Christian Democracy and Immigration

The Impact of Immigration on Christian Democratic Parties in Europe, With a Main Focus on CDU

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background and motivation

Looking for the theme, I started to think about what made me study the Master of Religion, Society and Global issues in the first place. The main reason was that I find it very interesting how the religion, beliefs and cultures affect society. The meeting between religion and the secularized society is something that occurs all over the world, every day. I am also very interested in politics and have been an active politician in Norway for many years. The experience from Norwegian politics has given me great insights into political processes in a party, a county and the Parliament. The fact that political parties have to adapt to the major changes in society is also something I have wanted to study further. The globalization and an increasing multicultural society are giving the political parties new issues to look at and possibilities which have not been there before.

It is important to study the impact of immigration on the political parties, and to study the impact of immigration on parties based on Christian values in a secularized time is even more interesting. I hope that this thesis will contribute to the research on this topic.

1.2 Presenting the Theme

The presentation of the background and my motivation shows how I decided my field of interest. The theme was still too wide and I had to narrow it down to get a good research question. I had to find out what part of the new political issues I wanted to look at, how to approach the issue, and how I could make this an interesting thesis.

Using migration as a main part of the theme and looking at how it affects society would be a good approach. My first thought was to look at migration within the EU and how it has affected the institutions, but migration and the EU is a too wide topic, and a lot has been published on the theme already. To write about just one of the member states would be a good way to narrow it down even more. Germany is the largest country in Europe and most influential in the EU. I decided to narrow it down to Germany instead of the EU as a whole, both because of the influence the country has in the EU, and because of the interesting history

of Germany. Narrowing it down even more was an easy task at this point, because the most important party in Germany after WWII has been the Christian Democratic Party, CDU. Konrad Adenauer was one of the fathers of European integration and the European Union. Helmut Kohl is by many seen as a person eligible to win the Nobel Peace Prize because of his work to unify Germany. The current German Chancellor and Chairman of CDU, Angela Merkel, is known far beyond the German borders both as an Iron Lady, but also because of her domestic policies, and especially of her work in the EU. Considering this, studying CDU is not only a study of German politics, but also to some extent, European politics.

CDU is one of the most important Christian Democratic Parties in Europe today. By chosing to study a Christian Democratic party, I added a new approach; a Christian Democratic party in a multicultural and secularized country. Germany is a country that has been through great changes in their domestic demography since WWII. The immigration has given the country a plurality of religions, cultures and people. The country also has a mix of both Catholic and Protestant citizens, in addition to the large amounts of immigrants of various religious beliefs, this makes the Christian Democratic parties in Germany extra fascinating. To find out how this plurality has made an impact on CDU and its policies is very interesting. I have chosen to compare the changes in CDU with other Christian Democratic parties in Europe to find out if there are any similarities or differences. When chosing the countries and parties to compare, I have decided to look at as many different countries as possible, yet the only country that I always will use to compare Germany and CDU with is Norway.

I decided to look at how migration has affected the Christian Democratic parties from two perspectives. The first perspective is how immigration has changed the politics of the Christian Democratic parties. To narrow the theme down even more I have decided to write about four political issues; Labor migration, citizenship, education and religious symbols. The second perspective is the participation of immigrants in political parties, both as members and as voters. I will first describe the situation in Germany, then how CDU is affected by migration, and then finally compare this to the other Christian Democratic parties in Europe. In this thesis, Christian Democracy is considered as a political movement and the argumentation for this is found later in this thesis. It is important to know the history of Christian Democracy to understand what Christian Democracy is.

To gain knowledge about the migration in Europe there is also one part of this thesis that

gives the reader background information and facts about the migration to Europe and Germany. Migration has given us both new possibilities and challenges, so it is important to have some background information to understand the impact of migration on society. Everyone who moves from one place to another, bring with them their own memories, culture and religious beliefs, all of which affects the new society, one way or another.

New times calls for new solutions, and in this thesis I will look at how the Christian Democrats in Europe have adapted to our new reality.

1.3 Research questions

The main research question for this thesis is:

- How has migration made an impact on the Christian Democratic parties in Europe, CDU and Germany in particular?

To be able to understand and study this question, it is important to answer these questions first:

- What is Christian Democracy and how has it developed in Germany?
- What is migration and how does it affect society?

1.4 Methods and material

When I first started to look at the research question I planned to do interviews. This changed as I understood how much time this takes, and I only had one year to complete this thesis. Interviewing people to look at changes in parties could help to some extent, but with the research question I had, there are more relevant information and facts in literature, newspapers and reports from governments. In addition to this type of material I also have looked at videos from debates in the European Parliament, the German Bundestag and the Norwegian Parliament. The reason I chose to look at these debates was to see how the debates on some political issues were and if there were something the journalists had forgot to write about or chosen not to write about, which could be relevant to this thesis.

When writing the first chapter about Christian Democracy, there were three books that I used

as my primary sources. The first one is *Religion och politik, Den europeiska kristdemokratins dilemma* (English: *Religion and politics, the European Christian Democratic Dilemma*) by Marie Demker. This book is a study of Christian Democracy in a changing world. It also has some facts and information that were highly relevant for my thesis. The second book was a Norwegian book from the author Odd Sverre Hove, *Kristen-demokratene: En oversikt over de kristen-demokratiske partier I verdens perspektiv.* The book was published in 1972, but it gave me a good overview of the Christian Democratic Parties in Europe and their history. The last of my primary sources to this chapter is written by Kees van Kersbergen, *Social Capitalism A study of Christian Democracy and the welfare state*. This book was essential, especially when I wrote about the history of Christian Democracy and the party Deutsche Zentrumspartei.

In the chapter about migration, there are two publications that have been my main sources. The first, and most important one, is a publication from the Swedish government and the council, Globaliseringsrådet. I used report nr. 18 from the council and it gave me a theoretical view of migration and of how it affects a society. The other report I would like to mention is from the German government, which was essential for getting information about how migration has made an impact on the German society. It was from *Bundesamt für Migration und Fluchtlinge* and is titled *The impact of migration on Germany's society*. This also gave me some insights into the issues that I chose to write about in the last part of the thesis.

In the second part of the thesis it was important to find data that was up to date and therefore the main sources of information in this section are different newspapers and the websites of the political parties. However there is one exception: the main source of information on the parts about Norway is the book *Norsk innvandringshistorie I globaliseringens tid 1940-2000* written by Tjelmeland and Brochmann (ed. Kjeldstadli).

1.5 Disposition

This illustration shows the disposition of this thesis:

How has migration made an impact on the Christian Democratic parties in Europe? Main focus on Germany and CDU

1. Introduction

2. What is Christian Democracy?

3. What is migration?

German Chistian Democracy

4. Immigration and politics

CSU

CDU

Participation

Political issues

5. Conclusion
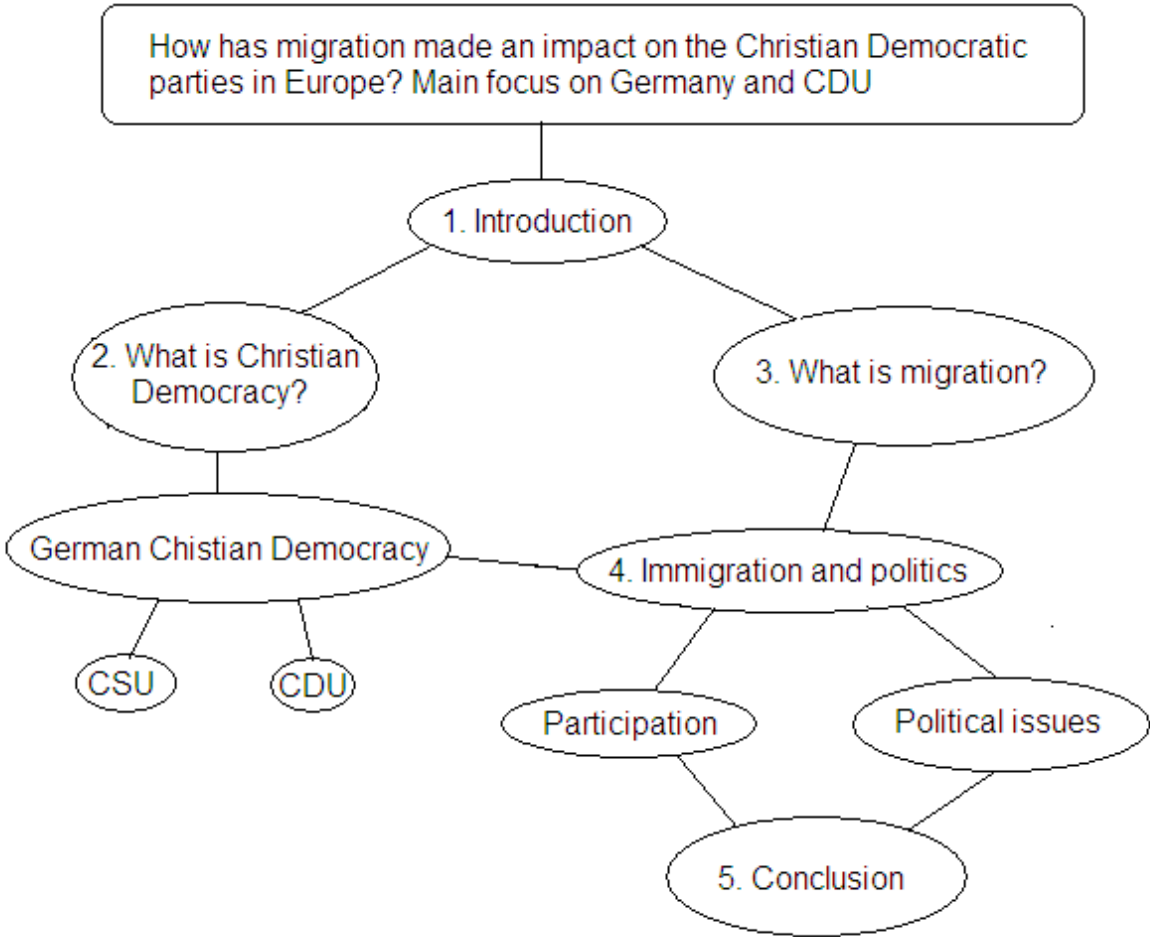
The first chapter is the introduction, giving an overview and the background of this thesis. To answer the research question, this thesis is divided into three main parts; one about Christian Democracy, one about migration, one about immigration and politics.

The second chapter, about Christian Democracy, is the widest when looking at the topics. In this chapter is Christian Democracy as a movement described, and a brief history of German history provided. The chapter starts with a brief summary of German history to give the reader important knowledge about Germany to be able to understand how Christian Democracy in the country has evolved. An overview of the Christian Democratic parties in Europe is also found here. The reason why I chose to include this is to make it easier to

compare changes in Germany to changes in other countries.

The third chapter discusses migration. It starts with an introduction to what migration is. It also includes statistics to illustrate how immigration has been and is now. The main focus is on immigration to Germany.

The fourth chapter is where I start to look at the changes in Christian Democratic parties. I have decided to divide it into two main parts. The first part looks at four different political issues; Labor migration, citizenship, education and religious symbols. The part looks at how the political issues have changed as a result of migration and the new challenges immigration could bring. The second part is about participation in politics and looks at to what extent immigrants participate in politics, both as voters and members, and how this has changed over the years.

When I write about the issues in this chapter, this is how the different parts are build up:
1. Introduction to a political issue and how the history of it has been in Germany
2. How has the issue affected CDU? Can any changes be seen?
3. Look at Christian Democratic parties in other countries and how they have changed or adapted to the question/issue

By using this technique in writing about the changes it is easy to see how it has evolved.

The last chapter is the conclusion. In this chapter will I make my own conclusion of the changes or lack of changes. I will discuss my finding and my thoughts about the future.

In addition to these chapters, there is a list of literature and four appendixes:
1. An alphabetical overview of the Christian Democratic parties in Europe
2. Statistics for the migration chapter
3. A timeline 1870-2013 to give a brief overview of this thesis
4. Glossary

2. History

2.1 A brief summary of German history 1870-1990

To understand how migration has made an impact on The Christian Democratic Party CDU, it is important to understand the German society and history. To understand today's society, one must understand the history and development. 1870 is chosen to be the starting year of this brief summary because of the changes that happened in Germany at the time and because this year marked the beginning of Germany as we know it today.

1870- 1918 the German Empire

January 1870, The King of Prussia, Wilhelm I, was chosen as Emperor over Germany. Six months later, in July the same year, the Franco-Prussian war started. It was a war between the French Empire and the kingdom of Prussia, who were the empire in the north of what we today know as Germany. The region had before 1870, been an area consisting of several independent regions, with own laws and leaders. The war resulted in a national identity in the whole region for the first time. The war ended in may 1871, after 9 months. Germany now became a nation-state with 26 Ländern in 1871. This new German Empire founded their constitution on influences from the Northern German constitution from 1867. The constitution gave all the executive power to the emperor, and the Reichstag (Parliament) had legislative power. During Wilhelm I's time as emperor of the German empire, Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898[1]) was the chancellor. The chancellor was not elected by the Reichstag but was appointed by the emperor, and the chancellor was the First Minister to the emperor. This meant that the Chancellor had more power than the Reichstag.

In 1871 Bismarck launched the Kulturkampf in Prussia. Bismarck saw the Catholic Church as a threat to the Empire. He thought it had too much political power and he was concerned when almost one third of the Prussian population were Catholics and members of the Catholic Church. Also, the Catholic party, Deutche Zentrumspartei (Zentrum), was founded in 1870. Kulturkampf was a reaction to this. The Kulturkampf was an attempt to give the Catholics less power in the empire. As a result of this, many priests and all the bishops were imprisoned or exiled. Bismarck tried to silence the Catholics in the high circles of the society. In the years between 1871 and 1878 Bismarck used the Kulturkampf to weaken the Catholic

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[1] http://snl.no/Otto_Bismarck (30.04.2013)

movements in Germany, but in 1878 he decided to abandon Kulturkampf. Some of the main reasons he decided to aband the Kulturkampf were:

1. Bismarck was a protestant and he understood that the secularists and socialists were using Kulturkampf to attack all religions. This could make the Kulturkampf also weaken the Protestant Church, something he did not want to do.
2. To win the battle against the growing socialism in the country, he needed the votes of the Catholic party, Zentrum. To get these votes he had do change the domestic politics, and the Kulturkampf had to end.
3. Pope Leo XII negotiated with Bismarck to end the Kulturkampf.

Looking at Kulturkampf from a political point of view, it played an important role in organizing Catholics in a Catholic party. Zentrum, had an important role in forming Christian Democracy in Germany.

By the end of the 19th century the industrialization had started, making Germany the leading country in Europe. Germany was the second most successful country in the world, after the United States, resulting in a strong national economy.

As a result of WWI (1914-18), the patriotism in Germany grew strong. The country and its citizens suffered great consequences of the war. Some of the most important changes as a result of the war were: a rationalization of the basic groceries, the economy became a war economy, and the industry became ruled by the national authorities. The political power went from politicians and the Emperor, to the military and the generals. The citizens became tired of the situation. Huge demonstrations all over the country was organized, and the socialist party, who had been the largest party in the elections, split into two parties. In the beginning of 1917, the new independent socialist part was founded.

1918-33 Revolution and Weimar republic

The war and unstable political situation resulted in a revolution in Germany, started by the socialists. The socialist party and the independent socialist party took the power themselves and founded a government. The seats were split between the two parties, the Emperor abdicated and fled to Holland. The two parties could not collaborate, which resulted in a split in the government. The socialist party wanted a democracy with universal suffrage, but the independent socialist party wanted a proletarian dictatorship. This is why the independent

socialist party left the government in 1918, and was the start of the German revolution from 1918. The revolution ended in 1919 and resulted in the Weimar Constitution which was signed in August the same year. The Constitution included articles that would secure social and democratic human rights. It was written in the constitution that a president should be elected by the people every seventh year. It was the president who elected the government, but it had to be approved by the parliament. The leader of the parliament was the chancellor, and all men and women, over 20 years old had the right to vote.

The Weimar Republic had a rough start as a consequence of WWII and the treaty of Versailles, signed by Germany on June 28, 1919. The treaty resulted in Germany losing large parts of their country to France. As a consequence of this, 8 million of their population became French, and they lost important agricultural and industrial regions to France. It was the socialist party and Zentrum who were in government when the treaty was signed. The German nationalists reacted to the treaty by circulating propaganda about the two parties, hoping they would lose their power. Because of the compensation they had to pay to the other countries as a result of WWI and the treaty of Varsailles, the first period of the Weimar Republic was hard. They had to pay 132 billion Mark in compensation, which resulted in inflation in Germany as the only way the government could finance their spending was to print more bank notes (money). Salaries to the employees were lowered and the population became angrier with the situation in the country. More people joined fascistic and anti-Semitic movements as a consequence of the situation in Germany at the time. The French argue that the German government did not pay the compensation as they should, and the French therefore walked into German territory in the Ruhr-region. The German government answered this with government financed strikes. The consequence of this was that the inflation got worse. In 1923, 1 USD was worth 2,5 billion mark. When these strikes were over the mark stabilized and the years between 1923 and 1930 became golden years in German economic history. [2]

The great depression in New York in 1929 had a huge impact on Germany and the German economy. As a reaction to the great depression, a political and economical chaos started in Germany. The nationalist party, NSDAP, grew stronger as a result of this. People wanted something else, politicians and parties they could trust and who would make greater changes

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[2] Aschehoug og Gyldendals, 1981 p. 137-144

in the society. NSDAP was able to promote themselves as "the savior". The elections 1930 in showed this, as NSDAP became the second largest party in the elections, and the people's desire of something new prevailed. The situation in the country got even worse. And as the situation got worse in Germany, NSDAP got more members. After the elections in 1932, NSDAP was the largest party in Germany. The president in government tried to keep Adolf Hitler and NSDAP away from power but it did not help. NSDAP could create a majority government after the elections 1932 which resulted in Hitler becoming Chancellor January 1933. He dismissed the government and was re-elected. NSDAP did not get a majority in this election either, but Hitler managed to get all the right wing parties to sign an agreement which ended the Weimar Republic and turned Germany into a dictatorship. [3]

1933-1945 Nazi regime, The Third Reich

By giving the epoch the name "The Third Reich" the Nazis tried to have continuity in German history. The epochs before this was; The German-Roman Empire ("the first") and "the second" was 1871-1918. All the legislative power was given to the Führer, Adolf Hitler. All parties, except NSDAP, were forbidden, and unions were banned. Many people, who earlier had been active politicians, moved to other countries due the situation in Germany. The new political era in Germany gave the church new problems. This is known as the kirchenkampf. The Evangelic Church and the Catholic Church had two different approaches to the development in Germany at the time. The Catholic Church had, in a concordat of July 20, 1933, a regulation that secured them organizational rights, and also said that the Catholic Church could not be political. The Catholic Church had a strong and unified organization; it made the Catholic Church talk with one voice to their members, and also the rest of the society. The Church was in opposition to the Nazi-regime. It took two years of Nazi-regime before the Catholic Church started their fight against the regime properly. In the time between 1935 and until the end of WWII in 1945, Catholic priest were imprisoned and newspapers published a lot of anti-catholic propaganda. In the Church services during WWII, the priests used to attack the Nazi-regime in their preaches.

The Evangelic Church had a different approach to the Nazi-regime. There was a struggle in the Evangelic Church between 1933 and 1945. *Deutsche Christen* was a party that wanted to unite Christianity and Nazism into a national church. According to the Evangelical Church Church and state are two separate institutions, so they did not support the *Deutsche Christen.*

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[3] Lindahl, 2008, p.10-12

The A*rierparagraph* which later would be a reality made the opposition in the Evangelic Church even more negative towards the Nazi-regime and *Deutsche Christen.* All the Christian youth organizations were dismissed and the opposition, which many of the people connected to the evangelic church was a part of, were seen as enemies of the state. Members of the opposition were arrested and persecuted. Some of the people in the Evangelic Church started the confession church in 1934. One of the most important posts on their agenda was to unite the Lutheran churches and Reformation churches against the *Deutche Church.* In 1939, when the WWII started, the Kirchenkamp became a smaller problem and nationalism grew also in the evangelistic movements. The Christian affiliation became less important and the nationalism overtook the emperor's role. A small number of the confession church continued their fight against the regime. One example of this opposition is the open letter sent to Adolf Hitler from one bishop on July 16, 1943.[4]

NSDAP managed to decrease unemployment and common people experienced a country that was better to live in now than before the Nazi-regime. This resulted in the citizens becoming more positive to NSDAP. It was first when Germany begun experiencing defeats in WWII ordinary people saw "the real" National Socialism. But it was not until the last year of WWII that the citizens began to criticize the Nazis. [5]

The beginning of 1945 marked the end of the third Reich and on April 30 Adolf Hitler committed suicide in his bunker in Berlin.

1945-1989 One state becomes two

After Germany was defeated, the allies split Germany in to four occupied zones. The reason why it became four zones was that France was also seen as an occupational power, but they were not one of the allied powers. The allied were the US, Great Britain and Soviet. The countries got one zone each. The situation between the four countries became more and more difficult. It was an agreement that all of the four zones should be as equal as possible, but the relation between Soviet and the other countries made it hard. In 1948, the differences between the zones were significant and as a consequence of this, they started to build two new German states. One was built in the eastern part, in the Soviet zone, and one in the western part in the

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[4] http://snl.no/kirkekampen (31.11.2012)

[5] Lindahl, 2008, p.12-13

British, French and American zones. Soviet protested on the changes in West by closing all the German borders in East Berlin. This resulted in the Allies having to fly food to the two million people living in West Berlin.

The conflicts between east and west grew and climaxed when the Berlin Wall was constructed in 1961. The wall would split East Germany and West Germany for almost 30 years, and many people lost their life trying to go from east to west. An iron curtain divided Europe throughout the Cold War which ended in 1991. The work towards a reunification of Germany was important for West Germany. Willy Brandt, a politician from the Social Democratic Party, was an important person in the reunification of Germany. He managed to form an agreement between East Germany and West Germany in the beginning of 1970. This was something no one had managed to do earlier. And in 1973, both countries became members of the UN. They were continuously represented in each other's capital, but they did not open embassies in each other's countries. In East Germany, the belief of a reunification between the two German states grew stronger in parts of the population. And there were also groups who worked towards a democracy in East Germany. These groups managed to make some political changes which made a reunification easier. Churches, organizations, mass media etc. started to support the new groups which grew stronger.

In 1990, the first democratic election in East German history was held. The Christian Democrats won in an alliance with other parties of the center-right. Their sister parties in West Germany and the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl helped them win the election. This became the first non-socialistic government in East Germany, and their main task was to replace themselves with a new government in a unified Germany. They made a lot of administrative changes which made it easier to reunite west and east. On October 3, 1990 Germany was unified as one country.[6]

3. The Path to Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy is a political movement, not an ideology. It is important to state this before writing about the path to Christian Democracy. The reason I chose to write about

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[6] Lindahl, 2008, p.13-19

Christian Democracy as a political movement instead of an ideology is found when looking at the development of the movement. It includes parts of three main ideologies; liberalism, conservatism and socialism. As seen later in this chapter, Christian Democracy do have distinct similarities and differences with all of the three ideologies. It has integrated these views by liberals, conservatives and socialists within a wider framework of moral and Christian principles.

Christian Democratic parties have played an important role since WWII. The movement is one of the most important political movements in the 20th century. The developing of the modern Christian Democratic movement can be divided into three stages:

1.   The time from 1880 to WWII
2.   The 40's and 50's
3.   The protestant Christian Democratic movement in the 60's

In the chapter "confessional problems" I look at the development from a theological point of view. In this chapter, the ideological development and influences from other ideologies is discussed.

Before WWII Catholic inspired parties existed in the following countries: Belgium, Holland, Germany and Austria. In France, Switzerland and Italy you could find some catholic social groups but they did not have any political ambitions. The inspirations for these first catholic parties were the battle against the liberalization of the society, for freedom of religion, and to keep the church in a strong position outside of the state.

