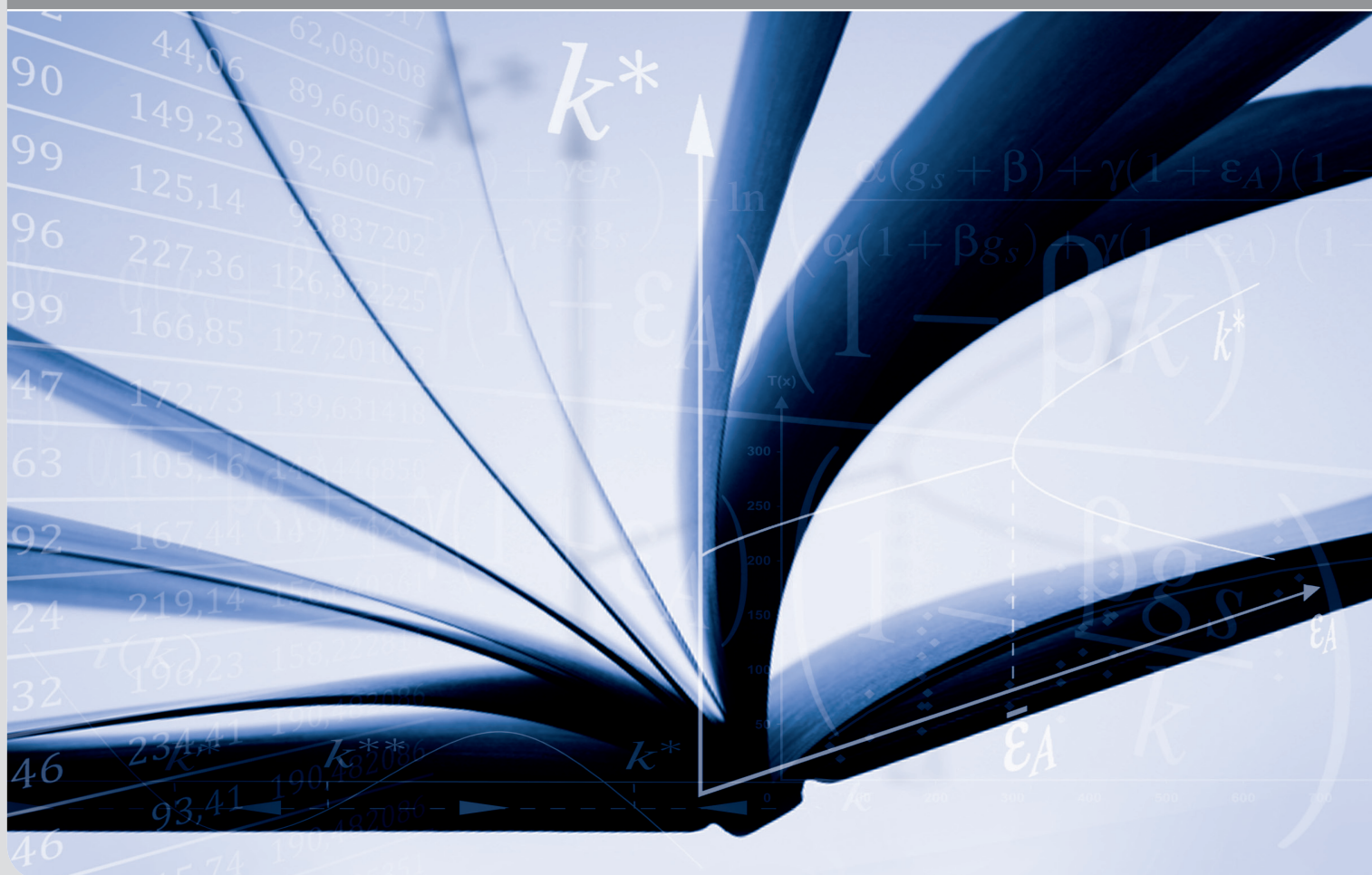


Analysis of the 2025 Bundestag elections. Part 2 of 4: Representativeness of the parties and the Bundestag

by Andranik S. Tangian

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Analysis of the 2025 Bundestag Elections. 2/4. Representativeness of the Parties and the Bundestag

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Abstract

This is the second out of four papers on the 2025 German federal elections continuing our analysis of the 2009, 2013, 2017 and 2021 Bundestag elections. We estimate the policy representation ability of the 29 parties that participated in the 2025 elections and of the 2025 Bundestag. For this purpose, the parties' Yes/No answers to 38 topical questions are compared with the results of recent public opinion polls. Then the party indices of popularity (the average percentage of the population represented) and universality (frequency in representing a majority) are constructed. Assuming that the Bundestag position on the 38 issues is determined by the Bundestag majority, the Bundestag indices of popularity and universality are estimated as well. The main conclusion is that the representativeness of the parties in the Bundestag and the Bundestag as a whole (before coalition-formation) has significantly decreased since 2021. In particular, the former election winner, the SPD, is now ranked 16 instead of 4 in 2021, having the mean index (popularity + universality)/ 2 = 56.3% instead of 65 % in 2021, and the mean index of the Bundestag is now equal to 48.5% instead of the former 61.1%. As for the currently ruling coalition of the CDU/CSU + SPD, its compatibility of 52.8% is greater than that of the former ruling coalition of the SPD + GRÜNE + FDP¹, which was equal to 45% (which resulted in the coalition collapse). The mean representativeness index of the current ruling coalition is however significantly lower (51.5% compared with the former 61%).

Keywords: Policy representation, representative democracy, direct democracy, elections, coalitions.

JEL Classification: D71

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¹The capitalization of party names follows the way the parties themselves do it.

In a number of Western societies ... no socioeconomic or cultural cleavage is evidently more important and stable than others. To be sure, citizens do not constitute a homogeneous mass that can be divided in any manner by the choices they are offered, but the social and cultural lines of cleavage are numerous, crosscutting, and rapidly changing... The number of floating voters who do not cast their ballot on the basis of stable party identification is increasing. A growing segment of the electorate tends to vote according to the stakes and issues of each election.

Bernard Manin (1997) *Principles of Representative Government*, pp. 223, 231.

1 Introduction

This is the second out of four papers on the 2025 German federal elections continuing our analysis of the 2009, 2013, 2017 and 2021 Bundestag elections [Tangian 2014, 2020, 2022a–d]. In particular, we show that the representative ability of the Bundestag decreased compared with the 2021 Bundestag. The structure of the paper follows [Tangian 2022a], from which we quote for the reader’s convenience without special reference.

The historical motivation for the actual approach is caused by the fact that the late 18th century founding debate on political representation focused primarily on two questions: *Who should be represented?*, i.e. who is entitled to vote (males or also females, with which civil and property status, etc.) and *Who can be a representative?* (sons of the constituency or all trusted citizens, taxpayers of a certain level, etc.) [Manin 1997]. The question *What should be represented?*, i.e. which policies should be pursued on behalf of the electorate and how well the political system represents the electorate’s policy preferences, was of secondary importance. The question *What?* — as opposed to the questions *Who?* — started to be widely discussed only since the 1960s when the notion of *policy representation* has been coined [Miller and Stokes 1963, Pitkin 1967]; for the later studies see [Klingemann et al. 2006, Cerami 2007, Budge and McDonald 2007, Soroka and Wlezien 2010, Volkens et al 2013]. To monitor policy representation in modern democracies, a special database has been created within the prize-winning *Manifesto* project (Berlin), aimed at ‘quantitative content analysis of parties’ election programs from more than 50 countries covering all free, democratic elections since 1945’ [WZB 2021].

Most studies in policy representation consider one-dimensional models, locating the policy preferences of parties, governments and voters either on particular policy axes (budgeting for defence, education, health, etc.) or on the left-right ideological axis. However, the modern electorate, parties and governments locate themselves with respect to numerous policy issues, making policy preferences essentially multi-dimensional or hardly reducible to the left–right alignment; see the epigraph above.

The idea of multi-dimensional policy representation is implemented in so-called voting advice applications (VAAs). Following the Dutch *StemWijzer* (*Vote match*) launched on the internet in 1998, several European countries created sites to help electors compare their policy preferences with party manifestos. They include *Wahlkabine* (*Voting booth*) in Austria, *Glasovoditel* (*Vote guide*) in Bulgaria, *Kohovolit* (*Whom to vote for*) in Czech Republic, *Vote&Vous* (*Vote&You*) in France, *Wahl-O-Mat* (*Election automate*) in Germany, *Vote Match* in the UK, *Te kit v lasztan l?* (*Whom would you choose?*) in Hungary, *Vote Match* in Ireland, *Cabine Eletorale* (*Voting booth*) in Italy, *Providus* (*The farsighted*) in Latvia, *Latarnik Wyborczy* (*Election lantern*) in Poland, *Testeaza-ti votul!* (*Test your vote!*) in Romania, *Kohovolit* (*Whom to vote for*) in Slovakia, *Elecciones.es* (*Elections.es*) in Spain and *Smartvote* in Switzerland [Garzia and Marschall 2014, Vote match Europe 2017]. In 2006, the Free University of Amsterdam developed a general *Election compass* whose applications range from university works councils to the US president and the European Parliament [Kieskompas 2006, EU profiler 2009]. This device not only evaluates the preference proximity between voters and candidates but also locates them on a two-dimensional landscape with ‘Left–Right’ and ‘Conservative–Progressive’ axes.

