

The German Paradigm: German Democracy's Influence on the Institution of Democracy

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Abstract

This paper sought to answer why Germany has been a successful democracy since the reconstruction of the country after WWII. This paper also sought to answer what elements of that success can tell political science about the institution of democracy. This paper used five criteria, effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and the inclusion of adults, to define democracy and success. This paper then looked at poverty levels, education levels, and cultural factors in Germany and across the world to explain success.

Poverty was found to be moderately low in democracy's but not the lowest. Education levels were found to be highly correlated and causal with democracy. The most striking result was that culture, specifically civic culture, was found to be the most important factor in the success of a democracy. It was found that without a civic culture that nurtures democracy and guards it no country could implement democracy or hold a democracy.

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Chapter 1: Defining Democracy and Modern Democracy

"The birds were singing. They were so beautiful as their Melodies hung in the crisp spring air, independent of the occasion. A man sat at a table. The table was brown. The paper was white, and the ink was black, much like the past. His head pinged from the assassination attempt. Inside he bore a dark past of pride and of pain, His crisp uniform the last remnants of fallen evil and service to his leader. With the stroke of his hand, defeat was final. However, trial was ahead for him and his nation. His leader was gone, but the snake in the garden will live in others. The flowers that year were sown of blood, the blood of innocents, the blood of tyrants. Many years later a man sat at a table. The table was brown. The ink was black, and the paper was white, much like the future. His skin was wrinkled from the weight of the years. His suite was old like him but regal like him. He was the savior of his nation, the most powerful nation in the region. The flowers that year were sown of hope, the hope of prosperity, the hope of forgiveness. This is only one chapter of Germany. This is only one chapter of democracy. This is the chapter of the full and unconditional surrender of the Nazi empire by General Jodl to the rise of the new German democracy lead by Konrad Adenauer¹."

It is 1945, and the German empire has collapsed under the full assault of the Allied Powers. Germany is divided into four sections, and the remnants of the Nazi empire have surrendered. This Germany has no leader and has not had democracy since Hitler's overthrow of the Weimar Republic in the mid-1930s. Fast-forward to 2018. Germany is reunited and is one of the most robust democracies in the world. It has the best economy in the European Union and is a global leader again². This is a dramatic change from 1945. Germany has become a shining example of democracy. However, the question is why has it been so successful and what does this mean for democracy as a whole? Many countries that have had a dictatorship that falls do not achieve a stable democracy. The question is, why has Germany been so successful in transitioning to and maintaining a democracy where other countries have failed? This question is

¹ Adenauer, "Germany and Europe."

² "Eurostat - Tables, Graphs and Maps Interface (TGM) Table."

crucial because it may give us an insight into how democracies can be more successful in the future.

To begin, democracy must be defined for this paper. Democracy is not always clearly defined as there have been many forms of democracy throughout history. This starts with Athens and their primitive form of democracy, but this is not at all the same as what America achieved in the late 1700s. The Athenians instated a form of democracy where the citizens voted directly on legislation and executive bills. The eligible citizens were only male citizens; this excluded female citizens children and slaves. With this, the voting population was less than half of the citizens of Athens. This worked however because Athens was a city-state with a much smaller population than a metropolitan city today. Athens had about only 300,000 citizens, and only about 30,000 or 50,000 citizens were allowed to vote. Many other city-states in Greece used this process, but this democracy was used on a small scale and would not be feasible for a more massive nation³.

The next major iteration of democratic government was the Roman Republic which was a senatorial system, unlike the Athenian direct voting system⁴. The Roman Republic was just that: a republic rather than a democracy, but it was the next and most significant iteration of democratic institutions, mainly voting systems. The Roman Republic was much more extensive than Athens and was one of the largest empires in the world. The Roman Republic could not have instituted a direct voting system because this would have been too cumbersome given the size of the empire. Some things were voted on by the people, but every law could not be voted on this way. The Roman Republic was structured with the Senate the Consuls and The People's

³ Thorley, *Athenian Democracy*.

⁴ Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic*.

Assembly. Rome undermined the election system until it was destroyed, throughout its history. In the beginning, however, the people of Rome, men only, were allowed to vote for their representatives to The People's Assembly which made the laws of Rome. The Senate was not elected; however, it was somewhat like The House of Lords in the early iterations of the British Parliament where seats were passed down from generations of noble families. In the Roman Senate, seats were acquired through wealth. One had to be quite wealthy to become a Senator, but the Senate did not have many official powers they mainly were used for influence. The Senate could give recommendations to the Consuls, who were the leaders of the Roman Republic, and elect the Consuls. This influence grew causing their recommendations to be followed. This happened because the Senators held strong financial power in all realms of the empire and going against them could get a Consul killed or worse⁵.

The Roman republican form of democracy was not very democratic, but it gave the institution of democracy a critical institution which was representative government. This was a progression from the Athenian system of direct representation in that now the people elected leaders to make decisions for them. Even though the system was undermined its spirit lived on. Voltaire talked extensively about the Roman system and advocated for elections in France until his death, ten years before the French Revolution that would eventually lead to representative government in France⁶. These ideas were also used by Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers in the creation of the United States Legislator.

Now, fast-forward hundreds of years to the British Parliament. The King of England was forced to sign Magna Carta which established The Parliament of England in which laws would

⁵ Lintott.

⁶ Shank, "Voltaire."

be enacted. This was the first European move towards democratization⁷. The people of England were not voting on members of Parliament in its inception but later giving of rights by The King would lead to this. This is another step in the direction of democracy that England would eventually have. This rebellion by a few Barons sowed the seed of a tradition of slow giving of rights by The King to the people of England and would eventually grow to the British system of democracy that England has today. It would not be without its trials, however. When Oliver Cromwell and the Parliamentarians killed King James in the 1600s, they had for a brief period no king and a truly parliamentary system, not what they have today which is a parliamentary monarchy. Cromwell also violated the Magna Carta even more than the king⁸. The king was restored, however. There would be depositions like this in the future like growing pains of European democracy. This democracy, however, looks nothing like the modern democracy which this paper will define, it is just another step toward it.

As we have seen above there are many forms of democracy, the Athenian system, the Roman system, and the English system have been highlighted already but some of the more contemporary examples are presidential democracy's which is the chosen form of The United States, there is parliamentary democracy's which are popular in Europe, but both of these are still democracies. So, what is the definition of democracy, well the definition of classical democracy is a system of government where the powers of the government are given freely by the people who live in the state⁹. This has evolved however over the years so defining democracy is not good enough, modern democracy must be defined to accurately judge democracies of today as to whether they are democracies.

⁷ Danziger and Gillingham, 1215.

⁸ Danziger and Gillingham.

⁹ Clarke and Foweraker, *Encyclopedia of Democratic Thought*.

As with democracy itself, there are many variations in a modern democracy, and in European democracy specifically. One variation of Democracy is the equal allocation of voter rights and basic human rights to its citizens. Let us start with voting rights. Voting rights as defined by The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 21 is that every person who is a citizen of a state will be afforded the right to vote for their elected representatives in some capacity. For example, a parliamentary democracy usually has general elections of representatives but elects its Prime Minister or Chancellor from the elected assembly. In these cases, the representatives of districts usually are elected by the people and then those representatives vote on the leader of the country. The base principle is that the people vote at some level for their leaders even if it is indirectly. Direct representation must be instituted in democracy for it to be a democracy. This direct representation cannot be abridged by corruption in the government such as election buying or assassinations of political figures. Second is basic human rights which are of the utmost importance and cannot be abridged for a democracy to meet this paper's requirements. The basic human rights that must be afforded to the people in this scenario are also in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are summed up in categories of rights¹⁰.

“The preamble sets out the historical and social causes that led to the necessity of drafting the Declaration. Articles 1–2 established the basic concepts of dignity, liberty, equality, and brotherhood. Articles 3–11 established other individual rights, such as the right to life and the prohibition of slavery, as well as universal freedom of speech. Articles 6–11 refer to the fundamental legality of human rights with specific remedies cited for their defense when violated. Articles 12–17 established the rights of the individual towards the

¹⁰ “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”

community (including such things as freedom of movement). Articles 18–21 sanctioned the so-called "constitutional liberties," and with spiritual, public, and political freedoms, such as freedom of thought, opinion, religion and conscience, word, and peaceful association of the individual. Articles 22–27 sanctioned an individual's economic, social and cultural rights, including healthcare. Article 25 states: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services." It also makes additional accommodations for security in case of physical debilitation or disability and makes special mention of care given to those in motherhood or childhood.^[6]Articles 28–30 established the general ways of using these rights, the areas in which these rights of the individual cannot be applied, and that they cannot be overcome against the individual"¹¹.