In the years before 1900 the Catholic parties became more social oriented and less confessional oriented. To some countries such as Germany, where a major part of the Christians were Protestants, Protestantism had a greater influence on the Catholic party than in many other countries. Zentrum left some of their confessional attitude behind because of the fact that the Catholics were and still are today a minority in Germany. This change did not happen to the same extent in other countries. Zentrum understood that they had to be more main stream to get a greater influence on national politics. The Catholic parties in other countries, where the Catholic Church had more members, could be more conservative than the parties in Germany. The main reason why the Catholics in Germany could became more main stream and more social was not a result of the Protestantism, it was Pope Leo XIII. In Pope

Leo XIII's encyclopedia *Graves de Communi* (1901) he wrote about how Catholics could be liberal and confess to democracy, which made it possible for Catholic parties to become more social and adapt to the democratic state. Leo XIII was also one of the first to use the word "Christian democrat" when he used this word in *Graves de Communi.* The encyclopedia resulted not in an instant change of political Catholicism and Christian Democracy all over Europe. The political catholisism would continue to be conservative until the end of WWII. As seen later in this thesis, the Christian Democrats had their breakthrough after WWII. During the war, the Catholic Church had been working against the fascists and worked together with communists and socialist against the dictatorship in Germany. This gave political Catholicism legitimacy after the war, which helped them gain power later. [7]

Christian Democracy today has, in terms of ideology, integrated ideas held by liberals, conservatives and socialists in to their movement. There are still many differences between the ideas of these ideologies and Christian Democracy. The liberal secularism of the Liberals is criticized by the Christian Democrats, and the ways to talk about "individualism" are different. The individual is a part of a social and religious community in the Christian Democratic ideology, but liberals looks at the term individuals from an etymological point of view. The similarities between these two ideologies are instead found in the support of human rights and property rights, and they value individual initiative.

Christian Democrats share a common view of the evolutionary development of society with the Conservatives. Both do also strongly oppose communism. The greatest difference between the ideology and the movement is found in the view of changes in society. Conservatives are more "traditionalist" and are negative towards rapid changes in the society.

Socialists have influenced Christian democracy in the view of social solidarity but it is a huge difference in how they define the term; Christian democrats are talking about social solidarity on behalf of society as a whole. Socialists are talking about particular sectors of the society. Both are talking about the state taking responsibility for the weakest in the society but Christian Democrats do not want unnecessary involvement by the state. [8]

3.1 From religion to politics

To understand how the Christian Democratic parties have developed, it is important to look at

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[7] Demker, 1998 p. 37-45

the movement from a theological point of view, not just historical and ideological. Until the 1880's, Christian Democracy in essence was a Catholic movement with just a few exceptions. It was when the movement started to develop in Germany, France and Switzerland Protestantism began to have an influence on the new political movement.[9] The Catholic Social Teaching is the theological background of the Christian Democratic movement.

3.1.1 Catholic Social Teaching

The Catholic Social Teaching has its roots in the early biblical texts. Greek and Roman philosophy also inspired the early social teaching. In the first centuries of the church, the distribution of the material benefits and the personal charity were important perspectives. Frans of Assisi (1182-1226) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) were two of the most important influences to the Catholic Social Teaching in the Medieval Ages. Both of them have been and still are a source of inspiration for the Catholic Social Teaching. Frans of Assisi talked about the care of the poor, the cohesion in the Creation and he focused on peace and non-violence. This is an area that still is important in Catholicism and his texts and thoughts are still influencing the new encyclopedias. Thomas Aquinas' most notable influences to the Catholic Social Teaching is found in terms such as "justice" and "the common good". His understandings of the natural law have had an important impact on the development of the social teaching. When Aquinas talked about The common good (Bonum Commune) he talked about "the common" as not just something that made people reach their individual goal but the need to get the whole society reach a goal. The individual goal and the common goal in the society could have qualitative differences, but the long term goal is the same; continue the road of virtue and find the fellowship with God.

1891 is said to be the starting point of the modern Catholic Social Teaching. This was the year when Pope Leo XIII released his encyclopedia *Rerum Novarum* (in English *On The New Things*). Before *Rerum Novarum,* the Catholic Social Teaching was not as modern and was called "anti-modern" and "reactionary". The reason the Catholic Social Teaching in these years was called this is because it was against freedom of religion and it also said that it should not be any distinction between the state and the church. Leo XIII was concerned with

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[8] Hogwood and Roberts, 2003 p. 44
[9] Hogwood and Roberts, 2003 p. 44

the social problems and conflicts that had emerged as a result of the industrialization. He saw the need for reform in the Catholic Social Teaching to adapt to the changing society. This was the background for *Rerum Novarum*, an encyclopedia which criticizes both the extreme individualism in laissez-faire capitalism, as well as the collectivism in socialism. It talked about the middle course between these two extremes. When reading *Rerum Novarum* it is obvious that the church wanted to have an important role in the society.

In 1931, the next social encyclopedia was released by pope Pius XI. The society had changed much in the years between 1891 and 1931, and new social encyclopedias that handled these new issues were therefore required. The name of this encyclopedia was *Quadragesimo Anno* (*In The Fortieth Year* in english) in where some of the most important issues were the welfare state and the common good (*bonum commune*). Similar to what could be red in *Rerum Novarum*, *Quadragesimo Anno* was critical towards modern capitalism, but also against a dominating state. The state should have the right to redistribute materialistic resources if it was argued to be for the common good. Also, private property could in some cases be redistributed if necessary. [10]

3.2 German Christian Democracy 1870-1933

Deutche Zentrumspartei (Zentrum)

Deutsche Zentrumspartei (Zentrum) was founded in 1870, during the reign of Bismarck. [11] Zentrum would play an important role in Germany between 1870 and 1933. When CDU was founded after WWII, people who earlier had been members of Zentrum now had an essential place in the founding and start of CDU. This is why it is important to include Zentrum in a thesis about CDU.

Zentrum had a Catholic confession, and turned out to be the major force in establishing a political unity of Catholics. The party regarded itself as the political voice of the Catholic population. Zentrum was in opposition to The Empire. There were two major reason to why they opposed the empire. Firstly Zentrum had, as mentioned earlier, a Catholic confession and this was in contrast to the Preussian Protestantism in the empire. Secondly, Zentrum had a

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[10]Heiene, 2012, p. 197-224
[11]Demker 1998 p. 43

cross-class social composition, consisting of a diversity of anti-bourgeois and anti-capitalist forces such as priests, aristocrats, farmers and workers. This is diverged from the political leadership of the aristocratic military and the liberal bourgeoisie in Germany at the time.

The kulturkampf had a negative consequence on the Church and Catholic religious, cultural and social organizations, but it would also have a positive outcome on the political unification within the Catholic society. 80% of the Catholics voted Zentrum and the high support in this group made a vital base for the party. Zentrum had an average of 24 % of the seats in the Reichstag in the years between 1871 and 1912, which made the party important in the politics during the Weimar republic. All governments during this era depended on the support of the Catholic party. [12] They made an allegiance to the republican constitution and worked with SPD and DDP to establish parliamentary democracy under the leadership of Matthias Erzberger. This made Zentrum even more important in national politics. Until 1932, Zentrum was part of every national government and had 9 of 22 chancellors.

There are organizational similarities between the Zentrum (pre 1930) and CDU (post 1945). The political platform of Zentrum was characterised as widely diversed, and in CDU there are similar discussions and diversity found today, in some questions. The left wing of Zentrum favoured the development of the welfare state and international understanding. The right wing of the party was more interested in advocating a patriarchal corporative system of government at home and on an international arena they wanted a foreign policy with emphasis on the defence of national interests. [13] The left wing of the party grew stronger during the co-operation with the social democrats and when the labor fraction in the party was reinforced. The Zentrum had an anti-capitalist agenda and promoted their social policy, but even when the left wing in the party was strong they agreed with the social democrats on the liberal thought of the right to private property. The strengthening of the left wing fraction of the party gradually returned to more conservative policies in the late 1920's. Zentrum supported the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor and the *enabling act* of 1933. [14] This act enabled Hitler's government to issue decrees independently from the Reichstag and the Presidenty. Deputies from Zentrum, the German National People's party and NSDAP voted in favor of the

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[12] Kersbergen , 1995 p. 38-40
[13] http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/artandhistory/history/factsheets/parties_weimar_republic.pdf (29.12.12)
[14] Kersbergen, 1995 p. 40

act. This made it possible for Hitler to start his National Socialistic revolution.[15]

The confession problem in Zentrun was a large problem from the start of the party, because Zentrum was founded as an initiative from the Catholic Church as a reaction against Bismarck's political ideas. After WWII, it was impossible to create one Christian Democratic party who was build on just a Catholic confession. Instead, Christian groups all over Germany founded regional Christian Democratic parties that became accepted by the allies in occupied Germany and in 1950 they got a federal organization, "Christian Democratische Union" (CDU). In Bavaria, "Christlische soziale Union" (CSU) developed. [16]

3.3 Christian democracy in Germany 1945-2012

Christian Democracy has been the most important and influential political movement in German history after the end of WWII. It is difficult to understand German politics and society after 1945 without understanding the Christian Democratic party in the country. The largest and most important parties in Germany based on the Christian democratic values are Christian Democratische Union (CDU) and Christlische Soziale Union (CSU). These parties cooperate on a national level and have done so for several decades and are therefore often talked about as CDU/CSU.

CDU in particular has been one of the main promoters of European integration and the establishment of what we now know as the European Union (EU). The party has an important role in the EU in 2013, by being one of the largest parties in the European Parliament.

3.3.1 CDU

> *"The CDU is a people's centre catch-all party. It still possesses vividly the political strands of thought which resulted in its foundation. We take our bearings from the Christian concept of mankind and his inviolable dignity from which are dependent the basic values of freedom, solidarity and justice. We strive for the right correlation between the basic values."*[17]

CDU was the first party who managed to unite Political Catholicism, Protestant liberals and

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[15] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/186351/Enabling-Act (29.12.12)
[16] Demker 1998, p. 46
[17] Freedom and Security Principles for Germany, Party Manifesto of The Christian Democratic Union of

conservatives in Germany. [18] As seen in the quote from the Party Manifesto of 2007, CDU describe themselves as a Catch-all party and their roots are visible in their politics today. It is by understanding their history one can understand their future. This is why it is important to look at the history of CDU and how the party has changed to be able to get a better understanding of why CDU has changed their politics and are what they are in 2013.

One other quotation from the manifest show how CDU sees themselves in the political arena and where on the political compass they are found. It also shows that it is a party with Christian values.

> *"The German Christian Democratic Union is the political centre party.*
> *It relates to all persons of all types of levels and groups in our country.*
> *Our policies are characterized by the Christian concept of mankind*
> *and the responsibilities to God."* [19]

The starting point 1945-1949

WWII ended in 1945, and after years of persecution, it was once again allowed to establish non-fascist parties in Germany on June 10, 1945. It would take 16 days from it was allowed until Catholics and Protestants founded "Christliche-Demokratische Union" (CDU) in Berlin on June 26, 1945. CDU had visible influences from Zentrum, both political and organizational, as mentioned earlier. It was not only in Berlin a regional CDU wase founded. In Köln, a Christian Democratic party was founded September 2nd and in Bochum September 3rd. All over the old Third Reich Christian groups took initiative to establish regional parties that were built on Christian Democratic values. This happened all over the country and some of the groups did not even know about each other. The fact that CDU was started on a regional level has characterized the organization into the 21st century. Each and one of the regional parts of the party are strongly independent and the party is built from the bottom and up. The first Chairman of the party was Konrad Adenauer. [20]

1949-2012

Germany (CDU), 2007 pp.5

[18] Kaiser and Gehler 2004 p. 25

[19] Freedom and Security Principles for Germany, Party Manifesto of The Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) AGREED DURING THE 21ST PARTY CONGRESS IN HANOVER, 3RD-4TH DECEMBER, 2007 pp. 6

After the first election in West Germany in 1949, Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967[21]) from CDU was elected the first Chancellor. To establish a government, CDU had to collaborate with CSU and FDP (the liberal party). The government and Adenauer focused on domestic policies in this period to build the country, and in his 14 years as Chancellor he managed to make West Germany one of the leading economic nations in the world.

Konrad Adenauer is the most important person in the history of CDU. He began his political career in Zentrum before WWI. In 1920 he became one of the most influential politicians in Germany, when he became president of the Prussian State Council. In 1934 Adenauer was briefly imprisoned by the Nazis and they also replaced him as Mayor of Cologne. When the United States liberated Cologne, Adenauer was appointed as Mayor again, until the British military government dismissed him. [22] He had a patriarchal, strong-willed personality. After 1945 his greatest ambition was that Germany should regain its old position in the world, and regain its dignity and international respect. After WWII the rest of the world had lost the respect for Germany. [23] Adenauer was responsible for overseeing the reconstruction of Germany in the 1950s, particularly in the context of European integration, of which he was a key supporter.[24]

Adenauer became the first Chairman of CDU in 1950, one year after being elected as the first Chancellor of West Germany at the age of 73. He governed Germany for 14 years and provided the country with stability and continuity which made the economic expansion of the 1950s a reality. West Germany also regained full sovereignty during the time Adenauer was Chancellor. Adenauer retired as chancellor in 1963, but remained chairman of the CDU until 1966. [25] Outside the border of Germany, he is best known for is his work to unite Europe. He made the Federal Republic of Germany a part of the emerging economic, military and political structures of the Western Union. Without Adenauer it is hard to believe that Germany would strengthen ties with France, winning the support and confidence of the United States and other Western powers. Germany was also one of the countries in the movement for European integration. [26]

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[20] Hove , 1972 p. 105-108
[21] Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2010 p. 1189
[22] http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/adenauer_konrad.shtml (5.11.12)
[23] Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2010 p.892-894
[24] Cini, , 2007 p. 455
[25] Cini, 2007 p. 19
[26] Palmer, Colton and Kramer, 2010 p.893-894

CDU's popularity decreased in the beginning of the 1960's. One reason was that Adenauer and the rest of the leading people in CDU became older and the population talked about CDU as an "old" party that needed renewal. It was also some disagreement within the party. It was not as easy to collaborate with FDP while experiencing internal struggles.

In 1966, CDU went into a coalition with the socialistic party, SPD. The coalition was a disappointment to CDU and they continued to lose voters. This would result in their worst election until 1969, and they were in opposition to the government for the first time in history. This was the beginning of some hard years for CDU. The collaboration with CSU had also became more difficult than before. CSU were (and are) a more conservative party, both social and religious, and they had strong regional roots. CDU had a larger political platform and was not as conservative as CSU. When CDU tried to renew themselves, this was not easy. CDU wanted to be seen more like a modern Christian Democratic catch-all party than what CSU wanted.

October 1982 a constructive vote of no confidence was held and CDU and their new chairman, Helmut Kohl won the election and Helmut Kohl became the new Chancellor. [27] In the following year a federal election was held and CDU won the election with a result of 48,8%. CDU/CSU Were in power in Germany until 1998, and Helmut Kohl were the Chancellor all these years.

The reuniting of East and West in the beginning of the 1990's made the collaboration between CDU and CSU more difficult, because of the impact the unification had on domestic politics. CDU in East and CDU in West unified themselves at the first joint party conference of the united-German CDU, on October 1st and 2nd 1990. The balance of power between CDU and CSU changed when one of them became even stronger. To get all the new regions to the same level as the old West Germany they had to spend a lot of resources. This resulted in cut in social welfare instead of doing the necessary tax reforms in the rest of the country to afford the changes. In addition to the external problems CDU also had some internal problems. Members of the party criticized the politics on a national level. In the election in 1998, the results of the politics during the 1990's could be seen. CDU/CSU only got 35,2%, their worst

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[27] http://snl.no/Helmut_Kohl (19.03.2013)

result until that day. In the years to come, the internal problems in the party grew bigger. When Helmut Kohl decided to step down as leader of CDU it was hard to find a person who could replace him. After just two years with Wolfgang Schäuble (1998-2000), CDU elected Angela Merkel as their new Chairman. When she was elected party leader on April 10, 2000 she had a tough job ahead. Her predecessor had to resign as a consequence of being involved in a major party donations scandal. Merkel was at the time Secretary General of the CDU. Merkel was the daughter of a protestant pastor from East Germany and was the first woman to be elected to lead CDU, which at the time was, and still is, mainly catholic and male-dominated. She was also the first person from East Germany to lead the party. [28]

The first election with Angela Merkel as their leader gave CDU/CSU 38,5% of the votes. It was as the same result as SPD and it made CDU one of the two biggest parties in Germany. The other parties CDU could cooperate with in government got poor results and therefore SPD continued to be in power in Germany. The socialists had to make many unpopular cuts in the budget as a consequence of the economic situation in Germany at the time. This resulted in increased popularity for the CDU/CSU from the population and they became even larger in the next election. In the election 2005, CDU/CSU won a lot of the votes from SPD and they became the largest party again after the election.[29]

Even though CDU became the largest party, the result was even worse than after the election 2002. As seen in chapter 3.3.2, the results in every election since 1983 have been reduced from one election to the next (with one exception). The result from 2005 was 34,2% to SPD and 35,2% to CDU/CSU[30]. This was the second election Merkel ran for the Chancellorship, and despise the poor result, Merkel and CDU won. This made her the first female Chancellor in German history. The poor result made CDU look for new coalition partners to gain position. This resulted in a grand coalition with SPD.[31] The coalition lasted for four years, and in the election in 2009, CDU got a better result and could find a more desirable coalition to through more of their own politics in Germany. They started a coalition with the Free Democrats (FDP).[32]

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[28] http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/photo-gallery-the-changing-faces-of-angela-merkel-fotostrecke-90530.html (06.12.12)
[29] Rutger, 2008, p. 53-57
[30] http://www.bundestagswahl-bw.de/wahlergebnisse0.html (26/11-12)
[31] http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/photo-gallery-the-changing-faces-of-angela-merkel-fotostrecke-90530-6.html (06.12.12)
[32] http://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/photo-gallery-the-changing-faces-of-angela-merkel-fotostrecke-90530-

On December 5 2012, Merkel was reelected as the leader of CDU. She got 97,94% of the votes in the party congress. The result was historically high. None of the previous leaders had ever been elected or re-elected with such high results. Her popularity is not only huge in her own party but also with the «ordinary» citizens. One poll in Germany in 2012 said that almost 70% of the people asked said she had done a great job handling the Euro Crisis. [33]

The next election in Germany is on September 22, 2013.

The party organization 2013

In 2013, CDU have approximate 520,000 members in Germany. These members are divided into 10.000 town associations, 336 district associations, 27 local associations and 17 state associations. The state associations are 14 federal states and the other three are, one started in Bavaria (CSU) and the others in Braunschweig, Hannover and Oldenburg CDU are a Party with strong federal organizations. The way to organize the Party has its roots in the early years between 1945 and 1949, when the party was first started locally.

At least every second year the federal party conference is held. This is the highest organ of the party and this is where the politics and organization are decided. The federal conference party has 1001 delegates from all over the country.[34]

3.3.2 CDU Statistics

In this chapter are you able to see how the results with the elections from 1949. The results show how influential CDU was at the moment. There is also a overview of the chairmen in CDU and which one of these that has been Chancellor in Germany. This statistics and overviews give an understanding of the importance of CDU/CSU with some empirical facts.

10.html (06.12.12)

[33] http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/congress-re-elects-angela-merkel-as-cdu-leader-with-record-result-a-870931.html (06.12.12)

[34] http://www.cdu.de/partei/15_197.htm (04.11.2012 and 20.03.2013)

Election Results 1945-2012

1949:31%

1953: 45,2%

1957: 50,2%

1961: 45,4%

1965: 47,6%

1969: 46,1%[35]

1972: 44,9%

1976: 48,6%

1980: 44,5%

1983: 48,8%

1987: 44,3 %[36]

1990: 43,82%

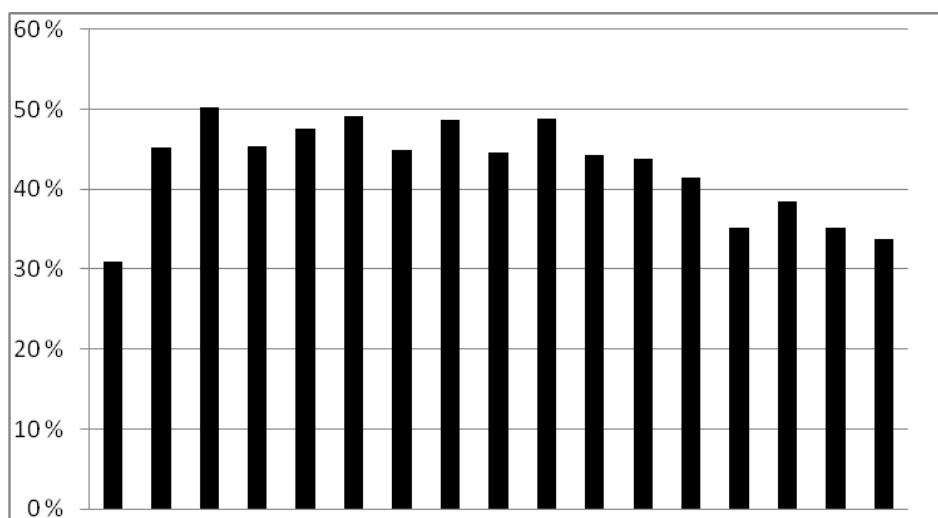1994: 41,43%

1998: 35,18%

2002: 38,51%

2005: 35,17%

2009: 33,80%[37]

[35] Hove, 1972 p. 113

[36] http://www.bundestagswahlleiter.de/de/bundestagswahlen/fruehere_bundestagswahlen (20.09.12)

[37]http://eed.nsd.uib.no/webview/index.jsp?study=http://129.177.90.166:80/obj/fStudy/DEPA1990_All_Display&
mode=cube&v=2&cube=http://129.177.90.166:80/obj/fCube/DEPA1990_All_Display_C1&top=yes (18.09.12)

Chairmen/Chairwomen of the CDU, 1950-present:

Konrad Adenauer   1950-1966   (German Chancellor 1949-1963)

Ludwig Erhard   1966-1967   (German Chancellor 1963-1966)[38]

Kurt Georg Kiesinger 1967-1971   (German Chancellor 1966-1969)[39]

Rainer Barzel   1971-1973[40]

Helmut Kohl   1973-1998   (German Chancellor 1982-1998)

Wolfgang Schäuble   1998-2000

Angela Merkel   2000-Present (German Chancellor 2005-Present)

3.3.3 Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU)

This thesis focuses on CDU, but a thesis about Christian Democracy must also include Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU) as it has played an important role in the history of Christian Democracy in Germany.

CSU was founded in 1945 as a local Christian Democratic Party in Bavaria, and is in 2013 the only national political party that is an actual State party. The Catholic Church is large in the southern part of Germany, and it is most influential in Bavaria which has resulted in a more conservative Christian Democracy founded on Catholic values in this part of Germany. On state level CSU has governed every year since 1949, except a short period from 1950 until 1953. CSU cooperate with CDU on a national level and holds three Cabinet Ministers (February 28, 2013). [41] The cooperation between CSU and CDU on a national level started in 1949, and since then they have had one single parliamentary group in the Bundestag. This is a result based on an agreement being renewed at the start of each electoral term since 1949. [42] On a national level they are called CDU/CSU, but it is important to recognize that they are two different party organizations.[43] There are several political disagreements between them, somewhat as a result of CSU being more conservative. Examples of political opinions they do not share are same-sex marriage (CDU: in favor, CSU: against) and CSU criticized CDU in their fresh support for Greece – causing an increasing level of popularity for CSU.[44]

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[38] http://snl.no/Ludwig_Erhard (07.05.2013)
[39] http://snl.no/Kurt_Georg_Kiesinger (07.05.2013)
[40] http://snl.no/Rainer_Barzel (07.05.2013)
[41] Http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/guide-to-german-political-parties-a-886188-7.html (30.03.2013)
[42] http://www.cducsu.de/Titel__two_parties_one_joint_parliamentary_group/TabID__19/SubTabID__21/InhaltTypID__98/Texte.aspx (18.09.12)
[43] Hove , 1972 p. 111
[44] Http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/guide-to-german-political-parties-a-886188-7.html (30.03.2013)

One of the most important people in the history of CSU is Franz Josef Strauss. He was one of the founders of CSU. He was the general secretary between 1949 and 1952 and was chairman of the party from 1961 until his dead in 1988. In every national election, CSU and CDU agree on one common Chancellor Candidate, and two times have a candidate from CSU been appointed as this candidate. Strauss was the Chancellor candidate for CDU/CSU in 1980, but they did not win the elections and Strauss was not elected Chancellor. [45]

3.4 The Christian democratic dilemma

There are many reports and studies which regard the Christian Democratic dilemma in Europe in the beginning of the 21th century. Thus taking a brief look at this explains partly why it is interesting to write about Christian Democratic parties in a modern world. I wrote earlier in this chapter about the path to Christian Democracy stating *"It [Christian Democracy] has integrated these views by liberals, conservatives and socialists within a wider framework of moral and Christian principles."*. This is important to remember when looking at the dilemma.