Developing the model from [Tangian 1994], we measure policy representation of German political par-

ties and the Bundestag with respect to multiple policy issues. We compare the positions of the parties and the Bundestag on 38 topical issues with the recent public opinion polls on the same issues and construct the party indices of popularity (the average percentage of the population represented on numerous issues) and universality (frequency in representing a majority) as well as that of the Bundestag.

Like the results of the previous studies, the actual ones are somewhat discouraging. The parties in the Bundestag and the Bundestag as a whole look insufficiently representative. In particular, the 2025 election winner, the conservative union CDU/CSU, is ranked 20 among 28 parties (the union is considered as one party) instead of 9 in 2021, having the mean index of representativeness (popularity + universality)/2 = 50.6% instead of 60.7% in 2021, and the mean index of the Bundestag is now as low as 48.5% instead of 61.1% in 2021. All of these mean that the respond to the public demand must be improved.

Section 2, ‘Representativeness of German parties and of the Bundestag’, describes the data sources, defines the indices of popularity and universality of German parties and of the Bundestag, and explains the computational results.

In Section 3, ‘Representativeness of possible Bundestag coalitions’, the indices of popularity and universality are calculated for four most compatible Bundestag coalitions.

In Section 4, ‘Conclusions’, the findings of the paper are recapitulated and placed into context.

The Appendix (Section 5) contains complete information about the public opinion polls used in this study.

2 Representativeness of German parties and of the Bundestag

Table 1 describes the 29 German parties that took part in the 2025 federal election (the union CDU/CSU is considered as one party), and Tables 2–3 display the balance of public opinion and the party positions on 38 policy questions, respectively.

The questions and the party positions are from the *Wahl-O-Mat* — the voting advice application of the German Federal Agency for Civic Education [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2025]. The *Wahl-O-Mat* (a portmanteau for the German *Wahl* = election and *Automat*) is the German version of the Dutch Internet site *StemWijzer* (‘VoteMatch’) [Pro demos 2025], which was originally developed in the 1990s to involve young people in political participation. Both websites help the users locate themselves on the political landscape by testing how well their opinions match with party positions. Before an election (local, regional, federal and even European), a special governmental supervising committee compiles a list of questions on topical policy issues (‘General speed limit on motorways?’—Yes/No, ‘Germany should increase its defense spending?’—Yes/No, etc.) and asks the parties participating in the election for their answers. A user of the site answers the same questions, eventually attributing weights to reflect their importance, and then the program compares his or her political profile with that of the parties and finds the best-matching party, the next-best-matching party, etc.

The *Wahl-O-Mat* provides no statistics for individual answers, but even if they were available, they would be biased toward internet users.² For this reason, we refer to the public opinion polls that pertain to 38 *Wahl-O-Mat* questions and which were conducted during the recent years. For the German formulation of the *Wahl-O-Mat* questions, their translation into English, the references to relevant public opinion polls, their dates and outcomes see the Appendix (Section 5).

Each *Wahl-O-Mat* question divides the society into two groups: protagonists (Yes-group) and antagonists (No-group); abstentions are not considered. A party, answering these questions, represents the Yes-groups for some questions and the No-groups for others. To evaluate the representativeness of a party, we consider two indices. The party’s *popularity* is defined to be the average size of the group it represents, averaged over all the questions. The *universality* of a party is its frequency in representing

²Before the 2025 Bundestag elections, the *Wahl-O-Mat* site was visited over 26 million times [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2025].

Table 1: German parties in the 2025 Bundestag elections

Party logo	Party description	Number of members		Percentage of votes	
		2021	2025	2021	2025
	CDU/CSU, union of Germany's main conservative parties, Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany) and Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union of Bavaria). The CDU and CSU were founded in 1945–50 and 1945, respectively, as non-denominational parties and combine conservative, economically liberal and Christian-social positions. The CDU runs in elections in all federal states except for Bavaria, and the CSU runs in elections only there.	536120	495202	24.069	28.521
	AfD, Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany), was founded in 2013 and focuses, among other things, on restrictive positions in asylum and migration policy. It has been represented in the Bundestag since 2017. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution lists it as a suspected case of right-wing extremist activities.	32000	53000	10.344	20.803
	SPD, Sozial-demokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany), founded in 1863. The SPD emerged from the workers' movement in 1875. The slogan of social justice is the starting point for many of its positions, for example in the party's labor, social and societal policies. Since the 2021 federal elections it the fourth time in its history that the party has a chancellor.	404305	365190	25.743	16.413
	GRÜNE, BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN (Alliance 90/The Greens). The Greens were founded in 1980 and later joined forces with civil rights movements from the former GDR. They campaign for environmental protection, disarmament, renewable energies and gender equality, among other things. The Greens have been part of the federal government since 2021.	122000	156081	14.754	11.606
	DIE LINKE (The Left) was formed in 2007 through the merger of the PDS, Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism), and the trade union-oriented WASG, Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit — Die Wahlalternative (Labour and Social Justice — The Electoral Alternative). It is represented in the 2021 Bundestag. The Left advocates disarmament and the expansion of the welfare state, calls for a billionaire and wealth tax and wants to reduce the burden on small and medium incomes.	60350	75387	4.890	8.775
	BSW, Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht — Vernunft und Gerechtigkeit (Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance — Reason and Justice), was founded in 2024 by several members of the DIE LINKE party, among others, and is represented in the Bundestag through their transfer. Its namesake and co-founder is the Bundestag member and publicist Sahra Wagenknecht. The party combines economically left-wing content such as a wealth tax with socio-politically partly conservative positions, e.g. in migration policy.	—	1100	—	4.981

Continued next page...

Table 1: (continued) German parties in the 2025 Bundestag election

Party logo	Party description	Number of members		Percentage of votes	
		2021	2025	2021	2025
	FDP, Freie Demokratische Partei (Free Democratic Party), founded in 1948, emphasizes the freedom and self-determination of the individual. Among other things, it calls for a reduction in taxes and duties as well as the reduction of bureaucratic regulations and relies on innovations to tackle climate change. The FDP was part of the federal government until November 2024.	75000	68170	11.455	4.328
	FREIE WÄHLER (Free Voters) was founded in 2009 as a nationwide association of local voter groups. They have been part of the Bavarian state government since 2018. The FREIE WÄHLER are calling for, among other things, a strengthening of local self-government, a simplification of tax law and a reduction in citizens' allowances.	7030	8700	2.428	1.549
	Tierschutzpartei: Mensch Umwelt Tierschutz (Animal Protection Party: People-Environment-Animal Protection) was founded in 1993. It is particularly committed to protecting the environment and animals. One of its goals is to include basic rights for animals in the Basic Law with a separate article. Since 2014, it has won one mandate in each of the European Parliament elections.	2017	2506	1.454	0.971
	Volt, Volt Deutschland (Volt Germany) was founded in 2018, is part of a pan-European movement. Important goals include a fundamental reform of the EU, extensive digitalization of administration and the switch to renewable energies. It has been a member of the European Parliament since 2019 — currently with three mandates.	2973	8341	0.356	0.716
	Die PARTEI, Partei für Arbeit, Rechtsstaat, Tierschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative (Party for Work, Rule-of-Law, Protection of Animals, Advancement of Elites and Grass-root Democratic Initiative) was founded in 2004. In its political work, it uses satirical means that it combines with serious core concerns such as the reduction of social inequality. Since 2014, it has won one and two mandates in the European Parliament elections.	52486	54292	0.994	0.489
	dieBasis, Basisdemokratische Partei Deutschland (Basic Democratic Party of Germany) was founded in 2020 in the context of protests against the government measures to combat the Covid-19 pandemic. Among other things, it speaks out against the digitization of the health system. DieBasis also calls for the commissioning of 'Nord Stream 2' and referendums at all levels.	22753	18000	1.357	0.172
	BÜNDNIS DEUTSCHLAND (ALLIANCE GERMANY), also abbreviated to BD, founded in 2022, is considered right-wing conservative and economically liberal. The party focuses on individual achievement, personal responsibility and the strengthening of rural areas, among other things. Due to a party transfer, it is represented in the Bundestag by one member.	—	1000	—	0.154

Continued next page...

