GERMANY TODAY

Politics and Policies in a Changing World



CHRISTIANE LEMKE AND HELGA A. WELSH

Germany Today

Politics and Policies in a Changing World

Christiane Lemke Leibniz University Hannover

> Helga A. Welsh Wake Forest University

Executive Editor: Susan McEachern Assistant Editor: Rebeccah Shumaker Senior Marketing Manager: Kim Lyons

Credits and acknowledgments for material borrowed from other sources, and reproduced with permission, appear on the appropriate page within the text.

Published by Rowman & Littlefield A wholly owned subsidiary of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc. 4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706 www.rowman.com

Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2018 by Rowman & Littlefield

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Available ISBN 978-1-4422-2996-9 (cloth: alk. paper)

ISBN 978-1-4422-2997-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-1-4422-2998-3 (electronic)

00077632

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

Brief Contents

List of Tables and Figures		xi
Ał	obreviations	xiii
Αι	uthors' Notes	xv
Pr	eface	xvii
1	The German Polity in Context	1
2	Power Distribution in a Complex Democracy	17
3	Political Actors, Parties, and Elections	49
4	Citizens and Politics	73
5	Migration, Immigration, Integration	103
6	Political Economy	129
7	Germany and the European Union	157
8	Germany in Global Politics	189
9	Looking Backward and Forward	209
Re	eferences	219
In	dex	235
About the Authors		247

Contents

Li	ist of Tables and Figures	xi
Al	bbreviations	xiii
Αι	uthors' Notes	xv
Pr	reface	xvii
1	The German Polity in Context	id swell 1
	A Fractured Historical Narrative Unique, Exceptional, or Just Different? Special Path and the German Question The Quest for Normality From Partition to Unity Beginning and End of the Cold War Unification Process Historical Legacies and Political Institutions Defining Key Terms Unification Europeanization Globalization Plan of the Book	2 5 5 6 8 8 10 12 13 14 14 15
2	Power Distribution in a Complex Democracy	17
_		
	Background The Constitution and Constitutional Design	18 20
	In Defense of Democracy	23

vi Contents

	Parliamentary Systems	25
	Prime Minister vs. President	26
	Typology of Parliamentary Systems	27
	The Federal President	28
	Election and Tenure	29
	Functions and Authority	29
	The Federal Chancellor	30
	Election and Tenure	30
	Powers of the Chancellor and Cabinet Government	32
	The Bundestag	33
	Election and Organization	34
	Functions and Authority	35
	Centrality of Coalition Governments	36
	Federalism	39
	Typology of Federal Systems	39
	History and Structure	40
	The Bundesrat	42
	The Federal Constitutional Court	44
	Evolution of Constitutional Courts	44
	Election and Tenure	45
	Structure and Proceedings	45
	Power Distribution Revisited	48
3	Political Actors, Parties, and Elections	49
	Background	50
	Configuring Party Systems and Political Parties	53
	The German Party System	54
	Main Characteristics of the Party System	54
	Party Profiles	56
	Elections and Political Parties	64
	Political Elites	66
	East and West: Halting Integration	67
	Members of the German Bundestag	68
	Gender and Political Representation	69
	Common Trends and National Variations	71
4	Citizens and Politics	73
	Background	74
	Interest and Advocacy Groups	76
	Function and Organization	76

	Contents	vi
	The Changing Face of Labor Unions	77
	Social Movements and Contentious Politics	79
	West German New Social Movements	79
	The East German Civic Movement	80
	Contemporary Forms of Contentious Politics	82
	Political Culture	85
	Constitutional Patriotism	86
	Support for Democracy and Trust in Institutions	87
	Gender Roles and Family Policy	89
	Women in the Workforce and Education	90
	Modernizing Gender Relations	91
	Demographic Trends	93
	When Domestic Agents Find Support Elsewhere	96
	Religion and Religious Communities	97
	Christian Churches	98
	Jewish Communities	100
	Muslim Communities	100
	An Engaged Citizenry	101
5	Migration, Immigration, Integration	103
	Background	104
	Partial Liberalization of Citizenship Rules	107
	Citizenship Conceptions	107
	Privileging Ethnic Ties and Economic Imperatives	108
	Updating Citizenship, Naturalization, and Residency	111
	The Right to Asylum and the Refugee Crisis	112
	Revision of the Asylum Law in 1993	113
	European Immigration and Asylum Policies	114
	The Refugee Crisis	116
	Integrating Foreigners	119
	The Discourse	
	Integration in Practice	3.50
	Muslims in Germany	
	Immigration and Integration Revisited	
6	Political Economy	
	Background	130
	Germany's Market Economy	132
	The German Model	132