The dilemma is found in the dual thinking in political issues. First Christian Democratic parties have to be true to their ideology to keep credibility amongst their members, voters and other political actors, and to survive as a political party. Nevertheless by getting too ideological they would not gain any significant amount of political power in the long run. This meaning those in political power would find it necessary at times to make decisions regardless of ideological convention and withstand more pragmatic approaches instead. If not doing this, and trying to find answers and solutions through their beliefs instead, a religious party could somewhat easily lose their freedom of action. Henceforth they on one side have to consider their ideological goal, which is founded in their theological beliefs, and at the same time contemplate their strategic ambition.

There are three problems that are unique and common in Christen Democratic parties in Europe today:
1. The cooperation between the catholic, protestant and social conservative inspired parties could create problems at an ecumenical political level.
2. To get Christian democratic voters and members in a more secularist world.
3. It is often ideological tensions between the national goal and the international goal in

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[45] http://snl.no/Franz_Josef_Strauss (24.10.12)

Christian democratic parties.[46]

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[46] Demker, 1998 p. 21-22

4. Other parties in Germany

The Christian Democratic party has been the most important party in the post war ages but there are many parties in Germany. I have therefore decided to present a short introduction of the four largest parties in Germany in 2013. All of these have an important influence in the political decision making. In addition to these four there are a number of various political parties to be found in Germany.

4.1 Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)

Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands was founded 1887 as a Marxist party. SPD was the German party that started their work first after the WWII, notably because most of the prominent members of SPD had escaped from Germany and created an executive committee in another country. In East-Germany SPD joined the communist parties and became a more left winged party. In West-Germany the executive committee continued their work.

SPD was early on, as seen in the 1936 party manifesto, a marxistic party. After they lost the first elections in West Germany in 1949, they understood that they had to renew parts of their ideological standpoints if to fashion sufficiently with post war West Germany. The party congress in 1959 adapted a new manifesto without any traces of marxisism. This would lead to more members and more voters in elections during the 60's.

In the first election in the unified Germany, 1990, SPD got 22% of the votes. Nevertheless they were not satisfied with this result. As read in the chapter about CDU, CDU was in government until 1998, hence this election was the first time SPD got to sit in government after the unification. They made a coalition government with Die Grüne. They got re-elected in 2002 and continued their cooperation with Die Grüne. [47]

SPD is part of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European

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[47] http://www.spd.de/partei/Geschichte/Soziales_Deutschland/ (9/11 2012)

Parliament. Most of the social democratic parties in Europe are members of this group. [48]

4.2 Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)

A liberal movement arised in Germany in the end of the 19th century. This movement became stronger after the First World War, but it would take until 1948 before some of the German liberal movements decided to go together and form the poltical party Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP). The party had two main groups. The first was conservative, nationalistic and had a pending attitude towards the democratization of Germany. The Second group in FDP was against a nationalistic and authoritarian governance. This group was also very positive to democratization and a parliamentarian government.

FDP was part of the coalition government with CDU/CSU 1949-56 and 1961-66. In 1969 they started a cooperation with SPD instead. This demonstrates how FDP has been and is still a party in the middle of the political spectrum in Germany. The party is also quite small and has therefore needed to cooperate with other parties to have any relevant influence and be in government. [49]

FDP is a member of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe in the European party. Most of the liberal parties in Europe are members of this group.[50]

4.3 Die Grünen/Bündnis 90

It was founded as a national party in West-Germany January 1980. It was first started as a green movement and as an anti-party in a protest against the political party system . They wanted the power to the people and hence said that none of their politicians would ever be a professional politician. In the elections in 1980 they got 1,5% of the votes, and in the next election, 1983, the result had grown to more than 5%. This made them members of the parliament for the first time. Because of their non-existent ideological background the party had difficulties agreeing about some of the political questions.

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[48]

http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/gpes/public/nadehome.htm?section=NET&category=NADE&request_locale=EN (26.11.12)

[49] Lindahl, 2004 p. 57-71

[50] http://www.alde.eu/alde-group/national-delegation-elected-meps/#country_4 (26.11.12)

It was during the 1990's when they had started cooperate with Bündis 90 they became a unified political party with a political platform. In 1998 they became a part of the government with SPD. In 2002 they got 8,6% of the votes in the elections and continued to be in government. The most important questions to Die Grüne is climate and issues associated with labor. Today the people who vote on Die Grüne are often highly educated, young people and they are living in the cities.

Die Grüne/Bündis 90 are members of the parliamentary group Greens/European Free Alliance in the European parliament. [51]

4.4 Die Linke

This is the fourth largest party in Germany and was founded June 16, 2007. It was formed out of two earlier parties; Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (PDS) and the Electoral Alternative for Labor and Social Justice (WASG). PDS was the largest of the two earlier parties and had its roots in DDR and the communist party. Before the founding of Die Linke, PDS was struggeling to get more than 5% of the votes, which are needed to become a part of parliament.

Die Linke has 76 of the 622 seats in the German parliament. [52] [53] [54]

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[51] http://www.greens-efa.eu/members/42-all-members/germany-54.html (26.11.12)
[52] http://www.redpepper.org.uk/left-leading-interview-with-die-linke-leader-katja-kipping/ (20.03.2013)
[53] http://en.die-linke.de/index.php?id=9694 (20.03.2013)
[54] Lindhal, 2004, p. 57-71

5. Christian Democracy in Europe

It is not only in Germany that Christian Democracy has been an important movement since WWII, the movement have had a great impact on other countries as well. Christian Democratic parties exist all over the world today and the international organization of the Christian Democratic Parties is the Centric Democrat International (CDI). They are headquartered in Brussels.[55] In the European Union, most of the Christian Democratic parties, including CDU, are members of the European People's Party (EPP) group. With 36% of the seats, this is the largest group in the European Parliament. EPP has been the largest group since July 1999.[56]

This chapter will give an overview of the situation of all the Christian Democratic Parties in Europe. Introductions to most of the large Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe are found in this chapter. It is important to know the history of the parties and how important they are in their own country to have a good comparison to different political issues in different countries. Most of the election results in this chapter are from a publication by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, *Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe, status and prospects(2012).*[57] Another source is used when the statistic has a footnote. To get a brief overview of all the Christian democratic parties in Europe, there is found an alphabetical overview of the parties and whether they are in national government in the appendix in the end.

The Overview of the Christian Democratic parties are from EPPs pages [58] and the page *Parties and Election in Europe.* [59] The author of the page *Parties and election in Europe*, Wolfram Nordsieck, use this definition to classify Christian Democratic parties: «*The Christian social doctrine (basic principle: human dignity) is the main inspiration of Christian Democratic parties. These cross-class parties advocate Christian ethical and social conservative stances. Economically they usually favour a social market model. They are generally very supportive of family values and adhere to principles as freedom, justice, solidarity and subsidiarity.*»(Quotation from http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/content.html 14.01.13)

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[55] http://www.idc-cdi.com/ (03.01.13)
[56] http://epp.eu/parliament.asp?z=5C5D (07.03.2013)
[57] http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_30827-544-2-30.pdf?120424121559 (15.01.13)
[58] http://www.epp.eu/pdf/EPP-MEMBERPARTIES-2012.pdf (13.01.14)

5.1 Christian democratic parties in Scandinavia

The impact of the Christian Democratic parties on society in Scandinavia does differ between the countries. The historical most important Christian Democratic Party in Scandinavia is Kristelig Folkeparti but the party is now (spring 2013) in opposition. In Finland and Sweden are the Christian Democratic Parties are in government, but these two parties are younger and have not as much experience being governing parties. The Danish Christian Democrat only got 0,8% of the votes in the last election in Denmark, 2011. Iceland does not have a Christian Democratic party.

The Christian Democracy in Scandinavia, and especially in Norway, started as a reaction on the secularization in the society. Their main focus was to protect the Christian values in the secularized country and the Christianity in the society. The Scandinavian countries are Lutheran and therefore has the catholic social teaching not been as strong as in Germany.[60]

Norway

Kristelig Folkeparti (KrF)

The Norwegian Christian Democratic party has been one of the most influential and powerful parties in Norway since the Second World War. The party has had the prime minister three times, 1972-73 Lars Korvald, 1997-2000 Kjell Magne Bondevik and 2001-2005 Kjell Magne Bondevik. They have also been member of government seven times:

1963 – Prime Minister Lyng (H)
1965-71 – Prime Minister Borten (Sp)
1972-73 – Prime Minister Lars Korvald (KrF)
1983-86 – Prime Minister Willoch (H)
1989-90 – Prime Minister Syse (H)
1997-2000 – Prime Minister Bondevik (KrF)
2001-2005 – Prime Minister Bondevik (KrF) second term

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[59] http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/countries.html (12.01.13-14.01.13)
[60] http://www.krf.no/ikbViewer/page/krf/artikkel/politikk/politiske-dokumenter?p_document_id=5830

Here you find a short summary of the party's history. This is to understand how important the Norwegian Christian Democratic party, KrF, has been in Norway since they were founded.

The party started as a local Christian Democratic party in the Norwegian county Hordaland September 4,1933. They ran for parliament already the same year and they managed to get 10 272 votes in their first election. With this result they got their first member of parliament, Nils Lavik. All over the country this election and party was noticed and the interest Christian Democracy in Norway grew rapidly. In the years between 1933 and 1938 many local parties were founded. This resulted in the founding of a national organization in 1938.

The Second World War came to Norway in 1940 and this was the start of some years where political parties were banned. The war ended in 1945 and in the same year there was an election to the national parliament. KrF got 117 813 votes in this election, and eight candidates from all over Norway were elected members of parliament. This election made KrF an important party in Norwegian politics in the years to come, and in the elections in 1949 and 1953, KrF continued to get good results. In the elections between 1957 and 1965 their popularity decreased and they lost seats in parliament. It was not only KrF that made lost support, also the Norwegian Labor Party lost votes. This gave way for the Conservative party, Høyre, to establish a new government in coalition with KrF, Venstre (Liberal Party) and Senterpartiet. This government was a reality for just 4 weeks in 1963.

The election in 1965 resulted in a majority for the non-socialistic parties in the Norwegian Parliament for the first time. The four parties that had been in a coalition for four weeks in 1963 formed a new coalition. KrF got three cabinet ministers in this government. In the beginning of the 1970's, the question about EF was a great issue and got a lot of attention. There were disagreements within the coalition about Norwegian EF membership. The consequence of this disagreement resulted in the collapse of the coalition government and the Norwegian labor party was again the governing party. The Norwegian people voted against EF membership and a new government was constituted. KrF got the Prime Minister in this government and again three cabinet ministers. The parties in this coalition government were Venstre, Krf and Senterpartiet. These parties were a minority in parliament but remained in power for one year, until the elections in 1973. KrF got 20 members of parliament in 1973

(08.07.2013)

and in the elections in 1977 they got 22 members, which was a great result.

In 1981 there was a non-socialistic majority in the parliament but KrF was not a part of the government the first year. They stayed out because the rest of the non-socialist parties were going to vote for a new abortion law. KrF was against this one and could not be member of a government which voted in favor of it. When the question regarding abortion was over KrF joined the government. KrF got four cabinet members and they stayed in the government for three years. From 1989 to 1990, KrF were in government for the fifth time since 1963 and they got five members of cabinet. The beginning of the nineties, KrF was not a member of parliament due to poor election results. They decided to change the chairman and in 1995 their first female leader, Velgerd Svarstad Haugland was elected. The parliament election in 1997 gave KRF the best result in the party's history. They got 13,7 % of the votes and was one of two parties members of parliament from all counties in the country. This result led to KrF once again taking part in a coalition, this time with Venstre and Senterpartiet. Kjell Magne Bondevik from KrF became the prime minister and they got nine cabinet ministers. KrF was the largest party in the coalition.

After one year with Arbeiderpartiet as the governing Party, from 2000-2001, KrF got yet another great election result in 2001 with 12,4% of the votes. Kjell Magne Bondevik once again became the Prime Minister in a coalition between KrF, Venstre and Høyre. This Government lost their power in 2005 when a socialistic coalition won the election. KrF has been a part of the opposition in Norway since 2005. The next election in Norway is September 9, 2013.[61]

Election result 1977-2009

1977	12,40%
1981	9,40%
1985	8,30%
1989	8,50%
1993	7,90%
1997	13,70%
2001	12,40%
2005	6,80%

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[61] http://www.krf.no/ikbViewer/page/krf/organisasjon/historie (09.01.2013)

2009   5,50%

Other Christian Democratic parties in Norway

In addition to Kristelig folkeparti, there are a few other parties in Norway identifying themselves as Christian Democratic. These parties are smaller than KRF, but still have some influence in the Norwegian society. The first party is De Kristne. This party was registered as a national party Januar 9, 2013 and is one of the youngest parties in Norway.[62] The party was founded as a local party in the municipality Bømlo. The first election they participated in was the local elections in 2011. The result was 6,5 % of the votes in Bømlo municipality and this resulted in two representatives in the local council. [63] In the first month of their history De Kristne has grown rapidly in numbers of members and in some places in Norway could they be a threat to KrF. The first example of this are found in the municipality of Øygarden. The only member of the municipality from KrF became a member of De Kristne in March 2013.[64]

Kristent samlingsparti (KSP, english: Christian unity party) was founded in 1998 as a result of the merging of three Christian parties. The party has criticized KrF for not being conservative enough. There is an ideological difference between KrF and KSP. KrF is a Christian Democratic party, and KSP is a Christian Conservative party. Despite the difference in ideology, many members of KSP have a background in KrF.[65] KSP have had one member of a local council in Norway, gained in Kautokeino 1999. The party has not got any members in parliament. [66]

In addition to these parties there is also Abortmotstanderne, a party founded on Christian values. Abortion is the main issue the party is working with. In all other questions, they find their own opinions in the ten commendments and in the Norwegian constition of 1814 and (as abortmotstanderne calls it) the «legal» changes of the constitution. In the beginning, Abortmotstanderne did not see themselves as a party but as a group that worked with one question. The political party Abortmotstanderne was founded August 17, 2008.[67]

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[62] http://www.dekristne.no/ (16.02.13)
[63] http://www.regjeringen.no/krd/html/valg2011/bk2_12_19.html (16.02.13)
[64] http://www.bt.no/nyheter/lokalt/Fra-KrF-til-De-Kristne-2863734.html#.UU2lX0df5IG (19.03.2013)
[65] http://www.kirken.com/ks.htm (07.05.2013)
[66] http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/distrikt/hordaland/1.200933 (07.05.2013)

Sweden

The history of the Christian Democratic Party in Sweden is shorter than the ones in Germany and Norway. The Christian Democratic Party in Sweden is called Kristdemokraterna (KD). They were founded in 1964 and was named Kristen Demokratisk Samling (KDS, English: Christian Democratic Union). The reason for why a Christian democratic party could be founded in Sweden during this time was the lack of political influence that the Christian groups experienced.

In the beginning of the party history they were banned from the televised debates. Their goal, as the other Christian Democratic parties at the time, was to have Christian values affecting politics. This was in opposition to the main thoughts in society. Fewer and fewer people swore to Christianity in Sweden and Christianity in school became a smaller subject. In most institutions in the country, Christianity was regarded less important than it had been earlier.

The first chairman of KDS was Birger Ekstedt. He died in 1973 and Alf Svensson became the next chairman. In the elections between 1964 and 1982 the party had 1,4%-1,9% of the votes. In the election in 1985 the party had to look at a new way to become a part of parliament. KDS began a collaboration with the Swedish party Centerpartiet. They had one electoral list together. The reason why they did this was that if they got more than 4%, they would become a member of the parliament. They got more than 4% and Alf Svensson was elected as the first member of parliament from KDS. This collaboration would only exist for one election because KDS did not get as many members of parliament as they had been promised by Centerpartiet.

In 1987 the party changed their name to Kristdemokratiska samhällspartiet (KdS). The election in 1991 was the breakthrough for the party. They got 7,1% of the votes, 26 members of the parliament and three cabinet ministers in the government. They were now in a coalition with Moderaterna, Centerpartiet and Folkpartiet. In the election 1994, the results were not that great but they managed to remain a part of the parliament. In 1995 KdS became a member of EPP, the European People's Party and they changed their name to Kristdemokraterna (KD).

Alf Svensson was Chairman of the party until April 3, 2004 when Göran Hägglund was

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[67] http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abortmotstandernes_Liste (16.02.13)

elected as the new chairman. In the election 2006, the non-socialistic parties again won the election in Sweden. KD was once again in coalition with Centerpartiet, moderaterna and Folkpartiet. They became part of the government and they got three members of cabinet.[68] Today the party has 19 of 349 members of the parliament and about 21 600 party members. Alf Svensson is representing KD in the European Parliament as an elected member.[69]

The next election in Sweden is in 2014.

Election results 1979-2010

1979	1,40%
1982	1,90%
1985	-
1988	2,90%
1991	7,10%
1994	4,10%
1998	11,80%
2002	9,10%
2006	6,60%
2010	5,60%

Finland

There is a Christian Democratic party in Finland to but this is not as big as in Norway and Sweden. In the local election in 2012 Kristdemokraterna (KD) got 93 257 votes. This is 3,7 % of the votes.[70]

National election results 1979-2011

1979	4,80%
1983	3,00%
1987	2,60%
1991	3,10%

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[68]http://www.kristdemokraterna.se/Skolarbete/Historia/ (08.01.13)
[69] http://www.kristdemokraterna.se/Skolarbete/Statistik/(08.01.13)
[70]http://www.kristdemokraterna.fi/politik (13.01.13)

1995	3,00%
1999	4,20%
2003	5,30%
2007	4,90%
2011	4,00%

Denmark - Kristendemokraterne

The Danish Christian Democratic party is not a member of the parliament.

Election results 1979-2011

1979	2,60%
1981	2,30%
1984	2,70%
1987	2,40%
1988	2,00%
1990	2,30%
1994	1,80%
1998	2,50%
2001	2,30%
2005	1,70%
2007	0,90%
2011	0,80%

5.2 Christian democratic parties in Benelux

There are five Christian Democratic parties in the Benelux countries. One of them is found in Luxembourg, one is found in Netherlands and Belgium has three Christian Democratic parties. The differences between Scandinavia and Benelux are great in some areas. A larger number of the citizens in the Benelux countries are catholic and the language disputes in Belgium have made a significant impact on politics in the area. This has resulted in a different role of the Christian Democratic Parties in the society and in parliament.[71]

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[71] People's parties in crisis, Christian Democratsin belgium and the netherlands, Wientzek Olaf, KAS

Luxemburg

Christian Social People's Party (CSV) is the Christian Democratic party in Luxembourg. The party was founded in 1944. In the last election in 2009 they got 38% of the votes and it was the largest party in the country. The second largest party, Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP), only got 21,6% of the votes. CSV is in government in a coalition with LSAP. The Prime Minister, Jean-Claude Juncker is a member of CSV.

The next election in Luxemburg is in 2014. [72]

Results from elections 1979-2009

1979	34,50%
1984	34,90%
1989	31,70%
1994	31,40%
1999	30,10%
2004	36,10%
2009	38,00%

Netherlands

Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) is the Christian Democratic party in the Netherlands. The party was established in 1980 through a fusion of three parties; Anti-Revolutionaire PArtij (ARP), Christelijk Historische Unie (CHU) and Katholieke Volkspartij (KVP). There had been close ties between the three parties since the 1960's, and the Christian Democrats have had great power in Netherlands after WWII. 11 of the 16 prime minister since WWII have been Christian Democrats. Since its foundation 32 years ago the party has been in government for 24 years and have been the ruling government party for a total of 22 years.

CDA had a result of about 30% in every election prior to 1994. In 1994 they fell below 20%, after 17 years in government. After this election they started working on a new political

platform. Eight years later (2002) the result of this new platform paid off and CDA was once again was the largest party in Netherlands and their chairman, Jan-Peter Balkenende, was elected Prime Minister. But the rise of the party's popularity and the election result did not last long. In the local election in 2010, the result was only 15%, and their worst yet. The party was now only the third biggest party in the Netherlands. In the general election the same year, the result became even worse, with only 13,6%. This made them a part of a minority coalition with Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) and Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV). This coalition was controversial within CDA. The party conference voted in favour of the coalition in 2010, but it was only with two-thirds in favour of the coalition. Some leading party members resigned as a result of the vote. In April 2011 a new chairman was elected, Ruth Peetom. She represented the anti-PVV wing in the party. She also started the work to chart the party's future course. The party must reinvent themselves to gain more votes in the future.

The next election came quite sudden in 2012, when PVV withdrew from parliament. The first election with Peetom as chairman was not a success, As they only got 8,6 % of the votes. [73]

The next election in the Netherlands is in 2014

Election results 1977-2010

1977	31,90%
1981	30,80%
1982	29,30%
1986	34,60%
1989	35,30%
1994	22,20%
1998	18,40%
2002	27,90%
2003	28,60%
2006	26,50%
2010	13,70%

Belgium

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[72] http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/luxembourg.html (13.01.13)

[73] People's parties in crisis, Christian Democratsin belgium and the netherlands, KAS international reports

The last of the Benelux countries is Belgium. The Christian Democrats have a long history of political dominance in the country. For 53 of the years between 1945 and 2012, the country have had a Christian Democratic Prime Minister. There are three Christian Democratic parties in Belgium; Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams (CD&V), Centre Démocrate Humaniste (CDH) and the German speaking Christlich Sozialen Partei (CSP).

In the Netherlands the Christian oriented parties formed a common movement, but this has not been the case in Belgium. Due to the language disputes between the Walloons and the Flemish, it has been impossible for the parties to find a common platform. In 1972 these differences escalated in the political arena when the Catholic University of Leuven was split in two. The Christian Social Party (CVP-PSC) also split into two parties because of this, resulting in The Flemish wing (CVP) and the Walloon wing (PSC). CVP remained the largest party in Belgium after the split. In 1999 both CVP and PSC faced a huge defeat in the election. For the first time ever the Christian Democrats have been removed from the government. The parties had fell victim of the mood in the country. In total the Christian Democratic parties went from having 41 of 150 seats in the government to just having 32. This made the parties smaller than both the liberals and the socialists for the first time. Both parties went through a identity crisis after this defeat.

The two parties chose two different ways to solve the crisis. CVP got a new chairman, Stefaan de Clerck, and started a renewal of the party both politically and organizationally. The party changed its name to Christen-Democratisch & Vlaams (CD&V). The name strengthened their Flemish profile. The party entered an electoral pact with the Small Flemish-Nationalist N-VA between 2004 and 2007. CD&V won the most votes in the elections 2004 (local) and 2007 (federal) and made the party head of government again, both in Flandern and on a national level. The electoral pact would later prove to be a disaster for CD&V. Internal problems in the government and the major election promises were not fulfilled. The government fell in 2010 and CD&V got their worst-ever defeat with 17,6 % of the votes. The party was able to reverse the trend with decreasing results in the election in 2012. CD&V became the largest party once again and is also the strongest party in 103 of the 308 local authorities. Half of the mayors in Flandern are from this party. It is in the countryside CD&V has the biggest support. It has

some difficulties getting a great number of votes in the cities; this trend is similar for other Christian Democratic parties in Europe.

PSC also changed their name as a result of the defeat in 1999. The new name is Centre Démocrate Humaniste(CDH). By removing Christian from the party name they tried to open the party up to support from Muslims and people with different religious affiliations, as well as non-religious voters. So far, this change has not given CDH any concrete advantages. It is also important to remember that Christian branding is the parties ideological basis. When not using Christian democracy to distance themselves from other parties, CDH has to find some new image distancing them from liberal-conservatives, socialists and green parties. [74]

Electoral Results of the Christian Democratic parties in Belgium 1980-2011

Election results 1981-2010*

1981	26,50%
1985	29,30%
1987	27,50%
1991	24,50%
1995	24,90%
1999	20,00%
2003	18,80%
2007	24,60%
2010	16,60%

* Both CD&V (CVP until 1999) and CDH (PSC until 2002)

5.3 Christian Democracy on the British islands

The United Kingdom

There are none Christian Democratic parties in the United Kingdom but Labour has a faith group in the party. [75] The Conservative party also has a group, the Cornestone group, which

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[74] Wientzek Olaf, People's parties in crisis, Christian Democratsin belgium and the netherlands, Wientzek Olaf, KAS international reports 12.2012 p. 81-98
[75] http://www.labour.org.uk/faith (08.05.2013)

includes the Christian MPs in the party. [76]

Ireland - Fine Gael

Fine Gael is an Irish party founded in 1933. In its early years the party did not consider itself as a Christian Democratic Party. Until the end of the 20th century Fine Gael was a conservative party with their roots in the «national question». Their raison d'être in the beginning of their party history was to oppose Fianna Fáil. In 1965 they started the path to find a new identity for Fine Gael. The members wanted something new and it would take one decade before any changes could be seen in the party. Fine Gael became a centrist party committed to the market economy, social resposibility, and strong support for European integration. The changes made the party oppose Fianna Fáil even more and the nationalism within the party are now more moderate than in Fianna Fáil.