Table 1: (continued) German parties in the 2025 Bundestag election

Party logo	Party description	Number of members		Percentage of votes	
		2021	2025	2021	2025
 Für uns im Norden.	SSW, Südschleswigscher Wählerverband (South Schleswig Association of Voters), was founded in 1948. It is the political lobby of the Danish minority and the Frisian ethnic group and is therefore exempt from the 5%-hurdle. Its focus is on northern Germany. Since 2021 the SSW is represented by one member of Bundestag.	3300	3150	0.120	0.153
	ÖDP, Ökologisch-Demokratische Partei (Ecological Democratic Party) emerged from the ecology movement in 1981. Key issues include environmental and family policy, as well as democracy and the transparency of political processes. Since 2014, it has won one mandate in each of the European Parliament elections.	8086	7000	0.242	0.100
	Team Todenhöfer, Die Gerechtigkeitspartei — Team Todenhöfer (The Justice Party — Todenhöfer's Team) was founded in 2020 by former CDU MP Jürgen Todenhöfer. It campaigns for an end to the Bundeswehr's foreign missions, is against national unilateral climate policy efforts and calls, among other things, for the construction of one million homes annually, a limitation of the term of office of MPs and a ban on party donations over 5,000 euros.	7800	2700	0.462	0.049
	PdF, Partei des Fortschritts (Party of Progress) was founded in 2020. It calls for more direct democratic elements. It finds its own positions in a grassroots democratic process. Among other things, it calls for a consistent energy transition and the expansion of public transport. In 2024, it won a mandate in the European Parliament.	220	620	0.007	0.043
	MLPD, Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands (Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany) is a communist party founded in 1982. It refers to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong and sees itself as a radical left-wing alternative to other political forces. It is classified as left-wing extremist by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.	2800	2800	0.038	0.039
	PdH, Partei der Humanisten — Fakten, Freiheit, Fortschritt (Party of Humanists — Facts, Freedom, Progress). Founded in 2014, the PdH places people as self-determined, social and rational individuals at the centre of its politics. It opposes the connection between state and religion and wants to continuously adapt its positions to new scientific findings.	1920	2300	0.103	0.029
	PIRATEN, Piratenpartei Deutschland (Pirate Party of Germany) was founded in 2006 with a focus on internet policy issues such as data protection, digital copyright and net neutrality. They demand, among other things, a free and democratically controlled technical infrastructure and more powers for the federal government in education policy. From 2011 to 2017 they were represented in up to four state parliaments.	6050	4554	0.366	0.028

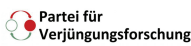
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Table 1: (continued) German parties in the 2025 Bundestag election

Party logo	Party description	Number of members		Percentage of votes	
		2021	2025	2021	2025
	BP, Bayernpartei (Bavaria Party) was founded in 1946. Its central goal are Bavarian statehood and the expansion of direct democracy. It also calls for the promotion of small and medium-sized businesses, the introduction of a childcare allowance and rejects dual citizenship.	6000	4000	0.071	0.025
	Bündnis C, Bündnis C — Christen für Deutschland (Alliance C — Christians for Germany) was formed in 2015 from the merger of two Christian parties, PBC (Partei Bibeltreuer Christen = Party of Bible-abiding Christians) and AUF (Partei für Arbeit, Umwelt und Familie = Party of Labour, Environment and Family). The party derives positions such as the promotion of the traditional family, the rejection of abortion and the protection of the environment from Christian values and a biblical view of humanity.	1200	1015	0.086	0.024
	MERA25 — Gemeinsam für Europäische Unabhängigkeit, (MERA25 — Together for European Independence) was founded first as Democracy in Europe (German: Demokratie in Europa) in 2020, and in 2021 was renamed to MERA25, in reference to the Greek party with the same name. The party is as part of the pan-European DiEM25. It calls for a radical change to a more directly democratic, more solidarity-based and more sustainable EU. Its goal is, among other things, the introduction of a "universal living income" and the socialization of key basic goods.	—	1600	—	0.014
	WU, WerteUnion (The Values Union) is a German party founded in 2024 by transforming a seven-year-old registered association with the same name. The party calls for, among other things, a restrictive migration policy and the abolition of public broadcasting in its current form. It wants to reduce the influence of the parties in favor of direct democratic elements. According to its own information, the Values Union had around 4,000 members in 2022; with about 3,000 also being the members of the CDU.	4000	1300	—	0.014
	Menschliche Welt (The Human World) was founded in 2013. Its policies are based on a spiritual way of life and a decentralized common good economy. Issues such as peace policy, organic agriculture and economic justice play an important role in its program.	721	700	0.008	0.001
	BüSo, Bürgerrechtsbewegung Solidarität (Civil Rights Movement Solidarity), was founded in 1992 and sees itself as part of a movement that goes back to the late US political activist Lyndon LaRouche. It rejects man-made climate change as a hoax and warns of the collapse of the global financial system and Western civilization.	530	400	0.002	0.001

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Table 1: (continued) German parties in the 2025 Bundestag election

Party logo	Party description	Number of members		Percentage of votes	
		2021	2025	2021	2025
	SGP, Sozialistische Gleichheitspartei, Vierte Internationale (Socialist Equality Party, Fourth International), founded in 1971 as BSA, Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter (Alliance of Socialist Workers) and called from 1997 to 2017 PSG, Partei für Soziale Gleichheit (Party of Social Equality), is a Trotskyist anticapitalist party. Its goals are the conquest of political power by the working class, the overthrow of capitalism and the "United Socialist States of Europe". The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution classifies it as left-wing extremist.	280	294	0.003	0.001
	Verjüngungsforschung, Partei für Verjüngungsforschung (Party for Rejuvenation Research), formerly Partei für schulmedizinische Verjüngungsforschung (Party for Conventional Medical Rejuvenation Research), before that Partei für Gesundheitsforschung (Party for Health Research). It is a small party founded in 2015. Its only political goal is the fight against age-related diseases by promoting research in conventional medicine. To this end, it calls for more funding from public budgets and the expansion of university research.	300	323	0.106	0.001

Sources: [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2025, Bundeswahlleiterin 2025, p. 8]

a majority. Both indices are computed in two versions: for equally weighted questions, meaning their equal importance, and for the questions weighted with the base 2 logarithm of thousand Google hits for the questions' keywords (the search for the hits is performed in German in order to restrict it to the German area) — it is assumed that the number of hits reflects the importance of the question.

Let us illustrate the construction of representativeness indices using Figure 1. It displays the 38 *Wahl-O-Mat* questions together with their original numbers. The color bars indicate the balance of public opinion and the positions of the Bundestag parties (those who received $\geq 5\%$ of the electoral votes, or at least three direct mandates as DIE LINKE, or represent a minority as the SSW, which has only one mandate and is therefore not visible in Figure 1). To be specific, we consider Question 1, '*Support for Ukraine*'. The balance of public opinion, with 68% pros (protagonists) and 27% cons (antagonists), is shown by the grey bar. The framing box shows its normalized length, that is, for the abstentions removed and the total length brought up to 100%. The bar's segments to the left and to the right of the central axis are proportional to the percentage of antagonists and protagonists in the society, respectively. Thus the prevailing public opinion is visualized by the bias of the grey bar's frame from the center.

Every Bundestag faction is depicted by a rectangle in the official party color; its length is equal to the party quota in the Bundestag derived from the second votes. The 'No/Yes' party opinion on the question in Table 3 is reflected by the positioning of the rectangle to the left or to the right of the central axis, respectively. If the party abstains, its rectangular is not shown. The Bundestag's balance of No/Yes-opinions is brought up to the total of 100% and displayed by the framing box whose bias from the center indicates the Bundestag's majority opinion — the sides where the box surpasses the $\pm 50\%$ -thresholds is shown by dotted lines.

For every question, the given party represents a certain percentage of the population, as revealed by the corresponding public opinion poll; see Table 2. For instance, the CDU/CSU with its 'Yes' answer to Question 1 represents the opinion of 68% of the electorate versus the 27% who answer 'No'. Hence, the

Table 2: Public opinion on the 2025 *Wahl-O-Mat* questions

Questions	Question weights		Public opinion	
	Equal	$\log_2(0.001 * \text{Google hits})$	Protago- nists, %	Antago- nists, %
1 <i>Support for Ukraine.</i> Germany should continue to support Ukraine militarily.	1	16.48	68.0	27.0
2 <i>Renewable energies.</i> The expansion of renewable energies should continue to be financially supported by the state.	1	15.88	89.4	10.0
3 <i>Cancellation of the citizen's allowance.</i> The citizen's allowance should be cancelled for those who repeatedly turn down job offers.	1	2.34	56.0	40.0
4 <i>Speed limit on motorways.</i> A general speed limit should apply on all motorways.	1	9.66	55.0	40.0
5 <i>Rejection of asylum seekers.</i> Asylum seekers who have entered the country via another EU country should be rejected at the German border.	1	9.25	57.0	33.0
6 <i>Limitation of rental prices.</i> For new housing rentals, rental prices should continue to be limited by law.	1	14.13	71.0	27.0
7 <i>Automated facial recognition.</i> The Federal Police should be allowed to use software for automated facial recognition at train stations.	1	6.78	61.0	27.0
8 <i>Energy-intensive companies.</i> Energy-intensive companies should receive financial compensation from the state for their electricity costs.	1	9.04	36.0	51.0
9 <i>Pension after 40 years of contributions.</i> All employees should be able to retire without deductions after 40 years of contributions.	1	6.20	85.8	9.4
10 <i>Basic Law.</i> The introductory sentence of the Basic Law should continue to contain the phrase responsibility before God.	1	11.66	45.0	34.0
11 <i>Recruitment of skilled workers.</i> Germany should continue to promote the recruitment of skilled workers from abroad.	1	6.89	69.0	23.0
12 <i>Use of nuclear energy.</i> Germany should use nuclear energy again to generate electricity.	1	8.11	58.0	39.0
13 <i>Raising the top tax rate.</i> The top tax rate for income tax is to be raised.	1	2.83	46.0	52.0
14 <i>Competencies in school policy.</i> The federal government should be given more competencies in school policy.	1	6.21	73.0	24.0
15 <i>Arms exports to Israel.</i> Armaments should continue to be allowed to be exported from Germany to Israel.	1	13.54	31.0	60.0
16 <i>Health insurance companies.</i> All citizens should be insured in statutory health insurance companies.	1	8.16	80.0	15.0
17 <i>Abolition of the woman's quota.</i> The statutory quota for women on executive boards and supervisory boards of listed companies should be abolished.	1	5.45	59.3	28.7
18 <i>Organic farming.</i> Organic farming should be promoted more than conventional farming.	1	13.98	92.0	8.0
19 <i>Projects against right-wing extremism.</i> The federal government should increase its support for projects against right-wing extremism.	1	14.06	70.0	26.0

