

Germany

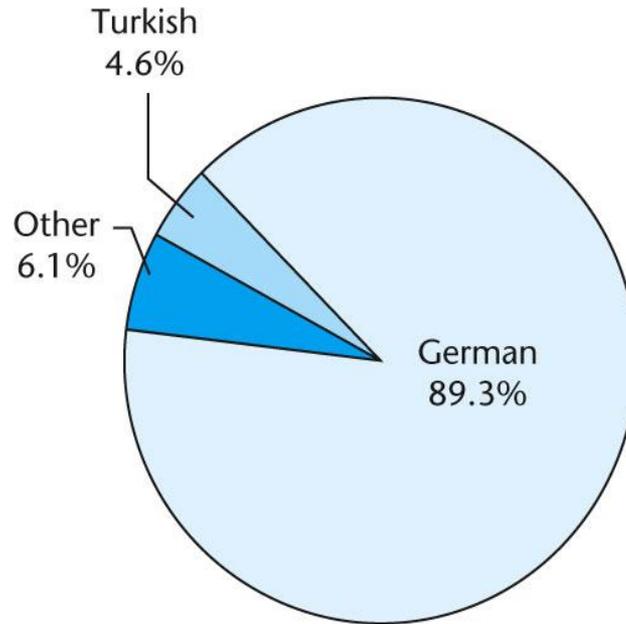


THE MAKING OF THE MODERN GERMAN STATE

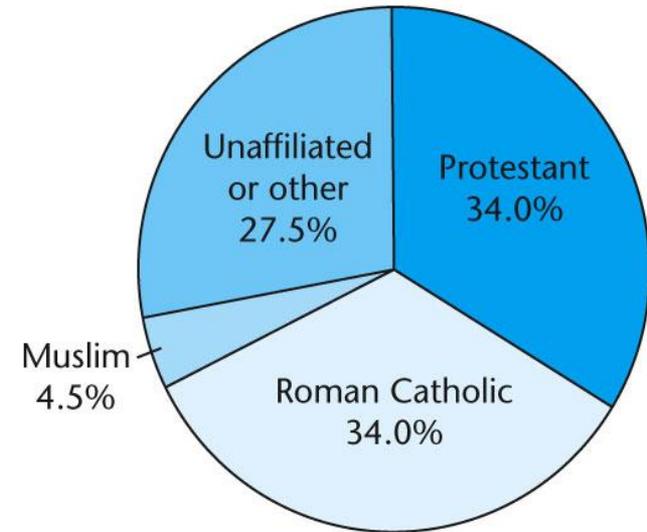
Politics in Action

- The September 2008 financial and economic crisis that struck the United States was not strictly “made in America.”
- German GDP fell by about 5% in 2009.
- Features of German politics that came into view:
 - Germans had little faith in power of government spending to counteract deep recession.
 - German firms generally held onto workers rather than laying them off
 - German firms were willing to accept lower profits
- Economy recovered rapid in 2010 an 2011.

Germany: Ethnic Groups



Germany: Religion



German Currency

Euro (€)

International Designation: EUR

Exchange Rate (2010): US\$1 = .755 EUR

100 Euro Note Design: European historical Baroque / Rococo style (the 17th and 18th century) arch



Geographic Setting

- Absence of natural borders in west and east, enhancing commerce and conflict
 - Constant conflicts and wars with neighbors till end of World War II
- Lacks natural resources (except iron, coal)
 - Access to natural resources drives external relationships
- Relatively ethnically homogeneous
 - Ethnic diversity increased through ***Gastarbeiter*** = *guest workers recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s, generally from Italy, Yugoslavia, and especially Turkey.*
- Divided into sixteen **federal states** (***Bundesländer***).
 - **Federal states** = *state whose constitution divides power between a national (federal) government and lower units.*

THE MODERN GERMAN STATE



The First Reich (800-1806)

The first German state was the Holy Roman Empire – Charlemagne – 800 AD

Up to three hundred sovereign entities

Factors that hindered German State formation:

Uncertain geographic boundaries

Religious divisions (**catholics vs. protestants**)

The German language, physical and cultural traits, defined German national identity.

The victory of **Napoleon** on Austria and Prussia brought an end to the Holy Roman Empire or First Reich on 1806.

Critical Junctures

Nationalism and German Unification (1806–1871)

- Prussian leaders created **tariff union 1819**
Result was strong state, **Junker** dominance
Junkers = landed nobility of Prussia, who contributed grain component of Bismarck's "marriage of iron and rye."
Hostile to free-market capitalism or democracy
- Prodemocracy revolutions of 1848 suppressed
- **"Revolution from Above"** led by Count Otto von Bismarck, who became prime minister in 1862.
- 1871: Unification of Germany

The Second Reich (1871–1918)

- Controlled by industrial and landed elites
- Symbolically democratic
 - Universal male suffrage for lower house (**Reichstag**)
 - Decision-making authority in upper house (**Landtag**)
- Small, middle class pressured government, unsuccessfully, to democratize and provide basic **liberal** rights

Liberal = *economic philosophy that stresses the importance of minimizing state interference in the economy.*