Fine Gael was created through a unification of three parties in Ireland; Cumann na nGaedhead (English: Party of the Irish), The Centre Party and the National Guard (formerly the Army Comrades Association, the «blueshirts»). Cumann na nGaedhead gained 41% when they were elected to parliament for the first time in 1923 and formed a government. The party was in government until the election 1932 when it was defeated by Fianna Fáil. The defeat made Cumann na nGaedhead realize that if they were going to become a part of the government again, they had to transform and become a larger and more heterogeneous party. As a consequence of this deision Fine Gael was founded in 1933. The first time Fine Gael became a member of the government was in 1948. An overview of the party's history as a member of the government between 1948 and 1997 is as follows:

1948-1951 (part of a five-party coalition)
1954-1957 (coalition)
1973-1977 (coalition with Labour)
1981-1987(coaltion with Labour)
1994-1997 (coalition with Labour and Democratic left)

In 2002 Fine Gael experienced a great defeat in the election and went from having 54 seats in the national parliament to only getting 31. The party started to rebuild themselves after this

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[76] http://cornerstone-group.org.uk/about/ (08.05.2013)

election. Enda Kenny was elected as the new leader and the renewal of the party displayed results already in the election in 2007. Fine Gael once again got over 50 seats in parliament (51 to be exact) but they couldnt form a government and continued to be in opposition. Fianna Fáil and the Green Party formed government instead.

2008 had a bank collapse and the government bailout led to unsustainable levels of public spending. As a result, the country were in 2010 forced to apply for loans from the International Monetary Fund and the European Union totaling more than $100 billion. The ruling coalition dropped in popularity as a consequence of the economic situation in the country. In 2011 an early election was scheduled. Fine Gael, with Enda Kenny as an effective spokesman, scored an historic victory in the elections in February 2011. Never before had the margin between the new government coalition and the opposition been that great. Enda Kerry was elected as the new Taoiseach (Prime Minister) and Fine Gael formed a coalition with Labuor.[77]

Ireland has the Presidency of the Council in the EU for the seventh time the first six months of 2013. The Taoiseah Enda Kerry, the rest of the ministers and all of the government departments are deeply involved. The Presidency also gives Fine Gael an opportunity to be even more visible in the European political arena.[78]

Election results 1977-2011

1977	30,50%
1981	36,50%
1982(1)	37,30%
1982(2)	39,20%
1987	27,10%
1989	29,30%
1992	24,50%
1997	27,90%
2002	22,50%
2007	27,30%
2011	36,10%

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[77] Http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/207255/Fine-Gael (17.01.13)
[78] http://www.eu2013.ie/ireland-and-the-presidency/about-the-presidency/what-is-the-eu-presidency/ (22.01.13)

5.4 Switzerland and Austria

Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP)

The national elections in Austria between 1945 and 1987 were dominated by two parties, the Socialist Party and the Christian Democratic party, Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP). ÖVP was founded in 1945 and the first chairman was Leopold Kunschak.[79] From 1945 to 1966 ÖVP was the senior partner in a grand coalition. From 1966 to 1970 they governed alone but after the elections in 1970 they were no longer a part of the government. It was not until 1986 they reentered the governement.

The results of the election in 1990 changed the political dominance of these two parties. The Freedom Party grew and ÖVP lost ground. The Austrian legislative election in 1999 was an all time low for ÖVP, but they managed to form a government along with the Freedom Party. The decision to govern along with the Freedom Party (lead by Jörg Heider) created an outrage in Europe, and the European Union made (informal) diplomatic sanctions against Austria. The reason why the coalition between ÖVP and the Freedom Party got that much attention from the rest of Europe was that the EU claimed that this coalition made ÖVP *"legitimis[ing] the extreme right in Europe."* [80] The coalition government collapsed in 2002, not as a result of external factors but because the vice-chancellor, two ministers and Jörg Heider resigned from the government. The internal struggle in the Freedom Party made the elections in 2002 a success for ÖVP. Most of the people that voted the freedom party now voted ÖVP[81] and the party once again got more than 40% of the votes. [82] Despite the international reactions, ÖVP agreed to once again govern the country in a coalition with the Freedom Party. The party also discussed a coalition with the Socialist Party and the Green party, but this did not become a reality. In 2003, the new government consisting of ÖVP and the freedom party were formed.[83]

The election in 2006 showed a defeat for ÖVP and they lost 8% of their votes. ÖVP started to negotiate with the Socialist Party and agreed to be part of a coalition government. The negotiations ended three months after the election. It was not until January 2007 the parties

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[79] Grabow, Karsten (ed.) Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe, status and Prospects, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011 p.28
[80] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_Party_of_Austria (18.02.2013)
[81] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1033454.stm (18.02.2013)
[82] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/44183/Austria/274939/Local-government#toc33406 (18.02.2013)

agreed to form a coalition. [84] The coalition was not a success for either of the parties, and in July 2008 the chairman of ÖVP, who also was the finance minister, declared that they could not continue in the coalition. A new election had to be announced later that year in Austria. [85] The results of the election in 2008 turned out to be their worst result since 1945. Surprisingly ÖVP once again formed a coalition with the Socialist Party. 18 months after the previous coalition government, they tried again. There are two major reasons for why the ÖVP agreed to again be a part of a grand coalition with the socialist party. The first reason is that they had a new chairman Josef Proell. He said right after the announcement that: *"More than ever before, Austria needs a government that can react to the problems of our times with the right answers,"* . And the second and most important was that two far right parties got almost 29% of the votes, and ¨ØVP knew that a coalition with the Socialist Party would give these parties less influence in Austrian politics.[86]

The next election is in September 2013.

Election results 1979-2008

1979	41,90%
1983	43,20%
1986	41,30%
1990	32,10%
1994	27,70%
1995	28,30%
1999	26,90%
2002	42,30%
2006	34,30%
2008	26,00%

Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (CVP)

The party was founded in 1912 as the Schweizerische Konservative Volkspartei and in 1957 changed their name to Konservative-Christlichsoziale Volkspartei, before becoming CVP in 1970. In the last election in 2007 in Switzerland CVP got 14,5% of the votes and it gave them

[83] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1033454.stm (18.02.2013)
[84] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6242505.stm (18.02.2013)
[85] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7493842.stm (18.02.2013)
[86] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7745280.stm (18.02.2013)

31 of the seats in the national parliament. In the election in 2011 they just got 12,3% of the votes and 28 seats in the parliament

Election Results 1991 – 2011[87]

1991   18,0%

1995   16,8%

1999   15,9%

2003   14,4%

2007   14,5%

2011   12,3%

5.5 Christian Democracy in southern Europe

Southern Europe Consists of the countries Portugal, Spain, Italy, Malta, Greece and Cyprus. The Christian Democratic parties in these countries differ from each other in many ways; historically, ideologically and the impact on the specific country and society.

Portugal

There are two Christian Democratic parties in the Portugese Parliament. Partido Social Democrata (PSD, english: Social Democratic Party) and Centro Democrático e Social - Partido Popular, (CDS-PP, english: Democratic and Social Centre – People's Party). PSD is the largest party in Portugal. Their name, the Social Democratic Party, can be quite confusing but they are a Christian Democratic party. PSD has always been the largest party in the opposition when not being in government. [88]

Election results 1979-2011

1979	-
1980	-
1983	27,24%
1985	29,87%
1987	50,22%
1991	50,60%

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[87] Http://www.politik-stat.ch/nrw2011CH_de.html (29.03.2013)
[88] http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/portugal.html (14.05.2013)

1995	34,12%
1999	32,32%
2002	40,21%
2005	28,77%
2009	29,11%
2011	38,66%

[89]

CDS-PP has been in coalition with PSD several times throughout history; from 1980 to 1983, from 2002 to 2005 and now(February 2013) as a result of the election in 2011. The party was in founded 1974. [90]

Election results 1979-2011

1979	0,40%
1980	0,20%
1983	12,40%
1985	10,00%
1987	4,40%
1991	4,40%
1995	9,10%
1999	8,30%
2002	8,80%
2005	7,30%
2009	10,40%
2011	11,70%

Spain – Partido Popular (PP)

The biggest Christian Democratic party in Spain is Partido Popular (PP). In the last election (2011) they got 44,63% of the votes and they are the single governing party. The result in 2011 was the best ever result for the Spanish Christian Democratic party. After internal crisis in The People Alliance and bad results in the elections, PP was founded in 1989. PP has its

[89] http://eleicoes.cne.pt/raster/index.cfm?dia=05&mes=06&ano=2011&eleicao=ar searced on each year seperately(18.02.2013)
[90] http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/portugal.html (14.05.2013)

origin in The People Alliance and the Centrist Liberal Party. [91]

Results in elections 1989-2011

1989	25,79%
1993	34,76%
1996	38,79%
2000	44,52%
2004	37,71%
2008	39,94%
2011	44,63%

[92]

Malta

The Partit Nazzjonalista (PN, the nationalist party) was founded in 1926 and originated from a anti-reform party that was founded in 1880. PN is one of the first Christian Democratic parties and one of three contemporary parties in Malta, 2013. The party was founded many years before Malta was an independent country. [93] In the election in March 2013 PN lost power after being in government for 15 years. Until this election PN was in a single party government. 98% of the population on Malta is Roman-catholic and this is one of the main reason, why the Christian Democratic Party could be so strong in the country. The party who won the election in 2013 was Labor, with over 54% of the votes.

Results from elections 1981-2013

1981	50,90%
1987	50,90%
1992	51,80%
1996	47,80%
1998	51,80%
2003	51,80%
2008	49,30%
2013	44%[94]

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[91] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/470281/Popular-Party (13.05.2013)
[92] http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/min/busquedaAvanzadaAction.html (18.02.2013)
[93] http://www.pn.org.mt/home.asp?module=content&id=165 (23.03.2013)
[94] All the result from the Maltese election in 2013 are from http://www.timesofmalta.com/elections/results (23.03.2013)

Greece

Nea Dimokratia (ND, english: New Democracy) was founded in 1974. Greek parties often have charismatic leaders and that is also true for ND. The founder, and first chairman of the party, Konstantinos Karamanlis, was very charismatic and it helped ND in their first national elections.[95]

In the last elections in 2012 ND got 29,66% of the votes.[96]

6. Migration

6.1 Introduction

The word migration has its etymological background from the Latin word *migrare* which means "to wander".[97] Globalization has contributed to making the world smaller, and it is more natural to move to another country now than ever before. Numbers from last year indicate that approximately 3% of the world's population have emigrated from their country of origin.[98] There is no universal definition of the term "migrant", so countries therefore have different ways to define a migrant. Some countries, such as United Kingdom[99] and Sweden, define a migrant as a person who has lived at least 12 months in their country[100], while in Norway they have to have lived only six months to be defined as migrant, and in Denmark only three months.[101] The United Nations (UN) have however tried to define a migrant and their definition is as close to a universal definition as we get: *"an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate."*[102]On December 10, 1948 , the Universal Declaration of Human rights was adopted.[103] Only then was the individual's right to migrate recognized globally for the first time in history. Article 13 in the declaration state the right to move: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within*

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[95] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/411357/New-Democracy-ND (12.02.2013)
[96] http://ekloges.ypes.gr/v2012b/public/index.html?lang=en (12.02.2013)
[97] http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/glo/glm/en8496556.htm (26.11.12)
[98] Globaliseringsrådet (2008) Underlagsrapport nr 18 till globaliseringsrådet, Den stora utmaningen:internationell migration i en globaliserad värld, Västerås 2008. p 23
[99] http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/migobs/Briefing%20-%20Who%20Counts%20as%20a%20Migrant.pdf p.2 (19.02.2013)
[100] Pocket facts 2010, Statistics on integration, Ministry of employment, Sweden, Växsjö 2010, p.7
[101] http://snl.no/befolkning (19.02.2013)
[102] http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#Migrant (17.12.12)
[103] http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/history.shtml (25.04.2013)

the borders of each state" and *"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."*[104]

The growing migration and movement between countries have created issues on an international level, which has resulted in an international migration law. This law is an international legal framework governing migration, and the term cover a variety of rules and principles that regulate the international obligations of states regarding migrants. The international migration law is not a singular law, but it covers a variety of international laws such as human rights law, humanitarian law, labor law, consular law, refugee law and maritime law. [105]

There are many different categories of immigrants. This thesis will not discuss if and how different categories affect society in different ways, but instead look at immigration as a whole and the impact immigration has on society. Yet it is important to recognize that different types of immigrants bring different types of challenges to society.

6.2 Changes in population

The last two hundred years, the population in Europe has grown rapidly and today there are almost four times as many citizens as in 1850. Here are some statistics that shows us the development of the population in Europe since then:

Year   1850   1900   1950   1999

276 mill.   408 mill.   547 mill.   729 mill.[106]

The proportion in the European population versus the rest of the world has changed dramatically over the past 200 years. In 1850, 20,8% of the world population were found in Europe. Fifty years later, in 1900, the percentage increased to 24%. In 1950, the number was declining to 21,5% , and in 2000 only 12% of the world population were found in Europe. [107]

Changes are also found in the German population. In 1870 Germany became the country with the greatest population in Europe, passing France who had it until then. Germany is still the

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[104] http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/ittmig2002/2002ITTMIGTEXT22-11.pdf p. 1 (19.02.2013)
[105] http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/what-we-do/migration-law.html (19.12.12)
[106] http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf (06.11.12)
[107] Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2010, p. 566

most numerous country in Europe, excluding Russia. The reason for this change in 1870 was that France as early as in 1830 had a notable drop in the birth rate. This drop did not happen in Germany until between 1900 and 1910.[108]

Population in Germany:

Year	*1950*	*1970*	*1990*	*2011*
	69,3 mill	78,1 mill	79,8 mill	81,8 mill[109]

Before the end of WWII Europe was a continent with net emigration, but after the war Europe had net immigration. If we look at the statistic now, Europe have one third of the immigration in the world, while in 1960, this number was only one fifth of the world immigration. In the 1990's, large amounts of people immigrated to Europe as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall. The rise of many new countries in the east also resulted in a rise of immigration to European countries.[110]

6.3 When do they migrate?

The migration we see today is different from earlier. The impact of globalization on migration is seen in many ways, and the transnational migration today is more complex and intense than migration has ever been. Families who migrate today have a closer relationship with the family they left behind than migrants have had historically.[111] In Germany numbers from Statistisches Bundesamt indicate that 29% of families with children under 18 have at least one parent with foreign roots.[112]

The diagram below illustrates the variation in age for people with one or two foreign parents a diagram found below. The categories are divided into periods of five years before the age of 25 and in periods of ten years after 25. This explains the notable change in people with foreign parents in the middle of the statistic.

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[108] Palmer, Colton and Kramer 2010 p. 566-573
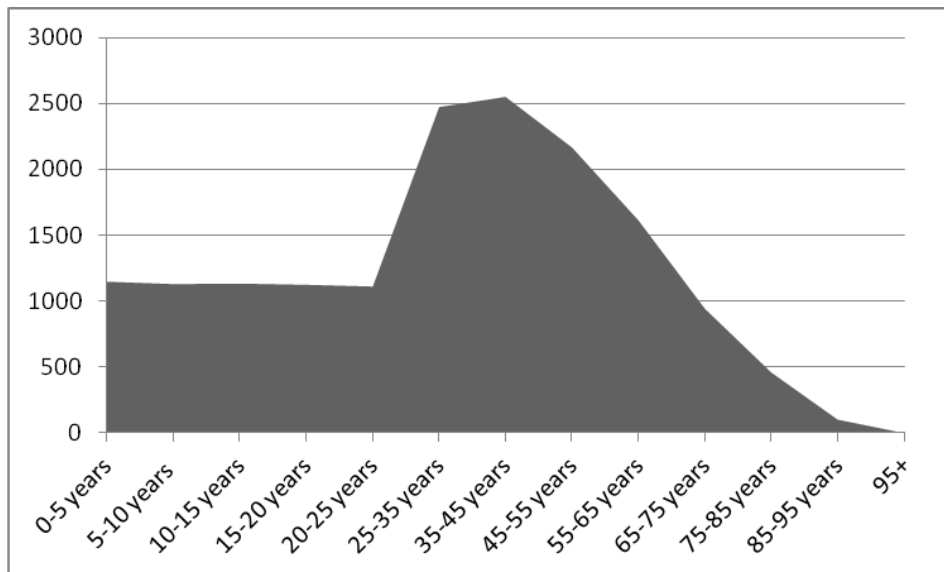[109] https://www.destatis.de/bevoelkerungspyramide/ (06.11.12)
[110] Globaliseringsrådet (2008) Underlagsrapport nr 18 till globaliseringsrådet, Den stora utmaningen:internationell migration i en globaliserad värld, Västerås 2008. p 29
[111] Eastmond and Åkesson (ed.), 2007 p. 10
[112]

https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/MigrationIntegration.html (23.11.2012)

113

The diagram shows that the biggest part of immigration happens at an early stage in life or when starting a family. After the years 35-45, the number of people with foreign parents rapidly decreases. The pattern with young part of the population migrating is not something new, however there have been some changes throughout the years. During the 19th century, 70-80% of those who immigrated to the United States were between 15 and 39 years old. A century later in the 20th century, some changes had occured. The migrants were younger. 70% of those who immigrated to Great Britain during this time were between 13 and 24 years old. There are many different factors that could cause this result and we could discuss why this change has happened, but it is a fact that the average migrant are younger today than before. Numbers from the migration between East and West Germany indicates the same. 26% of the people who moved from East to West were between 18 and 21 years old. If we look at the people in the age between 46 and 53, only 7% moved to West-Germany.[114]

There are significant differences in life expectancy between countries. The average life expectancy in Mozambique is 39,3 , while in Japan it is 81. Mozambique is an example of a developing country and Japan an example of a developed country. Most of the migration come from developing to developed countries. The fact that many young people are emigrating from developing countries reflect the age expectancy in the country.[115] Younger people may also have more incentives to move than the older people in the population. They

[113] Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund– Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011 – Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1, reihe 2.2, 2011, Wiesbaden 2012 p.56-57

[114] Globaliseringsrådet (2008) Underlagsrapport nr 18 till globaliseringsrådet, Den stora utmaningen:internationell migration i en globaliserad värld, Västerås 2008. p 8-10

are in a phase of life where they are moving from home, starting a family, have a feeling that they are starting their lives "for real" and are more open for adventures. Many older people may feel like they have to leave their entire life behind to start a new life, something that could be more difficult when you are older.

6.4 Origin of immigrants

It is not only the age of immigrants which could make an impact on the society, the origin is also important. Their origin can give us indicators of their religion, culture and the traditions they carry with them.

In 2005, the largest number of immigrants on a global level came from middle income countries. 101,5 million people emigrated from these countries, such as Mexico, Russia, China, Ukraine, Turkey and Kazakhstan. This is 3,3 % of the population in the mentioned countries. The countries where the highest percentage of the population have emigrated from are high income countries outside the OECD. A total of 8,2% of the population have emigrated from these countries. The countries that are most affected by emigration are Israel, Trinidad and Tobago, Singapore and Kuwait. Low income countries have the lowest percentage of emigrants. Only 1,8% of the population in low income countries emigrated to other countries. The dominating countries in this category are India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However, low percentages are not equal with few emigrants an example of this is India, the second most populated country in the world. There are two countries that stand out when we look at emigration. They are Bosnia-Herzegovina and Jamaica. In these countries, 39% and 38% of the population have emigrated in the years from mid 1990's up until 2008. These two countries are not representative for the migration statistic in the world, but show the extremes.

Since the 1980's, the proportion of refugees in global migration has increased. Refugees mainly migrate between low income countries and often the decision to move from their country of origin is a short time solution. Refugees seldom have the resources to migrate to another country than their neighboring country. Approximately 10% of all global migration are refugees, and some countries are over represented in the refugee statistic. In some low income countries and regions, such as the West bank and Gaza, Armenia, Iraq, Jordan and Chad, 80-100% of the migrants are refugees. In high income countries, 1-2% of the

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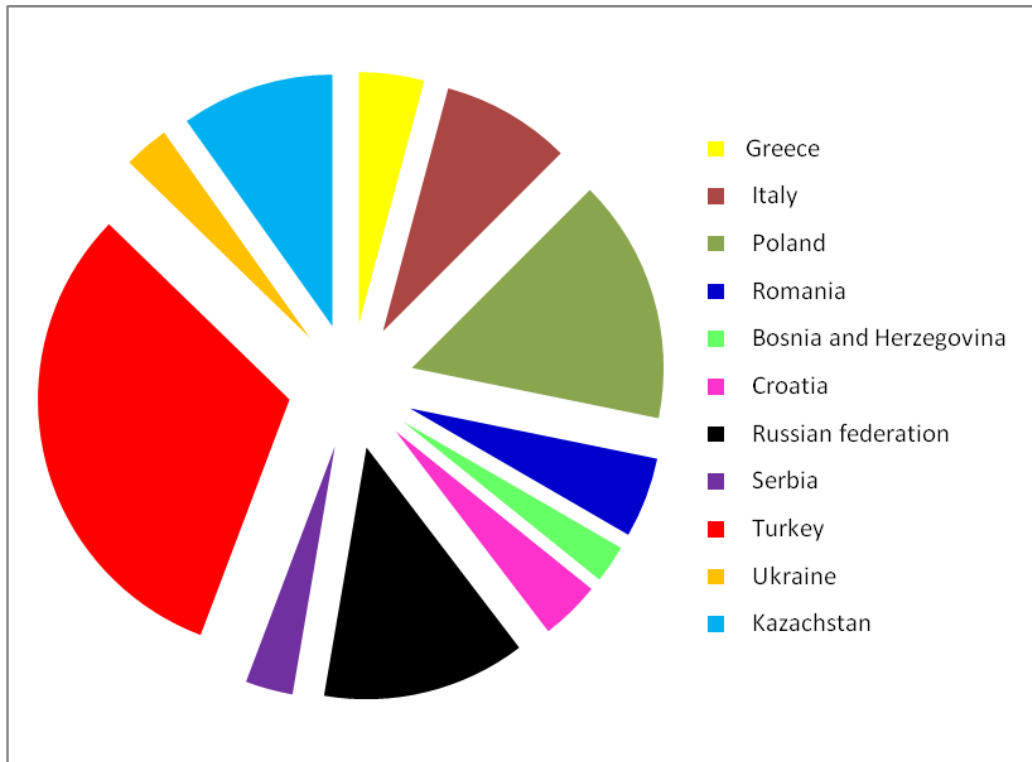
[115] http://snl.no/befolkning (19.02.2013)

immigrants are refugees.[116]

There are some similarities between the global migration pattern and the one found in Germany. Turkey, Russia and Poland are the best represented nationalities of the immigrants in Germany. One great difference between the global pattern and the one in Germany is the fact that Europe is the continent which is best represented among immigrants in Germany. To illustrate the origin of the immigrants, two diagrams are found below. The numbers used in the diagram are from 2011, and only the largest origin countries are included. Germany has immigrants from other countries too, but the number of immigrants are so small and it is therefore unnecessary to include them in the diagrams.
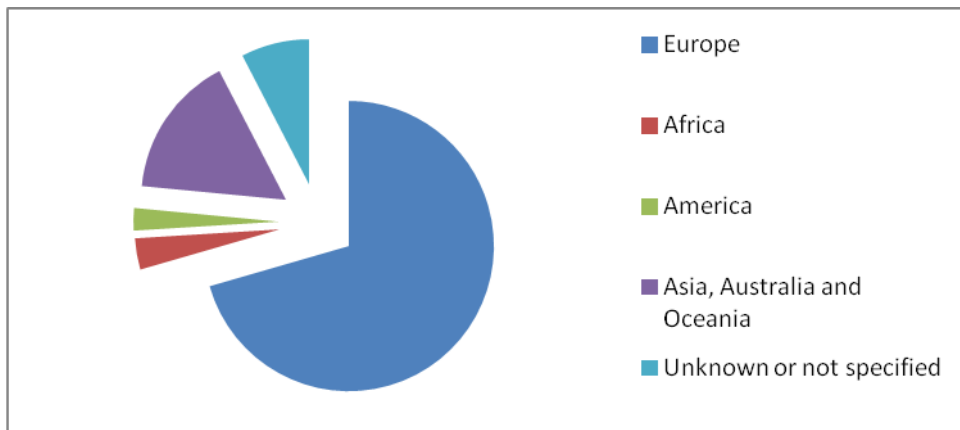
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[116] Globaliseringsrådet (2008) Underlagsrapport nr 18 till globaliseringsrådet, Den stora utmaningen:internationell migration i en globaliserad värld, Västerås 2008. p 23-28

Origin by country

Legend:
- Greece
- Italy
- Poland
- Romania
- Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Croatia
- Russian federation
- Serbia
- Turkey
- Ukraine
- Kazachstan

Origin by continent

Legend:
- Europe
- Africa
- America
- Asia, Australia and Oceania
- Unknown or not specified

[117]

The numbers used to make these diagrams are found in the appendix.