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Table 2: (continued) Public opinion on the 2025 *Wahl-O-Mat* questions

Questions	Question weights		Public opinion	
	Equal	$\log_2(0.001 \times \text{Google hits})$	Protago- nists, %	Antago- nists, %
20 <i>Monitoring of suppliers.</i> Companies should continue to be required to monitor compliance with human rights and environmental protection by all suppliers.	1	11.26	93.0	7.0
21 <i>Parent-dependent BAföG.</i> The BAföG (Bundes-Ausbildungs-Förderungs-Gesetz = Federal Training Support Act) training grant should continue to be paid depending on the parents income.	1	5.86	35.0	55.0
22 <i>Public debt brake.</i> The public debt brake in the Basic Law should be retained.	1	11.76	52.0	41.0
23 <i>Work permit for asylum seekers.</i> Asylum seekers in Germany should receive a work permit immediately after submitting their application.	1	6.06	87.0	11.0
24 <i>Abandoning climate targets.</i> Germany should abandon the goal of becoming climate neutral.	1	3.38	11.8	88.2
25 <i>35-hour week.</i> In Germany, the 35-hour week is to be established as the legal standard working time for all employees.	1	16.52	82.0	17.9
26 <i>Abortion after counseling.</i> Abortions in the first three months of pregnancy should continue to be legal only after counseling.	1	8.46	79.6	12.5
27 <i>National currency.</i> The euro is to be replaced by a national currency in Germany.	1	10.45	33.0	67.0
28 <i>Rail before road.</i> When expanding transport infrastructure, rail should have priority over road.	1	11.40	29.0	13.0
29 <i>Voluntary work.</i> Voluntary work should be credited towards future pensions.	1	7.95	76.0	23.0
30 <i>Allocation of property tax.</i> Property tax should continue to be able to be allocated to tenants.	1	5.72	?	?
31 <i>Restriction of the right to strike.</i> The right to strike for employees in critical infrastructure companies should be restricted by law.	1	3.88	59.0	24.0
32 <i>Referendums.</i> In Germany, referendums should be possible at the federal level.	1	9.52	56.7	34.2
33 <i>Criminal law for children under 14.</i> Children under 14 should be able to be prosecuted.	1	6.75	64.9	23.5
34 <i>Abolition of tariffs.</i> Germany should campaign for the abolition of the increased EU tariffs on Chinese electric cars.	1	6.14	35.3	45.1
35 <i>Second citizenship.</i> In Germany it should continue to be generally possible to have a second citizenship in addition to German citizenship.	1	12.08	43.0	37.0
36 <i>Compulsory social year.</i> A compulsory social year should be introduced for young adults.	1	3.62	75.0	17.0
37 <i>Fossil fuels.</i> New heating systems should continue to be allowed to run entirely on fossil fuels (e.g. gas or oil).	1	11.01	49.0	45.0
38 <i>Increase in the minimum wage.</i> The statutory minimum wage is to be increased to 15 euros by 2026 at the latest.	1	8.33	57.0	38.0

Sources: [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2025] (questions)
Google on February 9 2025 (question weights)
Section 5 (balance of public opinion)

Table 3: The German party positions on the 2025 *Wahl-O-Mat* questions: +[1]—Yes, −[1]—No, ?—Neutral or missing

Question	Party positions																			
	CDU/CSU	AfD	SPD	GRÜNE	DIE LINKE	BSW	FDP	FREIE WÄHLER	Tierschutzpartei	Volt	Die PARTEI	dieBasis	Bündnis Deutschland	SSW	ÖDP	Team Todenhöfer	PdF	MLPD	PdH	PIRATEN
1 Support for Ukraine	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	?	−	?	+	+	−	+	−	+	?
2 Renewable energies	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
3 Cancellation of the citizen's allowance	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+
4 Speed limit on motorways	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	+	+	?	+	+	−	?	−
5 Rejection of asylum seekers	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	?	−	+	−	−	+
6 Limitation of rental prices	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
7 Automated facial recognition	+	+	−	−	−	?	−	−	−	−	−	−	?	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
8 Energy-intensive companies	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	?	−	+	−	−	+	−	?	+
9 Pension after 40 years of contributions	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	?	+	−	+	?	+	−
10 Basic Law	+	+	+	?	−	?	?	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
11 Recruitment of skilled workers	+	?	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	?	+	+	−	+	−
12 Use of nuclear energy	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
13 Raising the top tax rate	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
14 Competencies in school policy	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	?	+	−
15 Arms exports to Israel	+	?	+	+	−	−	+	+	?	?	?	−	+	?	−	−	?	−	?	−
16 Health insurance companies	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
17 Abolition of the woman's quota	−	+	−	−	−	?	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	?	?	+	+
18 Organic farming	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−
19 Projects against right-wing extremism	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
20 Monitoring of suppliers	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
21 Parent-dependent BAföG	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
22 Public debt brake	+	+	−	−	−	?	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	?	−	−
23 Work permit for asylum seekers	−	−	+	+	+	−	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Abandoning climate targets	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
25 35-hour week	−	−	?	−	+	?	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	?	+	−	−	+	?	−
26 Abortion after counseling	+	+	−	−	−	?	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−
27 National currency	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	?	−	−	−	−	−	−	?	−
28 Rail before road	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	?	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
29 Voluntary work	−	−	−	+	?	?	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	?	−
30 Allocation of property tax	+	?	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	?	+	−	+	−	−	−	?	−
31 Restriction of the right to strike	?	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
32 Referendums	−	+	?	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
33 Criminal law for children under 14	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	?	−	+	−	−	−
34 Abolition of tariffs	?	+	?	+	+	+	+	−	?	−	+	?	−	−	−	+	−	+	?	−
35 Second citizenship	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	?	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
36 Compulsory social year	+	?	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	?	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
37 Fossil fuels	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
38 Increase in the minimum wage	?	?	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	?	−	+	+	+	?	+	?	+

Source: [Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2025]