- Promoted rise of workers and Social Democratic Party (**Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands**, SPD)
- Economic rights in workplace and democratization
- Influenced by **Marx** and **Engels**

- As **chancellor** (same as prime minister), **Bismarck** alternately tolerated and persecuted opposition
 - Banned Social Democratic Party
 - Created start of welfare state “fist in a velvet glove”
 - Initiated **Kulturkampf** (*cultural struggle*) — **sought to remove educational and cultural institutions from the church.**
- Challenges: Obtaining raw materials and accessing world markets, which led to attempt to colonize southwestern and eastern Africa
- Factors for war: (“blood and Iron”)
 - Undemocratic political system, lack of profitable colonies, exposed geopolitical position, restive military, and inflamed nationalism finally prompted Germany to War in 1914.
- Second Reich collapsed in November, 1918.

The Weimar Republic (1918–1933)

- Replaced Second Reich after World War I
- Social Democratic Party came into power
 - New government was a **procedural democracy** = *system with formal procedures of popular choice, notably free party competition.*
 - Not seen as legitimate by many parties
- Hitler became National Socialist German Worker's (**Nazi**) Party leader in 1920; then Chancellor in 1933
- **Nazi** = *German abbreviation for National Socialist German Workers' Party*
- Germany more politically unstable during Great Depression
 - Hitler pressured President Hindenburg to grant, by “emergency” executive order, broad, sweeping powers to Nazi-dominated cabinet.

The Third Reich (1933–1945)

- **Hitler** and Nazi party had total control of political power and media
- Social control was priority
 - Banned political parties, civic and religious institutions
 - Employed propaganda and demagoguery
 - Repression and extermination
- Domestic policy: centralize political power and rebuild economy
 - Economic program autocratic
- Glorified warrior tradition and German past
- Refused to abide by **Treaty of Versailles**
 - Conquered much of Europe 1939–1941
 - Attacked Soviet Union 1941

A Divided Germany (1945–1990)

- Germany occupied 1945–1949
- Formal division
 - **Federal Republic of Germany** (FRG) -Allied control (United States, Britain, and France) of—in the west
 - Democracy with constitutional provisions for free elections, civil liberties, and individual rights; also independent judiciary
 - Rebuilt party system
 - **Communist German Democratic Republic** (GDR)—directed by Soviet Union—in the east
 - Stalinist regime
 - **Stasi**, or *secret policy*, were enforce
- Occupation ended 1949 but neither state fully sovereign

The Challenge of German Unification (1990–2001)

- Unification occurred rapidly
 - Currency reform fueled westward migration
 - German Democratic Republic incorporated into Federal Republic as five new West German states (*Länder*)
 - Costs strained budget and institutions
 - Communist economy weaker than expected and technology lagged
 - Adverse impact on public policies
 - High unemployment
- Germany in the Euro Era (1998–2001)
 - Germany is economic anchor of European Union.
 - European Union membership allowed Germany to act where it couldn't alone.
 - Concerns: Stability of Euro and Immigration

Germany after September (2001–)

- Germany's sensitivity to the crimes of the Nazi regime led to liberal asylum laws.
 - Workers from Europe and Turkey remained in the Federal Republic.
 - After 2000 new wave of immigrants from Africa and East Europe
- Affected German domestic and international politics
 - Immigration and related terrorism
 - Issue of freedom versus security
 - Relationship with United States
 - Opposed United States' Iraq policy

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

State and Economy

- Germany's economy relies on cooperative network of small and large businesses.
 - Interplay extends to Germany's two main classes:
 - managers
 - employers

The Role of the State Before 1945

- Regional governments had role in promoting economic growth and development before unification.
 - Customs union (**Zollverein**) facilitated trade.
- Bismarck used railroad development to mediate interests of *Junkers* and coal and steel barons.
- Unified Germany competing with industrialized capitalist countries
 - German state active in economy
 - Facilitated by coordination between government, business, banking
- Reparation payments caused economic crisis of 1923 and produced hyperinflation.
 - Third Reich worked with industry to repress workers, use slave labor, and produce military armaments.

The Social Market Economy

- German economic policy after World War II
 - Indirect and supportive
 - Government set broad guidelines and encouraged voluntary associations to coordinate employers, banks, trade unions, and regional governments.
 - Market forces work unimpeded
 - **Framework regulations** = *system that regulates not the details, but the general rules of the game under which all actors must play.*
 - Germans call this broad approach: **social market economy** (*Soziale Marktwirtschaft*) = *system that aims to combine efficiency of market economies with concern for fairness for broad range of citizens.*

Semipublic Institutions

- Semipublic institutions are responsible for much national economic policy-making.
 - Most influential include the central bank, called the **Bundesbank**
 - Another semipublic institution, **health insurance funds (*Krankenkassen*)** brings all major health interests together to allocate costs and benefits through an elaborate system of consultation and group participation.
- The social market economy is part of the integrated system of **democratic corporatism** = *a bargaining system in which national (and state) governments delegate certain policymaking authority to private and semipublic institutions.*

- Cooperation and conflict also takes place inside each German firm through **co-determination** (***Mitbestimmung***) = *the legal right of representatives of employees to help determine the direction of the company in which they work.*
 - Takes place through **work councils** (***Betriebsräte***) = *represents workers in the workplace.*
- Vocation education systems also useful
 - Forty percent of young adults go to universities
 - Remaining complete three-year apprenticeship programs

Current Strains on the Social Market Economy

- Rise of New Competitors
 - Globalization brings competition.
 - Germany has high cost for wages, taxes, social contributions, and investments in apprenticeships and technology development.
- Challenge of free-market ideas
 - Relationships among business associations, labor unions, and federal and state governments have added costs and reduced flexibility for employers.

