Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 5: Macro Report
Version: September 14, 2016

Country: Germany

Date of Election: September 26th, 2021

Prepared by: GLES Project Team

Date of Preparation: August 2021

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.

- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated.

- Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g.: electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports, district data) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.

- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an "X" within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]

- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

1a. Type of Election:
   [x] Parliamentary/Legislative
   [ ] Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
   [ ] Presidential
   [ ] Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?
   [ ] Upper House
   [x] Lower House
   [ ] Both
   [ ] Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Social Democratic Union (SPD), President is not elected by the public, serves symbolic functions almost exclusively

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Christian Democratic Union (CDU) ("Chancellor")

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.
   (Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	7 (plus prime minister)
Christian Social Union (CSU)	3
Social Democratic Union (SPD)	6

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.
   (Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

16 (15 cabinet ministers plus prime minister)

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

n/a

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Social Democratic Union (SPD)

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Social Democratic Union (SPD)	8 (plus prime minister)
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Gruene)	5
Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)	4

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)?   Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

17 (16 cabinet ministers plus prime minister)

4a. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **national level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl-2021/52_21_endgueltiges-ergebnis.html

4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **district level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/dam/jcr/cbceef6c-19ec-437b-a894-3611be8ae886/btw21_heft3.pdf

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?
      [x] Yes, for the whole electorate
      [ ] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

      _____

      [ ] No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?
      [x] Yes, for the whole electorate
      [ ] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

      _____

      [ ] No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?
      [ ] Yes, for the whole electorate
      [ ] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

      _____

      [x] No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	8
B. Christian Social Union (CSU)	8
C. Social Democratic Party (SPD)	4
D. Alternative for Germany (AfD)	15
E. Free Democratic Party (FDP)	6
F. Left Party (Die Linke)	3
G. Alliance90/The Greens (Buendnis90/Die Gruenen)	1
H. Free Voters	6
I. Human Environment Animal Protection Party (Tierschutzpartei)	1

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(1) Ecology Parties	(6) Liberal Parties	(11) Agrarian Parties
(2) Communist Parties	(7) Right Liberal Parties	(12) Ethnic Parties
(3) Socialist Parties	(8) Christian Democratic Parties	(13) Regional Parties
(4) Social Democratic Parties	(9) Conservative Parties	(14) Independents
(5) Left Liberal Parties	(10) National Parties	(15) Others

Source: https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?
n/a (Informed by data from the Comparative Manifestos Project, see below)

6a1. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Right 10
A. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)							X				
B. Christian Social Union (CSU)								X			
C. Social Democratic Party (SPD)					X						
D. Alternative for Germany (AfD)										X	
E. Free Democratic Party (FDP)							X				
F. Left Party (Die Linke)			X								
G. Alliance90/The Greens (Buendnis90/Die Gruenen)					X						
H. Free Voters								X			
I. Human Environment Animal Protection Party (Tierschutzpartei)				X							

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale?
n/a (Informed by data from the Comparative Manifestos Project, see below)

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

Informed by data from the Comparative Manifestos Project, see:
https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

6b1. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension: _____
Label for 0 position: _____
Label for 10 position: _____

Party Name	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? _____

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6c. Populist classification of parties: As Module 5 focuses in part on populism, please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I). The definition of populism advanced by the Module 5 theme committee is below:

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are depicted as depriving "the people" of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/ anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the "pure people" and the "corrupt elite" are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is "not at all populist" and 10 is "very populist", where would you place each of the parties in your country?

Party Name	Not at all populist							Very populist			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)		x									
B. Christian Social Union (CSU)			x								
C. Social Democratic Party (SPD)			x								
D. Alternative for Germany (AfD)								x			
E. Free Democratic Party (FDP)			x								
F. Left Party (Die Linke)					x						
G. Alliance90/The Greens (Buendnis90/Die Gruenen)			x								
H. Free Voters			x								
I. Human Environment Animal Protection Party (Tierschutzpartei)			x								

Note: Classification identical to that in 2017, more recent classifications not available.

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? __3___

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

Informed by replication of the statistical analyses of the paper below with current data from 2017, no no newer classification available:

Lewandowsky, Marcel & Giebler, Heiko & Wagner, Aiko. (2016). Rechtspopulismus in Deutschland. Eine empirische Einordnung der Parteien zur Bundestagswahl 2013 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der AfD. Politische Vierteljahresschrift. 57. 247-275. 10.5771/0032-3470-2016-2-247.
Available under: https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/0032-3470-2016-2-247/rechtspopulismus-in-deutschland-eine-empirische-einordnung-der-parteien-zur-

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g.: major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

   1. Some minor and major scandals of the Conservative Party candidate, Armin Laschet, and attacks from the ranks of his own party, especially from Markus Söder, who failed him in the election of the top candidate.

   2. Measures to fight climate change.

   3. Measures to contain the Corona pandemic.

   4. Uncertainty regarding the government's constellation after the election as a result of not committing to/leaving open possible coalition options during the election campaign

   5. Social justice

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?
[x] Very impartial
[ ] Mostly impartial
[ ] Not very impartial
[ ] Not impartial at all

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?
[x] Yes
[ ] No

In the 2021 federal election, two complaints are particularly noteworthy as they have found resonance in media and political discourse. We detail each below.

A) In Berlin, there were considerable restrictions in some electoral districts on 26 September 2021 due to missing or incorrect ballot papers, temporarily closed polling stations, and general organizational problems, especially due to the Berlin Marathon taking place on the same day. The Federal Election Commissioner submitted an objection to the validity of the election to the 20th German Bundestag considering this problem. For more see: *https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl-2021/54_21_einspruch_berlin.html*

B) The AfD submitted a complaint against the so-called "women's statute (Frauenstatut)" of the party Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, which provides for equal representation of men and women on the federal candidate lists, arguing this was undemocratic and should not have been accepted by electoral authorities. For more see: https://www.presseportal.de/pm/110332/5084125

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?
[ ] Yes
[x] No
[ ] No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?

September 26th, 2021

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.

September 26th, 2021

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on the election day?
   [x] No violence at all
   [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
   [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
   [ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
   [ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
   [ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
   [ ] Significant violence of all sides

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?
   [ ] Geographically concentrated
   [ ] National

9c. To what extent was there violence following the election?
   [x] No violence at all
   [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
   [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
   [ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
   [ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
   [ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
   [ ] Significant violence of all sides

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?
   [ ] No protest at all
   [x] Sporadic protest
   [ ] Significant protest

We have described the protests as "sporadic", as while there were no major demonstrations or protests that were directly addressed against the 2021 federal election or its result, there were demonstrations in the aftermath that were related to the election and/or the new government to be formed. Generally, two movements deserve mention, namely:

A) Climate activists: On 2 October 2021, a demonstration by climate activists took place in Berlin, where thousands of people took to the streets to demand a stronger commitment to climate protection from the new federal government. The same applies to the "Global Climate Strike", in the context of which there was a demonstration by climate activists in Berlin on 20 November 2021.

B) <u>Objectors of the Corona measures ("Querdenker")</u>. In the aftermath of the Bundestag elections, there was a demonstration by opponents of the Corona measures and especially of a possible vaccination duty in Berlin and many other German cities.

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates
There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.
Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?
    [ ] Yes
    [x] No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?
    [ ] Yes
    [x] No

10c. If "Yes" was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")
Alliance 1:	
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

11. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For
    example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.
    (please mark all applicable responses)
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the
         regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
    [ ] No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
    [x] Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?
    [ ] Yes
    [x] No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:
    [ ] lists of the same party in the same constituency
    [ ] lists of the same party from different constituencies
    [ ] lists of different parties in the same constituency

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?
    [ ] Yes
    [x] No

13b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the
    ballot?
    [ ] No
    [ ] No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
    [ ] Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
    [ ] Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing
        him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
    [ ] Yes, other; please explain: _____

G) ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bwahlg/

Please note: Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

14a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

2 tiers: district candidate vote (see 15a-20d) and regional party list vote (see 21a-26d)

14b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Lower House (Bundestag)

Questions about Voting

TIER 1: DISTRICT CANDIDATES

15a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

One

15b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)
(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)
   [x] Candidates
   [ ] Party Lists
   [ ] Party Bloc Voting
   [ ] Other; please explain: _____

15c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?
   [] Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to
      express preference for a particular candidate)
   [ ] Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that
      party)
   [ ] Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across
      different party lists as they see fit)

No candidate lists in tier 1.

16. Are the votes transferable?
   *(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can
   be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second
   favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates
   who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are
   elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve
   the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in
   Ireland in 2002.)*
   [ ] Yes
   [x] No

17. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?
   *(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote
   for a single candidate.)*
   [ ] Yes
   [ ] No

n/a

18. Is voting compulsory?
   *(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to
   exercise that right.)*
   [ ] Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
   [ ] Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
   [ ] Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
   [x] No

19. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?
  [ ] Yes
  [x] No

20b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

20c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?
  [ ] Percent of total votes
  [ ] Percent of valid votes
  [ ] Percent of the total electorate
  [ ] Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Constituency candidates with a relative majority (first vote) in one of the 299 constituencies win a seat. Parties with more than 5% of the valid party votes (second vote) nationally or who have won at least three of the 299 constituency seats receive a seat share of the 598 regular seat total based on their national vote share. (see below)

> **Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

TIER 2: PARTY LISTS

21a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

One

21b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)
(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)
  [ ] Candidates
  [x] Party Lists
  [ ] Party Bloc Voting
  [ ] Other; please explain: _____

21c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

21d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?
    [x] Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to
       express preference for a particular candidate)
    [ ] Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that
       party)
    [ ] Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across
       different party lists as they see fit)

22. Are the votes transferable?
    (Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can
    be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second
    favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates
    who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are
    elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve
    the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in
    Ireland in 2002.)
    [ ] Yes
    [x] No

23.   If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?
    (Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote
    for a single candidate.)
    [ ] Yes
    [ ] No

n/a

24. Is voting compulsory?
    (Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to
    exercise that right.)
    [ ] Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
    [ ] Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
    [ ] Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
    [x] No

25. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

The final seat distribution in the Bundestag is required to be proportional to the results of tier 2,
regardless of the results in tier 1. Thus the method for calculating is rather complex and has
recently been the focus of debate since the supreme court has mandated re-legislation.

__Questions about Converting Votes into Seats__

26a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?
  [x] Yes
  [ ] No

26b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

5 Percent (of list votes)

26c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?
  [ ] Percent of total votes
  [x] Percent of valid votes
  [ ] Percent of the total electorate
  [ ] Other; please explain: _____

26d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Constituency candidates with a relative majority (first vote) in one of the 299 constituencies win a seat. Parties with more than 5% of the valid party votes (second vote) nationally or who have won at least three of the 299 constituency seats receive a seat share of the 598 regular seat total based on their national vote share.

H) References

21. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

See:
https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/bundestagswahlen/2021.html

https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-en/federal-cabinet

https://www.bundestag.de/en/parliament/elections

Further references:
https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/

http://www.cdu.de/partei/vorstand

http://www.csu.de/partei/vorstand/

http://www.spd.de/partei/Personen/Parteispitze/

https://www.gruene.de/partei/bundesvorstand.html

https://www.die-linke.de/partei/parteistruktur/parteivorstand/2016-2018/geschaeftsfuehrender-parteivorstand/

https://www.alternativefuer.de/partei/bundesvorstand/

https://www.fdp.de/seite/praesidium