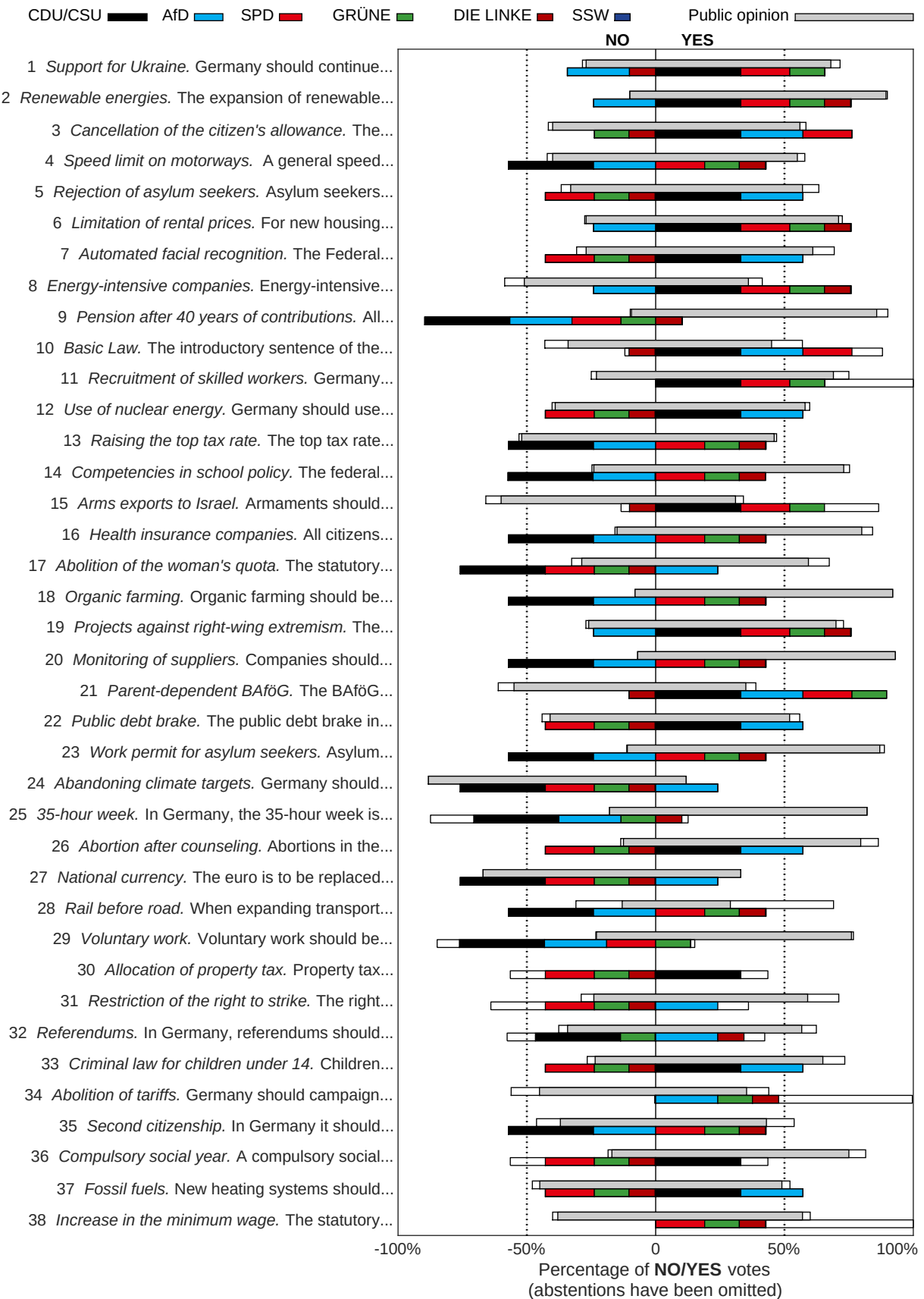


Figure 1: Public opinion and representation thereof by the 2025 Bundestag

CDU/CSU's *representativeness* for Question 1:

$$r_{\text{CDU/CSU } 1} = \frac{68}{68+27} \approx 0.72 .$$

With the ‘Yes’ answer to Question 2, ‘*Renewable energies*’, the CDU/CSU expresses the opinion of 89.4% of the electorate versus 10.0%. After removal of abstentions and normalization (bringing the total to 1), we obtain the following CDU/CSU *representativeness* for Question 2:

$$r_{\text{CDU/CSU } 2} = \frac{89.4}{89.4+10.0} \approx 0.90 ,$$

and so on. Taking the average *representativeness* of the CDU/CSU over the 34 questions with both definite CDU/CSU answers and known balance of public opinion (we omit the questions for which CDU/CSU answers are ‘?’ and those with missing public opinion polls — in our case it is Question 30), we obtain the CDU/CSU's unweighted *popularity* index

$$P_{\text{CDU/CSU unweighted}} = \sum_{q=1}^{34} \frac{r_{\text{CDU/CSU } q}}{34} = \frac{0.72}{34} + \frac{0.90}{34} + \dots \approx 0.4909 \quad (\times 100\% \approx 49\%) . \quad (1)$$

Replacing the weights $\frac{1}{34}$ in the above formula with the *normalized* Google-weights from Table 2 (the corresponding 34 Google-weights are proportionally reduced to the total of 1), we obtain the Google-weighted version of popularity

$$P_{\text{CDU/CSU google-weighted}} \approx 0.4867 \quad (\times 100\% \approx 49\%) .$$

The CDU/CSU's unweighted *universality* index $U_{\text{CDU/CSU}}$ is the percentage of the questions for which the union CDU/CSU represents a non-strict majority of the electorate ($\geq 50\%$). Since it represents a non-strict majority on 18 out of 34 questions with the CDU/CSU definitive position and known public opinion (see Tables 2–3 and Figure 1),

$$U_{\text{CDU/CSU unweighted}} = \sum_{q: r_{\text{CDU/CSU } q} \geq 0.5} \frac{1}{34} = \sum_{q=1}^{34} \frac{\text{round}[r_{\text{CDU/CSU } q}]}{34} = \frac{18}{34} \approx 0.5294 \quad (\times 100\% \approx 53\%) . \quad (2)$$

If the questions are counted with the normalized Google-weights from Table 2 instead of $\frac{1}{34}$, we obtain the Google-weighted version of the *universality* index

$$U_{\text{CDU/CSU google-weighted}} \approx 0.5172 \quad (\times 100\% \approx 52\%) .$$

The indices of other parties are computed exactly in the same way, using the vector-matrix formulas from [Tangian 2020, Section 6.4]. For each party, we consider only the questions backed up with public opinion polls and definite party answers, so the question weights vary from one party to another. For instance, the union CDU/CSU answers to 34 out of 38 questions, so the CDU/CSU unweighted indices are counted with weights $\frac{1}{34}$, and the Google-weights are normalized also for 34 questions. The GRÜNE (GREENS) answer to 37 out of 38 questions, and for one of them no public opinion poll is found, so the unweighted indices for the GRÜNE are counted with weights $\frac{1}{36}$, etc.

The popularity and universality indices of the Bundestag (before coalition building) are based on the Bundestag majority opinions on the issues. For instance, the Bundestag's position on Question 1, *Support for Ukraine*, is that of the YES-factions, CDU/CSU+SPD+GRÜNE, which constitutes the Bundestag majority for the issue; see Figure 1. Having found the Bundestag's majority opinion on every question, we compute the Bundestag's popularity and universality indices in the same way as for the parties.

Figure 2 displays the indices of popularity P and universality U for all German parties that have participated in the 2025 federal election as well as that for the 2025 Bundestag, each in two versions: for

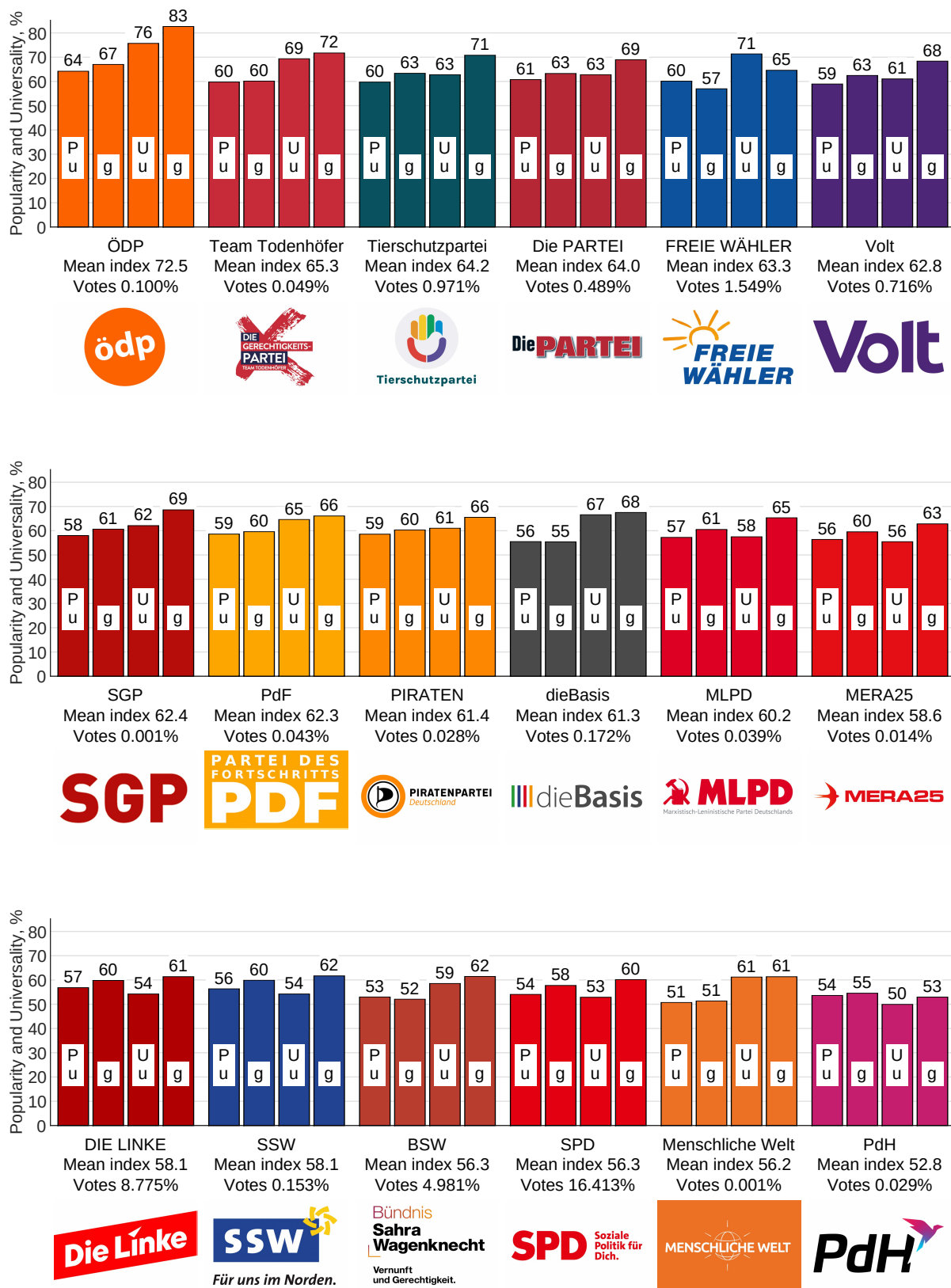


Figure 2: The 2025 representativeness indices of German parties and the Bundestag: P—popularity, U—universality, u—for unweighted questions, and g—for Google-weighted questions
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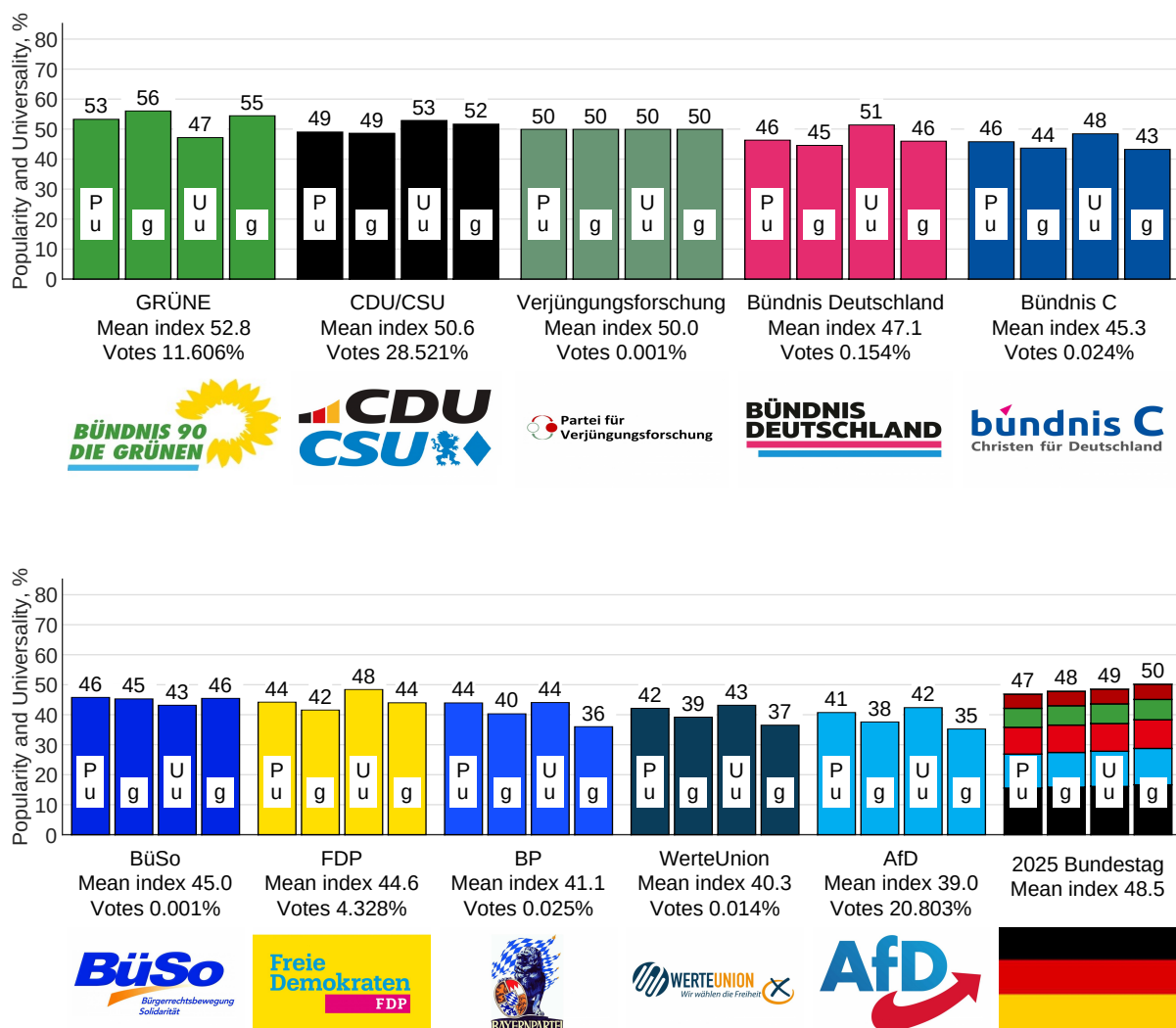


Figure 2: (continued) The 2025 representativeness indices of German parties and the Bundestag: P—popularity, U—universality, u—for unweighted questions, and g—for Google-weighted questions

unweighted questions (marked with ‘u’) and Google-weighted questions (marked with ‘g’). The parties are sorted in decreasing order of the mean of the four indices. The mean index makes sense because the popularity and universality indices are correlated, being defined as expected representativeness and expected rounded representativeness, respectively; cf. (1) with (2). Indeed, Table 4 shows that all correlations between the indices of representativeness are very close to 1.00.

It is noteworthy that the votes received by the parties are little or even negatively correlated with their indices of representativeness, meaning that most voters just ignore the policy representation of their favorites. In particular, the second election winner, the far-right AfD, is ranked the last regarding the representative ability, i.e. the voters are likely attracted by its provocative image and populist slogans overlooking numerous essential issues. Moreover, the other parties entitled to the 2025 Bundestag seats, that is, with $\geq 5\%$ of the votes — CDU/CSU, SPD, GRÜNE, DIE LINKE and the regional SSW — are ranked 20, 16, 19, 13 and 14 out of 28, respectively, so that not a single Bundestag party even makes it into the top ten. This is a challenging signal for politicians who must urgently improve their respond to the public opinion.

Table 4: Spearman rank correlation between the electoral votes and representativeness indices of the parties except for *Partei für Verjüngungsforschung* that answered no *Wahl-O-Mat* question

	Votes	P unweighted	P Google-weighted	U unweighted	U Google-weighted	Mean index
Votes	1.00	0.04	0.00	−0.02	−0.03	0.01
P unweighted	0.04	1.00	0.93***	0.87***	0.94***	0.98***
P Google-weighted	0.00	0.93***	1.00	0.74***	0.92***	0.91***
U unweighted	−0.02	0.87***	0.74***	1.00	0.91***	0.93***
U Google-weighted	−0.03	0.94***	0.92***	0.91***	1.00	0.98***
Mean index	0.01	0.98***	0.91***	0.93***	0.98***	1.00
***	PVAL	<	0.01			
**	0.01	<	PVAL	≤	0.05	
*	0.05	<	PVAL	≤	0.10	

3 Representativeness of possible Bundestag coalitions

Table 5, which is illustrated in Figure 3, characterizes four most compatible minimum eligible coalitions listed in its first column. The ‘compatibility’ is measured by the number of issues on which the coalition members have a common position. The ‘eligibility’ means that the coalition parties together constitute a majority in the Bundestag, so that they can rule. In real politics, eligible coalitions are always *minimum*, i.e., they include no more parties than necessary to constitute a parliament majority, because the more parties, the more complex the negotiations and the less power enjoyed by each faction; cf. with Riker’s minimum winning coalitions [Riker 1962]. For instance, coalition CDU/CSU+SPD+GRÜNE is eligible but not minimum; that is, the coalition CDU/CSU+SPD, being itself eligible, does not need GRÜNE.

The second column, ‘Bundestag quotas’, shows the sum of the party quotas in % of the Bundestag seats. The quotas of the parties in the Bundestag are proportional to their votes received in the 2025 federal elections (see Table 1) and are used to allocate the integer number of Bundestag seats to within the accuracy of 0.5 seat. The integer-valued allocation is considered in [Tangian 2025a], and here we simply identify the faction’s power in the Bundestag with the party quota in %. For example, the actual ruling coalition CDU/CSU+SPD with quotas of ca. 33% and 19% has the power of ca. 52%, and the coalition CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE with ca. 33%, 13% and 10% could have the power of ca. 57%.³

The third column of the table, ‘Unanimity’, characterizes the coalition compatibility by the degree of *unanimity*— the total weight of the questions on which the coalition members have the same position; partial abstentions are allowed, and in the case of missing data, we consider only the questions that are backed up by public opinion polls and are definitely answered by at least one coalition member. A high unanimity facilitates coalition formation because parties with close positions cooperate more easily. By this reason, the coalitions in the table are ordered by decreasing unanimity. It is noteworthy that the by far highest unanimity of 75% is inherent in coalition CDU/CSU+AfD. Indeed, these parties have close positions on a number of questions like, for example, migration policy, but the very idea of cooperation with the far-right AfD looks at the moment unacceptable for most established parties. However, nobody knows how the situation will develop further.

The indices of popularity and universality displayed in the next columns need additional explanations. If a coalition is unanimous on an issue, then its position on the issue is that of every non-abstaining member. If the coalition members disagree, then the probabilities of the coalition’s Yes/No position could be assumed proportional to the protagonist-to-antagonist ratio within the coalition. In a personal conversation, Tobias Lindner, Bundestag member (2021–2025, GRÜNE), said that the reality was even

³The apparent summation error — 57% instead of 56% — is caused by separate rounding the terms and the sum. The more accurately expressed quotas of 33.06% $\approx$ 33%, 13.45% $\approx$ 13%, and 10.17% $\approx$ 10% result in 33.06 + 13.45 + 10.17 = 56.68% $\approx$ 57%. Such errors are studied by [Mosteller et al. 1967].

Table 5: Unweighted indices of the 2025 Bundestag most unanimous minimum eligible coalitions assuming the impact of faction size on the coalition decisions $f = 0.5$

Coalition	Bundestag quotas	Unanimity	Popularity		Universality	
			Expectation	Standard deviation	Expectation	Standard deviation
	%/Rank	%/Rank	%/Rank	%/Rank	%/Rank	%/Rank
CDU/CSU+AfD	33+24=57/1	75.00/1	46.39/4	$\pm 2.03/1$	52.45/3	$\pm 4.15/1$
CDU/CSU+SPD	33+19=52/4	52.78/2	50.49/2	$\pm 2.88/2$	52.59/2	$\pm 5.67/2$
CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE	33+13+10=57/2	29.73/3	52.29/1	$\pm 3.30/3$	52.79/1	$\pm 6.78/3$
AfD+SPD+GRÜNE	24+19+13=57/3	24.32/4	47.78/3	$\pm 3.46/4$	50.86/4	$\pm 7.11/4$

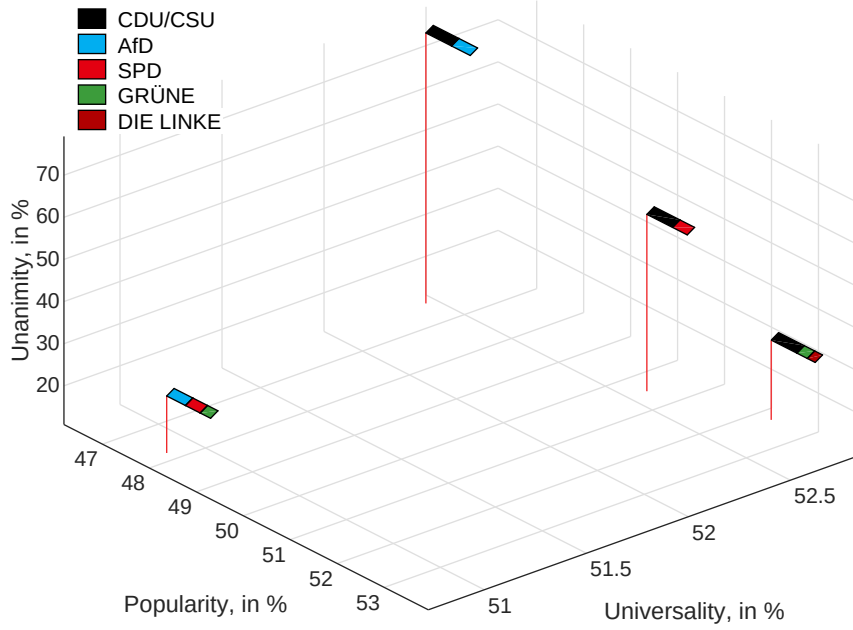


Figure 3: Visualization of Table 5

more uncertain. We characterize this *additional* uncertainty using *Faction weight factor (in coalition decisions)* f , $0 \leq f \leq 1$, which we explain using the following example.

Suppose that, for a certain question, the protagonist-to-antagonist ratio within a coalition is 3:1, that is, the Yes-faction is three times larger than the No-faction. The $f = 0$ denotes the total uncertainty, when the faction weight plays no role and the coalition adopts both answers ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ with equal chances $1/2$. The $f = 1$ denotes no uncertainty, when the coalition adopts the answers ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ with the probabilities equal to the relative weights of the Yes-faction $3/(3+1) = 3/4$ and the No-faction $1/4$. The medium uncertainty $f = 1/2$ means that the faction influence on the coalition decision is a mix of the two extreme cases in proportion $f = 1/2$ and $1-f = 1/2$:

$$\text{Prob(Yes)} = \underbrace{f}_{1/2} \times \underbrace{3/4}_{\text{Weight influence of Yes-faction}} + \underbrace{(1-f)}_{1/2} \times \underbrace{1/2}_{\text{No influence of weight}} = 5/8$$

$$\text{Prob(No)} = \underbrace{f}_{1/2} \times \underbrace{1/4}_{\text{Weight influence of No-faction}} + \underbrace{(1-f)}_{1/2} \times \underbrace{1/2}_{\text{No influence of weight}} = 3/8 .$$

In this paper, we assume the medium uncertainty with the faction weight factor $f = 1/2$. All coalition indices are computed by the vector-matrix formulas derived in [Tangian 2020, Section 8.4].

Under uncertainty, the coalitions' popularity and universality indices turn into random variables. Then the *coalition's popularity* is defined as the *expected* size of the group represented, and the *coalition's universality* — as the *expected* frequency in representing a majority. These indices are no longer exact but expected magnitudes with their standard deviation regarded as the estimation accuracy. Therefore, higher ranks in Table 5 are attributed to greater popularity and universality indices but smaller standard deviations, which mean better accuracy.

Due to uncertainty, the coalition's representativeness is not determined directly by the representativeness of its members. If a coalition is not unanimous on an issue then there is a chance that its decisions favor either the society's majority or its minority. Hence, a coalition can be more or less representative than its members. For example, the mean index of coalition CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE could be simplistically defined as a weighted sum of members' mean indices in Figure 2 with in-coalition weights derived from Bundestag quotas in Table 5

$$\begin{aligned} w_{\text{CDU/CSU}} &= \frac{33}{33 + 13 + 10} \approx 0.59, \\ w_{\text{GRÜNE}} &= \frac{13}{33 + 13 + 10} \approx 0.23, \\ w_{\text{LINKE}} &= \frac{10}{33 + 13 + 10} \approx 0.18, \end{aligned}$$

resulting in

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{Mean index of coalition CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE as that of its members} = \\ &= w_{\text{CDU/CSU}} \cdot \frac{P_{\text{CDU/CSU}} + U_{\text{CDU/CSU}}}{2} + w_{\text{GRÜNE}} \cdot \frac{P_{\text{GRÜNE}} + U_{\text{GRÜNE}}}{2} + w_{\text{LINKE}} \cdot \frac{P_{\text{LINKE}} + U_{\text{LINKE}}}{2} \\ &\approx 0.59 \cdot \frac{49 + 53}{2} + 0.23 \cdot \frac{53 + 47}{2} + 0.18 \cdot \frac{57 + 54}{2} \\ &\approx 51.58. \end{aligned}$$

We use a more sophisticated (and realistic) model for coalition popularity and universality indices, the output of which is shown in Table 5. Taking the mean of so calculated indices, we obtain

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{Mean of popularity and universality indices of coalition CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE from Table 5} = \\ &= \frac{P_{\text{CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE}} + U_{\text{CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE}}}{2} \\ &\approx \frac{52.29 + 52.79}{2} \\ &\approx 52.54. \end{aligned}$$

This mean index of 52.54 is by 1% higher than the weighted mean of the indices of the coalition members. Due to the probabilistic effects described above, there is a certain gain in the mean representativeness of coalition CDU/CSU+GRÜNE+LINKE. However, the coalition's unanimity of 29.73% is too low to make a coalition agreement. Thus, our calculations confirm that the actual ruling coalition, CDU/CSU+SPD, was the only realistic one.

4 Conclusions

Obviously, real-world elections involve numerous factors beyond policy representation. The relations between the parties and the electorate, understood in a broad sense, are many-sided. Large established

parties, which in our evaluation are ranked rather low like the CDU/CSU, SPD, GRÜNE and LINKE, are much closer to the electorate than little parties with top indices of representativeness — like, for example, ÖDP that received 0.1% of the votes. The closeness to the electorate is mostly due to reputation, networking, experience, traditions, etc., that cannot be neglected.

At the same time, the voters' indifference to policy representation looks discouraging and irrational. Nevertheless, policy representation is gradually becoming an increasingly important factor and there is a hope that politicians will improve the respond to the public opinion on particular issues.