- Difficulties of German unification
 - Economic mismanagement in 1990s under Kohl leadership
 - EU rules disallow some traditional German economic tactics.
- Financial crisis
 - Financial crisis of 2008
 - Bailout of foreign investments caused German taxpayers about \$140 billion.

Society and Economy

- Economic growth after World War II was foundation for social development.
 - Extensive social benefits
 - Tolerance of political and artistic opinion
- Unification and European Union challenge Germans' opinion of themselves.
 - Trade union activity criticized.
 - Increase stratification in society and workplace

Ethnicity and Economy

- Race and ethnicity is controversial issue.
 - Resurrects xenophobic aspects of political culture
 - Exacerbated by unification and integration
- ***Gastarbeiter*** (guest work) program
 - Workers recruited with stipulation of return if unemployment increased
 - Duration of low unemployment made returning home difficult.
 - New wave with tech shortage of early 2000s
- Unification forced quick changes on German Democratic Republic workers
 - Immigrants became scapegoats.

Gender and Economy

- Men still dominate management and unions.
- East German women saw more social and economic progress than West German women.
 - Benefits tied more to role as mothers and wives than individuals

Generation Gap

- Postmaterialist social movement hindered by working class culture
 - Focuses on lifestyle concerns more than bread-and-butter issues.
- Fewer young workers contribute to benefits for increasing elder population.

Germany in the Global Economy

- Shaped by European Union and globalization

The European Union

- Embraced by Germans particularly after unification
- Germany has benefited from integration but not without cost
- Ability of German economic institutions to adapt is an issue

Germany in a Regional Context

- After World II, Germany faced two criticisms:
 - A powerful Germany that was brutal to its neighbors for the first half of the twentieth century
 - By the 1990s, Germany enjoyed all of the privileges of a strong economy, yet took no responsibility toward helping others
- Germany remains the economic anchor of the EU.
 - The **European Union** was introduced in most countries of Europe in 2002.
- Germany came under pressure to help bail out Greece, Ireland, and Portugal—members of the Eurozone.

Germany in a Globalizing World

- Challenges to German policy of balance between state and market
 - Economic competition
 - Euro
 - Economic integration
 - Climate change
 - Financial regulation
- Germany favors open trading system
 - Exports represent profits and jobs.

GOVERNANCE AND POLICY-MAKING

Introduction

- The Basic Law and Promoting Stability
 - **Basic Law** (*Grundgesetz*) = **1949 proto-constitution of the Federal Republic.**
- Weimar government marred by two weaknesses
 - Fragmentation
 - Presidential exercise of emergency powers

Organization of the State

- Basic Law tenets for federalism and divided powers has helped keep policy changes slow.

Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*)

The **Basic Law** determines that Germany is a constitutional state: All state authorities are subject to judicial control.

Section 1 of the **Basic Law** is of particular relevance. It stipulates that respect for human dignity is the most important aspect of the constitution: “*Human dignity shall be inviolable. To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority.*”