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[117] Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit, Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund– Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011 – Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1, reihe 2.2, 2011,Wiesbaden 2012 p56

To be able to move from one country to another, especially during hard times, you have to have some economical, psychical and physical abilities. Without it the integration in the new country will be even harder than it could have been. When you migrate you have to learn the language of the new country, find a job and a new home. Without sufficient requirements and knowledge basis this could be difficult.[118] The issue regarding education and language is discussed in Chapter 7.3 and in the conclusion.

6.5 Immigration, Germany and the European Union

Germany is the largest member state of the European Union (EU). A consequence of this is found in the immigration policy in Germany, where the EU is playing an increasingly important role. The power the EU has to influence member states' integration policy is limited, but in the recent years, the European Council has passed directives affecting this area of policy. In Chapter 7 in this thesis, some of the specific directives and recommendations are shown and its impact on the German law is discussed. The impact of the EU is also briefly discussed in the conclusion.

The EU guarantees free movement of the "four freedoms" in the internal market. The four freedoms are; goods, services, capital and people. Many member states were afraid of the large expansion of the EU in 2004, and the impact it would have on the internal market. The migration was however not affected as much as many was afraid of. The European country which was most affected by the expansion was Germany, where 57% of the immigrants from the new member states migrated.

The European Integration Fund (EIF) provides 825 million Euros for integration activities in all member states, except Denmark. The EIF help and support initiatives which simplify integration of non-EU immigrants into the European society. This fund started providing money in 2007 and will end in 2013.[119] One example of a German project EIF have contributed to is *Your fire brigade – our fire brigade! Towards open cooperation*. Approximately 1% of the voluntary fire fighters in Germany were non-German citizens. The

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[118] Globaliseringsrådet (2008) Underlagsrapport nr 18 till globaliseringsrådet, Den stora utmaningen:internationell migration i en globaliserad värld, Västerås 2008. p 8-10
[119] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/migration-asylum-borders/integration-fund/index_en.htm (25.04.2013)

project lasted from April 1 in 2011 to March 31st 2012 and it was a success. The project was 75% founded by the EU and the EIF, and the total budget was 116 822 Euros.[120]

6.6 Religion and immigration

The German society has a vast mix of religious affiliations and denominations. According to the individual religious communities, the number of members in the seven largest religious communities in Germany are as follows:

Catholics 26.466.000 (2002)

Protestants 26.211.00 (2002)

Muslims 3.200.000 (2001)

Orthodox Christians 935.000 (1999)

New Apostolic Church 383.00 (?)

Jehova's Witnesses 164.000 (2001)

Jews 100.000 (2002)[121]

There are many other smaller religious affiliations in Germany today than the seven mentioned above. Historically, Catholicism and Protestantism have been the main religious affiliation in Germany. The statistics above show large numbers of Muslims in Germany today, most of these are immigrants or the family of immigrants.

The debate regarding the religion of immigrants has so far focused on the Muslim minority, but it is important to also include other religions in the debate. A large number of people of Jewish faith have immigrated from Soviet after the fall of the iron curtain, and Eastern religions have gained foothold in Germany. One example of the Eastern religion is found in the Sikh community which in 2005 had eleven temples in Germany. Also, Christians of various denominations have immigrated. Some of them have joined existing Christian communities, but a majority have founded new communities.

Most of the Muslims migrating to Germany have moved permanently to the country. This decision makes a great impact on the German society. One important step the government has done to integrate Islam and ensuring that the religion got the same legal permissions as the

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[120] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/financing/fundings/projects/stories/germany_eif_01_en.htm (25.04.2013)

[121] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?&L=1 (30.11.12)

other religious communities, is to establish the German Conference on Islam. This is used to give the Muslims in Germany one voice to speak to the government. The German Conference of Islam can give the government consultation on certain issues. One factor which often is forgotten when mentioning this forum is that there is not just one denomination of Islam in Germany, and by giving the Muslims one voice, other denominations within Islam can be forgotten. There is a lack of the pluralistic reality of Islam in the German integration debate today.[122] 63% of the Muslim share Turkish origin.[123] They have founded new Muslim communities, and these communities are working towards an establishment of their own institutions and members also want to continue practicing their traditional rites while living in Germany. The construction of Mosques and Muslim cemeteries are maybe the most visible change in the German cities. The number of cemeteries have grown the last decades as a result of less Muslims sent home to their origin countries to be buried; instead more decide to be buried in Germany. In 2003 there was approximately 75 Muslim cemeteries in Germany. Other important changes which may not be as visible are the practice of Muslim burial rituals and the ritual for slaughter of animals. There are also various dress codes and Muslim religious introduction at public schools. The issue regarding religious symbols is discussed in chapter 7.4 and mentioned in the conclusion.[124]

6.6.1 Freedom of religion

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 18, the freedom of religion is stated as: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."*[125] In Germany the basic religious freedom for individuals was permitted in 1871 and the Weimar constitution articles 136 and 137 define the individual freedom of religion.[126] During WWII, religious freedom were hugely decreased and the constitution adopted after the war showed the need for freedom of religion in the country. In the German constitution of 1949, article 4 guarantees freedom of religion, faith and conscience:

"(1) Freedom of faith and of conscience, and freedom to profess a religious or

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[122] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?&L=1 (30.11.12)
[123] http://www.dw.de/studie-deutlich-mehr-muslime-in-deutschland/a-4419533-1 (25.04.2013)
[124] http://www.emn.at/immigration/docs/b03.pdf p.32 (08.05.2013)
[125] http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml (25.04.2013)

Philosophical creed shall be inviolable.

(2) The undisturbed practice of religion shall be guaranteed." [127]

Two types of freedom of religion is discussed; Positive freedom of religion and negative freedom of religion. The positive freedom means the freedom of achieving what you want in society within and member of the society. The term negative freedom is the freedom from enforcement of the society. Two examples of negative freedoms are freedom of religion and freedom of speech.[128]

6.7 Integration in society

States and societies have many ways to deal with minorities. However in this thesis three main ways are discussed. These are segregation, assimilation and integration, and the definition by Thomas Hylland Eriksen is used in this thesis. Segregation is when a minority in the society is physically separated from the rest of the population. One of the most famous cases of this we find in South Africa during the Apartheid period. Assimilation is when the minority in a society start to be more like the majority and melt in to the majority. The minority disappears and becomes a part of the majority. Assimilation can be enforced or chosen. There are many examples of both. One example of the chosen assimilation is found in the US. When many Europeans emigrated to the United States in the end of the 19th century and in the start of 20th century, they started to talk and behave as the population which already lived in the country. It would take just a couple of generations until their mother tongue had changed and the memories of their country of origin were vague. This was also a result of the national identity that was growing in the country at the time. Example of forced assimilation is often found in countries that are trying to achieve a homogenous population and national identity. The third way to deal with minorities is integration. This refers to maintaining a group identity and some degree of cultural distinctiveness, yet at the same time share the institutions of a society. Many European countries deal with the minority and therefore also the immigrants trough integration. Examples are found in Germany, Norway and Sweden.[129]

In Germany, Berlin is the city with the best reputation regarding integration of immigrants. Already in 1981, the city established the Commissioner's Office of the Berlin Senate for

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[126] http://www.zum.de/psm/weimar/weimar_vve.php (08.05.2013)
[127] http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/documents/legal/ (08.05.2013)
[128] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/fad/dok/nouer/2009/nou-2009-1/5/2/5.html?id=542086 (26.04.2013)
[129] Hylland Eriksen, 2010 p.298-299

Migration and Integration. They work towards helping immigrants getting a better life. They also give legal consultation and help fighting against discrimination. The Commissioner's Office has opened a direct channel between the immigrants and government. Many of the other federal states have copied Berlin's example.[130]

[130] Human development report 2004, Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World, the United States Development Programme, New

The impact of immigration on German society and Christian Democratic parties

This part of the thesis will discuss the impact of migration on CDU. The results found here will be compared with changes in other Christian Democratic parties in Europe. If there is anything significant about some decision or policy made by CSU I will discuss that as well. The main findings in this chapter are discussed in the conclusion.

The impact of migration within German political parties is barely documented. The lack of facts and documentation on this subject is a consequence of the political attitude towards migration in Germany. Politicians in Germany did not consider Germany as an immigration country until very recently. "Deutchland ist kein Einwanderungsland" (English: "Germany is not a immigration country") was an established opinion in Germany in the late seventies and the eighties. [131]

This part is divided in to two chapters. The first looks at political issues and the other looks at political participation. It is important to look at both parts to get a good understanding of the impact of immigration.

7 Political issues

The political debates in a country are often the result of changes in a society and what mass media decides to focus on. Immigration to Germany has resulted in some political issues and laws which would not be a reality without immigration. The issues focused on in this chapter are chosen by looking at the public debate in Germany since the 1990's. These are:

- Labor migration
- Citizenship
- Education (from an integration point of view)
- Religious symbols in public space, mainly focusing on crucifixes in the classroom.

The chapter is divided into four different sub-categories, and every category start with a brief

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[131] Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg P. 46

summary of the history and fact about the issue. These parts give important background information to understand the situation in Germany today. The following parts the politics of CDU and how it has evolved overtime the ages as a result of changes in society. The last part of every category takes a look at if there have been any issues and how other Christian Democratic parties in Europe have handled the issues in their country. In the conclusion of this thesis, I will discuss the changes, similarities and if migration that has made an impact on the issue.

7.1 Labor migration

From 1955 until 1973 Germany focused on low-skilled foreign labor. During this time, large numbers of young immigrants moved to Germany, and the country experienced economic growth. Numbers indicate that immigrants have had an important role in the rapid growth in the German economy. To be able to have such economic growth without any guest workers, Germany would have had to move more production abroad and/or have a much higher inflation rate.[132] Due to the oil crisis in the early seventies and the following economic shock, immigrants from non-EC countries were no longer allowed to work in Germany after 1973. The labor immigrants who moved to Germany during these years are commonly known as "guest workers", and almost 60% of the German foreign population are people who where guest workers, or family of these people. This law was not to be changed for almost 30 years.[133] Calculations from the institute for Economical Research (RWI) in Essen (Germany) have shown that the GNP in 1992 was almost 6% higher than it would have been without immigration. The immigration from 1988 to 1992 resulted in an average growth in GNP of 3,5%. Without immigration, this number would have been 2% [134]

Since 2000, the debate about skilled migrant workers has been a popular topic in Germany. There are three important directives and laws in which this chapter focus on, which have made more highly skilled immigrants move to and work in Germany. These are the Green Card regulation, the Immigration Act and the Blue Card directive from the European Union. It is important to look at all these three to see how the politics on the issue of skilled migrant

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[132] Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg P. 20-22
[133] Http://www.oecd.org/els/38163889.pdf pp14 (26.03.2013)
[134] Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg P. 20-

workers have changed over Germany in the last few decades.

The Green Card regulation was announced for the first time by former Chancellor Gerhard Schröder on the international computer trade show *CeBIT 2000* in Hannover. It was introduced August 1 the same year. The goal with this regulation was to get more experts and highly skilled migrants (from non-EU/EEA countries[135]) in the German information and technology (ICT) sector. There has been a debate in Germany regarding how successful the Green Card regulation was and the opinion are diverse but mainly negative. Those who talk about the Green Card regulation as a failure focus on the number of work permits that were issued on the basis of the Green Card regulation. From the first time work permits were issued in August 2000, until July 2003, 14,876 work permits were issued. The desired goal was 20,000. During 2002 and 2003, there was a significant regression in the ICT sector. If and how this has made an impact on the numbers of permits is hard to say, but it is important to be aware of this when looking at the ICT sector at the time. Those who regard the Green Card regulation as a success have two main arguments. Firstly, numbers show that 75% of the "Green Card-Immigrants", 11,368 workers, were employed in companies with less than 500 employees (SME). Within the ICT sector, the Green Card has improved the competitiveness of SME's in the labor market. The major multinational corporations have created own instruments within the corporations to steer the migration of the highly qualified, and transfer to human capital within their own corporation. The SME has almost none internal methods to recruit international specialists so they have to rely on external methods, such as the Green Card. Secondly, the Green Card regulation started a public debate about labor migration. This debate would pave the way for the Immigration Act of July 2004. The unemployment rate in Germany was high and the public debate was therefore about whether he migration was necessary or not.

The Green Card regulation acted as part of the solution to a sector-specific shortage, and it was an important contribution to further development of immigration legislation in Germany. The Immigration Act would be more general, not just looking at one sector in the labor market.[136] The federal minister of interior, Otto Schily (SPD), appointed a non-partisan commission in 2000 who would look at the German policy, concerning foreigners and

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[135] The European Economic Area (EEA) consists of all the countries in the EU in addition to Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein

immigrants. The chairwoman of this commission was Rita Süssmuth from CDU. In July 2001, the final report on the issue was presented. It would take until 2004 before the act was adopted. This would be the first law in Germany to regulate all areas of German immigration policy.[137]

The immigration act of July 2004, which was introduced January 1 2005 was the first immigration act in Germany. In addition to the Green Card regulation, the future economy was another factor that made an immigration act important. Decreasing birth rate and the graving German population made it important to attract young labor immigrants. This was to overcome the future threat of overwhelming social security systems and disturbance in the economy. With the new Immigration Act, foreigners are still not allowed to have all types of jobs, but there are some special regulations, for example temporary contracts for seasonal workers and nursing personnel. Highly qualified immigrants continue to have access to the German labor market. The law continued the work where the Green Card regulation had started, but with the new immigration law computer experts could stay permanently instead of leaving the country after five years. Self-employed immigrants were also able to move to Germany according to the immigrant law. To be able to stay, they had to invest a minimum of 1 million Euros and create at least ten new jobs. [138] The law reflects a need in the German society and makes an attempt to attract highly skilled workers. The main professions needed are; natural scientists, engineers, professors and scientific personnel in technology sectors. To get a work permit, immigrants must have a concrete job offer. The law also opened up for foreign students to work in Germany. A graduate from one of the universities in the country have one year to find a job if they want to stay in Germany, which was not possible before [139]

In 2007, the act was changed due to guidelines and directives from the EU, and CDU used the opportunity to change some of the content now that they were in government. The main changes in the act were that immigrants and foreigners must participate in integration courses and display knowledge of the German society, language and legal system. Refugees can apply for a resident permit if they have children in school (they have to prove it), sufficient housing and a basic knowledge of German. They can not have had any connection to terrorist organizations or have a criminal record. If a person was able to show that he before 2009 had

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[136]   Http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/58181/success (23.03.2013)
[137]   Http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mip/en4237086.htm (26.03.2013)
[138]   Https://www.dw.de/first-german-immigration-law-takes-effect/a-1442681(26.03.2013)

earned his own livelihood, an extension of his residence was possible.[140]

In 2009, a new Blue Card directive from the EU was created. The Blue Card is the European alternative to the US Green Card. When the European commission was working with the directive already in 2007, German politicians were negative towards it. The reason Germany, the biggest economy of the EU-members, was negative to the idea of a Blue Card directive in EU was the individual states autonomy. Austria and Great Britain supported Germany on this issue.[141] It would take until 2012 before Germany implemented the Blue Card directive in to its own laws. The practical changes for labor immigrants were that only people with a university degree or at least five years of relevant work experience (which has resulted in certified qualifications) could get a Blue Card. In addition to these criteria a minimum salary is also required. People were permitted to stay in Germany for up to six months, while looking for a job. If they found a job that met the requirements they could remain for three years, and if they had a good knowledge of German it could be extended by two years. If the companies or institutions want to continue to offer them work after these years, it is possible to acquire permanent residency.[142]

The issue about labor migration has been, and still is, a great issue in Germany in the first decades of the new millennium. In a report from 2012, three main concerns are found in the German population regarding labor and immigrants:

1. The higher number of immigrants in an area could depress the local wages.
2. Immigrants are going to replace domestic workers and have the local population unemployed.
3. The concern that jobs will be exported to low wage countries. This is not a direct consequence of immigration but of the global labor market.

The first concern *«The higher number of immigrants in one area could depress the local wages.»* has its background from the fact that high skilled and highly educated people immigrate to Western European countries, resulting in more high-skilled labor in a country. When this labor increases, the wages for these types of specific skilled labor will decrease. It

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[139]   Http://www.workpermit.com/germany/employer1.htm (26.03.2013)
[140]   Http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mip/en4237086.htm (26.03.2013)
[141]   http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/blue-card-blues-germans-reject-eu-fast-track-immigration-scheme-a-513241.html (24.03.2013)
[142]   Http://www.dw.de/german-blu-card-to-simplify-immigration/a-15915424 (24.03.2013)

is the same factors that cause the prices high when demand is high, and make products cheaper when demand is low. Empirical studies on this topic however, do not support that immigration result in decreased wages for native workers. Most studies of Germany supports a positive impact of immigration on native wages, but it is notable that most immigrants in Germany are low-skilled.

One of the major discussion within the second concern: *"Immigrants are going to replace domestic workers and leave the local population unemployed.",* is whether immigrants are a substitute or a complement to the German workers. Empirical studies from the United States however, do not support the hypothesis that immigration is replacing the domestic and native highly educated workers. But when talking about blue collar workers, the reality is different. The immigrants could also be a complement to the native workers. The immigrants could help some companies to find new trading unions outside the country's border, and as a result of this creating a new and greater demand for their products and perhaps also raise the productivity of the natives.

A study by DeNew and Zimmermann have found that if the employment share of guest workers increases with 1% the hourly wages of the native white-collar workers decrease by 0,12%, and the Blue-collar workers with 0,45%. How long the blue- collar workers have been working is also affecting the impact of immigration. If a worker has been employed for 20 years or more, he is less affected by immigration. This is because it is not as easy to replace him as a worker who has worked there for just two years. The fact that there is no clear evidence that great impact of immigration on wages of native workers found in the empirical studies, could be a consequence of how the studies are done. Most of the studies do not take in to account the so called «spatial correlations». This means that immigrants tend to concentrate in geographical areas, and not be randomly distributed across the labor market. In some cases the natives are responding to this by relocating. When the natives move, they spread the possible reduction in wages and other impact on the labor market around the country. [143]

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[143]   Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg P. 20-22

7.1.1 CDU and labor migration

CDU was in opposition when the Schröder government started the debate about Germany as an immigration country in the beginning of this millennium. The immigration policy of CDU was then a desire of strict limit on immigration and a high degree of security. The commission, led by Rita Süssmuth, presented their final report that would lead to a bill from the red-green government. CDU rejected the proposal and pursued a lawsuit against the bill before the Constitutional Court. The reason for the lawsuit was a procedural error committed during the first vote in the council in December 2012. It would take one and a half year before the bill reached a majority compromise, in which CDU also voted in favor of. Already in 2005, when Merkel became the new Chancellor of Germany, the immigration act was to be revised, as new EU directives and guidelines that had to be included in the act. The "Immigration Revision Act" was made and the government saw the opportunity to make some changes to the act. They tightened the alien and residency law and the changes in the act were passed in the Federal Council July 6, 2007 and went into effect on August 28 the same year. The motto of the amendment is "to promote and require". [144]

CDU was against the Blue Card directive at first. Anette Schavan, Minister of Education and Reasearch, said in 2007 "Every member state in the EU will decide on its own regulations for the immigration of highly qualified workers". This was a statement publicly supported many of the members of CDU. The Bavarian Economic Minister from CSU, Emilia Müller argued that *"the first thing is to mobilize the domestic labor potential."* [145] One debate regarding the implementation of the Blue Card directive from the EU was the debate on how high the minimum salary should be, displayed great differences between the opposition and the CDU. The German Interior Minister, Hans-Peter Friedrich (CSU), said that if someone was offered a salary of 45,000 Euro, it was a signal of the institution wanting to hire that person and that the person is qualified enough. The other major debate was regarding how to reward foreigners that had good knowledge of German. This was an important question in CDU, because by rewarding people who learn German there is an incentive to learn the language faster. By learning the language the integration into the German society will happen more quickly.[146]

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[144]   Http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mip/en4237086.htm (26.03.2013)
[145]   http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/blue-card-blues-germans-reject-eu-fast-track-immigration-scheme-a-513241.html (24.03.2013)

When looking at the politics of CDU on labor migration, a person have to earn his residency in Germany and the main focus has been on what the immigrants can bring to the country.

7.1.2 The issue of labor migration and immigration laws in other Christian Democratic parties

Norway

The first time the issue about integration of immigrants was discussed in the Norwegian Parliament, Stortinget was in 1974. The Act (Stortingsmelding nr 39) that was adopted would make the foundation for the immigration policy of the country.[147]

The year before in 1973, Senterpartiet, (English: the Center Party) had used the word *innvandrer* (English: *immigrant*) for the first time in a political program, after labor migration had become a reality in Norway. In the 1977 election, most of the parties mentioned immigration in their programs. Immigration was not a big political issue in this election, it was not until the mid 1980's immigration became important for the voters, and the parties included more immigration politics in their programs. In the program of The Christian Democrats (KrF), the main issue was the UN and their refugees, and they only had one sentence that included the termination of immigration (Norwegian: Innvandringsstopp). This was the sentence: «Termination of immigration is suggested abolished and replaced with an immigration law which practice the same rules for immigrants, regardless of their nationality», (The original text in Norwegian: «Innvandringsstoppen vurderes opphevet og erstattet med innvandringsbestemmelser som praktiseres likt for innvandrere av alle nasjonaliteter») KrF had an ideological view of the immigration issue and emphasized the cultural challenges and solidarity more than other major parties in Norway at the time.[148]

Norway became a member of the EEC January 1 in 1994. This had an impact on the labor immigration to the country, because all citizens in EEC could now move to and work in Norway, but it had no major impact on the labor immigration until 2000.[149]

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[146] Http://www.dw.de/german-blu-card-to-simplify-immigration/a-15915424 (24.03.2013)
[147] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003, p.155
[148] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003, p.187-195
[149] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003, p.361

The Netherlands

The demography of the labor migration in the Netherlands is different than in many other countries in Europe. Data from 2000 to 2009, shows that the labor immigrants in the Netherlands mainly come from other European countries. The four main origins of the labor immigrants are Poland, Germany, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom. The continent with the second best representation in the Netherlands is Asia. Most of these immigrants are highly qualified professionals from India and China. Who have used the Knowledge Migrant Scheme to enter the country.[150] In 2011 there were an estimated 200.000 labor immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe in the Netherlands, according to the government. The increasing labor migration to the Netherlands has also made impact on the social security benefits. The government had to tighten the benefits to be able to meet the growing labor migration, and at a conference in April 2011 they presented ideas of measures. A person from Europe with insufficient means of support or without work for three months, is not allowed to remain in the Netherlands. Other measures were also performed, and one example is this quote; "Anyone receiving a social assistance benefit who does not speak Dutch will be required to take and successfully complete a Dutch language course as soon as possible. Failure to fulfil this condition will lead to reduction or stopping of the social assistance benefit."[151]

Jan-Peter Balkenende (CDA) was Prime Minister of the Netherland until 2010, and the conference in 2011 was the first great change the new government made after CDA resigned from government. CDA has a restrictive immigration policy. The people who move to the Netherlands must know Dutch and also have other qualifications, such as knowledge about the Dutch society. CDA also focus on the importance of the immigrant to have a future in the Netherlands. Therefore it is important to have a good job. Immigration is not a major political issue in Netherlands in 2012-2013, as the dominating political issue is the economy, which is shown in how CDA talks about immigration. [152]

Spain

Spain went from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration in the mid 1980's. One of the main reasons for this is the Spanish labor market. By the mid 1980's the demand

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[150] http://www.rnw.nl/english/article/dutch-labour-immigrants-are-mainly-european (03.04.2013)
[151] http://www.government.nl/news/2011/05/03/labour-migration-rules-for-eu-citizens-tightened-up.html (16.04.2013)
[152] http://www.cda.nl/standpunten/standpunt/immigratie-en-integratie/ (22.04.2013)

for workers started to rise again and the native Spanish workers could chose the job they preferred, which resulted in many low wages jobs being left empty by the natives. Many immigrants now saw the oppurtunity to find a job in Spain. This, in addition to a sharp decrease in the birth rate from 1976, resulted in a decline of 2 million native workers after 1992. Spain had 160,000 fewer workers every year as a result of this. The immigration to Spain grew rapidly, and in 2000, were 2,18 % of the population were of migrant background. In 2007 this had grown to about 10% of the population.