The rights that are most important and most vital to democracy are those laid out in Articles 1-11 and Articles 18-21. These rights are those that must be present in any democracy. These are the rights of life liberty and pursuit of happiness and other basic rights like those laid out in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. Concerning Articles 18-21 these are rights that are fundamental to the facilitation of democracy. Rights covering freedom of speech and discourse which are core principles of democracy and without them, such as dahl alludes to, democracy does not exist¹².

The United Nations drafted all of these rights as an idea of what the basic human rights of people all across the world are and each one of them is important, but some of them are more

¹¹ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

¹² Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

crucial to the function of democracy than the others. These rights from The Universal Declaration of Human Rights are crucial to democracy and must be included. Some of the other articles, while novel, are not necessary for democracy. The articles referring to the safety of the people from other citizens and the government are paramount in the preservation of democracy. For example, in Russia, the peoples general fear of speaking out against the government will be met with retaliation is a violation of democracy. With the right to privacy, however, this right can be abridged in certain circumstances if the governments believe that someone's life may be in danger. One person's rights end when they abridge another person's rights. For example, some religious or cultural practices cannot be allowed if they harm any person's right to be free from harm.

The UDHR comes from FDR's "Four Freedoms" speech in which he outlines the freedom of speech and religion and the freedoms from fear and want¹³. This would later be incorporated into the UN charter which was heavily influenced by the Americans just as the German Basic Law was at the same time¹⁴. This document is an effort at universal democratization. This is the final progression in the world of democracy. Starting with the direct representation of some men in Athens to the entire world adopting this document and instituting a government with all the rights afforded in this document. This has not happened, however, but this is what the final step would be in the progression of democracy as an institution. This is the entire world having citizens with the basic rights that have evolved from a small society of 300,000 people with limited forms of some of these rights to the over 7 billion people in the

¹³ Roosevelt, "FDR, 'The Four Freedoms,' Speech Text."

¹⁴ "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

world having the freedoms afforded to them that this document lays out¹⁵. This would be the final chapter of democracy.

There are many different forms of modern democracy as well, and it has many different progressions. Presidential and parliamentary democracy has already been mentioned, but there are even further classifications within these. There are unicameral and bicameral democracies. Unicameral meaning that that democracy has only one house of the legislator. Bicameral meaning that the country has two houses of the legislator. The point is that modern democracy can take many forms and have many variations while still being a democracy. For modern democracy, the definition that will be laid out allows for all of these variations provided they comply with the definition.

Modern democracy can be defined using five criteria: effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, the inclusion of adults. This is just one way to define it as Robert Dahl has in his books¹⁶. These criteria are defined as follows. Effective participation means that each citizen has the right to give questions and provide input to the government and indicate preferences in the political agenda. Voting equality means that all citizens must know that all citizens' votes will be counted as equal. This must be not just be stated but must be the practice of the government. Enlightened understanding means that all the citizens must be able to weigh the choices given to them and not told what is best for them without a way to find out for themselves. This does not mean they are required to do research. Enlightened understanding means that they have the opportunity to decide what is best for them by looking at available facts. Control of the agenda means that citizens should have the ability to control in

¹⁵ Thorley, *Athenian Democracy*.

¹⁶ Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

some form or fashion what is talked about and discussed and give their input in what issues they think are essential. Inclusion of adults means that all citizens must be able to participate in elections¹⁷.

This definition of democracy is the criteria for *ideal* democracy. Dahl even says this is unachievable. Nonetheless, this is the ideal for which to strive. For this paper, this is what democracy will be judged against. Being a democracy does not mean living up to this completely, but Germany's government will be compared to this to see how much of a democracy it is. This is the maximum of democracy so to speak and not the requirement¹⁸.

This is how success will be judged because whether a country is a democracy and whether it is a successful democracy are only differences of degree. If Germany fulfills these criteria at a basic level yes it will be found to be a democracy, but the level of fulfillment of these criteria is what shows its success. For example, take the media. The media is an institution which covers many pieces of the five criteria laid out by this paper and Robert Dahl. For a democracy to be a democracy, the media must operate in a free and fair manner to a certain extent. Now there is a level of free and fair that is acceptable and a high level and a perfect level. Being adequate means that the country is a democracy but being better is the degree of success.

This is not a degree that is going to be defined all the time quantitatively or with a strict number based or variable based equation. It will be measured more qualitatively. This will be made more evident in the progression of the second chapter. For each of the criteria laid out for determining if a country is a democracy, adequacy and success will be judged

¹⁷ McGowan, "Is America a Successful Democracy: A Critical Inquiry."

¹⁸ Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

The success of a country's democracy is the combined success of these institutions. The success will be defined using the aid of Freedom House metrics. This means that the varying degrees of success of these institutions will make up the total success of a country at being a democracy. There is not a magic combination of the success of these institutions that draws a line in the sand as to whether they are succeeding or not; only relative judgments can be made about a single country. These judgments will be relative to other democracies and relative to complete success. This paper will be making a judgment as to whether Germany is successful or not using evidence from these institutions to prove the assessment.

With the examination of why Germany was so successful, it is essential to evaluate Germany's decisions and influences over the last 70 plus years. This can give us insight into not only this singular democracy but democracy as a whole. To discuss this success and evaluate it this paper will be using a three-indicator study of why democracy is successful in institutions and countries. This is how this paper will be evaluating why Germany is successful in its democracy. Those three indicators are going to be education levels, poverty levels, and culture. This paper has chosen these indicators because they accurately describe the main factors that may be the causal quantities for the success of a democracy. Higher levels of education, low poverty and favorable cultural reactions to democratic institutions will produce an environment where democracy can thrive. Low levels of education, high levels of poverty and unfavorable reactions to democratic ideals will produce an environment in which democracy cannot thrive or exist. This is the hypothesis.

The education levels of a country help to explain its ability to produce leaders and a level of society to govern¹⁹. What is meant by this, is that the more educated the public is, the more likely it is that a country can produce an electorate that understands its political process and a class of leaders to make policies to ensure this democracy. For example, The United States in the mid-1700s had a sizeable elite class that chose to rebel against The British Crown. Now, general education is not what type of education that is important for voting citizens. Civic education is what is paramount. The people must be educated about democracy and have a level of understanding of how their government works. Apart from this civic education of the general public, the levels of people graduating from higher education institutions show how advanced a countries intellectual class is. This intellectual class is instrumental in producing democratic leaders.

Poverty levels were chosen because they speak to the level of unrest and problems facing Germany²⁰. What is meant by this, is that the levels of poverty in a country can show its stability. For example, in Germany at the fall of the Weimar Republic Germany was reaching massive levels of inflation and money was becoming almost worthless. This led to the rise of Hitler's dictatorship. If the people are in a crippling economic crisis, then it is less likely that a new democracy will be able to stay in power. Research by Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis²¹ shows that countries with lower GDP have a significantly higher probability of civil war than countries with higher GDPs. Germany did not have a civil war, but this speaks to levels of civil unrest when unemployment is high, and wages are low. These are conditions in which a democracy can be overthrown.

¹⁹ "How Educated Are World Leaders?"

²⁰ Systems, "When Do Inequalities Cause Conflict?"

²¹ Systems.

This paper chose cultural factors because people's culture and decisions inform their mindset, and what they are willing to accept is also a part of their culture²². For example, the German people have a phenomenon which is referred to as Nazi guilt which may have helped the transition to democracy. The German people had a level of shame that the war was their fault and that they deserved blame. This made it easier for the United States, France, and Britain to help them write their Basic Law which is like the U.S. Constitution. The culture of a country produces its cultural receptiveness to democracy. Some aspects of a country's past or ethnic makeup may put it in a position where democracy will not be received well. For example, in Iran the people's view of The United States and western culture is hostile. Democracy is often shown as a western idea, so Iran may not be very receptive to democracy²³.

With these three leading indicators, this paper hopes to explain the success of German democracy and help to put German democracy in the context of democracy as an institution. It hopes to prove that these indicators will explain why German democracy is successful or not. This paper believes that these indicators are multifaceted enough to cover significant issues that affect a country's compatibility with democracy.

For this research, this paper will be comparing other countries to Germany concerning Germany's success and the failure of these other countries. This paper will be using some comparisons of countries that transition to democracy. This will give a forecast for what this means for democracy as an institution. Are there sufficient conditions for a country to institute democracy? What does this mean for the spread of democracy as a trend? There has been a significant increase in democracies across the globe since the end of world war two²⁴ but are

²² "How Does Culture Impact Democracy?"

²³ "How Does Culture Impact Democracy?"

²⁴ Roser, "Democracy."

there countries that are merely incompatible for democracy? The study of Germany's unique case can help us determine if it is unique at all or if it is a natural progression of the model of democracy. Is Germany an anomaly or are the factors this paper laid out earlier indicative of the requirements for a democracy to thrive or are they only suggestions for what would be beneficial for a democracy to take hold?

Chapter 2: Is Germany a Successful Democracy, or Even a Democracy?

"The air hung stale and tense; typewriters clicked away emanating a somber tone. Multiple sides sat in many rooms in many times. Men in suits, men in uniforms, men of ambition, men of duty. They stood together; they stood not united but confederated. They stood in half, half in heart, half in nation. The rules were made temporary but strong, the mend began, and it would go on. With the final word, the agreement was signed in blood and breath. The last two seeds of a once mighty tree, poisoned from within and struck down unavoidably, were planted apart. The children that year were born divided, born into secrecy, secrets of fear and secrets of shame — many years, or what seemed like worlds, later, The air hung dark but bright, shoes of all sides crossed from division to unity, bursting forth with elation. All families embraced on all sidewalks and all homes in a single moment, Families of poverty, families of wealth, families of exile, families of solidarity. They stood a whole, whole in heart, whole in nation. There were plans to be made to sow old wounds closed; there was healing as was always supposed. The barriers were broken with steel and signatures, the trees that grew apart and unavoidably estranged, were merged. The children that year were born united, born in enlightenment, enlightened of past and enlightened of pride. This is the story of the founding of The Basic Law in Germany to the reunification of East and West Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall. This is but one link in the chain of Germany's democracy."

As laid out in the introduction, Germany's status as a democracy must be proven before any judgments can be made and before any conclusions can be drawn. The proceeding chapter has laid out what democracy has meant at different times in history and aspirations for the future of democracy. For this paper, the form of government is not the focus in determining whether Germany is a democracy. Many forms of government can be democracies. That is to say that the specific system of elected officials and law-making rules a government has do not necessarily prove that it is not a democracy or that it is a democracy. For example, a presidential system like that of The United States and a parliamentary system like that of many European countries can both be democracies. For the judgment of whether Germany is a democracy the definition laid

out in the introduction will be employed which is a list of rights areas that must be adhered to for a country to be a democracy. These are effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and inclusion of adults. If Germany meets the criteria adequately then it will be deemed a democracy, the degree to which these criteria are fulfilled will show whether it is a successful democracy.

For many of the criteria²⁵ that are being used for democracy, their indicators are intertwined so to be most effective this chapter will overview and explain all of the indicators being used to determine whether Germany is a democracy and how they satisfy or do not satisfy the criteria that have been laid out to define democracy. The indicators are intertwined because elements of the media, voting and other areas of Germany help to explain the fulfillment of different criteria. This means aspects of the media, voting and so forth that as a whole overlap in their fulfillment of these criteria will be explained and then how they fulfill each criterion will be discussed.

Voting is the central area of contention for this definition of democracy. There are many facts to the German voting system which apply to many of the five criteria for democracy. The German voting system is complex but fair. Germany has 299 constituencies for which one candidate is voted into their parliament, which is known as the Bundestag²⁶. This is a simple first past the post system that only one candidate can win. This is quite common in many democracies, but the second vote is not.

²⁵ Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

²⁶ "German Election System Explained - SPIEGEL ONLINE."

Unlike most democracies, Germany employs a second vote for party which populates the other half of the Bundestag. This is a vote for specific parties not for individual candidates²⁷. In this vote, a party must have at least 4 percent of the vote to be allocated seats or have won at least three constituencies. Each party compiles a party list of party figures who are ordered. Voters can look at this as well as the party platform. The number of people who are voted into the Bundestag from the party list is proportional to the percent of the vote the party gets. When the second vote happens these numbers together from the first vote and the second vote make up the Bundestag²⁸. The system is like this to reward parties and specific individuals that may be popular in a district but do not represent the whole ideas of the people there. Meaning that if a popular figure can be elected even if he or she does not hold the particular political beliefs of the majority of the constituents because the voters will also get to vote for their party in the second vote.

This system is professed as fair by the German government²⁹, but is it free and fair elections? Because for it to indeed be democracy freedom of the vote must be a reality not just a talking point. For this Freedom House will be employed. This is a highly reputable site that rates the freedom of countries around the world. For this specific area of voting, freedom house's indicator of political rights will be used as well as corroborating evidence by experts. Freedom House gives Germany a one out of seven for political rights³⁰. In this scale, one is the freest and seven is the least free. So, in their eyes, Germany is a free democracy in the political arena. The report of Freedom in the World by Freedom House was cited by over 2000 scholarly articles and

²⁷ "German Election System Explained - SPIEGEL ONLINE."

²⁸ "German Election System Explained - SPIEGEL ONLINE."

²⁹ Welle (www.dw.com), "German Election."

³⁰ "Germany Freedom."

journals proving the credibility of the site³¹. The report states that Germans are allowed to vote and for there to be opposition which is an essential factor of voting. If voters are allowed to vote, but there are not at least more than one option most of the time it is not a fair election. Since Germany employs a multi-party system, there are plenty of choices for voters, especially with the two-part vote³². There is no interference from the government to augment the vote in any way. For voting to be free and fair merely the act of casting a ballot is not enough. Germany's system of elections is indeed free and fair with no significant concerns from the international community or the national community.

Now that the elections have been proven to be free and fair as far as the system of voting goes the aspect of who can vote must be explored. In article 38 of the German basic law, it states that every person over the age of 18 is allowed to vote. In Germany, no one is forced to vote, and all citizens are allowed to vote as long as they are over the age of 18³³. The word citizen could be restrictive so that definition must be explored as well. As defined by the German Basic Law a citizen is any person who is born to a German citizen or resident for more than eight years. To become a citizen, not in this way, one must be a resident in Germany for eight years, and they go through the process of naturalization. This definition does not discriminate by genders, social status, or race³⁴. Given this, it is not a definition of citizenship that disenfranchises any group. Based on this the German elections are inclusive as well as free and fair.

Next Germany's other areas of political participation must be explored such as media and petitioning the government. Starting with petitioning the government, this right has a rich history

³¹ "Germany Freedom."

³² "German Politics Is Turning into a Six-Party System."

³³ Bundestag, "Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany."

³⁴ "Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany."

in Germany going back to the early German empire. This right was even preserved during the Nazi empire, but it came with the danger of being seen as an enemy of the empire³⁵. In Article 17 of the German Basic Law, the right to petition the government is laid out, and every petition is reviewed by a panel and passed on or rejected but even if it is not passed on advice is given how to fix the problem or what steps need to be taken³⁶. Petitions remain a legitimate way to have one's voice heard in the government, and every petition is taken seriously. If a petition reaches 50,000 signatures, it gets a public hearing in the Bundestag. While only six percent of petitions achieve their goal directly, many of them receive minimal success. Recently there has been a push by some of the members of the committees that review these petitions to change the image of the institution as a complaint center to an authentic voice of the German people.

While petition remains a good avenue of communication, other factors must be examined. Media in Germany is quite complicated. The German Basic Law lays out complete and total freedom of the media, but some caveats make it not complete and total freedom. The rights of the media are based in Article 5 of the German Basic Law. It states that “Every person shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his opinions in speech, writing, and pictures, and to inform himself without hindrance from generally accessible sources. (...) There shall be no censorship.”³⁷ Now Germany is very mindful of its checkered past of censorship of the Nazi empire, and they advocate that they are fervent supporters of freedom of speech and expression, but there are exceptions.

³⁵ “Citizen Petitions - the German People’s ‘hotline’ to Government | News and Current Affairs from Germany and around the World | DW | 17.05.2017.”

³⁶ “Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany.”

³⁷ “Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany.”

Germany's media is independent. Independent meaning that the vast majority of the media outlets are not state-owned and are not subject to substantial government censorship especially censorship that is designed to help the government. Most newspapers and television news, as well as online news, are run by private corporations³⁸. They are paid for by ads like in the United States. There are public channels put on by the German Government they present basic news, but their media is dominated by independent enterprise³⁹.

There is however censorship, unlike their law states. Hate speech and defamation along with Holocaust denial and Nazi propaganda are strictly banned. This is a knock against media independence, but it is not to benefit the government per se. This is a balance that is hard for the German Government to strike especially with the growing tension with the immigration crisis in Germany. Chancellor Merkel and other prominent leaders have called upon media giants like Google, Yahoo, Twitter, and Facebook to censor speech that is defamatory or might incite violence especially as the far right in Germany is further embolden by Merkel's handling of the refugee crisis⁴⁰. This censorship has not risen to concerns about Merkel exploiting it for political gain especially with the AFD being the leader of the minority parties follow the CDU and SPD coalition.

This sort of censorship is not felt in print media as there is no specific pre-publication censorship for print media and other avenues like it. Especially in the political realm of media there has been a quite uneasy trend of self-censorship and government censorship of certain shows and publications due to grievance by minority groups and gender rights activists⁴¹. This

³⁸ "Germany Freedom."

³⁹ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴⁰ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴¹ "Free Speech vs. Censorship in Germany."

trend begs the question is Germany making some mistakes by trying to go too far in going against its past. While the Nazi Empire was no doubt a terrible scourge on the history of the world censoring all speech that they even deemed to be coming close to offending people is doing just what their previous government did in the opposite direction. While it has not gotten out of hand yet, it is a key area to watch as this censorship seems to contradict the language of their law. There has been no use of this censorship to jail political adversaries. It has only been used to shame them in some areas. In other areas of media, there is the issue of freedom of information and data saving meaning do organizations have an obligation to save their media content and for how long do they have to do so.

Along with media is how free the information is to access. A court ruling in the EU overturned in 2014 a law requiring telecommunications companies to retain their records for six months⁴². Germany, however, passed a law requiring these same companies to retain their information for ten weeks and gave them 18 months to comply. There is freedom of information legislation that has been in place since 2006 that requires public authorities' information to be made public, but it is riddled with exceptions⁴³. Government agencies have to process information in a month and can give information verbally, electronically or in writing.

Basic information is free, but some information costs more sometimes as high as 2000 Euros. This means that normal citizens can request most information for free but some of it they have to pay for out of their pocket. These fees have been criticized as a way to restrict speech. An agency can set the fee so high that people cannot pay it to keep their information secret⁴⁴. This situation is hurt more by weak legislation in the area. In 2011 a website called Frag Den

⁴² "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴³ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴⁴ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

Staat was founded that helps with these freedom of information queries. Since the website was made, it has helped with 7500 inquiries. In 2015 the same group founded another website to help people dispute denials of information requests. The situation with the freedom of information in Germany does not suffer from the same problems as their political arena⁴⁵. It is not perfect, but it does not have the same kind of historical implications and hot button issues.

Even with these flaws of the media Freedom House still judges the media in Germany to be free. Much like Robert Dahl's reasoning in his books, complete and perfect democracy is unachievable so being 100% is not what means a country is a democracy it is getting close⁴⁶. Freedom House gives the German media a 20 out of 100 where 0 is complete and total freedom, and 100 is complete and total censorship⁴⁷. The German media is far from perfect with its philosophical problems on censorship, but it has channels to express grievances about people that feel unjustly censored. There is no indication that the German government is censoring anything for personal gain or to shut down a political opponent.

Now that the main indicators have been laid out, it must be demonstrated how they fulfill the criteria. Those criteria are as laid out before: effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and the inclusion of adults⁴⁸. The indicators define the criteria.

Starting with effective participation, it means that each citizen has the right to give questions and provide input to the government and indicate preferences in the political

⁴⁵ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴⁶ Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

⁴⁷ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

⁴⁸ Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

agenda⁴⁹⁵⁰. Citizens have to be able to question their government in an open forum meaning that they must be able to express concerns and give their beliefs. Now Germany has shown that it fulfills these requirements by its petition system which is one avenue for Germany to give input to the government. Germany's freedom of the media is another way to show this through social media sites and regular media outlets⁵¹. This is not a direct grievance line, but the German government does pay heed to these areas of news and conversation to see the people's opinion.

The German people can also show their input through the two-part voting system, which is the most direct way in a democracy to show one's opinions. For effective participation, this paper determines that Germany is fulfilling this criterion to a more than the adequate level; in fact, it is exceeding most expectations. Adequate would be just the single vote alone, but Germany has gone beyond. Showing that Germany is not just passing but is almost at the best. Given the two-part voting system combine with the abundance of parties Germany's effective participation score leaves nothing lacking

Next is voting equality, it means that all citizens must know that all citizens votes will be counted as equal and this must be not just stated but must be the practice of the government⁵²⁵³. The government cannot just say that voting is free; it must be believed. As laid out before the voting system of Germany is free and fair both from what is said by the German Government and what is in actuality based on evaluations from outside. There are no harsh restrictions on citizenship that restrict voting of certain groups for bias reasons. German elections are free and fair by all metrics. There are no provisions for one person vote to count for more than others and

⁴⁹ Harmon et al., "The Health of State Democracies."

⁵⁰ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

⁵¹ "Free Speech vs. Censorship in Germany."

⁵² Harmon et al., "The Health of State Democracies."

⁵³ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

there is no concern that it does. This clearly shows that the criteria for voting equality is being fulfilled spectacularly. Given the two-part voting system combined with the abundance of parties, every prevision is made for every person's vote to be heard so that even if one's individual representative is not elected, one's party vote still allows one's voice to be heard.

Third is enlightened understanding; it means that all the citizens must be able to weigh the choices given to them and not be told what is best for them without a way to find out for themselves⁵⁴⁵⁵. Citizens cannot be railroaded into opinions; there must be a way to decide with multiple points of view. Germany has extensive media coverage and a variety of outlets that a person can get their facts from. There is also a government-run media channel that one has to pay for that gives one basic information. A person can also find documents released by freedom of information legislation for free at a basic level and most of the time for a small fee for other information. There is a possibility that the information costs too much which is a problem that was raised earlier in the paper, but it is a small number of occurrences and does not completely undermine Germany's freedom of information legislation. Germany fulfills this criterion extremely well. Except for the minor problem with freedom of inform action, the media's function as the people's outlet for facts and opinions is meet well. However, the dark cloud of censorship looms. The censorship of what is considered hate speech does not undermine Germany's fulfillment of this criterion, but it is more influential in others.

Fourth is control of the agenda; it means that citizens should have the ability to control, in some form or fashion, what is talked about and discussed and give their input in what issues they

⁵⁴ Harmon et al., "The Health of State Democracies."

⁵⁵ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

think are important⁵⁶⁵⁷. People must have the ability to frame the narrative and make it. This is fulfilled by German rights to protest and control media. German people can control the media as far as social media goes. German citizens can direct robust conversations on social media which are no doubt monitored by the government and to some degree control news media. They can only really do this through viewership indicating what they find important by watching certain parts of news media or going to certain sites, but it is not direct.

By contrast, Germans do have the right to protest which is laid out in Article 8 of the German Basic Law. It states that the German people can organize without a permit and do not need to notify authorities. For gatherings outside such as protests, these can be restricted by having to notify authorities beforehand but are not restricted unless violence occurs. These areas are an area of concern as the rise of the far right has come in Germany, but there have been marches of tens of thousands of Germans against the far right in Germany as well⁵⁸. Discourse is part of democracy and these people having their opinions known on both sides is important and allows them to communicate with the government in a good manner. Regardless of whether conventional scholars or people would disagree with the far right's viewpoints, they deserve to be heard. Control of the agenda is mostly fulfilled in Germany. This is probably Germany's weakest score of all five. Germany's censorship of the far right is not allowing the people to control the agenda fully. While most of Germany's media and issues are open to vibrant discussion, the harsh and sometimes overreaching of the government shows that while Germany far exceeds most countries as far as control of the agenda goes, it is not perfect and still has work to do.

⁵⁶ Harmon et al., "The Health of State Democracies."

⁵⁷ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

⁵⁸ "Mass German Rally against Far Right."

Germany still fulfills this criterion adequately, but it begs many questions and will be an issue to watch in the future.

Finally, the inclusion of adults means that all citizens must be able to participate in elections⁵⁹⁶⁰. All adults must be able to vote for it to be perfect; any restrictions are not full inclusion of adult citizens. German law allows for all citizens to vote regardless of past, race, religion, gender or political preference. This is mainly manifested in the election of members of the Bundestag. German citizens directly elect the individuals to represent them in the first vote but elect a party they send representation from a party list to the parliament in the second vote. While they do not vote on the Chancellor, their elected representatives do which is not an uncommon accepted system of democracy. Germany fulfills this criterion of inclusion of adults. All of the adults in Germany are included except felons for a time, so as far as the standard of inclusion of adults goes Germany is almost perfect.

Germany is not perfect, but neither is any country in the area of democracy. Perfection is not what is required. Germany has some censorship issues as well as a shifting viewpoint about its refugees and problems with payment in freedom of information. These problems do not mean it is not a democracy. Germany has adequately at worst and almost perfectly at best fulfilled the criteria for a country to be a democracy. It is not without its flaws but its evaluation as a democracy allows this paper to explore further to is Germany successful in being a democracy⁶¹.

It has been determined that Germany is a democracy as it has adequately at the least satisfied the criteria laid out by this paper. The question is, however, were they successful.

⁵⁹ Harmon et al., "The Health of State Democracies."

⁶⁰ "Discuss the Five Principles of Robert Dahl's Traditional Democratic Theory."

⁶¹ "Germany Freedom of the Press 2016."

Success is not doing the bare minimum but creating an environment of success of democracy.

The success of democracy is not based on the results of an international nature per se. For example, a country's foreign policy being held in high regard or accomplishing its goals is not necessarily indicative of democratic success as a non-democracy could succeed in this area.

Success is the degree to which the country exceeds the standard for being a democracy. By this, this paper means the freedom that a democracy exercises in the five areas listed above determine success. It is not just one area either it is the success of the five combined that make it successful. That being said, a lower degree of success in one area does not make a democracy unsuccessful it just weighs on their level of success.

For Germany, this paper finds that the degree of success is quite high. Germany has well-written voting laws that allow for effective participation and inclusion of adults and voting equality. Their media allows for many options to receive information and to have a discussion about issues. This allows for their enlightened understanding to be high. There one area of some contention is control of the agenda. This has been addressed before, but it is possible the most important part of determining Germany's level of success. That is censorship. Germany's censorship of their media that expresses what they call hate speech or Holocaust denial is on the face of it, not a problem. This is, however, a problem given how it is employed, the term hate speech is vague and can be used to silence dissenters. It has not come to this yet, but the censorship laws leave open the door for censorship of political organizations that could be used by the government, but there is a reason to be hopeful. There is reporting on the censorship, and public push back. There have been protests by the far right and those that do not like them while the far right or the AFD may disgust people they are allowed to be heard as democratic tradition allows. While many are concerned by the rise of the AFD, its rise is actually beneficial to

democracy. Germany has shown to be a mature enough democracy to handle this ideological change. In Germany, the AFD has been brought into the government causing it to be held accountable for its positions as it should be. Germany's control of the agenda is adequate, but it is the only category weighing them down.

Germany overall is very successful as a democracy; they are not without problems, but their positives far outweigh their negatives. This paper cannot harp on this enough though that they must be careful in their censorship. Even with this issue, they are very successful in four of the five areas and adequate in control of the agenda. The question that must be asked and what is the most important part of this thesis is why they are so successful? What makes them successful? What should be examined to determine this?

Chapter 3: Reasons for German Democratic Success

"A figure sat in a chair old and grey, in a keep of regal reproach. His mind and will as strong as his white mustache. He had a fortitude of iron and resolve as thick as blood. Alone he dwelled on his past, a past of promise, a past of glory. The story of a nation heir to an empire once holy. One by one he stitched and weaved the pieces of his people together united under one crown. This union solid from every castle and town. Long had he been an advisor to those with the utmost power, and with it, he built and nurtured and empire with a name as new as his suite and a past as old as the dirt on his shoes. He sat there a relic for none to see. He thought not of the failures after his time, but with one last breath he dwelled, he dwelled on wars won in blood, on achievements signed in red and on a myth that raised thousands of swords. Much time has passed since that day. Now a woman stands at a desk; old but not yet gray, in an office of great standing. Her problems are many, and her rest is little. Some of her people fear the dangers of a lesson of the past unlearned rising from within, and some of her people fear the faceless enemies invading from without. She holds together a nation re-forged twice, once with blood and once with ink. As her time draws to a close, she dwells on achievements of green, not of red. She remembers power given, not taken, and an uneasy and uncanny peace that she hopes will stand. This is a snapshot of many stones in the path of German history, in the path of German democracy. This is the story of the link between the first chancellor of Germany Otto von Bismarck and the current German chancellor Angela Merkel."

This paper began by defining the parameters of modern democracy in the introduction. It then moved to showing that Germany meets that definition and that it is succeeding far beyond the baseline. Now this project comes to the crux of its importance, the why. Why is Germany successful? Why *has* Germany been successful? There are three key factors that this paper has asserted as possible explanations for the success of German democracy and democracy as a whole. The purposes of this chapter are to examine those factors: poverty levels, education levels, and culture/civic culture, and to determine how important they are to German democracy and democracy.

To look at poverty around the world and in Germany concrete measures must be used. To begin with, poverty, what this paper means by poverty must be defined. The statistic for poverty that will be used is purchasing power parity of 5.50 or PPP of 5.50. This means that the statistics will show the percentage of a country's population living on less than 5.50 dollars a day indexed with PPP⁶². 5.50 was chosen because 1.90 and 3.20 PPP do not give good indications. This is because those levels of poverty are so extreme that most countries had almost no one under that level of poverty. If they have no data displayed for that poverty level, it does not show their level of poverty. Therefore, 5.50 was chosen because it showed some data for poverty in more countries which allows for better comparisons for Democracy's and also many non-impooverished nondemocracy's⁶³. A naturally extrapolated question would be why this is but that is not the object of this thesis to discover why these statistics are so. It is only to apply them to understand if poverty is a good indicator of democracy. This paper's initial hypothesis was that the democracies by far would have the best numbers meaning that their percentage of the population below the poverty line would be very low and that there would be a huge gap to those countries that do not have democracy. What is meant by this is that this paper expected democracies to be clustered at the top and nondemocracies to be far behind. This paper did not, however, find this. The first few countries when sorting the data from the lowest percentage in poverty were democracies such as Switzerland and Sweden, but once one ventures further than the top ten it is clear that there are many nondemocracies.

After further examination of this data, it became clear that perhaps the definition of poverty needed to be expanded, so this paper examined the national poverty line instead of PPP

⁶² "Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$5.50 a Day (2011 PPP) (% of Population) | Data."

⁶³ "Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$5.50 a Day (2011 PPP) (% of Population) | Data."

based statics⁶⁴. This data was even more puzzling because with this set of data a select few authoritarian regimes were at the top followed by most democracies with some non-democracies mixed in and then allot of non-democracies at the bottom. The World Bank in 1999 did a study about these numbers whose trends hold relatively true still today. This study showed just what this paper has observed in terms of the cluster of countries. The study supposes that democracy's produce results on elevating poverty that are acceptable, and generally prevent extreme poverty but cannot eliminate it fully⁶⁵. This study attributed economic practices of democracies to what causes this, but it said that a dictatorship could more redly institute reforms which is why it is at the top. Without having to use a democratic process, some authoritarian regimes can eliminate poverty completely which a democracy cannot do⁶⁶.

Poverty as a whole, however, seems to have had less of an impact internationally on democracy as a whole. Using both PPP and national poverty line statistics, it can be deduced that poverty on average is low in democracies. It does not appear that a low level of poverty necessarily helps a democracy succeed or that democracies need low levels of poverty because many countries had not the highest levels of poverty but elevated levels of poverty. The evidence not only shows less of a low poverty causing democracy trend but shows that democracies usually mid-levels of poverty⁶⁷.

German poverty must be explained, and understood historically, because the role of poverty has been exceptionally important to Germany democracy from its inception to the present day. After Hitler was defeated and the Nazi empire fell, about 9 percent of the German

⁶⁴ "Field Listing :: Population below Poverty Line — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency."

⁶⁵ Varshney, "Democracy and Poverty."

⁶⁶ Varshney.

⁶⁷ Varshney.

population had died, and agricultural production was at 35 percent of what it was before the war⁶⁸. Germany was split into four pieces. Germany was certainly in dire straits, but with the union of the three non-Soviet pieces of Germany, the prospects looked better. This was because of The Marshal Plan in which The United States loaned western European countries 13 billion dollars at the time which is about 140 billion dollars in today's dollars⁶⁹.

The Marshall Plan began in 1948 and initially did not include West Germany. Not only Did it not include West Germany, but The United States, France, and Great Britain were actively trying to dismantle the German war machine and return Germany to an agrarian state. This was extremely detrimental to the German economy. In 1949 the U.S. extended The Marshal Plan to West Germany even with anger by England and France about the move. This was done to expedite the rebuilding of Germany and to prevent all of Germany from falling under Soviet control. The United States also stopped dismantling German industry, and soon England and France followed. Over the duration of The Marshal Plan 1.4 billion dollars was given to Germany as a bankroll of a sense to start this new democracy. That is over 14 billion dollars in today's dollars and 11 percent of the money allocated in The Marshal Plan to around twenty countries⁷⁰. Of these Germany was the third largest recipient of aid preceded by England and France⁷¹. So, while no doubt the Germans were in poverty the fact that The United States leant them all of this money and actively shaped their democracy it helped their economy to rebound.

The allies also replaced the German Reichsmark, which was virtually worthless at the end of the war, with the Deutschmark to start the economic revival. This however sparked one of the

⁶⁸ Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960.

⁶⁹ NA, *The Marshall Plan*.

⁷⁰ Marshall plan

⁷¹ NA, *The Marshall Plan*.

most dramatic shows of The United States trying to prevent poverty in West Germany. After the Deutschmark was introduced, with a desire to take control of Berlin in its entirety, the Soviets blockaded Berlin to try to strangle or starve Berlin out to gain control and The United States then engaged in the famous Berlin airlift. This was the first skirmish of The Cold War. The United States and its allies engaged in over 200,000 sorties a day to prevent West Berlin from having to succumb to the Soviets due to the effects of poverty. They flew up to almost 13,000 tons of food and about 4,000 tons of supplies a day to help the West Berliners hold out. The amount almost doubled at the end of the airlifts⁷². The Soviets allowed the airlift to continue because they feared that interference would cause a war.

With this influence, mostly by the United States and the allies, West Germany was able to like no other country to be propped up by three of the four most powerful countries in the world at the time. The same countries that it had attacked and had defeated them. This monetary investment went beyond The Marshal Plan as this paper will explain in the section about culture. For the purpose of poverty though, it is enough to say that West Germany was propped up by the United States, France, and Great Britain during the Cold War to prevent West Germany from falling into the hands of the Soviets⁷³. This caused West Germany not to have usual forms of poverty and to be less focused on that issue. For West Germany at the beginning of the journey to democracy being propped up by the west made poverty not a center issue in its rise to democracy. Modern German levels of poverty are quite low compared to the rest of the world using either the PPP or the national poverty lines. For Germany, it appears that poverty has had some effect on its democracy such as the western democratic influences on its government due to

⁷² Laird, "Wars Averted."

⁷³ Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union, and the United States*.

financial support. Education may, however, yield different results than poverty which indicated a low-level causal relationship toward democracy as a whole. For Germany, it showed that poverty was alleviated in its rebuilding by outside forces and that its economy has produced relatively low levels compared to the rest of the world since the mid-1950s.

Education may produce more of a causal relationship between it and German democracy as well as democracy as a whole. To begin education must be defined. By education, this paper means the education of the population meaning the level to which the population on average is educated. The concept of civic education must also be explored. Civic education means to what degree government is taught and how it is taught. This means in what way is involvement in civics promoted. This paper supposes that education and democracy are related, but that must be proved. In a study by Harvard University, the researchers found that democracy and education are highly correlated⁷⁴. This correlation is supported by the education index which takes into account years of schooling on average as well as the expected years of schooling of citizens in school. The explanation being that democracy gives a large group of people a low level of incentives to agree with the practice, but the educating enhances that investment. In a dictatorship, a small group of people are given high incentives, and the masses are given none. The study supposes that education makes democracy less vulnerable to coups and that education helps to shape and strengthen democratic society. It says that the indoctrination through education of youths in a democratic society makes it strong. Social behaviors are put forth as an element of education that helps to strengthen democracies. This used the World Values Survey as

⁷⁴ Glaeser, Ponzetto, and Shleifer, "Why Does Democracy Need Education?"

evidence, and it supported this assertion. It is clear that unlike poverty, education and democracy are far more heavily correlated.

The study finds a cause and effect relationship between education and democracy⁷⁵.

Education supports democracy. This study shows that civic education strengthens democracy and weakens dictatorships. For Germany the evidence holds true. The German story is very much indicative of the general trend shown by this study. The numbers of the education index also follow this hypothesis. The one problem with all of this is that the proof that the high levels of education cause democracy are not concrete. There is significant evidence that the education investment by dictators undermines their rule, however.

To examine Germany, we must go back to the beginning which was the years after the fall of the Nazi empire. These are crucial years to evaluate for West Germany. After the fall of the Nazi empire, much effort was made by the occupying countries of Great Britain, France, and The United States to expel all Nazi ideology from every level of education. This took place mainly from 1945 to 1949. These countries replaced these Nazi ideologies with their own ideologies in teaching which for all of them included democratic ideals⁷⁶. After 1949 the three sections of Germany controlled by the countries above merged into West Germany. In the course of this paper, it is important to note as it applies to Germany the path of German democracy goes through West Germany until reunification. This is clearly because East Germany was under a communist dictatorship.

Continuing with West Germany, after its establishment, The German Basic Law stated that education would be handled by the German Lander which are like states. Germany also

⁷⁵ Glaeser, Ponzetto, and Shleifer.

⁷⁶ Grimm, *Germany's Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems*.

established the agency for federal homeland service which had a rich history in the German empire in its previous forms⁷⁷. It was used as a sort of political information apparatus and propaganda department in World War I and was used for propaganda in World War II. In its 1952 form, it was established to promote civic engagement such as voting. Civic engagement and education were well promoted in Germany after the fall of the Nazi empire due to the fact The Allied Powers, excluding the Soviet Union, had a deep investment in promoting democratic education and in eradicating Nazi beliefs from their education system. Slowly but surely this began to change the ideology. The reeducation program was most widely propagated by the Americans⁷⁸. In the early parts of 1948 over one million dollars was allocated to reeducation and from 1949 to 1952 the amount increased to 48 million⁷⁹.

The media was the first thing targeted in Germany. To become licensed in the new German republic or West Germany one had to prove that one had not supported the Nazis⁸⁰. The media was targeted first because of the power of propaganda and how it had fueled the Nazi rise to power. The media had to be rid of all Nazi elements to start reeducation. The German people, however, were sometimes more stringent in regulating themselves than the occupying forces. German teachers were put into re-education courses, and textbooks glorifying Nazi culture were taken out of schools. There was such a shortage of textbooks that the Weimar Republic era textbooks had to be restored. Efforts were made to teach students about totalitarian regimes. The rules put forth by the western allies for the teaching of totalitarianism were that national socialism and communism were to be taught as the two examples. It was even suggested that

⁷⁷ Grimm.

⁷⁸ Grimm.

⁷⁹ Grimm.

⁸⁰ Grimm.

students visit at least one Holocaust museum in their tenure in school. The individual German states decided that civic education was of the utmost importance but that all ideologies should be taught and not forgotten which lead to the teaching of totalitarian regimes⁸¹.

These re-education measures proved effective due to German citizen participation and the western allies welcoming the German Republic into the fold. During reunification, West Germany employed the same tools used by the western allies on them to East Germany. East Germany's education was de-socialized or cleansed of communism. Its educational structure was changed to meet West German standards. This was a long process, but it was a process that west Germany was familiar with which helped to ease the transition.

This brings us to the present in which German education levels should be examined. Germany is in the top five worldwide in the education index⁸². Number five to be exact. Germany has had a steady increasing trend of increased education index since 1990 according to The World Bank. Germany in the present has continued with its trajectory since its occupation with an emphasis on education and specifically civic education. Germany even made education free for its citizens showing its' further commitment. The agency that this paper mentioned earlier, The Federal Agency for Homeland Development, which today is the Federal Agency for Civic Education publishes voting keys which help those to educate themselves on the ideologies of the parties and the candidates. It also publishes the articles with books and magazines about history and politics for the public at large. For all of this, it is clear that education in Germany was instrumental in its rise to democracy. Germany's specific education shows that the way the

⁸¹ Grimm.

⁸² "Human Development Reports."

German Republic's education in schools and in the media was structured directly directed it to democracy and helped it in reunification.

For Germany, education was very important in its establishment of a democracy, and for democracy as a whole, it seems education plays a key role. It is unclear however if it is causal though even though many scholars assert that it is indeed causal. For this reason, it is clear that education is somewhat important in the success of democracy as a whole. Possibly culture will have a similar level of importance to German democracy and democracy as a whole.

To begin, what this paper means by culture must in some way be explained. Culture is a very wide-ranging topic that has many definitions. For this paper, a few events which this project asserts has shaped the culture of Germany will be examined, as well as evidence from the world values survey for more contemporary Germany. Civic culture will be an area that is heavily focused on. Civic culture means for this paper the culture's relation to political attitudes of the society and cultural values in the government arena⁸³. Civic culture will be focused on in this paper because it shows the culture of how government institutions are viewed by citizens.

The World Values Survey compiles statics across countries about their values in many areas. For the question of how important is democracy in Germany, the score is incredibly high as the project would expect. The numbers from 2014 are depicted in Figure 1. Before 2014 the World Values Survey did not ask the specific question which was measured. However, similar questions were asked about democracy and the trend holds the same through these questions in comparison to the importance of democracy question asked in 2014.

⁸³ Almond and Verba, "Civic Culture Study, 1959-1960."

It is Germany's culture that was shaped by reconstruction that is the main factor in the civic culture of its democracy. Its eternal fear and shame of the past drives it to hold the tenants of democracy close, and the intervention makes it open to the global community. This can help to explain its prominent place as the lifeblood of the EU.

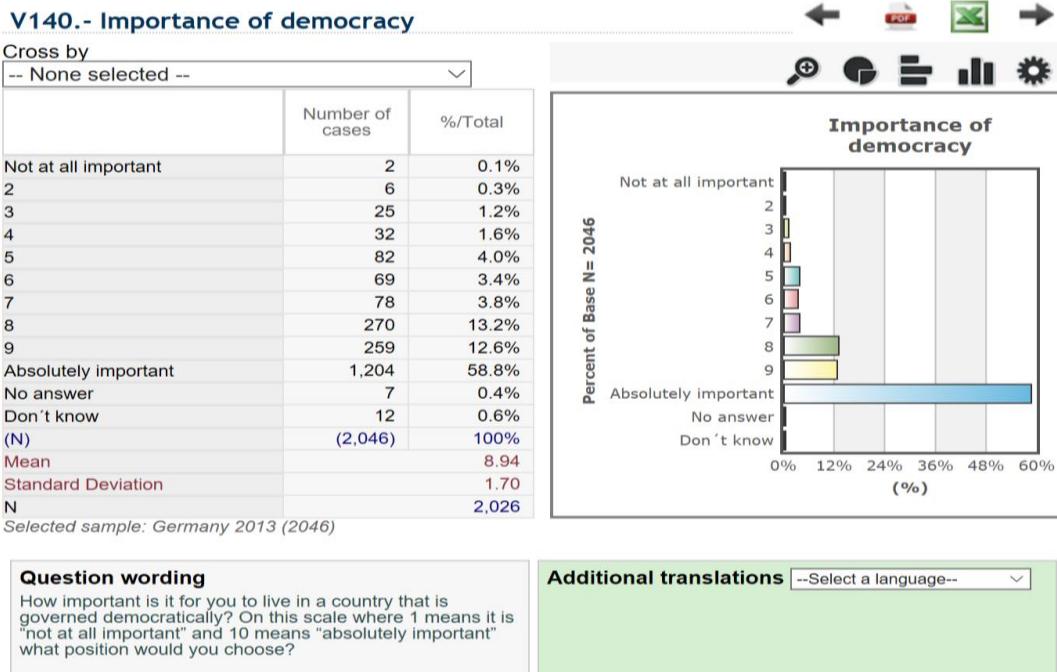


Figure 1 Importance of Democracy“WVS Database.” Accessed April 14, 2019.
<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>.

The question is how this is shown across the world. For the most part, democracies believe that democracy is important, while surveys in non-democracies show that democracy is less important than stability. For example, in Russia, the importance of democracy to the public is considerably lower than in Germany or Australia for instance. The percent of people in the Russian Federation that said democracy was of the most important meaning they put it at a ten, as is depicted in Figure 1, is less than half that of Germany. Why might this be? Well, it has to do

with the fact that for over fifty years the population of Russia was indoctrinated to hate The United States and western Europe and what it stood for which was democracy and capitalism.

Moreover, still today they do not have democracy. They have not so different a leader from those under the Soviet Union. This would also apply to China which for all intensive purpose has a dictatorship. See Figure 2 for a small sample of non-democracies numbers compared to democracies.

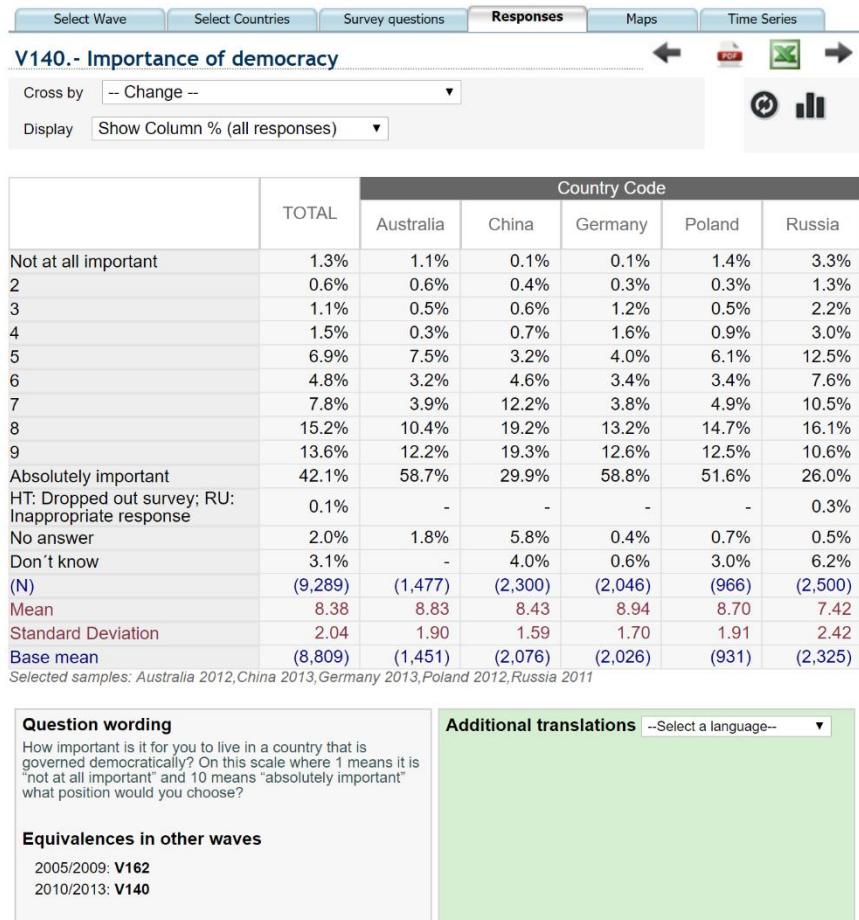


Figure 2 Importance of Democracy "WVS Database." Accessed April 14, 2019.
<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOOnline.jsp>.

It is civic culture and culture as a whole that are the most important indicator of what makes a successful democracy. Germany's culture is compatible with democracy while other countries are not. Japan would seem to be a natural comparison to Germany, but the difference

between the two are why they are not a good comparison. Japan was reconstructed with Japanese culture while western culture was imposed on Germany which is a large focus of this thesis. For this reason, a comparison to Japan is not in the scope of this thesis. Now Germany's specific case must be explained.

To start with Germany's story, the Second World War is the catalyst, this project asserts, for the rise in civic culture after the war was over. After Hitler was defeated, Germany was occupied as has been stated many times in this project but it is this occupation that helps to explain the cultural shift. Germany was not just beaten; it was totally dismantled politically. The sections of Germany occupied by The United States, Great Britain, and France shaped what would become West Germany. There are two events or concepts that have together shaped German culture and civic culture today. They are Nazi guilt and the invention of the international community in Germany's rebuilding.

“Nazi guilt” is a term that is far-ranging but it is generally the guilt that the collective German populace feels for the crimes that Hitler, the Wehrmacht, and the Nazi party perpetrated during the rule of the Third Reich. This concept can be seen even just a few months after the war. When people are confronted with the atrocities that were committed by Germany, they begin to feel shame. The United States and Great Britain even undertook campaigns to enhance this Nazi guilt. They put up flyers depicting the horrors of the Holocaust with captions that blamed the German populace for these atrocities as a whole⁸⁴.

In 1945 the psychologist Carl Jung said that collective guilt over this was no doubt a psychological fact and that the Western allies should bring Germany to realize that⁸⁵. This Nazi

⁸⁴ Olick and Olick, *In the House of the Hangman*.

⁸⁵ Adorno, *Guilt and Defense*.

guilt made the German people no only ashamed of what their government had done but ashamed of their country in general which made them very malleable to the plans implemented by the allies. As mentioned before the western allies especially the United States implemented a licensing process for German media, but the striking thing was the German people's self-censorship was often harsher than the regulations imposed. This guilt, however, did not reach its height immediately after the war.

Many studies were conducted, and many Germans did not completely reject Hitler and his ideology. In fact, many thought that national socialism was not altogether bad, and many studies appeared to show apparent ignorance on much of the populations part about the function of the camps⁸⁶. Many knew they existed, but they thought they were just political prisoner camps and claimed not to know they were death camps. Once the war was over though, and people began to discover the atrocity's that had happened, the guilt began to rise. Still, efforts at de-Nazification were met with resistance, and the German chancellor Konrad Adenauer came to oppose the policy. The United States agreed that it was not working. It did, however, work in the reform of the education system. At the end of the war, Germany's level of shame for the atrocity's that had happened was nothing compared to that that would come from their children. Germans tried not to talk about the war, and many bureaucratic officials from Nazi Germany remained in place until the children born after the war came of age and started to ask questions⁸⁷⁸⁸. This was when the Nazi guilt reached its height in which elements of democracy were celebrated fervently which helped the western allies shepherd West Germany against falling to the Soviet powers.

⁸⁶ Gordon, Hitler, Germans, and the "Jewish Question" by Sarah Gordon (19-Mar-1984) Paperback.

⁸⁷ Grimm, Germany's Post-1945 and Post-1989 Education Systems.

⁸⁸ Tetens, The New Germany and the Old Nazis.

Nazi guilt from the fall of the Reich to the present day has not waned. Even as the soldiers that fought all have reached their eighties, every family still has a story that connects them to the conflict. One writer of Speigel, a popular German newspaper, said of his young son that in his school in England children still tease him by greeting him with a heil Hitler and a Nazi salute⁸⁹. This is one occurrence that is indicative of the larger issue. No matter what Germany does it cannot escape its Nazi past, and this drives them to reach this great democratic success. From the shaping of the German basic law to the continued hard backlash that is given to any German that suggests that they stop paying for the past and celebrate the elements of their past that they can be proud of, Nazi guilt and other nations refusal to accept Germany's apologies have shaped this great democratic success.

The other thing that must be examined is the intervention of the international community. This is one of the things that makes the German occupation so unique in that the entire world, for the most part, condoned the occupation. Resolutions on the floor of the united nations called for the occupation and spoke of how Germany would be distributed⁹⁰. Not only was Nazi guilt at play but unlike in any war before the entire world was calling for Germany to be dismantled so it could never wage war again. In many other conflicts since, such as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan or The United States intervention in Iraq or Vietnam, members of the international community have come out against this but not in World War II.

What the preceding examples show is that German reconstruction after World War II is the only time were the international community was all on the same page for this kind of issue. The United Nations was a new organization after the war, and it was throwing its new and united

⁸⁹ Sontheimer, "Germany's Nazi Past."

⁹⁰ "United Nations Official Records HEARING OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC."

authority around in saying that Germany must be divided to help to pacify the German populace and allow the molding of German democracy. In another UN resolution in 1951 concerning whether West Germany and East Germany were ready for elections, many members of the assembly speculated as to whether Germany could be trusted not to go to war again. They wondered if Germany was really pacified.

The combination of Nazi guilt and the invention of the international community shaped Germany into a place where to run from their past they became ardent supporters of democracy, and this shows their civic culture⁹¹. The constant reforms that the German people made to atone for their sins is their civic culture. They revere democracy because they cannot escape the knowledge of what they did with one of the most powerful dictatorships in modern history. This coupled with a more united helping hand of the international community than any country that was defeated in war has ever seen, helped to shape German culture into what has brought it such success.

⁹¹ "WVS Database."

Chapter 4: Conclusions

"Together in a white marble building stood mere mortal men. They spoke eloquently and fervently, their white hand sewn togas flowing as they passed. Together they sat and judged; they sat and voted. Opposed stood mere mortal men in an elegant rotunda. They yelled and pounded, their red capes floating around them. Embittered they walked and schemed, they walked and plotted. On a not so distant battlefield ran mere mortal men. They fired quick and reloaded slow, their tattered petticoats flying in the breeze. They leaped forward; they leaped into freedom. Ashamed in a ruined castle contemplated mere mortal men. They debated and discussed, their old suites whipping in the wind. United they resolved to change, resolved to rise. As one will stand mere mortal citizens. They will be designed rightly and justly, their ideas jetting into the future. As one they will decide, they will become. This is the story of democracy. This is the story of Athens, of Rome, of the United States, of Germany, of the future. This is the story of democracy."

The definition of democracy was heavily explored in the introduction of this thesis. The origins coming from the earliest democracies in Athens Greece all the way to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is an ideal that has not been achieved. In was in this long history of democracy that the definition of modern democracy was formed, founded on the work of Robert Dahl. That definition is based on five criteria which make it up. These criteria are defined as follows. Effective participation means that each citizen has the right to give questions and provide input to the government and indicate preferences in the political agenda. Voting equality means that all citizens must know that all citizens votes will be counted as equal and this must be not just stated but must be the practice of the government. Enlightened understanding means that all the citizens must be able to weigh the choices given to them and not told what is best for them without a way to find out for themselves. This does not mean they are required to do research. Rather, it means that they have the opportunity to decide what is best for them by looking at available facts. Control of the agenda means that citizens should have the ability to control in some form or fashion what is talked about and discussed and give their input in what

issues they think are important. Inclusion of adults means that all citizens must be able to participate in elections⁹².

These criteria were what Germany was judged against to begin the assertion by this paper that Germany is a successful democracy. Germany was evaluated on all five and found to be succeeding in fulfilling them more than adequately which is how success was defined. Meeting the bare minimum was not success. Through the examination of the German media and voting process along with government structure and many other areas of Germany, Germany was found to be far more than adequately meeting these requirements. Germany has implemented policies such as freedom of information and a petition system, as well as a robust Protest culture which are some examples of things that make its meeting of the requirements more than adequate.

Germany's democracy was not without its shortcomings. Its censorship of the far right, as well as the strong nationalist sentiments coming from the far right, are caused to be worry. It was not however enough to outweigh all of the good demonstrated in Germanys institutions. From there this paper moved to the crux of the argument as to why Germany was successful. Poverty, education, and culture/civic culture were examined, and a trend was found across democracies and in Germany. It was found by this paper that Germany had a low level of poverty, high levels of education, and a specific culture compatible with democracy. For these three factors across the world, it was found that democracies are good at keeping poverty at a moderate level but are not the best at having no poverty. This is because of the differing priorities in a democracy

⁹² McGowan, "Is America a Successful Democracy: A Critical Inquiry."

that are not present in a dictatorship. It was found that there is a strong correlation between education and democracy in Germany and democracy as a whole. The biggest discovery was in culture where it was determined that civic culture as defined in the third chapter was the most important not just to German democracy but to democracy as an institution.

Purchasing power parity was employed to speak of poverty, the education index was employed to speak about education, and the World Values Survey was employed to speak about culture. For Germany, the money given to it by The Allies after the Second World War was instrumental in alleviation the poverty of defeated Nazi Germany. For education, the efforts by the allies to de-nazify the education system was instrumental in changing their education specifically in the civic area to one that supported democracy. For culture, it was the pressure from the world and the guilt that the Germans felt for the crimes of the Nazis that helped democracy to flourish.

To some extent, the question that has been answered by the paper is what this analysis means for democracy as an institution. The answer is complex and compelling. Low levels of poverty are moderately important to democracy, meaning that rampant poverty will not work, but some is possible to overcome. Education is important for the safeguarding of democracy. In a study by Harvard University education and democracy were found to be highly correlated and the reasoning was that democracy gives small incentives to the masses who together safeguard democracy making it less vulnerable to coups. In a dictatorship, large incentives are given to a few which make it vulnerable.

It is culture that Germany can give the most insight into democracy as a whole. It is a strong democratic civic culture that makes a country compatible with democracy and allows it to succeed. Germany is an interesting case that has never been seen before and probably will not be seen again. Nation-building done today by democracies almost always fails. What this paper means by this is trying to install democracy in a place by other countries almost always fails immediately once the country pulls out. Germany is unique because it had a combination of factors. For the first and only time in the opinion of this paper, the international community almost completely agreed on the fact, that Germany must be occupied. Then three of the four most powerful nations at the time agreed to merge their newly occupied territory into West Germany which is rare in of itself. Countries giving up conquered territory is quite rare after what they had been through. They actively implemented democracy in West Germany. Education was a huge part of culture that was so important. The western allies changed the German education curriculum. They changed the media; they changed the culture. Through international pressure and German collective guilt or Nazi guilt, Germany was transformed into a democracy that still stands decades after occupation. The man factor in all of this is that the Germans were willing to change. This is the most important factor by far. They recognized the fault of their own people which is rare in the world. This is rare in individuals let alone a whole country.

The conclusion from all this is this. For democracy as an institution to take hold in a country, the civic culture must be compatible. For it to be compatible, it begins with education not just in school but at home. If children who will grow up to lead nations are taught in school that democracy is good and necessary, that will help but if the larger culture undermines that it

will not work it is the combination of it all. It is what is said by the media. It is what is taught in school. It is what is said at the dinner table by parents. Civic culture is everything. It is the thing that allows democracy to take hold and it is the thing that allows it to survive. The important distinction about civic culture is that civic culture is the constant participation in democracy. Civic culture is intertwined with the ideas put forth by the Harvard study concerning the levels of incentives given to the population. These incentives help to bind the population and contribute to civic culture. This makes civic culture manufactured in Germany's case but also organic in its continuance. This can be manifested in nationalism or, in Germany's case the opposite, national shame. This does not mean that once the civic culture is compatible democracy will stand forever. Civic culture can change. If citizens lose sight of the importance of democracy or something else becomes more important than democracy in civic culture democracy is doomed. This is why citizens forgoing their democratic rights for stability, or over-censoring people as in Germany, is dangerous for democracy.

In conclusion, this paper would be remiss if it did not explain the significance of the stories at the beginning of each chapter. The stories at the beginning of each chapter together illustrate the stories of democracy. The different points of view and points in time show the evolution and struggles of democracy through time and people. The stories together are a piece of the story of democracy. It illustrates Germany's role as well. It shows the power and in some instances the fragility of democracy if it is not prioritized. Much like Ronald Reagan said about freedom as this paper referenced earlier; democracy is never more than one generation from extinction. If citizens do not commit to the importance of democracy and do not teach the next generation the importance of

democracy, it will not last. Democracy requires knowledge of the past, value of the present, and planning for the future.

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