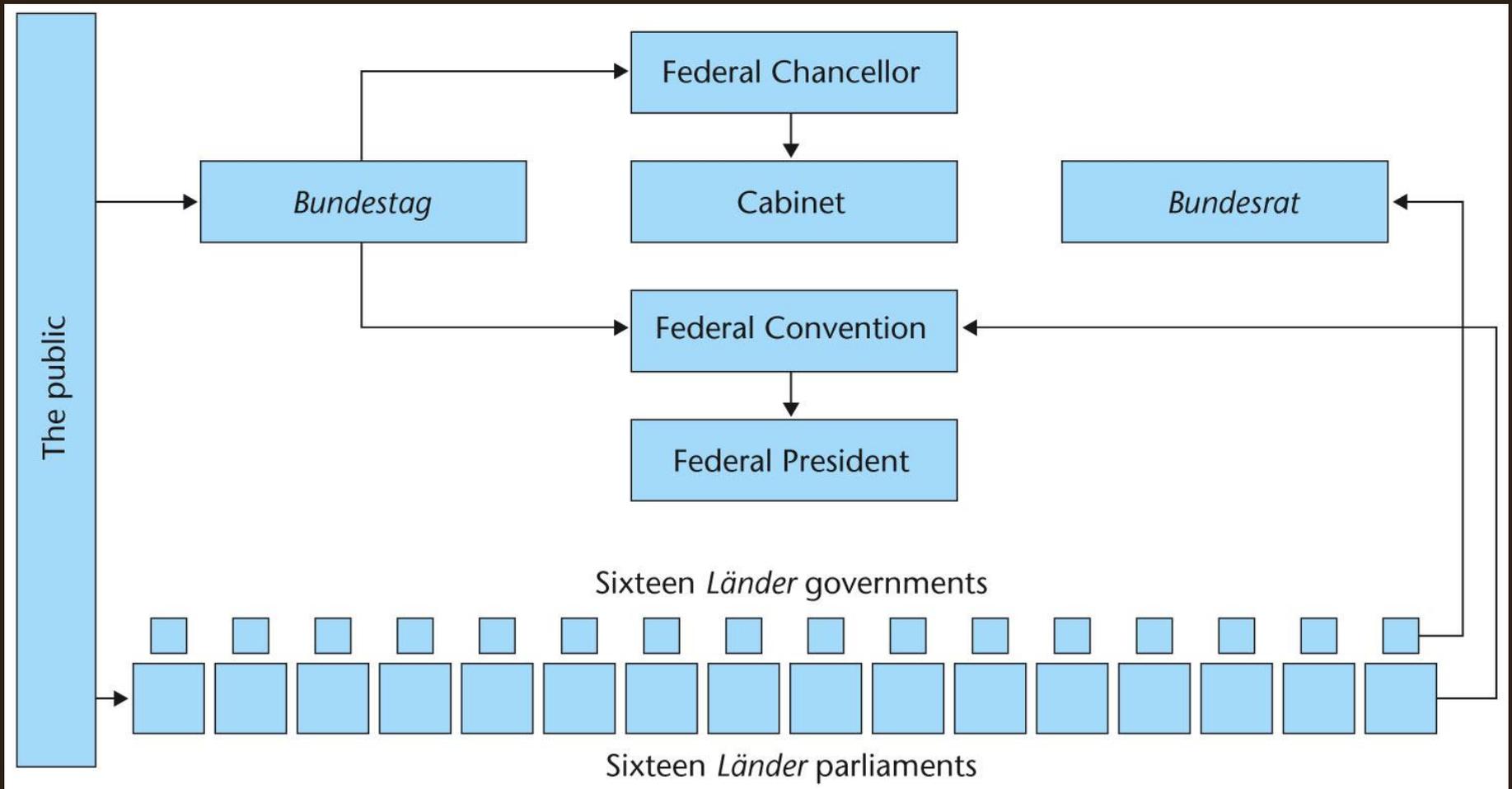
The other basic rights guarantee the freedom to act within the law, equality before the law, freedom of the press and media, freedom of association and protection of the family.

Basic Law defines Germany as a **welfare state**. The welfare state requires the political system to take precautions such that people are guaranteed a decent standard of material well-being in case of unemployment, disability, illness and in old age.

One particular feature of the **Basic Law** is the so-called “*eternal character*” of these governing constitutional principles. Subsequent alterations to the **Basic Law** or a completely new constitution cannot encroach on the basic rights, the democratization of sovereignty, the federal state and the welfare state.

Government Institutions

- Parliamentary democracy
 - Weak president; stronger chancellor (prime minister)
 - Elected by lower house (the **Bundestag**)
 - Fusion of powers
 - Executive dominates legislature
- Features of the lower House
 - Constructive vote of no confidence
 - **5 percent clause** = *Party must get at least 5% of the “second votes” to enter Bundestag as a party. Depresses vote for “splinter” parties.*
- Federal system with sixteen **Länder** (states)