Features of the Coordinated Market Economy 134

132

viii Contents

	Francis Missale to Unification	136
	From Economic Miracle to Unification	136
	Recovery of the West German Economy Economic Cycles and Reforms in the 1970s and 1980s	138
	Economic Cycles and Reforms in the Economic Opportunities and Costs of Unification	139
	Proposition the Model	143
	Reforming the Model	143
	Labor Market Reform and Agenda 2010	144
	The Financial Crisis of 2008–9	144
	The Debt Brake	145
	Revisiting the German Model A Changing Labor Market	145
		146
	Social Inequality and Poverty	147
	Minimum Wage Social Partnership and Neocorporatism Redefined	148
	Energy Policy in Germany	149
	Germany's Energy Evolution	149
	Nuclear Power and the Energy Transition	151
	Energy Policy and the EU	153
	The German Economic Model in Motion	155
7	Germany and the European Union	157
	Background	158
	Introduction to European Integration	159
	Drivers of Integration	161
	Explaining the EU	162
	Institutional Design and Decision Making	165
	Revisiting the Democratic Deficit	167
	European Economic Integration and the Euro	168
	Significance of the Euro	168
	The Eurozone in Crisis	170
	Germany and the Eurozone Crisis	174
	The Rise of Euroskepticism	176
	Germany and EU Enlargement	178
	Crossing the East-West Divide	178
	The Special Case of Turkey	181
	Brexit and Beyond	182
	Europe at a Turning Point?	185
8	Germany in Global Politics	189
	Background	190
	The Imprint of History on Foreign and Security Policy	193
	,	1.74

Contents	ix
Factors Shaping Policies before Unification	193
Continuity and Change after Unification	194
Power Restraint and New Responsibilities	197
Germany and the World	200
Recasting German Interests on a Global Scale	200
Germany and Russia	202
Germany and the United States	205
A Balance Sheet of Continuity and Change	207

ix

247

9	Looking Backward and Forward	209
	A New Germany	209
	The Comparative Perspective	211
	Revisiting Unification, Europeanization, Globalization	212
	Europeanization and Unification	213
	Europeanization and Globalization	216
	A World in Motion	217

References	219
Index	235

About the Authors

"In the midst of Brexit and Trump, Germany's status as a pillar of liberal democracy in a changing world order has attracted far-reaching attention and commentary. This marvelous book is the necessary primer for anyone looking to understand contemporary Germany, as well as the long and tumultuous political journey that has shaped the unified country's role in an integrated Europe and a globalized world. From the German Question to reunification to the refugee crisis, Lemke and Welsh's sweeping account of contemporary German politics provides an indispensable resource for students of European politics, comparative politics, and international relations."

-PHILLIP M. AYOUB, DREXEL UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF WHEN STATES COME OUT:

EUROPE'S SEXUAL MINORITIES AND THE POLITICS OF VISIBILITY

"Authored by two established political scientists equally familiar with Germany and the United States, this comprehensive text clearly portrays the German political system while acquainting North American readers with concepts such as the parliamentary system, multi-party system, coalition government, and the European Union. Empirically rich, it conveys an excellent historical and systematic overview while at the same time familiarizing the reader with current debates and challenges facing the present German polity."

-ANDREAS BUSCH, UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN

"Christiane Lemke and Helga Welsh's new review of recent German political history covers a huge amount of empirical ground and contains an impressive body of scholarship. I learned something new in every chapter."

—WADE JACOBY, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

"An excellent and comprehensive introduction to the politics of the new Germany that emerged after unification in 1990. Presenting an inside and outside perspective, the book covers institutions and policies while paying particular attention to contentious issues like migration and economic success. It is indispensable reading for anyone seeking to understand the Federal Republic's difficulties with its leading role in Europe as well as its global entanglements."

-KONRAD JARAUSCH, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

"Germany Today provides an excellent in-depth look at the state of the Berlin Republic. The authors' explicit focus on the intersections between domestic and international politics proves to be a productive lens for understanding the German predicament in the early twenty-first century. Christiane Lemke and Helga Welsh present us with a highly readable and compelling analysis that explains Germany today as a product of the tensions of unification, Europeanization, and globalization."

—SABINE LANG, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

CHRISTIANE LEMKE is professor of political science at Leibniz University of Hannover.

HELGA A. WELSH is professor of politics and international affairs at Wake Forest University.

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD 800-462-6420 www.rowman.com Cover design by Amanda Wilson Cover image © iStock.com/Harvepino Map © iStock.com/BardoczPeter

