



FINNISH INSTITUTE
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Bundestagswahl 2021 and its implications

NOFS meeting, 30 March 2022

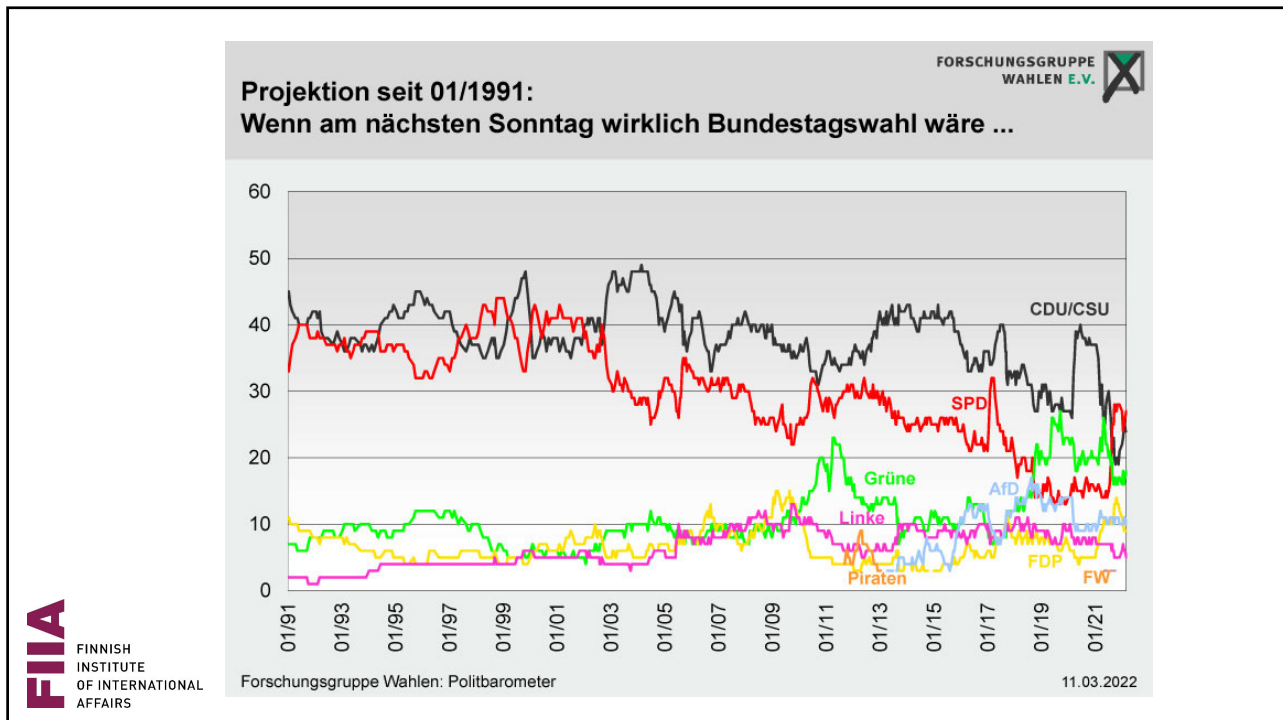
Tuomas Iso-Markku, Research Fellow, FIIA

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1. Analysis of the 2021 Bundestagswahl:
background, campaign and results
2. Government formation and agreement
3. Russian attack on Ukraine and what it means
for Germany



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- First Chancellor not to seek re-election
- Merkel's high international standing, continued domestic popularity
→ Additional focus on the Chancellor candidates, their personal qualities
- However, increasingly critical assessment of the legacy of Merkel's governments
- Lack of progress on climate protection, digitalisation, Covid
→ Yearning for continuity AND change



Kuva: Wikimedia Commons

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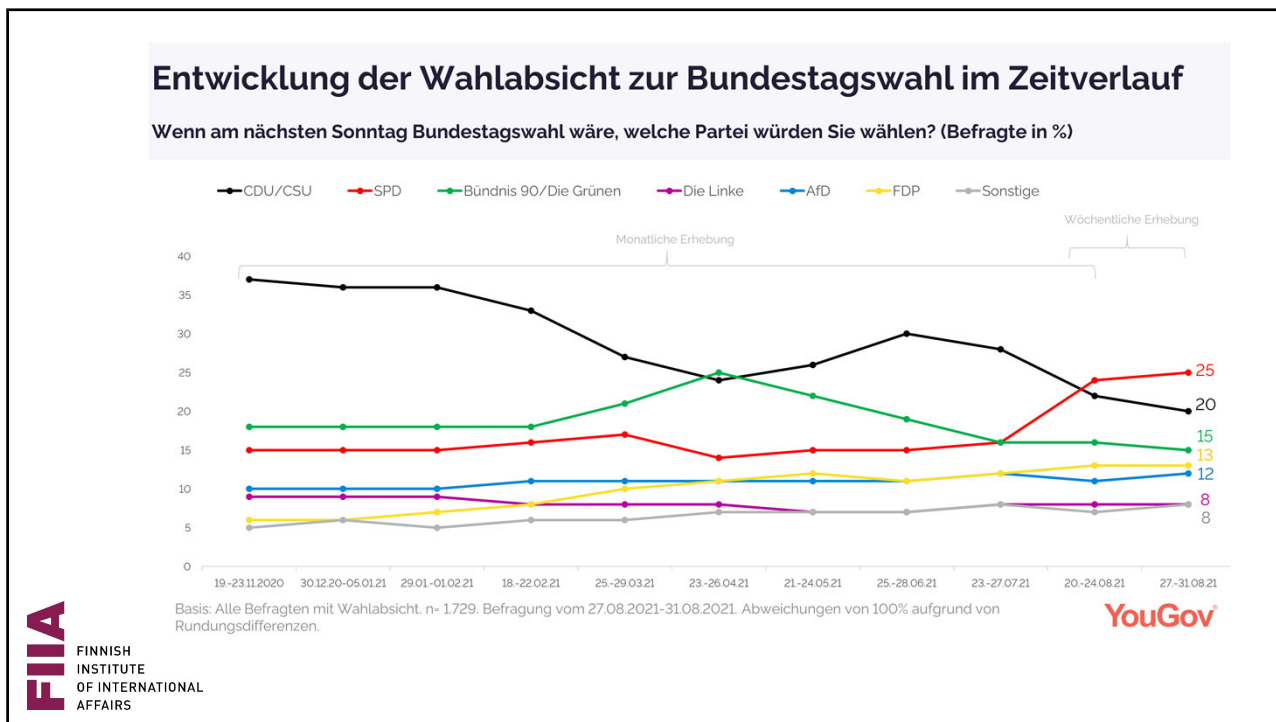
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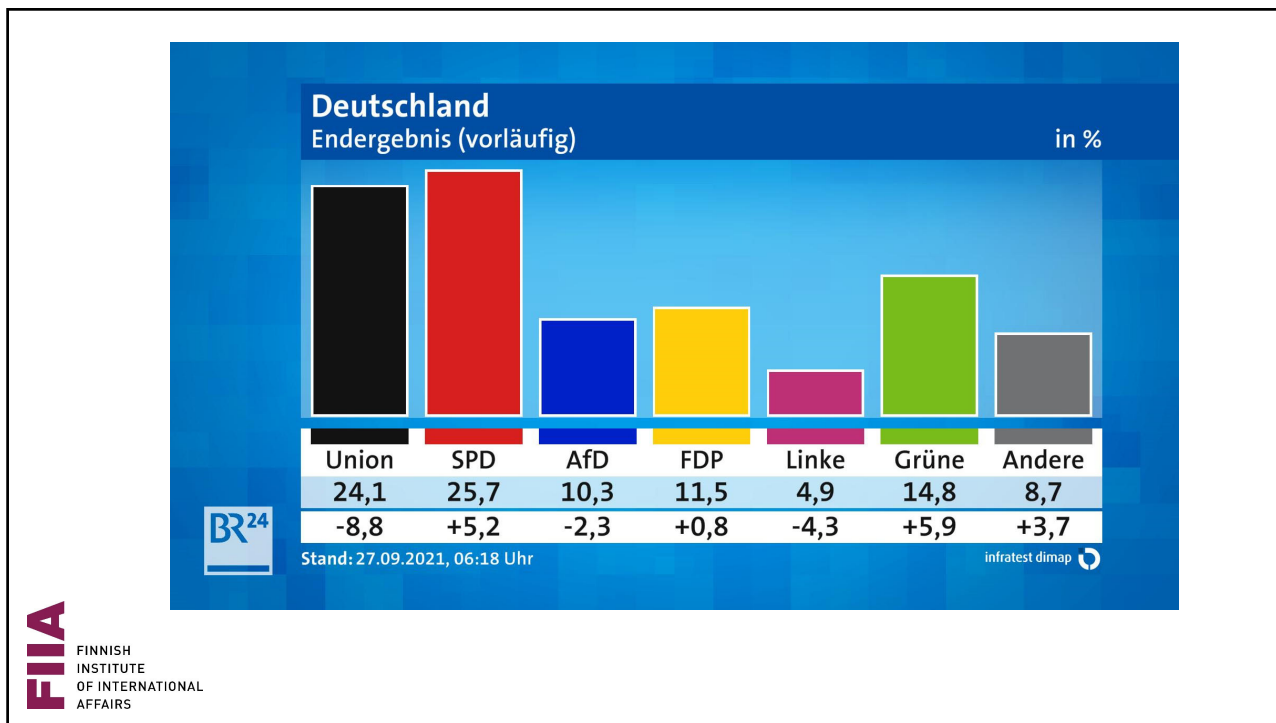
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- CDU/CSU: The difficulty of finding a successor (AKK out, Covid-related delays, Laschet vs. Söder), Laschet's blunders
- Greens: Public scrutiny of Baerbock, small mistakes
- SPD: More peaceful campaign, Scholz's 'Merkel show'

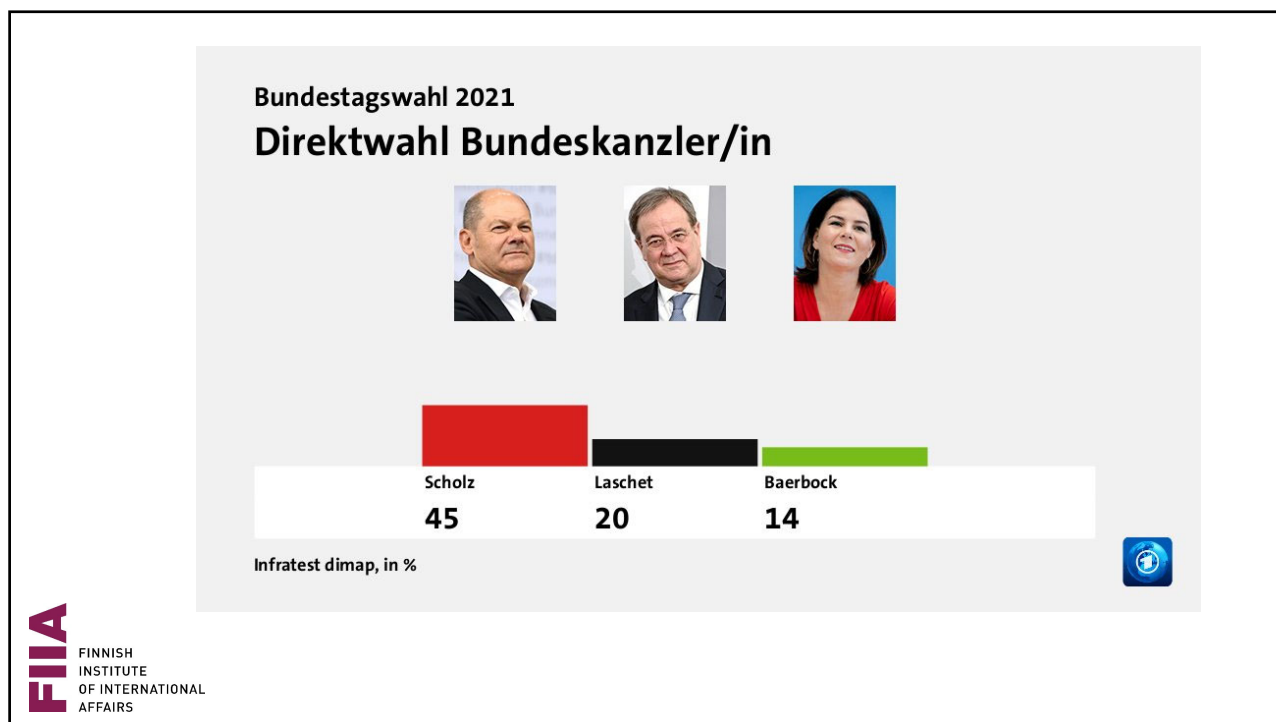
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Reasons for the choice of party

	CDU/CSU	SPD	Greens
Candidate	18	36	10
Programme	45	44	82
Long-term attachment	30	15	9

Source: Infratest dimap, Tagesschau, <https://www.tagesschau.de/wahl/archiv/2021-09-26-BT-DE/umfrage-aktuellethemen.shtml>

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Which topic is of greatest importance for your voting decision?

- **Social security 28%**
- **Environment, climate 22%**
- **Economy, work 22%**
- **Handling of corona 7%**

- **Almost no EU dimension in the debate, foreign & security policy also largely absent**

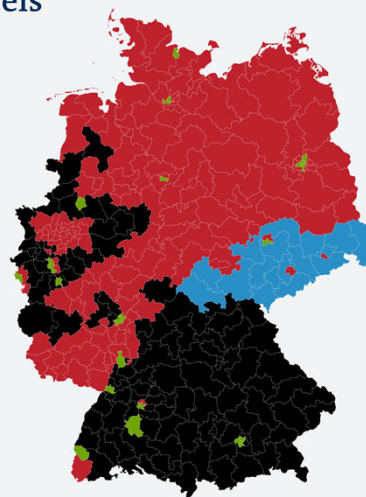
Welches Thema spielt für Ihre Wahlentscheidung die größte Rolle?



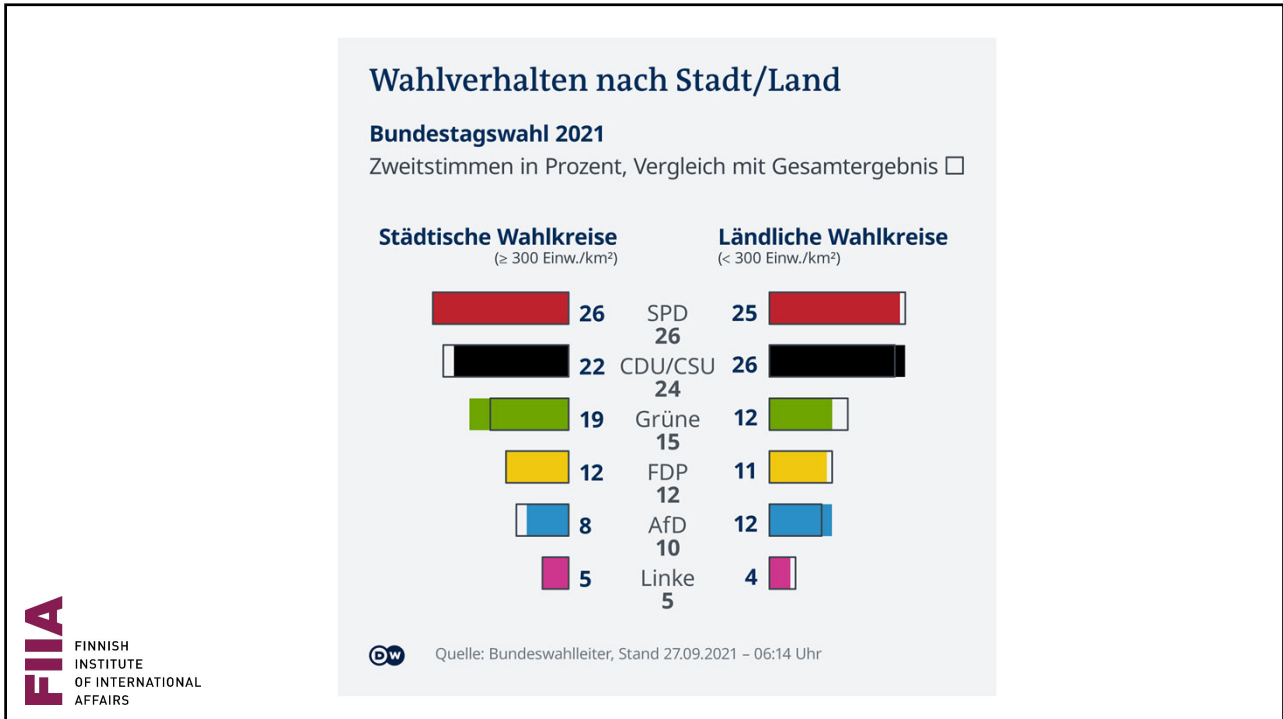
Quelle: ARD/Infratest dimap | 26. September 2021 | In Prozent

Parteien mit den meisten Zweitstimmen nach Wahlkreis

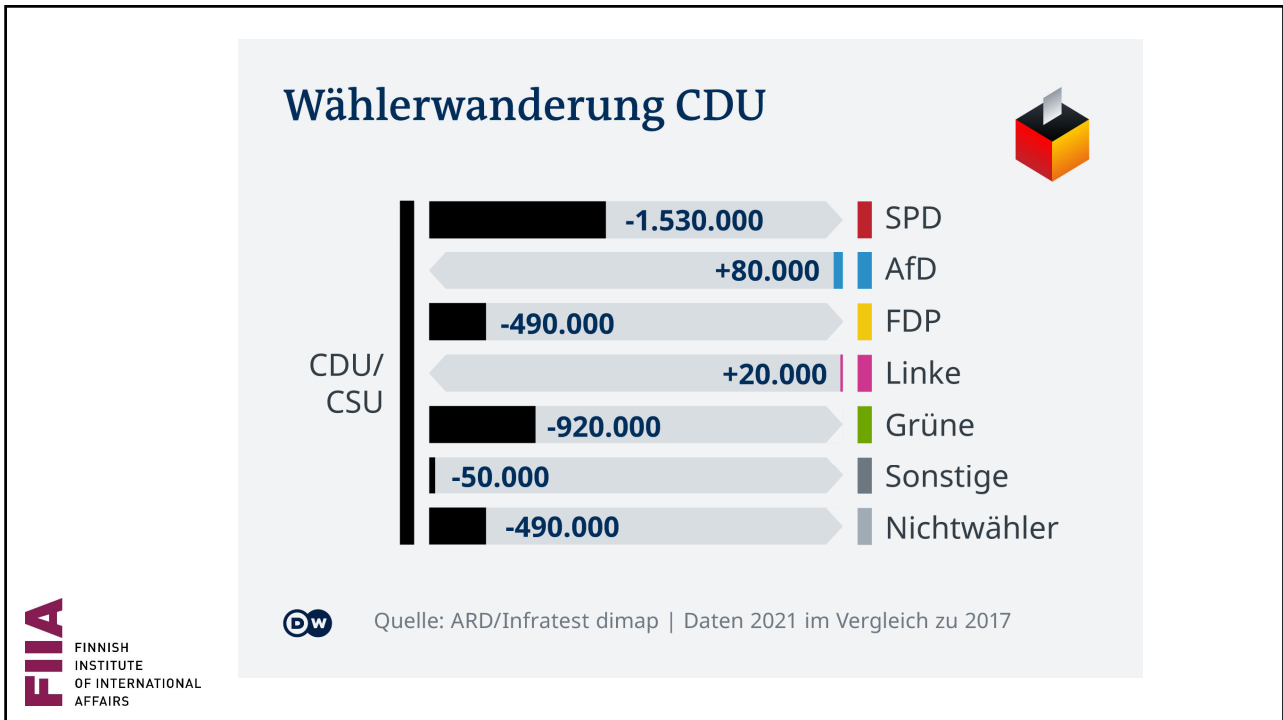
- SPD
- CDU/CSU
- Grüne
- AfD



Quelle: Bundeswahlleiter, Stand 27. September, 2021– 06:14 Uhr

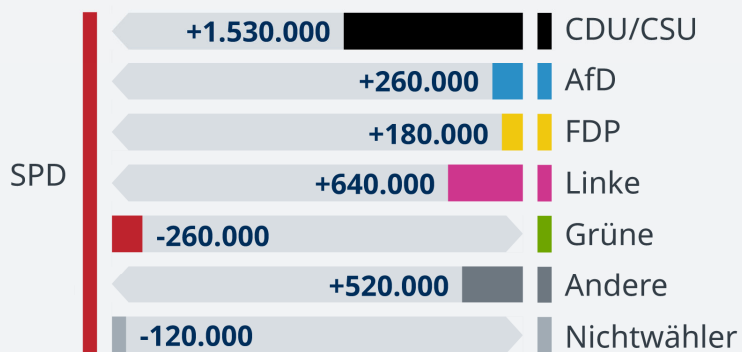


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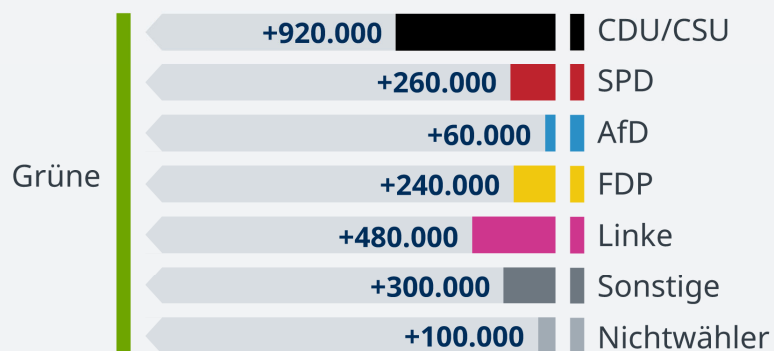
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Wählerwanderung SPD

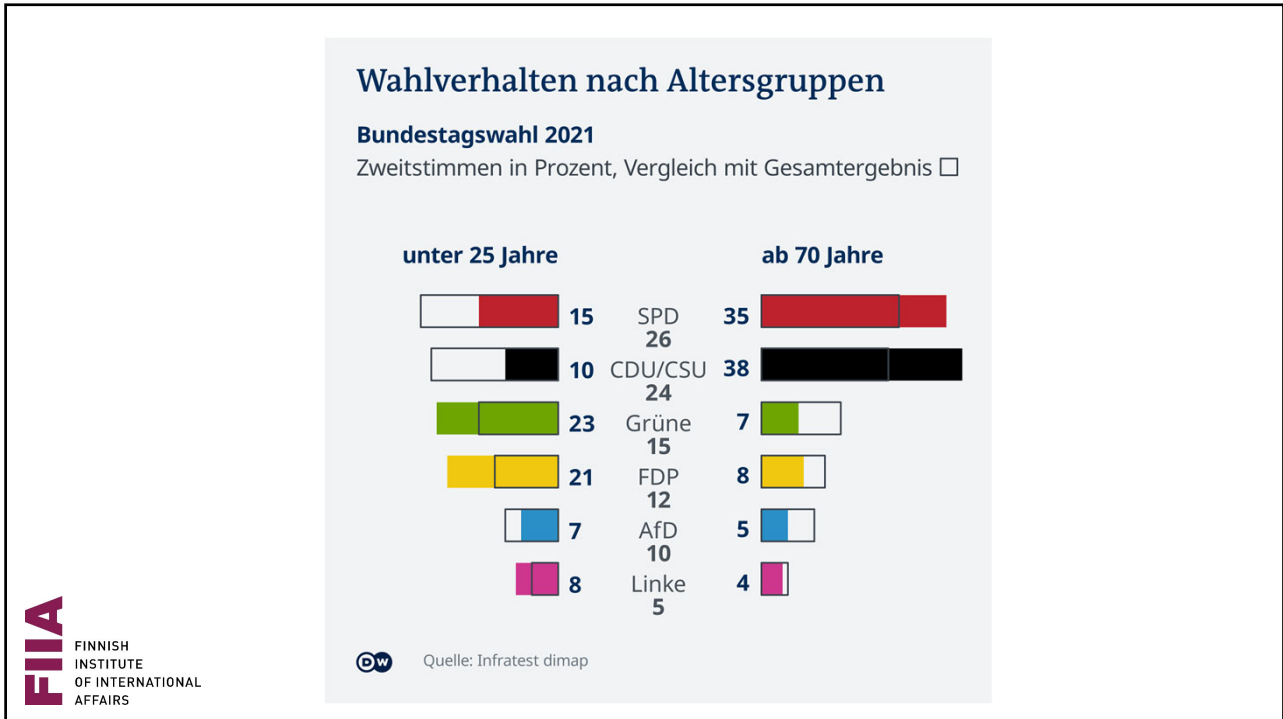


Quelle: ARD/Infratest dimap | Daten 2021 im Vergleich zu 2017

Wählerwanderung Grüne



Quelle: ARD/Infratest dimap | Daten 2021 im Vergleich zu 2017



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Traffic light coalition

'Daring to make more progress –Alliance for freedom, (social) justice and sustainability'

SPD	Greens	FDP
Chancellor & Chancellery	Vice-Chancellor	Finance
Interior & Community	Foreign Affairs	Justice
Labour & Social Affairs	Economy & Climate protection	Digital & Transport
Defence	Family, Elderly, Women & Youth	Education and Research
Health	Environment, Nuclear & Consumer	
Housing & Building	Food & Agriculture	
Econ. Cooperation & Development		

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Something for everyone:

- Minimum wage of € 12 (central SPD electoral demand)
- Climate protection as a major cross-cutting issue, Vice-Chancellor post and new 'super ministry' for the Greens
- Finance Ministry for the FDP: the aim of returning to the debt brake by 2023
- Many details left for later



Images: Wikimedia Commons

Coalition agreement and EU policy

- Right of initiative for the EP, return to the Spitzenkandidaten system
- Strengthening Europe's strategic sovereignty in terms of energy, health, imports of raw materials, digital technology
- Promoting rule of law

Coalition agreement and EU policy

- Stability and Growth Pact still as a basis for creating growth, ensuring sustainable debt levels and generating sustainable and climate-friendly investments
- NextGenerationEU as a temporary instrument
- Strengthening EU foreign and security policy by means of qualified majority voting, bolstering the position of the High Representative

Russian attack on Ukraine and implications for Germany

- The pillars of Germany's Russia policy – and foreign and security policy more generally – shaking
- Germany has been consistently pushed by many partners to review its policies
- The Russian attack has now provoked also a major domestic shift

Russian attack on Ukraine and implications for Germany

- 'Zeitenwende' speech:
 1. Supporting Ukraine (including through arms deliveries)
 2. Sanctioning Putin
 3. Ensuring the security of NATO and the allies
 4. Investing in Germany's own security
 5. Securing energy supplies, reducing energy dependency

Russian attack on Ukraine and implications for Germany

- The German policy shifts potentially very significant for the EU and NATO
- Despite the shifts, major uncertainties remain
- War as a catalyst for unity or disunity within the traffic light coalition?