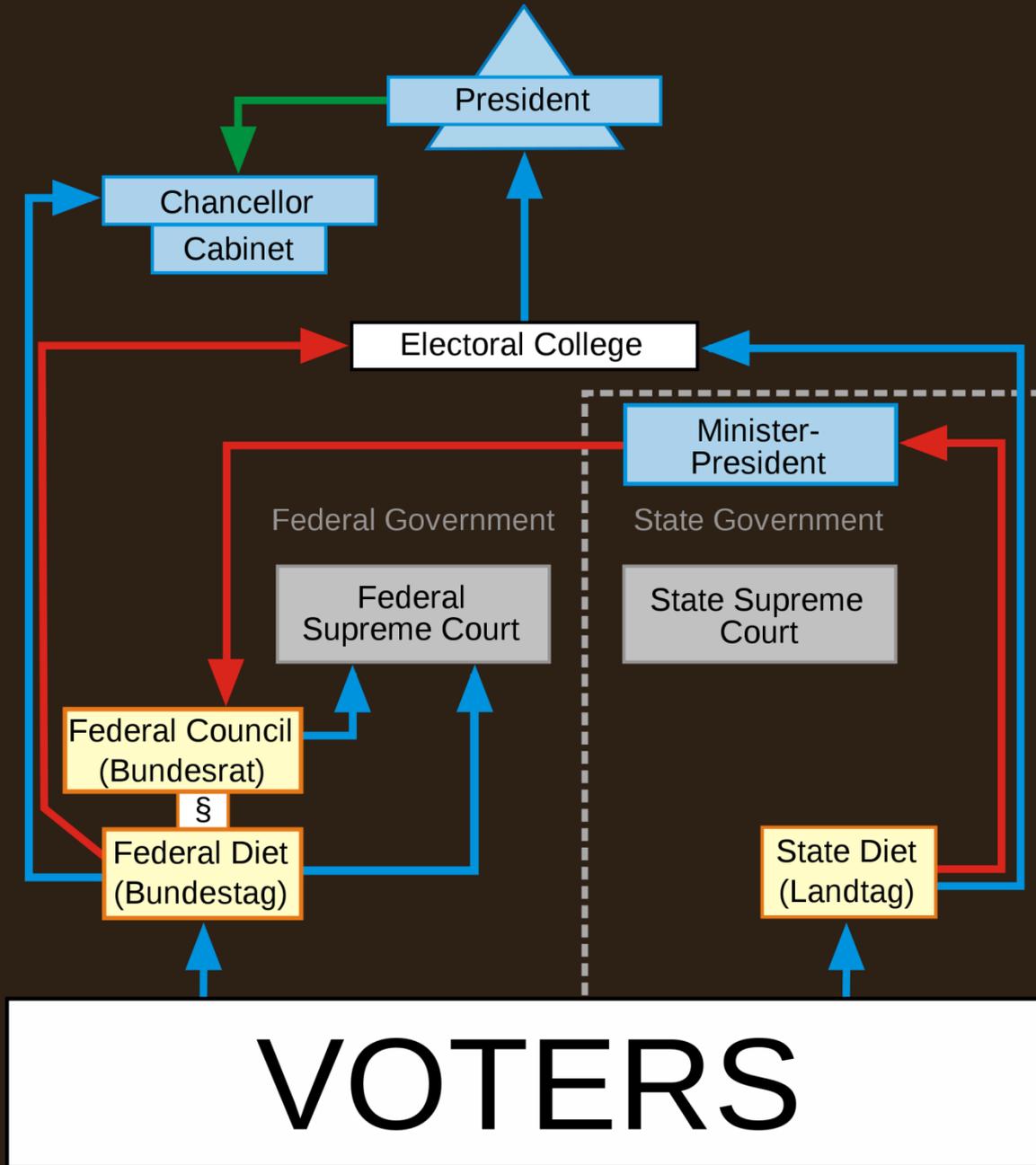


□ The Executive

- Division between head of government (chancellor) and head of state (president)
 - Clear division of responsibilities

○ The President

- Weaker position than chancellor
- More ceremonial than political
- Usually moderate senior politicians
- Provides continuity in times of crisis
- Chosen by Federal Convention (*Bunderversammlung*)
 - All *Bundestag* plus equal number of delegates elected by state legislatures
 - Proportional representation
- Five-year term (most presidents serve only one term)



The Chancellor

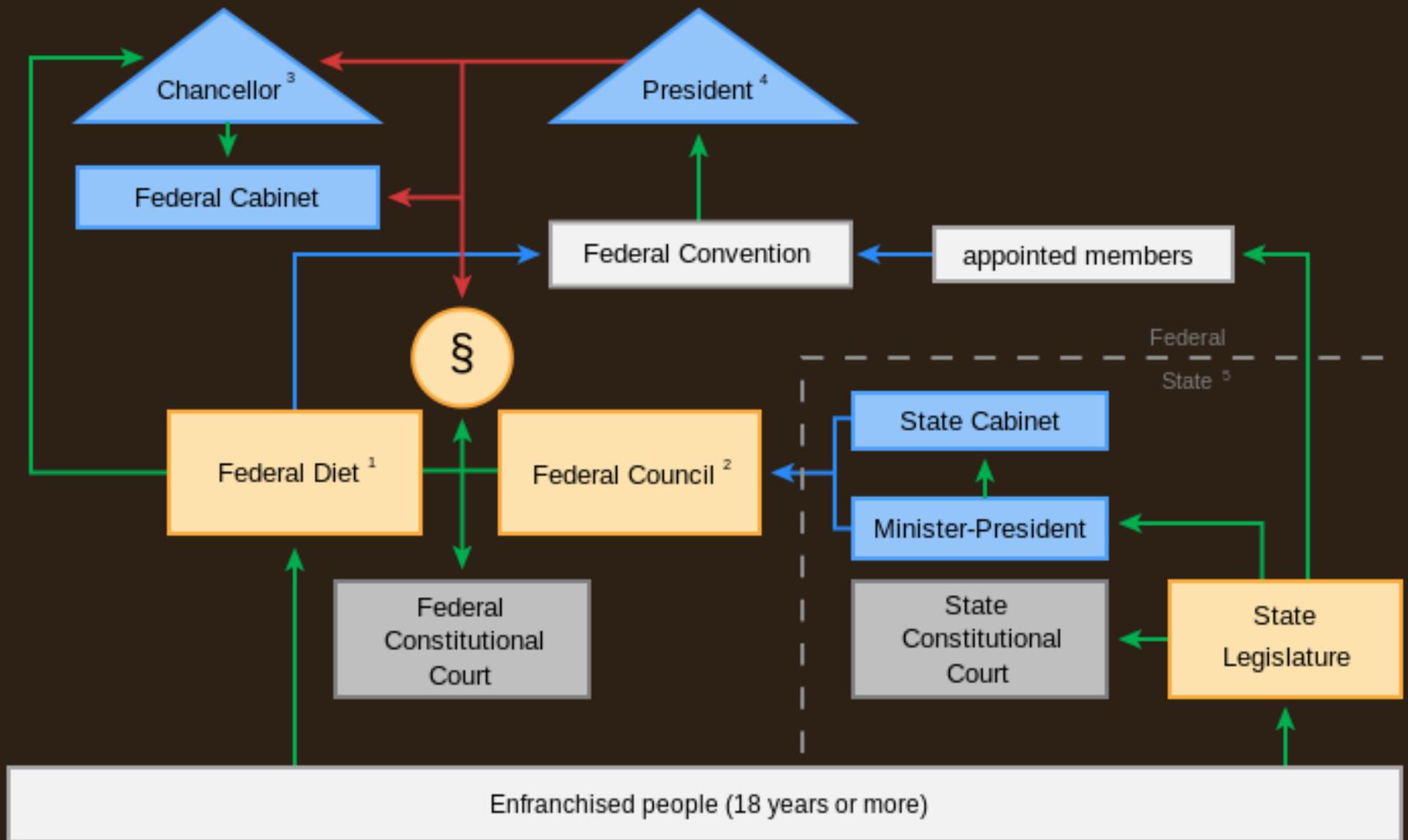
- Elected by majority of ***Bundestag***
 - Essential to be strong party leader
- Government formed after national election or constructive vote of no confidence
 - **Constructive vote of no confidence**
Bundestag must have a new chancellor in place before ousting the current one.
- Cabinet formed by consultation with party and coalition officials
- Considerable authority to govern

