042810

ISBN 978-0-521-11019-8 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-12519-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## Contents

---

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Acronyms</i>	ix
1 Introduction	1
2 The state monopoly on collective violence and democratic control over military force	21
3 The transformation of the state and the soldier	51
4 United Kingdom: private financing and the management of security	84
5 United States: shrinking the state, outsourcing the soldier	119
6 Germany: between public–private partnerships and conscription	156
7 Iraq and beyond: contractors on deployed operations	194
8 The future of democratic security: contractorization or cosmopolitanism?	241
9 Conclusion	275
<i>Select bibliography</i>	286
<i>Index</i>	302

## Illustrations

---

### Figures

4.1 MOD PFI projects	<i>page</i> 99
5.1 DOD military service procurement (million \$)	130

### Tables

1.1 Armed forces personnel	9
1.2 Defence spending (per cent of GDP)	9
1.3 Framework for the analysis of the model of the state	15
1.4 Framework for the analysis of the model of the soldier	15
2.1 Ideal-type models of the state	41
2.2 Ideal-type models of the soldier	49
4.1 UK model of the state	103
4.2 UK model of the soldier	110
5.1 US model of the state	138
5.2 US model of the soldier	144
6.1 Military public–private joint ventures	167
6.2 German model of the state	176
6.3 German model of the soldier	184
7.1 Models of international security provision	214
7.2 Private military contractors in deployed operations	224
8.1 Government threat perception in the 1990s	243
8.2 Elite threat perception in 2006	244
8.3 Revised models of the state	263
8.4 Revised models of the soldier	272

## Acknowledgements

---

While researching and writing this book, I have benefited from the financial and intellectual support of many organizations and individuals too numerous to name individually. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the funding I have received from the British Academy, the German Academic Exchange Service and the United States Institute of Peace for various parts of my research ranging from my initial theoretical ideas to interviews conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany. This research would also not have been possible without the institutional support from the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, the German Historical Institute and the Center for Global and International Studies at the George Washington University in Washington DC, and the Department of Politics at the University of Bristol which permitted me to take several research leaves to focus entirely on this project. My colleagues in Bristol have been a great help before and during the writing stage. My special thanks go to Tim Edmunds who helped me keep up my motivation while he himself was writing his own book and to Richard Little who commented on my proposal for this monograph. I must also mention my wonderful grant administrator, Jean Pretlove, who was not only of great assistance with my funding applications and management, but who also took a very personal interest in my research.

Of course, no comparative empirical research project is possible without the practitioners and experts who are willing to be interviewed about their work. Although not all of their detailed knowledge and interesting experiences could be included within the limited scope of this book, they have provided important background information and deeply influenced my argument concerning the complexity and variance of private military contracting in Western democracies. I would like to thank these individuals from the German and British Ministries of Defence, the US Department of State, the US Department of Defense, the Gesellschaft für Entwicklung, Beschaffung und Betrieb (GEBB),

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahmenn

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

viii Acknowledgements

the International Peace Operations Association (IPOA), the British Association of Private Security Companies (BAPSC) and DynCorp for taking the time to talk to me.

In addition, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the many colleagues who have read and commented upon the preliminary papers presented at national and international conferences and workshops which have formed the foundations of this manuscript. They have offered valuable criticisms and encouragement, and I would not have been able to complete this project without their input. Special thanks go to Deborah Avant, Anna Geis, Carlos Ortiz and Christopher Spearin as well as the two anonymous reviewers for their extensive advice regarding the final manuscript. They have ensured that I have made my argument as clear and consistent as possible, and any remaining deficiencies are my responsibility alone.

Finally, as always, I am grateful to my friends and family for their love and support. To them, I dedicate this book.

## Acronyms

---

AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
AWE	Atomic Weapons Establishment
BAE	British Aerospace
BAPSC	British Association of Private Security Companies
BDWS	Bundesverband Deutscher Wach- und Sicherheitsunternehmen
BNFL	British Nuclear Fuels
BSIA	British Security Industry Association
C4ISR	Command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CIS	Communications and Information Systems
CoESS	Confederation of European Security Services
CONDO	Contractors on Deployed Operations
CONLOG	Contract for Logistics Support
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CSC	Computer Sciences Corporation
DARA	Defence Aviation Repair Agency
DFID	Department for International Development
DLA	Defence Logistics Agency
DOD	Department of Defense
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDS	Electronic Data Systems
ESG	Elektroniksystem- und Logistik GmbH
EU	European Union
FAIR	Federal Activities Inventory Reform
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GDP	Gross domestic product



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahmamm

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

## Acronyms

GEBB	Gesellschaft für Entwicklung, Beschaffung und Betrieb
HDW	Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft
IDIQ	Indefinite delivery/indefinite quantity
IPOA	International Peace Operations Association
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
IT	Information technology
KBR	Kellogg, Brown and Root
KINTOP	Krisenreaktionskräfte Interoperabilität
LOGCAP	Logistic Civil Augmentation Program
MBB	Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm
MEJA	Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act
MEO	Most Efficient Organization
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPRI	Military Professional Resources Inc.
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
PSC	Public Sector Comparator
RAF	Royal Air Force
ROC	Reconstructions Operations Centres
RO-RO	Roll-on, roll-off
SA	Sturm Abteilung
SALIS	Strategic Airlift Interim Solution
SAS	Special Air Service
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SPOT	Synchronized Predeployment and Operational Tracker
SS	Schutzstaffel
TA	Territorial Army
TAFMIS	Training Administration and Financial Management Information Systems
UCMJ	Uniform Code of Military Justice
UK	United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-12519-2 - States, Citizens and the Privatization of Security

Elke Krahnemann

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Acronyms

xi

UN	United Nations
UOR	Urgent Operational Requirement
USA	United States of America
VFM	Value for Money
WEU	Western European Union
WIB	War Industries Board
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction