Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 6: Macro Report

Version: August 21, 2024

Country/Polity: Germany
Date of Election: February 23rd, 2025

Prepared by: GLES Project Team
Date of Preparation: January 2025

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS IN COMPLETING CSES MACRO REPORT

- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an essential 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.
- Collaborators are advised that the CSES makes the macro reports public to the user community upon the release of the dataset.
- There are eight sections (sorted by alphabet section A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete **ALL** eight sections (A-H) before returning the completed report to the CSES Secretariat.
- 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.
- To help collaborators complete the macro report, instructions and definitions appear in the document where necessary. Specific instructions to collaborators are highlighted in RED and the definitions CSES adheres to are highlighted in BLUE.

NOTES TO CSES DATA USERS CONSULTING PUBLISHED CSES MACRO REPORTS

CSES Macro Reports are made publicly available in the interests of transparency. Users are advised there may be instances where the macro report indicators for a polity differ from the published macro CSES data. In these circumstances, we recommend users rely on the published CSES data, which takes precedence.

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?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If the system is unicameral, please select "Lower House election".

[ ] Upper House election
[X] Lower House election
[ ] Both Upper and Lower House election
[ ] Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the president's party *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of President exists, please write "N/A".
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?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of Prime Minister exists, please write "N/A".
Social Democratic Union (SPD) ("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, 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**
Social Democratic Union (SPD)	7 (plus prime minister) (after coalition collapse: 8)
Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Gruene)	5
Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)	4 (3 left coalition with party, 1 remained as independent)

https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/196242/Kapitel_06_02_Zusammensetzung_der_Bundeskabinette_-_Namensliste.pdf (starting p. 15, in German)

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 have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

17 (16 cabinet ministers plus prime minister). After collapse of coalition 15 (1 minister replaced, 2 existing ones took over an additional ministry).

2e. Was the President *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential, male or female?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If there is no role of the President, please select N/A.

Male [X] Female [ ] Other [ ] Unsure [ ] N/A [ ]

2f. Was the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election male or female?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If there is no role of the Prime Minister, please select N/A.

Male [X] Female [ ] Other [ ] Unsure [ ] N/A [ ]

2g. How many female members were in the cabinet *prior* to the election?
DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female.
Originally 8, ultimately 6

3a. What was the president's party *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of President exists, please select "N/A".
Social Democratic Party (SPD)

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If no role of Prime Minister exists, please select "N/A".
Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

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, 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 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 Party (SPD)	7

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 have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.

18 (17 cabinet ministers plus prime minister)

3e. Was the President *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential, male or female?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If no role of President exists, please select "N/A".

Male [X] Female [ ] Other [ ] Unsure [ ] N/A [ ]

3f. Was the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election male or female?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how the politician self-identifies. If no role of Prime Minister exists, please select "N/A".

Male [X] Female [ ] Other [ ] Unsure [ ] N/A [ ]

3g. How many female members were in the cabinet *after* the election?
DEFINITION: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and have voting rights at Cabinet meetings.
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female.

8

3h. Were the Finance Minister, Foreign Affairs (External Affairs) Minister, and Health Minister *prior* to **(Column A)** and *after* **(Column B)** the election male or female?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Collaborators are requested to specify their best estimate of how many cabinet members identify as female. Mark the box below in column A and column B respectively.

Minister	(A) Officeholder *prior to the election*		(B) Officeholder *after the election*	
Finance Minister	Male [X] Other [ ]	Female [ ] Unsure [ ]	Male [X] Other [ ]	Female [ ] Unsure [ ]
Foreign Affairs Minister	Male [ ] Other [ ]	Female [X] Unsure [ ]	Male [X] Other [ ]	Female [ ] Unsure [ ]
Health Minister	Male [X] Other [ ]	Female [ ] Unsure [ ]	Male [ ] Other [ ]	Female [X] Unsure [ ]

3i. What was the party of the Finance Minister, Foreign Affairs (External Affairs) Minister, and Health Minister both *prior* to and *after* the election?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Please specify the party holding the portfolio in the below columns. Only polities classified as parliamentary systems or semi-presidential systems where party affiliations are apparent are required to answer this question. Polities that are Full Presidential systems or where cabinet affiliation is unclear can omit and move to question 4.

Minister	(A) Party holding the office *prior* to the election	(B) Party holding the office *after* the election
Finance Minister	FDP, after collapse: SPD	SPD
Foreign Affairs Minister	Gruene	CDU
Health Minister	SPD	CDU

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.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Detailed results here are not required. Instead, providing an official source, preferably using the Roman/Latin script[1], where the results can be obtained is sufficient. Should the source be unavailable in the Roman/Latin alphabet (e.g., the source data is only available in scripts such as Cyrillic, Chinese, Arabic, or Japanese, etc.…), the CSES Secretariat may require your assistance in collecting the official election results and the district data.

https://www.bundeswahlleiterin.de/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl-2025/29_25_endgueltiges-ergebnis.html

4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **electoral 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.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Detailed results here is not required. Instead, providing an official source, preferably using the Roman/Latin script[1], where the results can be obtained, is sufficient. Should the source be unavailable in the Roman/Latin alphabet (e.g., the source data is only available in scripts such as Cyrillic, Chinese, Arabic, or Japanese, etc.…), the CSES Secretariat may require your assistance in collecting the official election results and the district data.

https://www.bundeswahlleiterin.de/dam/jcr/5316c01c-8a1e-44d0-8075-eab495f466b6/btw25_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

[1] By this we mean scripts that use the letters A, B, C etc…

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) COLLABORATOR EXPERT CLASSIFICATIONS: 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 used in the CSES Module 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election, Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, accord with how parties A-F are ordered, that is ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

Party Name	**Ideological Family**
A. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	8
B. Alternative for Germany (AfD)	10
C. Social Democratic Party (SPD)	4
D. Alliance90/The Greens (Buendnis90/Die Gruenen)	1
E. Left Party (Die Linke)	3
F. Christian Social Union (CSU)	8
G. Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht (BSW)	10
H. Free Democratic Party (FDP)	6

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

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, no data for Freie Wähler available, see https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/)

6a. 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 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election, Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

	Left										**Right**
Party Name	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
A. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)								x			
B. Alternative for Germany (AfD)											x
C. Social Democratic Party (SPD)					x						
D. Alliance90/The Greens (Buendnis90/Die Gruenen)				x							
E. Left Party (Die Linke)		x									
F. Christian Social Union (CSU)									x		
G. Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht (BSW)						x					
H. Free Democratic Party (FDP)								x			
I. Freie Wähler									x		

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? ___131_____

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 Open Expert Survey 2025, see: https://oes25.de/
Unfortunately, no data was available for the Human Environment Animal Protection Party (Tierschutzpartei) who archived 1% in the election.
We decided to use the Open Expert Survey instead of the Manifesto Project because the Manifesto Project does not differentiate between CDU and CSU and as we decided to rely on data from the Open Expert Survey for the populist classification we wanted to create more consistency.

6b. 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 6 respondent questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If not asked, please move to question 6c.
If asked, up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election; Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

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: 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 6 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I).

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centered ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' which 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?.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): up to 9 parties can be classified for each polity. Please provide scores for the first nine parties achieving 1% of the national popular vote. Regarding labeling the parties alphabetically, Parties A-F are the six most popular parties/coalitions, ordered in descending order of their share of the popular vote in the parliamentary (or Presidential) election. Thus, Party A is the party/coalition that received the most votes in the election; Party B is the second most votes, and so on. Parties G, H, and I are supplemental parties. They may, but do not have to, according to how parties A are ordered, that is, ordered on the popular share of the vote in a polity.

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

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 131

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.

Informed by data from the Open Expert Survey 2025, see: https://oes25.de/

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. Economic stagnation/decline.

    2. Immigration policy.

    3. Whether to revoke the “debt brake” to take on new debt.

    4. The war in Ukraine and the state of the military.

    5. The perceived inefficiency of bureaucracy.

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

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 28th, 2025

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

February 23rd, 2025. Government coalition collapse on November 6th, 2024, leading to a loss of the parliamentary majority for the government. Call for a vote of confidence by the prime minister (chancellor) on December 16th, 2024, which was lost, led to the dissolution of parliament within 21 days by the President, after which an election had to be held within 60 days. A majority of parties in parliament proposed the 23rd of February 2025 to the President, who approved of the date on December 27th 2024.

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?

[X] N/A: No violence at all
[ ] 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?

[X] No protest at all
[] Sporadic protest
[ ] Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES & CANDIDATES

10a. 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. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

DEFINITION: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together.

[ ] 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?
DEFINITION: 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.
[ ] Yes
[X] No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:
DEFINITION: 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.
[ ] 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
[X] No apparentement

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): If possible, please supplement answers to questions 14-25 inclusive by submitting copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials in the deposit of your CSES data to the CSES Secretariat.

14a. Have there been any electoral rule changes (e.g., electoral system changes, number of seats contested, number of districts, candidate nomination rules, etc…) in the polity in the preceding 5 years?
[X] Yes
[ ] No

14b. If the answer to q14a was YES, please state below what changes occurred?
INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): In explaining, please attach any documents/sources that may help explain the change(s).

There was an election reform in 2023 (officially amended election law in 2024) which changed the electoral rules to stop the constant enlargement of the size of the lower house membership while retaining the mixed-member system. Firstly, it fixed the size of the lower house to 630 members under normal conditions. It eliminates the use of Überhangmandate (overhang mandates) and Ausgleichsmandate (compensatory seats). Under the old system, if a party won more direct mandates (via first votes in constituencies) than its proportional share of the vote entitled it to, it kept those seats (overhang), and additional compensatory seats were added for other parties to restore proportionality. The new law removes that mechanism. Secondly, the "Zweitstimme-Deckung" (Second-vote coverage) was introduced as a requirement for direct mandates. Under the new system, direct (constituency) winners do no longer automatically enter the Bundestag. They only enter if their party's second-vote share (or list allocation) "covers" them, i.e. the number of direct mandates a party wins must be consistent with its overall proportional share. If it has "too many" direct winners relative to its second votes, some of those direct winners with the lowest first-vote share will be excluded.

https://www.bundeswahlleiterin.de/en/dam/jcr/4ff317c1-041f-4ba7-bbbf-1e5dc45097b3/bundeswahlgesetz_engl.pdf

https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11127-025-01300-6.pdf

Electoral Tiers (Segments)

DEFINITION: CSES takes a generalized approach to classifying electoral tiers. Many electoral systems (both plurality and proportional operate a single-tier system where all elected representatives within the polity are elected in the same way (e.g., of systems that accord to this general principle are the United Kingdom, Canada, Ireland, or the Netherlands). There are conventionally two tiers of representatives in mixed systems (e.g., of systems like this include Germany and New Zealand, which elect representatives in two distinct ways – one set

elected via constituency mandates and the other through list mandates). Even purely proportional systems can have multiple tiers. These can be delineated in various ways. For example, representatives elected through different list procedures, like in South Africa, where representatives can be elected via regional and national lists. Alternatively, the tiers may delineate compensatory seats, distributed to achieve a proportional outcome at the national level. For example, in polities like Norway and Sweden, the compensatory seat allocations are conventionally considered separate tiers even though electors don't cast separate ballots for these segments.

15a. For lower house elections, how many electoral tiers operate?

[ ] One tier
[X] Two tiers
[ ] Three tiers
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

15b. For lower house elections, if more than one electoral tier operates in the polity (see answer to q15a above), please specify the different tiers, and the maximum number of seats awarded (if applicable) at each tier?

Tier name	Maximum number of seats awarded
"Erststimme" (First-vote: constituency)	299
"Zweitstimme" (Second-vote: party list)	331

15c. For upper house elections, how many electoral tiers operate?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Only required to answer this question if the election under study is an upper house election or has an upper house election taking place simultaneously with a lower house and/or presidential election.

[ ] One tier
[ ] Two tiers
[ ] Three tiers
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

15d. For upper house elections, if more than one electoral tier operates in the polity (see answer to q15c), please specify the different tiers, and the maximum number of seats awarded (if applicable) at each tier?

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): Only required to answer this question if the election under study is an upper house election or has an upper house election taking place simultaneously with a lower house and/or presidential election.

Tier	Maximum number of seats awarded

Voting procedures

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATOR(S): The voting procedure questions are asked of each electoral tier in the system (see the answer to Question 15 above). Hence, questions Q16a-Q20d and Q21a-25d are identical, but the answers should relate to the procedures operated at different tiers.

Questions Q16a-Q20d should be completed by polities with one electoral tier only or by polities with multiple electoral tiers, with the answers to questions Q16a-Q20d referring to tier 1 in that polities' multi-tier system.

Questions Q21a-Q25d need only be completed by polities that operate multiple election tiers, with the answers to questions Q21a-Q25d referring to tier 2 in that polities' multi-tier system. For those few polities with more than two tiers (e.g., Greece), we request that collaborators in answering Q21a-Q25d specify the answers for both tiers 2 and 3, clarifying which answers refer to tier 2 and tier 3, respectively.

For polities who have only one tier or tier 1 for multi-tier polities

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLLABORATORS: Questions Q16a-Q20d should be completed by polities with one electoral tier only or by polities who have multiple electoral tiers with the answers to questions Q16a-Q20d referring to tier 1 in that polities' multi-tier system.

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast?

1

16b. Do voters vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists, or some other variant?

(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
[ ] Candidates and Party Lists
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1

16d. 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)

17. 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

18. 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
[X] N/A – only one vote cast

19. 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

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 20a, what is the threshold? Please supply all potential thresholds. Also, in multi-tier systems, please specify at which tier the thresholds operate.

20c. If YES in Question 20a and the threshold relates to a percentage of the vote a party needs to obtain to win seats, what is the unit for this threshold?
[ ] Percent of total votes
[ ] Percent of valid votes
[ ] Percent of the total electorate
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

For polities with more than one tier only – please provide answers related to tier 2 & 3 here.
For polities that operate only one tier, the Collaborator can skip questions Q21a-Q25d and go straight to Q26.

Questions Q21a-Q25d (below) need only be completed by polities who operate MULTIPLE election tiers, with the answers to questions Q21a-Q25d referring to tier 2 in that polities' multi-tier system. For those few polities with more than two tiers (e.g., Greece), we request that collaborators in answering Q21a-Q25d specify the answers for both tiers 2 and 3, clarifying which refers to tier 2 and tier 3, respectively.

21a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast?

1

21b. Do voters vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists, or some other variant?
(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
[ ] Candidates and Party Lists
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

21c. How many rounds of voting are there?

1

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)
[ ] N/A

22. Are the votes transferable?

(DEFINITION: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. For example, 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 can cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

[ ] Yes
[ ] No
[X] N/A – only one vote cast

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

25a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

[X] Yes
[ ] No

25b. If YES in Question 25a, what is the threshold? Please supply all potential thresholds. Also, in multi-tier systems, please specify at which tier the thresholds operate.

5 Percent (of list votes)

25c. If YES in Question 25a and the threshold relates to a percentage of the vote a party needs to obtain to win seats, what is the unit for this threshold?
[ ] Percent of total votes
[X] Percent of valid votes
[ ] Percent of the total electorate
[ ] Other; please explain: _____

H) References

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

See:
https://www.bundeswahlleiterin.de/bundestagswahlen/2025.html

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

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

https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/

https://oes25.de/

https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11127-025-01300-6.pdf

Further references:
https://www.cdu.de/bundesvorstand/

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

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

https://www.spd.de/ueber-uns

https://www.gruene.de/leute/unser-bundesvorstand

https://www.die-linke.de/partei/parteidemokratie/parteivorstand/parteivorstand-2024-2026/

https://bsw-vg.de/partei/parteivorstand/

https://www.fdp.de/personen/team

https://www.freiewaehler.eu/unsere-politik/vorstand/