Spain did not have an immigration law until 1986 but when the immigration started, and the country became a member of the European Economic Community (EEC), they had to start adopting a law. Because Spain was not seen as an immigration country at the time, the law had to focus on getting workers to stay in Spain. When becoming a member of the EEC, it could result in immigrants using Spain as a door to the rest of Europe if the law was not good enough. The law was restrictive, and regulated entry and residence of foreigners. Illegal immigrants were deported by the state when they were found.[153] The situation in Spain in 2013 is quite different than in the late eighties. According to Eurostat the unemployment rate in Spain was 26,2% in January 2013, the second highest in Europe.[154]

Partido Popular (PP) is now the ruling party in Spain, after winning the election in 2011. PP was in government for the first time from 1996-2004. In the first four year of governance, no major changes to the Spanish pro-immigration policy were made, but in their second term of governance (2000-2004), some changes towards a more restrictive immigration policy were made. This was a direct consequence of the rapid growth of immigrants, especially those who were irregular. The foremost priority was the "fight against illegal migration". PP also made it more difficult for immigrants to get a work permit in Spain. When they lost the election in 2004, they criticized the immigration policies of the Socialist Party (PSOE) in government. They blamed the new government for the rapidly increasing number of immigrants, and in the national election in 2008, PP had immigration as thier main issue, and one of their proposals was to make an obligatory integration contract which all immigrants had to sign. Some of the requirements in the contract were to learn the official language (two languages in Catalonia), return home if they were unemployed for a long period and respect Spanish customs. PP did

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[153] Http://migrationeducation.de/48.0.html (30.03.2013)
[154] Http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics (30.03.2013)

not win the election in 2008 and the proposal about a contract was not adopted.[155]

By april 2013, PP is again a part of the Spanish government, and the major political issue today is the financial crisis, but the immigration policy has also become more restrictive. One way to handle the financial crisis is that immigrants which are unemployed have to return to their native country.[156] The restrictive immigration policy in Spain is not only a result of the growing immigration, but also a consequence of the labor market and financial situation in the country. This shows that it is not only migration that has made an impact on the Christian Democratic party in Spain's migration policy over the past decade.

7.2 Citizenship

The citizenship law in Germany has for a long time been described as a "jus sanguinis law." Jus sanguinis (English: right of blood) means that it is not the place of birth that decides your nationality, but the nationality of your parents.[157] This was first introduced in Bavaria in 1818. In 1842 it became adopted by the Preussian Citizenship Law. In the first chapter of this thesis, one reads that the Preussian law influenced the laws of the unified Germany in 1871. This means that also the citizenship law influenced the new German law. The German citizenship law made Germany "a community of descent", and it showed little concern for birthplace and residence. The unification of Germany and the collapse of the Soviet Block were the main factors for the changes in the citizenship law in the beginning of the 1990's. Jus sanguinis was outdated in the post-unified Germany.[158]

Until 1990, between 10.000 and 20.000 foreigners became German citizens annually. It was hard to gain a German citizenship, as every single case was evaluated individually before deciding if they should get citizenship or not. There were no strict guidelines to follow to determine who would get citizenship and who would not. Three years later, the naturalization laws and practice changed.

In 1993, the Nationality Act was reformed to establish a right to naturalization. The prerequisite in this German act are somewhat different from the act the European Union had

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[155] http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/TCM-Spaincasestudy.pdf (03.04.2013) pp.10-11
[156] http://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2011/12/17976/spainthe-return-of-the-pp-to-power-tough-times-ahead-for-moroccan-immigrants/ (03.04.2013)
[157] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/118828/citizenship#ref22255 (19.02.2013)

some years later (more about the role of the European Union in the German policy making in chapter 6.5. In the German Nationality Act one has to be a legal and permanent resident of Germany for at least 15 years, or if the person is between 16 and 23, eight years, to be able to obtain a German citizenship. This changed seven years later and then everyone had to be a legal and permanent resident in Germany for eight years. When they moderated the numbers of years, the German government started to look more at other factors to give a person German citizenship; proof of independent source of livelihood, allegiance to the constitution, no criminal record, and adequate fluency in German.

On January 1 in year 2000, a reform of the National Act was adapted and it gave children born in Germany by long term foreign residents the possibility to acquire a German citizenship. The child can keep their parents citizenship in addition to their German citizenship if they wish, but they have to decide, when they are between 18 and 23, which citizenship they want to keep. It is also important to know that the parents of the child have to meet certain criterias if the child are going to obtain a German citizenship:

1. At least one of the parents must have lived legally and continuously in Germany for at least eight years prior to birth
2. The parents must have been in possession of a permanent residence permit for three years prior to birth

It is also important to know that they have to fulfil certain extra criteria in addition to the ones mentioned above. The person have to have sufficient knowledge of the German language, hold a resident permit, earn their livelihood without government welfare, commit themselves to the liberal democratic basic order, not have any previous convictions, not pursue nor have pursued any subversive activities against the constitutional order and sign a written pledge to the German constitution. [159]

The new National Act in principle excludes dual citizenship, but statistics do show that many people keep their initial citizenship. The act does open for two exceptions when dual citizenship is approved:

1. The country of origin does not allow the applicant to give up their original citizenship

2. Giving up the citizenship would involve unnecessary hardship

[158]   http://www18.georgetown.edu/data/people/mmh/publication-30404.pdf pp.41-42
[159]   Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg P. 47

There are no statistic records of those who have dual citizenship, however the German government believe that the largest group having dual citizenship in Germany are the Aussiedler. The reason for this is that in the years between 1993 and 2000, around 1,2 million Aussiedler were given a dual citizenship. As seen in the statistics earlier, the Turkish migrants areover represented in Germany, and they are also those who most frequently obtain a German citizenship. [160]

7.2.1 CDU and citizenship laws

CDU was in government from 1983 until 1998 in a coalition with FDP. In the beginning of this period, CDU stated that the law was (quote) "Sufficient and took the needs of foreigners into account, particularly those of the second generation". They showed no sign of needs to liberalize the citizenship law in Germany. However the changes which were to occur in Germany and Europe over the next decade made CDU see the need of openness, and the need to liberalize of the party's citizenship policy.

In 1989, the Interior Minister was Friedrich Zimmermann. He was a member of CSU, conservative, and opposed every attempt to change the Citizenship Law of 1913. The Chancellor at the time, Helmut Kohl, saw that changes were needed in the party at the time to widen the party to attract more votes. One of the things that was done was to replace Zimmermann with Wolgang Schäuble from CDU. He was a politician less conservative than Zimmermann, and could cooperate better with their coalition partner FDP. This resulted in the new citizenship law of 1990, which liberalized the law of 1913 to some extent, but still allowed local authorities to make the final decision in the question of whether a citizen would be naturalized or not. Already in 1993, the same government made a change in the citizenship law. The change made it an entitlement to be naturalized instead of a discretion. These changes in the law, first in 1990 and then again in 1993 made the German citizenship law more timely.

Some parties still saw the law as too restrictive and wanted to go further. The most conservative parties in the citizenship question in parliament were CDU and CSU. SPD, Die Grüne/Bündis 90, and even FDP suggested that the law could be more liberalized. In 1995 a

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[160] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?&L=1 (30.11.12)

small group of parliamentarians from CDU, known as Junge Wilden, started having weekly meetings with members of FDP. They wanted to liberalize the citizenship policy even more and wanted jus soli automatically for third generation immigrants. This group worked to get their new ideas supported by CDU. Interior Minister Schäuble was one of the people in CDU who supported their work and helped them get the rest of the parties to support them. In June 1998, CDU voted on the proposal. CSU opposed the proposal, and only one third of CDU supported it. FDP supported the proposal from the Junge Wilden, but the proposal from Junge Wilden did not gain enough support at the time, yet it turned out to be important in the work towards the New National act of 2000.

In 1998, CDU/CSU and FDP lost the election and became part of the opposition. The issue regarding citizenship was not central in the election, but SPD, and especially the new Chancellor Gerard Schröder, wanted to make some major changes to the citizenship law. SPD had, along with their coalition partner Die Grünen/Bündnis 90, a majority in both the chambers. It looked like it would be easy to make a reform in the citizenship law, as the earlier changes in the citizenship law had been adopted without any major public debate. The proposal Schröder presented in 1998 did not get the same destiny.

CDU had been aware of the power of the public masses when they governed Germany, but did not want to use the anti-foreigners sentiment in the population to gain support in some immigration issues. However, now they were in opposition, so they decided to use the public masses to gain some impact in this question. Instead of fighting, and then lose, the debate in the government where they were a minority, they took the debate to the streets. CDU used a rhetoric like *"foreigners will have a huge natural advantage over Germans."* and *" Germany will be transformed into a land of immigration, a land of unlimited immigration"*. This rhetoric turned out to be very effective with the public.

The main problem CDU found in the proposal was the possibility to have dual citizenship. They used arguments like dual citizenship equals divided loyalties, it could result in possible terrorist links, and the chairman of CDU (the old Interior Minister) Wolfgang Schäuble, said that *"regularly allowing dual citizenship is poison to integration as well as to domestic order"*. After some discussion on how the strategy should be, CDU and CSU managed to agree on a signature campaign against dual citizenship. This campaign would turn out to be a

great success. After just six weeks, over five million people had signed the petition.[161] Seven states (Länder) in Germany held their local election in 1999, and the consequence of the campaigning from CDU/CSU were evident in the result. Just a few years earlier, very few of the citizens worried about the citizenship law, but the exit polls in the state Hessen found that 36 % of voters now said that the changes in the citizenship law were their major worry. This could be compared to the 43% that answered that unemployment was their major worry, the same year. Hessen had traditionally been a state where the social democrat always did well in elections. If CDU managed to get the majority in this Ländern it would have two significant consequences:

1. It would send a signal to SPD and Die Grünen/Bundnis 90 in parliament that people supported CDU/CSU. This would be an important message to send
2. To win in Hessen means that they would get the majority of the seats in the Bundesrat. This is the upper house of the parliament and a majority there means that the party could veto any legislation that the government are approving

On February 7 in 1999, the election in Hessen was held and the government lost after having governed for eight years. CDU won the election in the states with 44% of the votes, while SPD "only" got 39% of the votes. The defeat in Hessen was demoralized and demotivating for SPD, and they decided drop the plan of reform. [162]

Analysis pinpoints the dual citizenship issue when explaining how CDU could win the election, and together with FDP become a part of the local government in the state. CDU managed to mobilize the voters, and even politicians from SPD saw how the population started to support CDU. Hans Eichel of SPD said after the election:*"The double citizenship law issue became so emotional that it mobilized the opposition."* Over five million people signed the petition on a national level, and in Hessen, about 500 000 voters signed it. [163]

CDU and CSU managed to make the issue regarding the new citizenship law an issue that the people in the streets was interested in and discussed. Both sides thought that the debate had been more public than they were comfortable with, which resulted in negotiations on a parliamentarian level instead of a public debate when the German Nationality Act of 2000

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[161]   http://www18.georgetown.edu/data/people/mmh/publication-30404.pdf pp.46-52
[162]   http://www18.georgetown.edu/data/people/mmh/publication-30404.pdf pp.52
[163]   http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/more.php?id=1753_0_4_0 (28.01.13)

was discussed and later approved. The final result was proposed by the government (SPD and Die Grünen/Bündnis 90) in March 1999 and was supported by FDP. Elements of it were tolerated by CDU, and law was approved in May 1999 and adapted January 1 in 2000.[164]

7.2.2 The issue about citizenship in other European Christian Democratic Parties

Norway

In Norway, the principle of jus sanguinis has been the leading principle in the Citizenship Law since 1888. In 1950, a great change was made to the law. A change was made again in 1979 regarding who could obtain a Norwegian citizenship. Until then, a child got a Norwegian citizenship if the father was Norwegian, but the changes in the law made children of Norwegian women get a Norwegian citizenship as well. Many believed that the citizenship law would be widely discussed after the changes in the immigration law in the late 1970's and again when the changes in the Election Act was adapted in the beginning of the 1980's but it would take until the end of the 1990's before the issue about citizenship was discussed in Parliament. In 1998, the government lead by KrF's Kjell Magne Bondevik appointed a commission to look at the core values in the society and another commission who looked at the issue regarding citizenship and if there should be any language or other requirements to obtain a Norwegian citizenship. The first great change in the citizenship law was made when KrF was in government and the Prime Minister was from KrF. This means that KrF have had an important role in the changes of the law.[165]

March 2012, the question of citizenship was last discussed in the Norwegian Parliament. Some examples of the changes which were made to the citizenship law were, children which are obtaining Norwegian citizenship, what immigrants have to provide of information and some changes of terms in the law.[166]

«Citizenship, it is not just an issue for those who get it but to the community as a whole. And as what we as a society is served by it.» (Norwegian: «Statsborgeskap, det handler ikke bare

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[164] http://www18.georgetown.edu/data/people/mmh/publication-30404.pdf pp.51-51
[165] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003 pp.268-269

om de som får, men det handler også om samfunnet. Og at vi som storsamfunn er tjent med det.») Geir Jørgen Bekkevold (KrF), in the debate on changes in the Norwegian citizenship law [167] These sentences show how KrF today look at the citizenship issue. KrF voted in favour of the new changes in the citizenship law in 2012. [168]

In Norway today, you have to renounce your other citizenship to get a Norwegian citizenship. Dual citizenship is not allowed, however the law has some exceptions. Three examples of this are the country of origin does not allow the applicant to give up their original citizenship, the application process takes more than one year in the origin country or giving up the citizenship would involve unnecessary hardship[169][170]

Children can obtain a Norwegian citizenship if:

- The mother has a Norwegian citizenship
- The father has a Norwegian citizenship and the parents are married
- The father is dead and had a Norwegian citizenship when he was alive and the parents were married.[171]

Switzerland

The Swiss political system differs from rest of Europe in one major way; they have a system of direct democracy which results in a many referendums. They have referendums on almost everything for example if a teacher should be appointed, the government should cut taxes or even if a person should get a citizenship or not. Referendums are held when the population wish it.[172]

One great difference between the German Citizenship Law and the Swiss one is the issue about dual citizenship. Persons who apply for Swiss citizenship do not have to give up their

[166] http://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Saker/Sak/?p=52234 (13.05.2013)
[167] http://www.stortinget.no/no/Hva-skjer-pa-Stortinget/Videoarkiv/Arkiv-TV-sendinger/?mbid=/2012/H264-full/Storting/03/19/stortinget-20120319-115518.mp4&msid=4117&meid=9290 96:21 in the video (21.02.2013)
[168] http://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Saker/Sak/Voteringsoversikt/?p=52234&dnid=1 (13.05.2013)
[169] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/jd/dok/nouer/2000/nou-2000-32/5.html?id=362890 (21.02.2013)
[170] http://www.udi.no/Sentrale-tema/Statsborgerskap/Dobbelt-statsborgerskap/Kravet-om-losning-fra-tidligere-statsborgerskap-/ (13.05.2013)
[171] http://www.lovdata.no/oll/hl-19501208-003.html#map001 (21.02.2013)
[172] Http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3673736.stm (29.03.2013)

former citizenship, as long as the country of origin allows dual citizenship. [173] In Switzerland, there are no national regulations on who will get citizenship or not, each of the municipalities has the right to decide who will obtain a citinceship. There are differences between the municipalities regarding the decisions about a person should obtain Swiss citizenship or not. The most restrictive municipalities are they who the Swiss People's Party (right-wing party) are a major party in the local politics or/and when the local population takes the decision by closed ballot.[174] Another great difference between the law in Germany and the one in Switzerland are the requirements to obtain Swiss citizenship. In 2004, the typical residents in Switzerland was, before being able to apply Swiss citizenship, 12 years, and one had to pay a huge fee that could be as much as tens of thousands of dollars. Children or grandchildren of immigrants born in Switzerland do not have any right to be Swiss. They have to apply. This makes the Swiss law very tough.[175]

Ireland

The latest citizenship act in Ireland was adapted January 2005, and in August 2011 some minor changes was introduced in it. The earlier Irish Citizenship Law can be divided into three main phases:

1. The Irish Free State (1922-1937)
2. Ireland under the 1937 constitution (1937-1998)
3. The Good Friday Agreement and its consequences (1998-2004)

Fine Gael was in government when the large changes of the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act were made in 1956. In 1949 had Ireland left the Commonwealth, and until 1956 had the old act of 1937 still been in force. One sentence which summarize the changes in 1956 is: *"...Our nationality law should not be framed to exclude persons [...] who are of Irish stock."*. A child could obtain Irish citizenship if one of the parents were Irish. This was a broader definition of Irish citizenship than earlier, and now could people born on the "six counties" of Northern Ireland get Irish citizenship. According to the Act of 1937 a person lost his Irish citizenship when he voluntary required another citizenship, this was changed in the Act of 1956. The concern about dual and multiple citizenship was not a big issue anymore.

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[173]   Http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Switzerland.pdf (29.03.2013) pp.21-22
[174]   Http://www.ucd.ie/norface/papers/maa_helbling.pdf (29.03.2013) pp.2-3

When Fine Gael was a part of the government in 2011, they introduced some changes in the citizenship Act. The major changes are found in the application process. Application would be dealt within six months from a person deliver an application, and a fee for an application for naturalization became 175 Euros. In 2008, Fianna Fail and the Green Party had introduced a fee of 950 euros when the certificate of naturalization was issued. This is making a total cost of 1125 euros to obtain a Irish citizenship, but for example, refugees, widow, and application on behalf of a minor are paying a smaller fee. Fine Gael also introduced citizenship ceremonies when a person are receiving his new citizenship. There are no language requirements to get the citizenship[176], however there are other requirements a person who apply have to meet. One example of that is the criteria about being a resident in Ireland. You have to have been living on Ireland continuously for one year before the date of handing in the application, and in addition, been living in Ireland for at least four years out of the eight years preceding that. This makes a total of five of the last nine years. [177]

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[175]   Question in Riksdagen about loosing citizenship
[176]   Http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Ireland.pdf (30.03.2013) pp.16-21
[177]Http://www.citizensinformation.ie/en/moving_country/irish_citizenship/becoming_an_irish_citizen_through_naturalisation.html (30.03.2013)

7.3 Education

Education is one of the keys to a successful integration progress. The education gives the students knowledge about the German language, society and culture. This knowledge gives the students, both with German ancestors and migration background, a platform to make the students participate in the society. The participation is an important part of the integration.

The impacts of immigration on the German educational system are to be found. This chapter will show how migration has affected the politics of CDU on the educational issue. It is divided into four parts: firstly providing brief overview of the German school system, secondly, debates on the education system from a migration and integration aspect, thirdly CDU on the educational issue and finally a quick look out in Europe to see other Christian Democratic parties approaches to the issue.

The school system in Germany

The German school in 2013 has a tripartite system consisting of Gymnasium, Realschule and Hauptschule. After WWII the German education system was in ruins. There was a shortage of teachers, and many buildings had been destroyed. Germany was also split into two countries. Over 1700 Jewish scholars had been driven from their positions by the Nazis , as a consequence of had many educational talents had been lost. Something had to be done in both East Germany and West Germany to bring order into the reduced and in some places non-existent education. In East Germany a "sovietization" of the education took place, meaning that the education system went through a class-based communist reform. In West-Germany the changes and developments in the education system were different. The Düsseldorf Agreement from 1955 provides the outline to the education system that is found in Germany today.

Gymnasium as an idea has its history back to the early 1800s. The pupils who attend the Gymnasium are prepared to apply to the university, later, for for an advanced general education. Realschule is an intermediate school. The pupils attending realschule are getting a more general and vocational education, that matches the German society. After sixteen years the pupils get a leaving certificate and most of them get jobs in the commercial or service sectors. The last of the three types of school in the tripartite system is the Hauptschule. The pupils that choose these schools get a vocational education, often separated into classes by

ability. After receiving a leaving certificate, most of the pupils start to work within lower and middle levels of public service. Some pupils continue to study, and they attend a vocational school with a specific, professional focus.

The results between the tripartite schools vary a lot. Results show that Hauptschule are facing difficulties in several areas. Few students choose Hauptschule, the leaving certificate from these schools give students less jobs to choose from than realschule. Great differences in background and demography made it hard for teachers to give the student a good education and Hauptschule have the largest amounts of students who quit school. One characteristic of many Hauptschulen is that many of the pupils have immigrant background or their parents have. In the school district Neukölln in Berlin 83% of the pupils are to be found in this category.

It is one more type of school that exists in some parts of Germany, Comprehensive schools, Gesamtschule. Instead of separating the pupils into three different schools these schools keep pupils of different ability together for longer. There are two types of Gesamtschule:

- Cooperative comprehensive Gesamtschule. A school that intends to make a transfer to the tripartite schools.
- Integrated comprehensive Gesamtschule. A school that combines the three tracks and the school is educationally and organizationally cohesive

Case studies made by Katelyn Andell published in the Monitor Fall 2008 shows some differences between the schools:

Public Gymnasium in Berlin

- most of the pupils have German ancestors
- The student called the lack of diversity at the Gymnasium "normal"
- 88 % of the students achieved university acceptance

Public Hauptschule in Berlin

- 350 students, mainly migrant backround
- classes organized based on the students level of German (or lack of German knowledge)
- Teacher said most students do not pass the exam

Private Realschule/Gymnasium in Munich

- Little diversity, most student of German descent.

Public Cooperative Comprehensive Geamtschule in Hamburg

- School promotes cooperative learning between students of different background

- 50% of the pupils spoke Russian, Turkish or Farsi as their native language.

- To help students graduate they may choose to use their native language as an option class.

By showing some of the main features in her case studies I wanted to show how different the schools could be.[178]

7.3.1 Debates on the education system from an migration and integration aspect

When the first PISA studies were taken in 2001, the weakness of the German educational system appeared. OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) is the organization that was initiated to carry out the PISA studies. PISA measures 15-years-old pupils competencies in Science, mathematics and reading literacy in different countries all over the world. The results are used to compare the school systems in different countries on an international level. The tests and studies take place every three years. These studies make it easier to compare pupils from different countries. This has earlier been hard because of the huge variation of surveys, test and grade system in the schools.[179] The PISA studies in 2000 in Germany showed one important weakness in the system, pupils with immigrant background or parents with foreign background had worse results in the studies than the ethnic German pupils. [180] It also showed that Germany had one of the worst results of the industrialized countries in this PISA studies. This was a wakeup call for the German politicians and since then, Germany has focused on reforming the education system. One other thing about the German educational system which the PISA studies showed was that Germany spent less on each student than the average in OECD. The spending on teacher's salaries was, though, higher than the average. The PISA studies in 2006 showed the results that the socio-economic background had a larger influence on students in Germany than in other countries in OECD. In Germany a variation of performance between schools was 66,2%, the average in OECD

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[178] http://web.wm.edu/so/monitor/issues/14-1/2-andell.pdf p.18-23 (26.02.2013)
[179] http://www.pisa.no/english/index.html (26.02.2013)
[180] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?L=1 (26.02.2013)

was 33% and in the country with the best result, Finland, the variation was less than 5%.These results and other poor results from the German education system made the United Nations human rights commission send a reporter on a inspection to the country. One of the observation from this inspection was that the school structure separated the children too early and it *"Excludes children from poor families and immigrant backgrounds."*.[181]

One great issue with the German educational system as a whole is the failure to integrate and welcome immigrants to the German society. This issue has been greater the last years and politicians pay more attention to it now than earlier. Criticism is also made against the parents role in the school system. The constitution guarantees freedom for parents to choose the school for their children, and critics therefore argue that parents choose school based on their own social background not their children's best interest.

Two federal states, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg have decided to abolish the Hauptschule as an independent form of secondary education, and more states are discussing doing the same. The reason some federal states have started to discuss the abolishment of this system is that many politicians believe that the Hauptschule contributes to social and performance-based segregation. The pupils at these schools are over represented by second-generation immigrants and from an integration point of view is this an important issue. [182]

One other issue that has been discussed to increase the integration in Germany is the question about the numbers of childcare places for children under the age of three. It is a fact that if a child is exposed to a language at an early age he or she will get higher language competence earlier. When we look at children of foreign parents this contact with the German language could be crucial to be able to get good grades at school when they get older. Many therefore agree that it is important to expand the childcare. The debate is still strong because some think it is wrong to start and expand the number of childcare places before increasing the quality of the care itself. If the numbers of childcare places are increasing too rapidly, a consequence of this could be that the quality for all the children in childcare will sink and none will get the care they deserve.[183]

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[181] http://web.wm.edu/so/monitor/issues/14-1/2-andell.pdf p.18-19 (26.02.2013)
[182] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?L=1 (26.02.2013)
[183] http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?L=1 (26.02.2013)

The communication between the school and the immigrant parents are important to get a good integration of the immigrant pupils in the education system. In Germany the written information about the school system is not a national responsibility. As the Länder is responsible for it. In meetings and discussions with the parents the Länder have some recommendations to the schools which include using persons with good knowledge of German language and the native language of the immigrant. This is to be able to have good communication in the meetings.