Angela Merkel became first female chancellor in 2005 and is still in office.



The Cabinet

- Government is formed after majority of the *Bundestag* nominate a chancellor, following a parliamentary election.
 - Chancellor consults with other party (and coalition) officials to form cabinet.
- Choices of ministries is made on policy as well as personal grounds.
- Ministries include: finance, economics, justice, interior, and foreign policy.
 - Ministries are entitled to broad autonomy to set policy, subject to chancellor's overall right to guide government.
 - Ministers are collectively responsible for cabinet policy to support government's position and not express their individual disagreements or reservations about policy.



- Legislative branch
- Executive branch
- Judicial branch

- elects / appoints
- sends / member of
- formally appoints / veto-power

- 1: Every 4 years, election of direct mandates and parties
- 2: State chamber. Apportionment is based on each states' population
- 3: Head of government with policy-making power. Is proposed by the President
- 4: Head of state. "Neutral power" - only in state of emergency increased power
- 5: The state levels and names of the organs vary widely from state to state

The Bureaucracy

- Powerful and protected by long-standing civil service provisions
 - **Civil servants** perceive their work is their profession.
 - Seen as efficient, although arcane
 - Majority are chosen on merit.
- Overlapping responsibilities
 - Policy makers at federal level
 - Policy implementers at state and local level
 - Institutionalized relationship produces consistent and effective policy

Other State Institutions

- Essential institutions for governance and policy-making
 - Military and the Police
 - Judiciary
 - Subnational governments

The Military and the Police

The Military

- German military powerful and aggressive through WW II
 - Placed under civilian control post World War II
 - Tightly controlled by law and treaty
- Germany's recent abolition of the draft will make its army an all-volunteer “professional” force that is easier to deploy abroad.

The Police

- Organized on *Land* basis post World War II
- Constitutionally mandated to protect human and civil rights
- German Democratic Republic's ***Stasi***
 - Spying and arbitrary arrests
 - Archives opened since unification
- Concern for German security
 - Al Qaeda members lived in Germany.
 - Need to balance surveillance with civil liberties

The Judiciary

- Judiciary plays major role in German government.
 - Result of state involvement in politics and economy
 - Nazi' s used judiciary for antidemocratic decisions.
- Federal Republic determined to curb past abuses
 - Explicit requirement for judiciary to safeguard democratic rights; enumerates twenty individual rights.
- Active administrator of law rather than arbiter
 - Judiciary defines meaning of and implements administration of laws.
 - Independent institution usually outside politics

- Three pronged court system
 - **Criminal-Civil Court** with Federal High Court at top
 - Applies consistency of law within sixteen states
 - **Special Constitutional Court**
 - Deals with matters affecting Basic Law; founded to safeguard the new democratic order
 - **Administrative Court** = *allows citizens to challenge decisions of the bureaucracy at federal, state, and local levels.*
 - Labor Court, Social Security Court, Finance Court
 - Checks arbitrary power of bureaucracy

Subnational Government

- Sixteen **Länder States** (11 were old West Germany; five were former East Germany.)
 - Enjoy considerable autonomy and independent power
 - Each has regional assembly (**Landtag**).
 - Governor is leader of the largest party (or coalition of parties) and forms a government.
 - Elections generally do not coincide with national elections and only occasionally overlap.
 - Responsible for national policy implementation
 - “Marble-cake” federalism
- Local governments can raise revenues by owning enterprises.