The language is the door to integration and it is also important to have good mother tongue tuition to get a better integration. In Germany the regulation concerning this tuition is passed at Länder level. [184]

7.3.3 The situation today and how has the Christian Democratic parties changed?

In the last years education has been looked upon from an immigration point of view. There are huge differences between the countries in this issue. Some examples of a system with a good integration policy in the education area:

– Children, of any background, have the possibility to go from Kindergarden to university and achieve the best they can.
– Children of immigrant background are entitled extra courses and teaching to master the new language.
– All the pupils, students and teachers learn how to live in a diverse society.

Some examples of the opposite:

– Children have no right to a full education
– a poor or absent language support
– Students do not learn to work together with people of diverse background
– The school does not work as a motor of integration of immigrants

The MIPEX have ranked the European countries and the best countries, when looking at using the education system for integration, are the Nordic and the Benelux countries. When looking at the worst countries in the same study there are many countries with bad results. The worst countries such are Malta, Bulgaria and Hungary, but countries as France, Ireland and Slovakia have almost as bad results. [185]

This was a quick introduction of the general situation in Europe. Here is a closer look at some of the countries and how Christian Democratic parties have changed their policy the last years as a consequence of this. The issues which is chosen is the communication between the school and immigrants families and the heritage language teaching. Both issues are important when looking at the schools part of the integration of immigrants. Many immigrants parents encounter problems when faced with the school system, both of linguistic and cultural nature.

Norway

In Norway, parents associations have the responsibility to produce information about the school system to immigrants. National organizations publish information and guides focusing on the relationship between the parents and the school. There are written information in over 10 languages in Norway to include immigrants. The municipalities have some different local regulation on how to contact the parents of immigrant pupils. In the municipality Trondheim there are standardized letters in 20 languages which parents and school can download from the internet. All immigrant pupils are granted the right of interpretation services. The services are provided and covered by the municipally.

The mother tongue tuition is important and in Norway the schools have to give the children lessons in the mother tongue if the knowledge of the Norwegian language is not sufficient. At the same time the pupils have to learn Norwegian to get sufficient knowledge to start using the language and get the education in Norwegian. The mother tongue tuition is organized on the existing educational system in Norway and funded by the state. The mother tongue tuition is included in the normal timetable.

To continue and improve the integration of immigrants in Norway the National Parents Association for Primary and Lower Secondary Education has established a network of parents

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[184]   http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/Eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf (26.04.2013)
[185]   Http://www.mipex.eu/education (31.03.2013)

of various background and language affiliation. The task for this group is to advice parents and schools in the education of pupils of immigrant background and to provide with knowledge on a specific language.[186]

Luxemburg

40,1 % of the 15 year old pupils in Luxemburg are non-native pupils. This makes Luxemburg the country in Europe with the largest percentage of non-native pupils. 23,7% of these pupils also have a different native language than one of indigenous languages. Luxemburg is in this way a special case in the school system in Europe. To give their pupils good mother tongue tuition they have a bilateral agreement with Portugal. The most common origin of the immigrants is Portugal and therefore the agreement with the Portuguese state is important to have a high quality of the education. The mother tongue tuition in Luxembourg is often incorporated in the ordinary curriculum.

The information on the school system for the immigrant families are sent out by the Ministry of Education in French, German and Portuguese, however if another language is requested, the Ministry of Education translate it into the requested language for the parents.
When the parents and the school have meetings, the intercultural mediators provide interpreting services. In April 2009, these services were available in thirteen languages, for example Chinese, Turkish and Cape Verdean Creole.[187]

Portugal

The bureau of the High commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, regularly publish updated general interest brochures which is available on Russian and English. When the immigrant children start school and the school have meetings with their parents, State or local authority provide interpretation services for the school on request, in order to communicate with parents from another linguistic background. To get a good contact between the home, school and the community socio-cultural mediators are appointed. There are some projects in Portugal with bilangual tuiton. These are classes with Portuguese-Mandarin and Portuguese-Cape Verdian Creole education supported by the Ministry of Education. In 2005, The Ministry of Education issued recommendations for the promotion of mother tongues and cultures of origin in the schools.[188]

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[186] http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/Eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf (26.04.2013)
[187] http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/Eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf (26.04.2013)
[188] http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/Eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/101EN.pdf (26.04.2013)

7.4 Religious symbols

The issue about religious symbols is a famous issue in Europe in 2013. It is one of the new political issues immigration and the religious plurality have brought to Europe. This chapter will start with an introduction to the issue religious symbols in Europe in general, and then continue with looking at the specific issue about crucifixes in the classrooms. There are major differences between the countries in Europe and their way to look at the relationship between state and religion, this results in huge differences in the way the countries deal with the issue about religious symbols.

France has no Christian Democratic party but it is still important to include this country in a chapter about religious symbols. In the French constitutions both freedom of religion and the fact that France is a secularized republic are written down. The laws talk about a distinction between the state and the religions and that the state should not support any religion. In 2004 a law was adopted which forbid pupils to wear religious symbols at school, such as hijab, large crucifixies and turbans. Seven years later a new law was adopted that made it forbidden to wear Niqab and burka in public.[189] The relationship between the state and the religion is different in the Nordic countries and England, than in France. In these countries religion has a closer relationship to the state and in 2013 many of these countries have a state church. In England each of the schools decides if they should allow religious symbols.[190] In Sweden, schools are allowed to forbid pupils to wear clothes which hide their faces, but they have to look at each and every one of the cases and not make a general restriction.[191] The differences in their way to look at religious symbols is also seen in how the different countries handle the issue about crucifix in classrooms.

7.4.1 Religious symbols in Classrooms - crucifix

The issue about religious symbols and especially crucifix in classrooms blossomed in the start of the 21th century. An Italian citizen, named Soile Lautsi, started to question the local

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[189] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/7/7.html?id=711272 (23.04.2013)
[190] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/7/6.html?id=711271 (23.04.2013)
[191] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/7/2.html?id=711267 (23.04.2013)

school's governor in the spring 2002 about the presence of religious symbols in the classrooms. She focused on the crucifix in the classroom and asked if they could be removed. The school's governor did not listen to the request from Lautsi and he decided to keep the crucifix in the classrooms. Lautsi thought this was against freedom of religion and that they made an infringement of the principle of secularism. She took the issue to the Italian court but lost. The major arguments from the Italian state as to why they should continue the presence of crucifix in the classrooms was that the presence was based on two royal decrees of 1924 and 1928. The crucifix was argued to be an historical cultural symbol possessing an "identity-linked value" for the Italian people. Lautsi took the Italian law about crucifix in the schools to the European Court of Human Rights.[192] The result in the European Court of Human Right in 2009 was in favor of Lautsi and said that the crucifix in classrooms breached the rights of Non-Catholic families.[193] The decision in the court was overturned by a decision in the Grand Chamber in 2011 which favored the Italian state and used the argument that they accept other religions, so the crucifix in the classroom is not against the freedom of religion.[194]

The issue about religious symbols in schools brings Denominations all across Europe together. They believed that the first decision in the European Court of Human Rights in the case of Lautsi was undermining Europe's Christian heritage.[195] This makes the question about religious symbols in schools a relevant political issue all over Europe and this is why this issue is chosen.

7.4.2 Germany

The public schools in Germany are run by the Länder, not the state, and this makes the issue about crucifixes in classroom a regional issue not a national one. In Bavaria the issue about crucifixes in public schools has been more important than in other Ländern. The main reason for this is Catholicism. Bavaria is the most conservative and Catholic region in Germany. 15 years before the case of Lautsi, in 1995, one similar and almost identical case was decided by the Federal Constitution Court (FCC). The *Volkssculeordnung* (the Bavarian School Regulation for Elementary Schools) provided that "In every classroom a cross shall be affixed." Three siblings and their parents filed a constitutional complaint against the affixing

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[192] http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/Pages/search.aspx#{"fulltext":["lautsi"],"documentcollectionid2":["GRANDCHAMBER","CHAMBER"],"itemid":["001-104040"]} (30.04.2013)
[193] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12791082 (23.04.2013)
[194] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/9.html?id=711288 (23.04.2013)

of crucifixes in the classrooms. In 1995, the case was in FCC and the judgement was that the crucifixes and crosses in the classrooms violated the "right to religious freedom". But there were some disagreements amongst the eight judges in FCC. Three of the eight argued that there was no violation on the claimants' freedom of religion. These argued that it could not be any violation on the freedom of religion if the school was based on Christian values. The argument that*:" If Christian schools were constitutional, then the cross as their symbol had to be constitutional as well."* was used from others as well at the time. The decision made by FCC was an amendment of the Bavarian legislation instead of changing it. The sentence which was added said that if a parent was to object to the affixing of the cross for serious religious or philosophical reason the head teacher had to seek agreement with them. Where such agreement is impossible, the head teacher was and still is bound to find a solution which respects the rights of the minority. The practical changes of the regulation was that the cross or crucifix had to be removed if the parents requested it. [196]

7.4.2.1 CDU and crucifixes in classrooms

The first ever Minister of Turkish and Muslim background, Aygül Özkan (CDU) said in an interview to the paper Focus: *"Christian Symbols do not belong in state-run schools"* and later she added that headscarves neither belonged in school. The statement from Özkan started a great debate within the party, CDU. Some of the members publicly announced that they thought that a party build on Christian values maybe was not the place for Özkan.

Also CSU reacted to the opinions of Özkan. The state governor of Bavaria, Chrsitan Wulff (CSU) answered the statement with: "the state government welcomes Christian symbols - - and crucifixes in schools, in particular - - as a part of a tolerant education based on Christian values".[197] Not long after the interview was published, the State Premier Chrsitian Wulff made a media apperence when he said that it all was a misunderstanding. Özkan had after a broad debate in the Parliamentary group accepted and agreed that the crucifixes in schools are "welcomed and wanted". Wulff also said that the topic was finished and did not want to discuss it any further.[198]

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[195] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/video_and_audio/8423027.stm (23.04.2013)
[196] Lock, Tobias (ed. Myriam Hunter-Henin) Law, Religious Freedom and Education in Europe, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012, pp.347-352
[197] https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/the-world-from-berlin-cdu-turkish-minister-appointed-flops-a-691561.hrml (31.03.2013)
[198] http://www.thelocal.de/politics/20100426-26797.html#.UXbAjkcZlIE (23.04.2013)

7.4.3 The issue about crucifixes in other European countries

Norway

The issue about crucifixes in schools has not been any significant problem in the Norwegian School. The fact that state and church have close ties and that the denomination is Lutheran have made an impact on the fact that there are few crucifixes in the schools. The law allows pupils to wear religious symbols and clothes in the schools. It is only the police that have some restrictions amongst their employees when using religious symbols.[199] Hospitals and the military have adopted some rules which make it easy to their employees to wear religious symbols and clothes such as turbans and hijabs.

There have been debates about religious symbols in the Norwegian parliament. KrF voted against forbiddingpupils to wear hijab in schools and also another proposal which wanted to forbid niqab, burka and other religious clothes covering the large parts of the body.[200] The issue about crucifix in schools has not been discussed in the parliament because it has not been any issue.

Greece

The Crucifix-case in the European court of Human Rights started the debate about crucifix in schools in Greece. It is common to have crucifix and icons in the classrooms and start the day with a prayer. The Greek Orthodox Church has an important role in the society and has argued that the crucifix and icons represent peace, justice and love. They also argued that children today need more sustainable icons instead of football icons and movie stars. The Orthodox Church was therefore delighted with the decision in the Grand Chamber in the case of Lautsi vs. Italy.[201]

Today the issue about crucifix in the schools is not an issue on the top of the agenda because of the financial crisis. The huge issues in the educational system are to have enough teachers, money to the salaries and to a have equipment that is up to date, not if there is a crucifix or not on the wall.[202]

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[199] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/14/3.html?id=711335 (25.04.2013)
[200] http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kud/dok/nouer/2013/nou-2013-1/14.html?id=711332 (23.04.2013)
[201] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/video_and_audio/8423027.stm (23.04.2013)
[202] http://www.dw.de/education-falls-victim-to-greek-debt-crisis/a-16481846 (23.04.2013)

8. Political participation amongst immigrants

"We still have a long way to go before immigrants
will be considered a normal part of politics"

Cem Özdemir (Die Grünen) 2009[203]

8.1 Participation in political parties and organizations

The impact of migration within the German political parties is hardly documented at all. The main reason for this is that political parties do not publish data on the nationality of their members. The changes occurring in the parties are not sufficiently analyzed yet.

The discussions, or lack thereof, about political participation amongst immigrants are constructed around the fact that many of the immigrants do not engage actively in politics. The two main reasons for this are the restrictive naturalization policies and there being no right to vote for foreign residents. The literature on this topic often does not differentiate between migrants who have German citizenship and the migrants who are foreign citizens. Neither do data surveys differ between German citizens and naturalized residents. It seems many researchers would only resentfully employ the word «foreigner».

Organizations working with including immigrants to participate more in German politics consider convincing foreigners to acquire German citizenship as their main effort, as a German citizenship is required to vote. Also teaching immigrants German, the principles of German law and make them identifying with being German are ways many believe might get the immigrants more politically active. One important organization in the work of getting more immigrants to participate in politics is The Network of Elected Officials of Turkish Origin. They are focusing on the largest groups of immigrants in Germany, the Turkish minority. In all the German city Councils, state parliaments and federal parliament only 85 of the political representative were of a Turkish origin as per April 2009 (according to the Körber

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[203] http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/no-obama-for-deutschland-ethnic-minorities-still-overlooked-in-german-politics-a-646733.html (20.02.2013)

Foundation in Hamburg). Five years earlier in 2004 the number of political representatives was just 50. A huge part of the German population have Turkish origin and this fact shows how under represented the Turkish population is in the political arena.

Not only have more politicians of Turkish origin been elected into parliaments and councils, some political «stars» with immigrant background are starting to rise in most of the parties. Some examples of these are:[204]

- Cem Özdemir (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) Member of the Bundestag since 1994, as the first member of turkish background. [205] He is the first chairman of a political party in Germany with an immigrant background. He was elected Chairmann of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen in November 2008.[206]
- Bülent Arslan (CDU) He is the Chairman of the Deutsch-Türkisches Forum der CDU in North Rhine-Westphalia[207]
- Aygül Özkan (CDU) She was elected Minister of Social affairs in the state of Niedersachsen in 2010 as the first ever Muslim minister of Turkish origin.[208]
- Sebastian Edathy (SPD) Board member in SPD and member of the Bundestag since 1998[209]

But why are not more immigrants participating in politics? The percentages of the «native Germans» that participate in politics are far higher than the percentage of people with immigrant background. Özdemir from Bündnis 90/Die Grünen says that one of the reasons why few immigrants do participate in German politics are interest. The first generation of immigrants may speak poor German or remain very interested and participating in the political situation in their homeland. The second and third-generation of immigrants do often aspire to other careers. [210]

There are several organizations by migration groups with political agendas being founded the

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[204] http://www.goethe.de/lhr/prj/daz/mag/igd/en4426416.htm (20.02.2013)
[205] http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/no-obama-for-deutschland-ethnic-minorities-still-overlooked-in-german-politics-a-646733.html (20.02.2013)
[206] http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/16/world/europe/16iht-germany.4.17868912.html?_r=0 (20.02.2013)
[207] http://www.dtf-online.de//index.php?page=adressen-dtf (20.02.2013)
[208] http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article7248887/Deutschlands-erste-tuerkischstaemmige-Ministerin.html (20.02.2013)
[209] http://www.bundestag.de/bundestag/abgeordnete17/biografien/E/edathy_sebastian.html (20.02.2013)
[210] http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/no-obama-for-deutschland-ethnic-minorities-still-overlooked-in-german-politics-a-646733.html (20.02.2013)

last decades. Two examples of these organizations are The Deutsch-Türkische Union (DTU) in Berlin and the Deutsch-Türkisches Forum (DTF) in North-Rhine Westphalia. These organizations are associated to CDU. There are also organizations with Turkish social democrats that affiliate to SPD and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen have the immigrant association "Immigrün". Most immigrants consider self organizations and trade unions as the most suitable organizations for furthering their interests. This has been shown by regular surveys answered by migrants were the question was: *"In which forms of migrant organizations do migrants impact civil society?"*. Other migrant organizations have started to appear in Germany, but their impacts on the civil society has hardly been documented. Studies show two different types of orientations of the migrant organization; one type is oriented to their host country and the other oriented to their country of origin. Religious associations and organizations are working with maintaining the religious traditions amongst migrants (and Germans who have converted) have increased in numbers the last decades. Governments in the original countries tend to use these associations to influence the developing of the religion in Germany. Islam is the greatest example of this. Muslim governments further their own interest by providing finances and personnel to specific Muslim mosque associations. There are also Muslim organizations which are trying to overcome the influence of their home countries. These organizations are for Muslims who are trying to establish themselves as German Muslims in German society. The numbers of these organizations are growing rapidly.[211]

8.2 Elections

In the year 2000, 32,2% of the foreigners voted SPD. The second largest parties amongst migrants were CDU and Die Grünen/ Bündnis 90. They got 8,5% votes each. FDP were the fourth largest party with 1,7 % of the votes. The voting pattern changes when looking at naturalized migrants on one hand and repatriated Germans from East-Europe on the other. Amongst the former repatriates CDU is the largest party, but amongst the naturalized migrants of Turkish origin SPD is the largest party. It is important to note that the electoral behavior of naturalized residents does not significantly differ from that of native Germans.

8.3 Religions in CDU[212]

As seen in the statistic in chapter 6.6 there was 3,2 million members of Muslim communities

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[211] Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, The Impact of Migration on Germany's Society, Nürnberg pp.??
[212] http://de.qantara.de/wcsite.php?wc_c=1761 (20.02.2013)

in Germany in 2001. This makes Islam the third largest religion in Germany. This is a result of the increased immigration to Germany, but is the religious plurality to be seen in CDU?

In CDU, Catholics are over-represented compared to the population in general. About half of the members are Catholic, one third are Protestant, and about 17 percent are belonging to another religion or are non-denominational. The denomination structure in CDU differs between the different parts of Germany. Interesting changes has happened in CDU the last 20 years. In 1991, 52% of the members were Catholics, 39% Protestants and just 10% of the members did not belong to two major denominations. 14 years later, in 2005, the numbers were 50 % Catholics, 33% Protestant and the largest changes were found in the group who did not belonged to the two major denomination; it was now 17 % of the members. The percentage of Catholics and Protestants has dropped with 7 % since 1991. I have not found any number the last 17% but the growing Muslim population and the fact that CDU elected their first Muslim minister in 2010 could point at the numbers of Muslims in CDU are increasing.[213]

A survey from a small town in North Rhine-Westphalia that the foundation Islam-Archives carried out in the start of this century asked Muslims in the area if they would vote for the CDU. The result showed that only four percentage of the Muslims intended to do so.. In 2009, Turks in Berlin were interviewed about what they would vote. 10% answered CDU and 55% answered SPD. Angela Merkel, and many others from CDU, has in public been negative to a Turkish membership in the European Union. This could be a factor why CDU is less popular amongst the Turkish population.[214]

8.4 Political participation amongst immigrants in other European Countries

Political participation amongst immigrants varies between different countries. The opportunity to participate does also differ a lot. In Europe, Non-EU nationals can become municipal candidates in 13 countries, vote in the national election in two countries and seven

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[213] *Die Mitglieder der CDU,* Eine Umfrage der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung 2007 pp.11-13
[214] http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/no-obama-for-deutschland-ethnic-minorities-still-overlooked-in-german-politics-a-646733.html (20.02.2013)

countries for the regional elections. 19 countries allow non-EU nationals to vote in the local elections (May 2010).[215] This numbers are from MIPEX and measure the policies to integrate immigrants in EU-27 in addition to Norway and Switzerland. Policies from Canada and the US were also measured.[216]

One thing that is equal between the countries in Europe are the fact that people with immigration background participate less in politics than the population in general. There has not been found any particular pattern between the background of the immigrants and how much they participate in politics, both by voting and becoming party members. One example of this is the Turks, whom in Germany is the most influential and active immigrant group, while in Norway, surveys shows that this group participate least in politics. In Norway, people with Iranian and Pakistani ancestors participate most in politics. There are different immigrants and ancestors of immigrants that participate in Germany and Norway but it is one important similarity, the largest immigrant group participating in politics is the group with the largest percentage of people.
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8.4.1 Norway

Norway began to include immigrants in politics and tried to get them participating in politics early. In 1979 all immigrants of Nordic origin had the right to vote in Norway in local and regional elections. Four years later, in 1983, all immigrants which have lived in the country for at least the past three years, had the right to vote in local and regional elections. In this election were there eight candidates of immigrant background, none of these from KrF[217] The participation of immigrants in the elections decreased from 1983 to the election in 1999, from 46% turnout in 1983 to 36% turnout in 1999. One of the reasons was the change in the demographic situation for the immigrants, as there were higher voting turnouts amongst immigrants from West Europe than from other parts of the world. The percentage of immigrants from West Europe had decreased from 1983 until 1995. [218]

Despite the low election turnout amongst immigrants in the 1999 election, political parties had focused on getting immigrants to vote and participate. In the Norwegian capital, Oslo, all

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[215] Http://www.mipex.eu/political-participation (31.03.2013)
[216] Http://www.mipex.eu/about (31.03.2013)
[217] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003, p. 190-191
[218] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003,p. 271

the parties, except the right-wing party Fremskrittspartiet (FrP), had their information in another language than Norwegian. This was to include people in politics who did not speak or read Norwegian. Many of the parties also had activities to get the immigrants political active. KrF announced in papers and magazines which was targeting immigrant groups. Eight candidates were elected as representatives in the city council of Oslo, although none from KrF. This was the first time in history the city council had a larger percentage of immigrants than the population in the city. The 1999 campaign to get immigrants to vote, did not result in a greater election turnout, but it would have another consequence; the election made it clear that immigrants were important in Norwegian politics. [219]

In the election 2003, 92 of 11 138 members of the municipality councils in Norway had a non-european background, of these members only one was from KrF.
This made out it less than 1 % of the members. In 2003, 5% of the Norwegian population was of a non-european background and 36% of these members were women, the same percentage as all the members in the municipality councils.[220] In the election to municipality and county councils in 2007 a study was made about who many immigrants without and with Norwegian citizenship that voted. The study showed that 22% of the immigrants without Norwegian citizenship voted and amongst immigrants that have gained Norwegian citizenship the number was 23%. The law in Norway gives foreigners and immigrants, having lived in Norway for at least three years, the right to vote, in municipality and county elections. If the person has another Nordic citizenship this law is different and they would only be required to have lived Norway since 30 of June the same year as the election.[221]

The election turnout amongst Norwegians with immigrant background in the last national election of 2009 were 52 %. This was 24% less than the rest of the population.[222] The exact number of people with immigration background voting KrF is impossible to find but a survey was made before the election in 2009 and it showed that just 2% of the questioned would vote Krf. [223]The result in the election 2009 was 5,5%[224]

One other way to participate in politics without direct participation is by being involved in

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[219] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003, p. 340
[220] http://www.ssb.no/valg/artikler-og-publikasjoner/er-ikke-vestlige-innvandrere-underrepresentert (05.03.2013)
[221] http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/09/02/nyheter/politikk/valg/innenriks/innvandrere/17941174/ (06.03.2013)
[222] http://www.ssb.no/valg/statistikker/vundinnv (05.03.2013)
[223] http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/valg-2009/artikkel.php?artid=578236 (05.03.2013)

organizations. In Norway many immigrant organizations are represented in committees on local, regional and national level. The numbers of these types of organizations have increased the last twenty years and many of these are getting government foundations.[225]

8.4.2 Sweden

Sweden was the first country in the world which gave immigrants (without Swedish citizenship) the right to vote in local and regional election. In 1976 the law was adopted which gave all immigrants that lived in Sweden for at least three years the right to vote.[226]

The last election in Sweden was in 2010 and there has been a lot of statistics made about immigration candidates from this election. The numbers of candidates to county councils and city councils from Kristdemokraterna (KD) born outside Sweden differ between the different counties. In the county of Jämtland 6% of the population are born outside Sweden, but this number on the list of KD is 11%. The largest county, the capital region Stockholm, have the largest numbers of citizens born outside of Sweden, 25%. On the lists of candidates of KD in this county the number is 16%.[227] This shows that the representation of immigrants on the lists to the Christian Democratic party differ between the different counties. On a national level the numbers in the different parties are like this:

Moderaterna (Conservatives) 9 %

Folkpartiet (Liberal peoples party) 10 %

Kristdemokraterna 10 %

Centerpartiet(Centre party) 5 %

Sosialdemokraterna (social democrats) 13 %

Vänsterpartiet (left party) 15 %

Miljöpartiet (Green party) 13 %

Immigrants represent 16% of the whole population in Sweden. [228]

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[224] http://www.nrk.no/valgresultat/oversikt.html (05.03.2013)
[225] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003 p.273
[226] Kjeldstadli(ed.), Tjelmeland and Brochmann 2003 p. 190
[227] http://sverigesradio.se/diverse/appdata/isidor/files/83/8501.pdf (24.02.2013)
[228] http://sverigesradio.se/diverse/appdata/isidor/files/83/8502.pdf (24.02.2013)

8.4.2 Ireland

Until the local elections in 2004, Irish parties had taken little or none specific action to become more open to immigrants or ethnic minority groups. Fine Gael had published their party literature in some different languages to attract immigrant voters. In late 2007, and the beginning of 2008, Fine Gael recruited integration officers to coordinate campaigns targeting the Polish community. After a while they started to encourage members of other immigrant communities to also vote and run for Fine Gael in the local elections, but the main focus remained on the Polish population. There are no statistic of how many of their members have immigration background or are members of an ethnic minority community, but they say there are more members of non-Irish background now than earlier.

In the local election in 2004 none of the six political parties had any candidates with immigrant background, but there were six candidates as independents with this background. Two of these were elected; one of these became mayor of Portloise in 2007. [229]

8.4.3 Greece

In 2010 a law was adopted that let long-term residents and 10-year permit vote in the local elections. This law has made a huge impact on the participation amongst immigrants in the country. It made Greece go from being one of the countries in Europe with the least participation in politics of people with immigrant background, to an European average. They are now also able to stand for some positions in the local election, but not mayor or vice-mayor, if they have sufficient knowledge of the greek language.[230] The reason this law was released was a series of protests from human rights and migrant groups on the old Greek law.[231]

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[229] Http://www.ucd.ie/mcri/resources/new_irish_politics_report_final.pdf (30.03.2013) pp. 9-10

[230] Migrant Integration Policy Index III, British council and Migration Policy Group, February 2011, pp. 95

[231] Http://abs-cbnnews.com/global-filipino/01/07/11/greeces-3838-law-welcome-opportunity-migrants (31.03.2013)

9. Conclusion

In this thesis the main research question has been: "How has migration made an impact on the Christian Democratic parties in Europe, CDU and Germany in particular?" The answer is that immigration has had impact on the politics of the party, but it is impossible to say how great this impact has been. There is seldom one factor alone which changes the policy and organization of political parties.

The impact of immigration on the Christian Democratic parties is found in several ways, however, whether these changes are direct outcomes of the immigration is hard to say. In CDU, the politics have changed in almost all issues since the 1970's. These changes have happened at the same time as the immigration has grown and we can be certain that it has affected the parties and politics, but with the data which is available it is hard to show the specific changes. The data available on this topic is not adequate enough to be able to get an ultimate conclusion to my research question. Chapter eight in this thesis started with these sentences: "*The impact of migration within the German political parties is hardly documented at all. The main reason for this is that political parties do not publish data on the nationality of their members. The changes occurring in the parties are not sufficiently analyzed yet*". This is an example of the lack of data on this topic. There has to be more data which has been collected during a wider time range to make a conclusion which is satisfying. The parties seldom categorize their members by origin and ethnicity and from a scientific point of view this has made my research hard. The impact of immigration on society will only be fully understood when its impact on various institutions is covered. The impact of immigration on European politics and political parties need more data collection, not just more research. The quantitative data which is available is the numbers of people with immigration background which have been candidates of a party or are members in councils and parliaments. The last years, some studies about the impact of immigration on society have been made. One example of this was the report "The Impact of migration on Germany's Society" published by Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge in Germany, which is used several times in this thesis. The report, however, looks at the impact on the society and not the actual impact on the political parties.

The politics of parties have changed in two major directions regarding the issue immigration.

The first is the politics to get more labor immigrants to the country. One example of this is the Green Card regulation in Germany. This political issue would not be a reality if the parties did not see the possibilities with immigration and how it could be a substitute to the native labor population. The other direction the politics have changed as result of immigration is the immigration laws. I was surprised to see that so few of the countries had immigration laws in the mid-1990's. These laws have been a direct consequence of the immigration, and show how the European parties adopt their domestic politics to these changes. The educational politics and citizenship politics are also examples were the direct effect of immigration seen in the policies which are currently being implemented in Europe.

Another way to study the impact is to look at the internal changes in the parties. The rise of ethnical and religious pluralism may have an impact on the parties, but as mentioned earlier the ethnicity and nationality of the members are seldom categorized. If we take a historical look at the immigration, it was first in the late 1990's and the start of the 2000's immigrants were taken seriously in the debates, both as voters and as candidates in the elections. This fact shows that immigration is quite new on the political agenda in Europe. The major changes in the participation amongst people with an immigrant background have happened the last twenty years. In my opinion, there is one main reason for this. Earlier in this thesis it was written that the first generation of immigrants tends to continue to be more interested in the situation in their origin country than in the new country. The second and third generations are more likely to become interested in the new country. The first labor immigrants moved to Europe in the 1950's-1970's, and their children became old enough to vote and participate in politics in the late 1980's and in the 1990's. This is just a few years before immigration became a theme in the public debate. In 1994, the first member of the Bundestag with Turkish origin, Cem Özdemir, was elected. When more people of immigration background became members of parties and elected members of different counties and parliament, they have more impact on the politics. The major changes in the politics, in the areas focused on in this thesis, happened after the mid-1990's and therefore are these factors important when looking at the internal factor in the parties and of how immigration has made an impact. Today, twenty years later, people of immigrant background are better represented, but not well enough. From a democratic point of view, a good representation of all citizens in the council and parliament is important to maintain a good democratic system. I believe that a society without a good representation has democratic problems.

Today in 2013, the major political issue in Europe is the financial crisis. The impact of this on the political issues, and especially on immigration are found in several examples. Some of the best examples are found in Greece and Spain. If the financial situation continue, it is possible that the immigration policy of the parties is going to be more restrictive. In Spain this is already a reality. The party has changed their policy from an openly immigrant "friendly" policy in the end of the 1990's, to becoming one of the most restrictive in Europe today. Also in the Netherlands the immigration policy of the CDA has become more restrictive. It might be harder to be able to move to some European countries as a result of the economic situation and the unemployment rate. There are also many examples in Europe today, and earlier in history, of anti-immigration parties which gets more votes when the unemployment rate is high and the citizens are unsatisfied with the situation in the society. This is why I believe that the Christian Democratic parties are going to be more restrictive in their immigration policy if the situation continues.

In addition to the financial crisis and the growing numbers of immigrants, Europe is becoming increasingly more secularized. The religion has gone from a prominent public role to a marginal place in the private sphere in our new modern world. The secularization and privatization of the religion are affecting the Christian Democratic party to some extent. However, I have not found a common change for all the Christian Democratic parties as a consequence of the secularization. In Norway, KrF focus less on their Christian values than earlier, but in Germany CSU, is still focusing on this and uses Christianity in their argumentation, example of this is religious symbols in classrooms. I found that CDU is still being more of a catch-all party, and therefore they adopt more to the changes of the society than CSU. Christian Democracy has been the most important movement since the WWII and I believe that the movement is going to play an important role in the future of European politics as well. The secularization is affecting the various Christian Democratic parties in different ways, however this should be anticipated when their history and Christian denomination differs. What is going to happen with the Christian values in the Christian Democratic parties in this new secularized and multicultural continent? I would like to say that the Christian values in the Christian Democratic parties may be an advantage to make religious immigrants vote and become members of these parties. However some of the issues Christian Democratic Parties choose to front could be a problem when including immigrants. One example of this is the issue about Israel. Some of the Christian Democratic parties in Europe publicly support Israel and this may not be the best strategy to be a political alternative for the Muslim

immigrants from the Middle East. If the parties aim to attract more immigrant voters and members, they must look at their controversial issues. The main reason to do this is not to change their own political views, but to adapt their argumentation to the new reality and try to have a different approach to the issue.

France and United Kingdom are two of the most important countries in Europe, and not writing that much about them in this thesis has been a choice I made early in the writing process. None of these countries have Christian Democratic parties but there are some Christian groups in the other parties instead. This could be a way for the Christian Democracy as a movement to survive in other countries as well. If the Christian Democratic parties become very small, the members could change parties to the national conservative party, or another party, and start some Christian groups in these parties. There is however one major argument against this theory. The Christian Democratic movement is not on the way to disappear. CDU is a great example of a Christian Democratic party which has lost many of their voters and members, but they are still one of the major parties in Europe. We may be on the edge of a time with more parties, and therefore many will lose voters and members, but this does not necessary mean that they lose their power.

The research question in this thesis was: "How has migration made an impact on the Christian Democratic parties in Europe, CDU and Germany in particular?" and this thesis has started to find some of the impact but before we can get the ultimate answer more data have to be collected and more research have to be done. I hope that this thesis has contributed to the research on this area and that the question gets more attention in the future.

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Appendix 1 - Alphabetical overview of the government status of the Christian Democratic parties in Europe[232]

Albania – No Christian Democratic party but Partia Demokratike e Shqipërisë (Democratic Party of Albania) are a member of CDI

Single party government *(68 of 140 seats in parliament)*

Andorra – No Christian Democratic party

Austria – Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(51 of 183 seats)*

Belarus – No Christian Democratic party

Belgium – Christen Democratisch en Vlaams (Christian-Democratic and Flemish)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(25 of 150 seats)*

Belgium – Centre Democrate Humaniste (Humanistic Democratic Centre)

In government as a junior coalition *(10 of 150 seats)*

Bosnia and Herzegovina – Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica 1990 (Croatian Democratic Union 1990)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(2 of 42 seats)*

Bulgaria – Sajun na Demokrationi Sili (Union of Democratic Forces)

In opposition *(10 of 240 seats)*

Croatia – Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)

In opposition *(47 of 151 seats)*

Croatia – Hvratska Seljacka Stranka (Croatian Peasant Party)

In opposition *(one of 151 seats)*

Cyprus – Dimakratikos Synagermos (Democratic Rally)

Single party government *(20 of 80 seats)*

Czech Republic – Krest'anská a Demokratická Unie (Christian and Democratic Union)

Not in parliament

Denmark – Kristendemokraterne (Christian Democrats)

Not in parliament

Estonia – Isamaa ja Res Publica Liit (IRL) (Fatherland and Res Publica Union)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(23 of 101 seats)*

Finland – Kristdemokraterna

In government as a junior coalition partner *(6 of 200 seats)*

France – No Christian Democratic party in the parliament

Germany – Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union)

In government as senior coalition partner *(194 of 622 seats)*

Germany – Christlich Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union of Bavaria)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(45 of 622 seats)*

Greece – Nea Dimokratia (New Democracy)

In government as a senior coalition party *(129 of 300 seats)*

Hungary – Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt (Christian Democratic People's Party)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(36 of 386 seats)*

Iceland – No Christian Democratic party in parliament

Ireland – Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)

In government as senior coalition partner *(76 of 166 seats)*

Italy – Il Popolo della Libertà (The People of Freedom)

In government as a junior coalition partner *(98 of 630 seats)*

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[232] All numbers are from http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/countries.html (last updated 06.05.2013)

Italy – Unione di Centro (Union of the Centre)

    In government as a junior coalition partner *(8 of 630 seats)*

Italy – Südtiroler Volkspartei (South Tyrolean People's Party)

    In opposition *(5 of 630 seats)*

Latvia – No Christian Democratic party

Liechtenstein – Vaterländische Union (Fatherland Union)

    In government as junior coalition partner *(8 of 25 seats)*

Lithuania - Tevynes Sajunga - Lietuvos Krikscionys Demokratai (Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats)

    In opposition *(33 of 141 seats)*

Lithuania Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie (AWPL) (Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania)

    In government as a junior coalition partner *(8 of 141 seats)*

Luxemburg – Chrëschtlech Sozial Vollekspartei (Chrsitian Social Peoples Party)

    In government as senior coalition partner *(26 of 60 seats)*

Macedonia – Demokratska Partija za Makedonsko Nazionalno Edinstvo (Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity)

    In government as senior coalition partner *(56 of 123 seats)*

Malta – Partit Nazzjonalista (Nationalist Party)

    In opposition *(30 of 69 seats)*

Moldova – Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova (Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova)

    In government as a senior coalition partner *(32 of 101 seats)*

Moldova – Partidul Popular Crestin Democrat (Christian Democratic People's Party)

    Not in parliament

Montenegro – No Christian Democratic party in parliament

Netherlands – Christen Democratisch Appèl (Chrsitian Democratic Appeal)

    In opposition *(13 of 150 seats)*

Norway – Kristelig Folkeparti (Christian Democratic Party)

    In opposition *(10 of 169 seats)*

Poland – Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)

    In government as senior coalition partner *(207 of 460 seats)*

Poland – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish People's Party)

    In government as a junior coalition partner *(28 of 460 seats)*

Portugal – Partido Social Democrata (Social Democratic Party)

    In government as senior coalition partner *(108 of 230 seats)*

Portugal – Centro Democratico e Social-Partido Popular (Democratic and Social Centre-People's Party)

    In government as a junior coalition partner *(24 of 230 seats)*

Romania – Partidul Democrat Liberal (Democratic Liberal Party)

    In opposition *(52 of 412 seats)*

Romania – Forta Civica (Civic Force)

    In opposition *(3 of 412 seats)*

Romania – Partidul National Taranesc Crestin Democrat (Christian Democratic National Peasants Party)

    In opposition *(One of 412 seats)*

Russia – No Christian Democratic party in parliament

San Marino – Partito Democratico Cristiano Sammarinese (San Marinese Chrsitian Democratic Party)

    In government as senior coalition partner *(17 of 60 seats)*

San Marino – Unione per la Republica (Union for the Republic)

In opposition *(5 of 60 seats)*
San Marino – Moderati Sammarinese (San Marinese Moderates)
　　　Not in parliament
Serbia – Demokratska Stranka Srbije (Democratic Party of Serbia)
　　　In opposition *(21 of 250 seats)*
Slovakia – Krest'anskodemokratické Hnutie (Christian Democratic Movement)
　　　In opposition *(16 of 150 seats)*
Slovakia – Slovenská Demokatická a Krest'anská Únia (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union)
　　　In opposition *(11 of 150 seats)*
Slovenia – Slovenska Ljudska Stranka (Slovenian People's Party)
　　　In opposition *(6 of 90 seats)*
Slovenia – Nova Slovenija Krscanska Ljudska Stranka (New slovenia – Christian People's Party)
　　　In opposition *(4 of 90 seats)*
Spain – Partido Popular (People's Party)
　　　In government, single party government *(186 of 350 seats)*
Spain – Eusko Alderdi Jeltzalea (Basque National Party)
　　　In opposition *(5 of 350 seats)*
Spain – Unió Democràtioa de Catalunya (Democratic Union of Catalonia)
　　　In opposition *(6 of 350 seats)*
Sweden – Kristdemokraterna (Christian Democrats)
　　　In government as a junior coalition partner *(19 of 349 seats)*
Switzerland – Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (Christian Democratic People's Party)
　　　In government as a junior coalition partner *(28 of 200 seats)*
Switzerland – Evangelische Volkspartei (Evangelical People's Party)
　　　In oppostition (2 of 200 seats)
Switzerland – Christlich-Soziale Partei Obwalden (Christian Social Party Obwalden)
　　　In Opposition (One of 200 seats)
Turkey – No Christian Democratic Party in parliament
Ukraine – No Christian Democratic party in parliament
United Kingdom – No Christian Democratic party in parliament

Armenia and Georgia are not found in this overview. This is because I have chosen to define them as Asian countries not European. Due to disputes, regarding whether Kosovo is an independent state or not, I have chosen not to include Kosovo in this overview.

In some of the countries, such as Switzerland, there are many different Christian Democratic parties in parliament. The parliament in these countries has a proportional representation system with no election threshold. As a consequence of this many parties with just some percentage in the elections become part of parliament.

Appendix 2 - Statistics

This is the statistics to the diagram in chapter 6. All numbers are in thousands.

Origin of immigrants

Country	People
Europe	*11260*
EU-27	*4987*
Greece	392
Italy	780
Poland	1473
Romania	484
Rest of Europe	*6273*
Bosnia and Herzegovina	228
Croatia	360
Russian federation	1227
Serbia	286
Turkey	2956
Ukraine	273
Africa	*555*
America	*399*
North America	189
Asia, Australia and Oceania	*2533*
Middle east	*1597*
Kazachstan	922
South and south east Asia	*767*
Unknown or not specified	*1216*
Countries that no longer exists	
Yogoslavia	1507
Soviet	2929

The variation in age for people with one or two foreign parents

Age	2011	2010
0-5 years	1148	1143
5-10 years	1130	1141
10-15 years	1134	1123
15-20 years	1125	1116
20-25 years	1112	1100
25-35 years	2473	2486
35-45 years	2550	2516
45-55 years	2166	2104
55-65 years	1614	1538
65-75 years	944	948
75-85 years	460	431
85-95 years	102	95
95+	0	0

Appendix 3 - Timeline
1870-2013

The German Empire

1870
- Januar – Wilhelm I chosen as the first German emperor
- July - The Franco-Prussian war started
- Deusche Zentrumspartei (Zentrum) was founded

1871
- May - The Franco Prussian war ended
- The German constitution was created
- Bismarck launched the *Kulturkampf*

1878
- Bismarck Abandon the *Kultutkampf*

1887
- Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland (SPD) was founded

1889
- Bismarck dies

1891
- Said to be the starting point of the modern Catholic Social Teaching
- Pope Leo XIII released his encyclopedia *Rerum Novarum*

In the end of 19th century, the industrialization started

Weimar republic

1901
- Pope Leo XIII released his encyclopedia *Graves de Communi.* The word "Christian Democrat" was used for one of the first times in this encyclopedia.

1914
- The First World War started

1918
- The Socialist Party split into two parties

1918
- The First World War ended

1919
- June 28 – The Treaty of Versailles was signed
- August - The Weimar constitution was signed

1929
- The great Depression

1930
- NSDAP became the second largest party in the elections

1931
- Pope Pius XI release the Encyclopedia *Quadragesimo Anno*. The most important issues in this Encyclopedia were the welfare state and Bonnum Commune (the common good)

1932
- NSDAP got most votes in the election

Nazi Regime

1933
- Januar – Adolf Hitler was elected Chancellor
- Zentrum supported the election of Hitler as Chancellor

- The Kirkchenkampf was started
- The *Deutsche Christen* was founded
- The enabling act

1939

- The Second World War started

1943

- A bishop sent an open letter to Hitler that critized the regime

1945

- April 30 - Adolf Hitler was found dead
- The Second World War ended
- Germany split into four occupied zones
- June 10 - It was allowed to establish none-facsist parties
- June 26 a regional CDU was founded in Berlin
- September – Regional CDU was founded all over Germany

1948

- To German states was started to be build
- Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP) was founded

1949

- First election in West Germany
- Konrad Adenauer of CDU was elected the first Chancellor, and CDU, CSU and FDP made the first government.

1950

- Konrad Adenauer was elected Chairman of CDU

1961

- The rise of the Berlin Wall

1963

- Konrad Adenauer resigned as the German Chancellor and Ludig Erhard ,of CDU, became the new Chancellor.

1966

- Konrad Adenauer resigned as chairman of CDU and Ludwig Erhard was elected new Chairman
- CDU in coalition with SPD

1967

- Ludwig Erhard was chairman for just one year before Kurt Georg Kiesinger was elected new chairman in 1967

1971

- Rainer Barzel was elected new chairman of CDU. He was the first chairman of the party that have not been Chancellor

1973

- East and West Germany became members in the UN and they where represented in each other's capital
- Helmut Kohl was elected new chairman of the party
- Immigrant workers from Non-EC countries were no longer allowed to work in Germany

1980

- Die Grünen was founded.

CDU

1982
- CDU won the election and Helmut Kohl was the new Chancellor

1990
- First democratic election in East Germany
- 1st and 2nd of October – CDU had the first joint party conference as a whole German CDU
- October 3 - Germany was re-unified
- The new Citizenship Law

1993
- Nationality Act was reformed to establish a right to naturalization

1994
- Cem Özdemir (Bündis/Die Grünen) was elected member of the Budestag, as the first member of Turkish background.

1995
- The *Volkssculeordnung* in the FCC

SPD

1998
- Helmut Kohl resigned as Chairman of CDU and Wolfgang Schäuble was elected as the new Chairman

2000
- Januar 1 – A reform of the National Act made it easier for children to acquire German citizenship
- Gerard Schröder introduces the Green Card regulation
- April - Angela Merkel was elected as the new Chairman of CDU when Wolfgang Shcäuble resigned in the beginning of the year

2002
- The case Lautsi and others vs. Italy starts

2004
- The immigration Act is approved in July

CDU/SPD

2005
- January 1, the Immigration Act is fully implemented
- Angela Merkel became the first female Chancellor of Germany

2007
- Die Linke was founded
- The Immigration law goes trough some changes. The motto of the change is *«to promote and require»*

2008
- Cem Özdemir was elected chairman of Bündis/Die Grünen. He was the first person with immigrant background who was elected chairman of a political party in Germany

CDU

2009
- A new Blue Card directive from EU. Germany is negative

2010
- Aygül Özkan (CDU) was elected Minister of Social affairs in the state Niedersachsen. She was the first muslim minister of turkish origin in Germany.

2011
- Grand Chamber favored the Italian state in the case Lautsi and others vs. Italy starts

2012
- Germany implement the Blue Card directives from EU

- Angela Merkel re-elected as chairman of CDU with 97,94% of the votes

2013
- Election in Germany

Appendix 4 - Glossary

Arierparagraph – In 1933, the Nazi regime added the Arierparagraph in the law that added a racial criterion for continued employment. This is the addition to the law:

"§ 3

(1) Civil servants who are not of Aryan descent are to be retired (§ 8 ff.); if they hold honorary posts, they are to be dismissed from their official duties.

(2) Section 1 does not apply to civil servants who were already in office on 1 August 1914 or who fought at the front for the German Reich or its Allies in the World War, or whose fathers or sons fell in the World War. Further exceptions for civil servants working abroad may be permitted by the Reich Minister of the Interior in consultation with the Minister concerned or with the highest state authorities."[233]

Blue collar worker – Occupational classifications of persons who often have jobs which involve manual labor and are performed in work clothes. Examples of these types of jobs are mechanics, plumbers and electricians.[234]

CDU- Christian Democratische Union

CSU – Christlische Soziale Union

Deutsche Christen - a party that wanted to unite Christianity and Nazism into a national church in the Third Reich

EEA – European Economic Area (EEA) consists of the 27 EU Member states, Norway Liechtenstein and Iceland. It is an agreement that brings together the Area to one single market, and it was introduced on January 1st, 1994. [235]

EPP - The largest party in the European Parliament. It includes the centre-right parties in the Parliament and was founded in 1976.[236]

EU-27 – The member states in the EU in 2013

FDP - Freie Demokratische Partei

Kulturkampf – The Kulturkampf was an attempt to give the Catholics less power in the German Empire. As a result of this, many priests and all the bishops were imprisoned or exiled. Bismarck tried to silence the Catholics in the high circles of the society. In the years between 1871 and 1878, Bismarck used the Kulturkampf to weaken the Catholic movements in Germany, but in 1878 the Kulturkampf was abandoned.

Länder – The German name of the regions in Germany.

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[233] http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~dluebke/Germany342/Arierparagraph.html (14.05.2013)
[234] http://smallbusiness.chron.com/bluecollar-worker-whitecollar-worker-11074.html/ (14.05.2013)
[235] http://www.efta.int/eea/eea-agreement.aspx (14.05.2013)
[236] http://www.epp.eu/who-are-we (14.05.2013)

OECD – The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD was established in 1948 and in 2013 the organization has 34 member countries worldwide.

Quadragesimo – Encyclopedia released by Pope Piux XI in 1931. Some of the most important issues in this encyclopedia were the welfare state and the common good (*bonum commune*). Similar to what could be red in Rerum Novarum, this encyclopedia was critical towards modern capitalism, but also against a dominating state.

Rerum Novarum - Encyclopedia released by Pope Leo XIII in 1891. The encyclopedia is said to be the start of the modern Catholic Social Teaching.

SPD - Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands

White collar workers - Occupational classifications of persons who have jobs in an office setting. Examples of these types of jobs are bankers, attorneys and architects. [237]

Zentrum – Catholic party founded 1870 in Germany. Has an important role in the foundation of CDU.

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[237] http://smallbusiness.chron.com/bluecollar-worker-whitecollar-worker-11074.html (15.05.2013)