The Policy-Making Process

- Principle responsibility for policy-making lies with chancellor and cabinet.
- Largely consensus-based and informal
 - Debate in public, semipublic, private institutions
 - Some intolerance of dissent
- Policy implementation diffuse
 - Corporatist groups, semipublic organizations, *Bundesrat* have roles.
 - European Union policy shaped by national and regional governments and corporatist institutions
- Unification and increasing importance of EU
 - Challenges Germany's informal style of policy-making.
 - Germany intolerant of dissent, which explains eruptions of protests

REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

Introduction

- German goal is inclusive with representative democratic participation.
 - Issues regarding collective identities
 - Must incorporate both extra-institutional groups and organized political institutions.

Legislature

- Lower house—Bundestag
- Upper house—Bundesrat

THE BUNDESTAG

- 614 Seats allocated among parties by proportional representation
 - Two major parties win most seats through plurality system.
 - Smaller parties are elected through party list.
- Two-ballot electoral system
 - Proportional representation produces multiple political parties.
 - Uses **Mixed Member System** electoral system in which half of deputies are elected from direct constituencies and the other half from closed party lists.
 - Five percent hurdle requires significant support.

- Members almost always vote with parties
 - Contributes to consistency of positions
 - Enables voters to identify party position and hold representatives accountable
 - Disadvantages
 - New members are **backbenchers**.
 - Individuals have little impact.
- Executive branch introduces legislation
 - Strong consensus on what legislation to introduce
 - Bill sent to *Bundestag* committee
 - Deliberations private and consultative
 - Three readings in *Bundestag*
 - Primary purpose is public education.
 - Once passed, the *Bundesrat* must approve bill.

- Sixty-nine members from sixteen state governments
- Responsible for distribution of powers between national and state governments and grants to the state the right to implement federal laws
- Political composition determined by state
 - States cast votes in bloc reflecting view of majority party or coalition.
 - Majority can change during legislative period.
- Must approve all laws that address fundamental interests of state and constitutional amendments.
- Empowered to initiate bills in its own right

- Power to exercise **absolute veto** on amendments to the constitution as well as all laws affecting fundamental interests of the state.
- Can also exercise **suspensive veto** = *policy areas with no direct effect on the states*
 - *Bundestag* can override *Bundesrat* vote with simple majority.
 - If *Bundesrat* votes down by two-thirds majority, then *Bundestag* needs two-thirds majority to override.

- Introduces little legislation
- Administrative duties
 - Provides expertise to *Bundestag* committees
 - Administers world largest television network
 - Coordinates between regional and national economic policies
- Promotes representation for *Länder* in European Union institutions and has veto power on some German positions on European Union decisions

Stimmzettel

für die Wahl zum Deutschen Bundestag im Wahlkreis 136 Kreisfreie Stadt Wiesbaden am 2. Dezember 1990

Sie haben 2 Stimmen

hier 1 Stimme
für die Wahl
eines/einer Wahlkreis-
abgeordneten
Erststimme



hier 1 Stimme
für die Wahl
einer Landesliste (Partei)
- maßgebende Stimme für die Verteilung der
Sitze insgesamt auf die einzelnen Parteien -
Zweitstimme



1	Rönsch, Hannelore Angestellte 6200 Wiesbaden Carl-von-Ossietzky-Str. 38	CDU Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands	<input type="radio"/>
2	Wieczorek-Zeul, Heidemarie Lehrerin 6200 Wiesbaden Walkmuhstraße 39	SPD Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	<input type="radio"/>
3	Koch, Ulrich Friedrich Sozialarbeiter 6200 Wiesbaden Feldstraße 27	GRÜNE DIE GRÜNEN	<input type="radio"/>
4	Dr. Funke-Schmitt-Rink, Margret Studienrätin 6200 Wiesbaden Sonnenberger Straße 3	F.D.P. Freie Demokratische Partei	<input type="radio"/>
6	Langer, Herbert Prokurist 6200 Wiesbaden Sonnenberger Str. 27	REP DIE REPUBLIKANER	<input type="radio"/>
7	Deubert, Ernst Wilhelm Rentner 6000 Frankfurt/Main 60 Bergerstraße 234	NPD National- demokratische Partei Deutschlands	<input type="radio"/>

<input type="radio"/>	CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands Dr. Alfred Dregger, Hannelore Rönsch, Dr. Christian Schwarz-Schilling, Dr. Heinz Riesenhuber, Bernhard Jagoda	1
<input type="radio"/>	SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Rudi Walther, Dr. Dietrich Sperling, Uta Zapf, Karsten Voigt	2
<input type="radio"/>	GRÜNE	DIE GRÜNEN Ulrike Riedel, Hubert Kleinert, Marina Steindor, Dietrich Wetzel, Freya Klier	3
<input type="radio"/>	F.D.P.	Freie Demokratische Partei Dr. Hermann Otto Prinz zu Sulms-Hohensolms-Lich, Hans-Joachim Otto, Dr. Gisela Babel, Ekkehard Gries, Dr. Heinrich Kolb	4
<input type="radio"/>	DIE GRAUEN	DIE GRAUEN Initiiert vom Senioren-Schutz-Bund „Graue Panther“ e.V. („SSB-GP“) Ludwig Neise, Sibylle Schömig, Karl Roth, Dr. Hildegard Muler, Arno Hidebrandt	5
<input type="radio"/>	REP	DIE REPUBLIKANER Gert Feldmeier, Herbert Langer, Brigitte Kleinert, Peter Munch, Gunter Hamer	6
<input type="radio"/>	NPD	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands Winfried Krauß, Doris Zutt, Hans Schmidt, Dieter Fuhrmann, Volker Sachs	7
<input type="radio"/>	ÖDP	Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei Gerhard Mahnke, Waltraud Schunck, Monika Zickwolff, Dr. Wolfgang Günther, Rolf-Dewet Klar	8
<input type="radio"/>	PDS/ Linke Liste	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus/Linke Liste Manfred Coppik, Angela Knof, Heike Schmuser, Manfred Alter, Reinhold Rückert	9

Table 4.3**Percentage of Women
Members of the *Bundestag***

Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
1949	6.8	1980	8.5
1953	8.8	1983	9.8
1957	9.2	1987	15.4
1961	8.3	1990	20.5
1965	6.9	1994	26.3
1969	6.6	1998	30.2
1972	5.8	2002	32.2
1976	7.3	2005	31.8
		2009	32.8

Political Parties and the Party System

- Germany is referred to as a **party democracy** because parties play an important role in shaping policy.
- Two-and-a-half parties until 1980s
 - **Social Democratic Party** (SPD) = moderate left
 - **Christian Democratic Grouping** = moderate right
 - **Free Democratic Party** (FDP) = small, centrist
- New parties in 1980s/1990s
 - **Greens** = left, ecological, environmental, and peace issues
 - **Party of Democratic Socialism** (PDS) = former East German Communist Party; merged with Social Democrats in 2005
 - Small, right-wing, nationalistic with regional influence
 - National Democratic Party (*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, NPD)
 - German People's Union (*Deutsche Volksunion*, DVU)

The Left Party (*die Linke*)

- East German Communist Party merged with faction of Social Democratic Party.
 - Communist party (SED) formed after World War I.
 - Dominated all aspects of life
 - Considered most Stalinist and repressive in Eastern Europe
 - Difficulties of unification increased support.
- Strong showing due to opposition to budget cuts
- Primary support from marginalized and unemployed
- Provides option to far right

Elections

- Voting participation averages 80–90%
- Five periods of party dominance
- Relatively stable electoral allegiance
- Electorate divided into stable party followings, but changing.

Political Culture, Citizenship, and Identity

- Strong participatory ethic among democratic left
 - Fostered in workplace and works councils
- Greens emphasize **grass-roots democracy** = *rank and file participation*.
- Educational system has changed.
 - Student movement of the 1960s criticized elitism and lack of critical analysis.
- German toleration questioned
 - Anti-ethnic, anti-immigrant violence
 - Concern because of history

○ Refugees, Immigration, and Migrant Labor

- Rules on citizenship, democracy, participation changing
 - Until 1998 German citizenship based on blood (***jus sanguinis***), not naturalization (***jus solis***).
 - Changed to expedite citizenship for long-time foreign nationals
 - Political asylum liberal after World War II
 - Large influx caused restrictions
 - Germany appearing more insular
- **Kinder, Kirche, Kuche** (children, church, and kitchen)
 - Women in former East Germany had more presence in public life and workplace; female employment nearly obligatory.

Interests, Social Movements, and Protest

- Interest groups seen as having societal role and responsibility that transcends members.
 - Legal system allows private interests to perform public functions.
 - Interest groups seen as key in society.
 - Adaptation and response to new issues valued
 - Aggregate interests thus take broad view of problems and policy solutions
- Strikes seen as way to pressure institutions and policies to be responsive.
 - Provides framework for disagreement

- Interest groups limit social conflict through meetings and coordination
 - If problems unresolved, effectiveness questioned
- Since 1960s protest and mobilization outside established channels has occurred.
 - Feminists, peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, church-linked protests
 - Highlighted inability of institutions to respond to needs
 - Since 1990s less protest from left than right
 - Iraq war

GERMAN POLITICS IN TRANSITION

Is European Integration Stalled?

- About half of Germans see the EU as good for their country.
 - Euro-skepticism extends to political parties.
 - East Germans are far more skeptical about the EU than West Germans.
- Issue with the German-French alliance that always formed the core of major integration projects
 - Impossible for two countries out of the enlarged 27-member EU to shape integration
- Since 1950s, Germany has depended on European integration to solve many of its problems.
 - Inability to run an independent foreign policy
 - Need for foreign consumers to purchase its enormous export surpluses

❑ Germany and the Economic Crisis: Virtuous or Short-Sighted?

- Two views:
 - German voters see Germany as an economically virtuous island in a sea of European overspending and fiscal indulgence.
 - Others view Germany as short-sighted and harsh, forcing indebted countries to pay above-market interest rates for bailouts that go primarily to repay foreign banks.
- Exports have boomed since 2010; unemployment has dropped to its lowest point in years.
 - Germans have long exported more than they import.
- German competitiveness has come on the basis of flat wages and painful cuts in social programs.
- Germany may need to allow wages to rise and to expand its imports from other European states.

wir machen ein
Moratorium!

dann gehts
weiter!!!
hi hi hi

WIR WÄHLEN DIE

ATOMKRAFT

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