5 Appendix: Public opinion polls relevant to the Wahl-O-Mat questions

References

- [1] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Unterstützung der Ukraine.* Deutschland soll die Ukraine weiterhin militärisch unterstützen.
English translation: *Support for Ukraine.* Germany should continue to support Ukraine militarily.
Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Statista (Dezember 2024). Sollte die militärische Unterstützung durch den Westen für die Ukraine verstärkt, reduziert oder auf dem bisherigen Niveau gehalten werden?
 Stärker 39%
 Wie bisher 29%
 Weniger 27%
<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1379790/umfrage/militaerische-unterstuetzung-durch-den-westen/>.
Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Unterstützung der Ukraine” on 09.02.2025, 23:06 — 91,100,000.
Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 91100000) \approx 16.48$.
Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 68 : 27.
- [2] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Erneuerbare Energien.* Der Ausbau erneuerbarer Energien soll weiterhin vom Staat finanziell gefördert werden.
English translation: *Renewable energies.* The expansion of renewable energies should continue to be financially supported by the state.
Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Cash-online.de (22.11.2024) Hohe Zustimmung zum Ausbau erneuerbarer Energien.
 “Demnach stimmten insgesamt 89,4 Prozent der Befragten einem Ausbau erneuerbarer Energie ‘voll und ganz’ oder ‘eher zu’.”
<https://www.cash-online.de/a/hohe-zustimmung-zum-ausbau-erneuerbarer-energien-688463/>.
Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Erneuerbare Energien” on 09.02.2025, 23:10 — 60,100,000.
Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 60100000) \approx 15.88$.
Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 89.4 : 10.
- [3] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Streichung des Bürgergelds.* Das Bürgergeld soll denjenigen gestrichen werden, die wiederholt Stellenangebote ablehnen.
English translation: *Cancellation of the citizen’s allowance.* The citizen’s allowance should be cancelled for those who repeatedly turn down job offers.
Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Statista (07.08.2024) Wie fänden Sie es, Arbeitsverweigerern das Bürgergeld ganz zu streichen?
 Richtig 56%
 Zu weitgehend 40%

Keine Meinung 4%

<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1483882/umfrage/meinung-zur-streichung-des-buergergelds-fuer-C14-arbeitsverweigerer-in-deutschland/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Streichung des Bürgergelds” on 09.02.2025, 23:10 — 5,050.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 5050) \approx 2.34$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 56 : 40.

- [4] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Tempolimit auf Autobahnen*. Auf allen Autobahnen soll ein generelles Tempolimit gelten.

English translation: *Speed limit on motorways*. A general speed limit should apply on all motorways.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Statista (2024) Sind Sie persönlich für ein generelles Tempolimit für Pkw auf deutschen Autobahnen?

Ja, dafür 55%

Nein, dagegen 40%

<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1423668/umfrage/meinung-zum-allgemeinen-tempolimit-auf-autobahnen/>

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Tempolimit auf Autobahnen” on 09.02.2025, 23:15 — 809,000

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 809000) \approx 9.66$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 55 : 40.

- [5] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Abweisung Asylsuchender*. Asylsuchende, die über einen anderen EU-Staat eingereist sind, sollen an den deutschen Grenzen abgewiesen werden.

English translation: *Rejection of asylum seekers*. Asylum seekers who have entered the country via another EU country should be rejected at the German border.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Zeit Online (30.01.2025, 22:57) Mehrheit unterstützt laut Umfrage Zurückweisung an Grenzen.

“57 Prozent der Befragten im ”Deutschlandtrend” halten das für richtig, wie der ARD-Deutschlandtrend ergab. Wie der Sender am Donnerstagabend weiter mitteilte, gehe eine solche Maßnahme für 33 Prozent in die falsche Richtung.”

<https://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2025-01/deutschlandtrend-mehrheit-unterstuetzung-zurueckweisung-migranten-grenzen>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Abweisung Asylsuchender” on 09.02.2025, 23:17 — 609,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 609000) \approx 9.25$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 57 : 33.

- [6] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Begrenzung der Mietpreise*. Bei Neuvermietungen sollen die Mietpreise weiterhin gesetzlich begrenzt werden.

English translation: *Limitation of rental prices*. For new housing rentals, rental prices should continue to be limited by law.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Yahoo!nachrichten (03.02.2025, 12:34) Fast drei Viertel der Deutschen für Einfrieren von Mieten.

“Insgesamt 71 Prozent der Befragten befürworten demnach, ‘dass Wohnungsmieten ab sofort und bundesweit in den nächsten sechs Jahren nicht erhöht werden dürfen’. 44 Prozent befürworten das ‘sehr’ und 27 Prozent ‘eher’. 17 Prozent lehnen die Forderung ‘eher’, zehn Prozent ‘sehr’ ab, ein Prozent antwortete mit ‘weiß nicht, keine Angabe’.”

https://de.nachrichten.yahoo.com/umfrage-fast-drei-viertel-deutschen-113422641.html?guccounter=1\&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8\&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAANXQpKW-IFKHrUja7HHk9FD1bWjNXoKWVQIUUIYy03fYUAm1i7Um1gCwL0qgw96jw5zlJiVsQSKr6nW6Dex5HsfluKSUQrY_fGxg4JI6gGZuLhVoJ64sZtDpqQ06MzSYLUzj5YWef1svu8BI1dPTxArRqR6qeywNZuGpD5J_35iC.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Begrenzung der Mietpreise” on 09.02.2025, 23:19 — 17,900,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 17900000) \approx 14.13$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 71 : 27.

- [7] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Automatisierte Gesichtserkennung*. An Bahnhöfen soll die Bundespolizei Software zur automatisierten Gesichtserkennung einsetzen dürfen.

English translation: *Automated facial recognition*. The Federal Police should be allowed to use software for automated facial recognition at train stations.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Statista (14 September 2021) Wurde Ihr Sicherheitsgefühl durch automatische Gesichtserkennung an Orten wie Bahnhöfen oder Flughäfen erhöht?

Ja, auf jeden Fall: 27%

Eher ja 34%

Eher nein 14%

Nein, auf keinen Fall 13%

<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1267259/umfrage/umfrage-zum-sicherheitsgefuehl-durch-automatische-gesichtserkennung/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Automatisierte Gesichtserkennung” on 09.02.2025, 23:22 — 110,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 110000) \approx 6.78$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 61 : 27.

- [8] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Energieintensive Unternehmen*. Energieintensive Unternehmen sollen vom Staat einen finanziellen Ausgleich für ihre Stromkosten erhalten.

English translation: *Energy-intensive companies*. Energy-intensive companies should receive financial compensation from the state for their electricity costs.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Ipsos (07.09.2023) Mehrheit der Deutschen gegen Industriestrompreis.

“Eine Umfrage des Markt- und Meinungsforschungsinstituts Ipsos zeigt nun, dass eine knappe Mehrheit der Deutschen (51%) gegen die Einführung eines solchen Industriestrompreises ist. ... Nur 36 Prozent der Befragten würden die Einführung eines Industriestrompreises begrüßen.”

<https://www.ipsos.com/de-de/mehrheit-der-deutschen-gegen-industriestrompreis>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Energieintensive Unternehmen” on 09.02.2025, 23:25 — 525,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 525000) \approx 9.04$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 36 : 51.

- [9] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Rente nach 40 Beitragsjahren*. Alle Beschäftigten sollen bereits nach 40 Beitragsjahren ohne Abschläge in Rente gehen können.

English translation: *Pension after 40 years of contributions*. All employees should be able to retire without deductions after 40 years of contributions.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Sozialverband VDK (11.06.2024) 86 Prozent der Bundesbürger befürworten abschlagsfreie Rente nach 45 Jahren.

“78,3 Prozent der Befragten beantworteten die abschlagsfreie Rente nach 45 Jahren mit klarem Ja, 7,5 Prozent mit ‘Eher ja’. Nur 4,6 Prozent der Befragten lehnten die abschlagsfreie Rente mit ‘Nein, auf keinen Fall’ ab, 4,8 Prozent antworteten mit ‘Eher nein’ auf die Frage.”

<https://www.vdk.de/presse/pressemitteilung/86-prozent-befuerworten-abschlagsfreie-rente-nach-45-jahren-rente-rentenalter-umfrage/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Rente nach 40 Beitragsjahren” on 09.02.2025, 23:23 — 73,700.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 73700) \approx 6.20$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 85.8 : 9.4.

- [10] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Grundgesetz*. Im einleitenden Satz des Grundgesetzes soll weiterhin die Formulierung Verantwortung vor Gott stehen.

English translation: *Basic Law*. The introductory sentence of the Basic Law should continue to contain the phrase responsibility before God.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Kath.Ch. (21.05.2024; 06:00) Mehrheit findet Gottesbezug in deutschem Grundgesetz gut.

“Laut einer Umfrage finden es 45 Prozent der Deutschen richtig, dass das Grundgesetz mit einem Bezug auf Gott eingeleitet wird. 34 Prozent halten es dagegen für falsch, wie aus einer Umfrage des Kölner Meinungsforschungsinstituts YouGov im Auftrag der Katholischen Nachrichten-Agentur (KNA) hervorgeht.”

<https://www.kath.ch/newsd/mehrheit-findet-gottesbezug-in-deutschem-grundgesetz-gut/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Grundgesetz Gottesbezug” on 09.02.2025, 23:27 — 3,240,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 3240000) \approx 11.66$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 45 : 34.

- [11] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Anwerbung von Fachkräften*. Deutschland soll weiterhin die Anwerbung von Fachkräften aus dem Ausland fördern.

English translation: *Recruitment of skilled workers*. Germany should continue to promote the recruitment of skilled workers from abroad.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Tagesschau (04.05.2023 18:01) Mehrheit für Asylverfahren an EU-Außengrenzen.

“Vier von zehn Deutschen (41 Prozent) sind der Meinung, Deutschland sollte mehr Fachkräfte aus dem Ausland anwerben. Weitere 28 Prozent halten das derzeitige Niveau für passend. Knapp jeder Vierte (23 Prozent) findet hingegen, Deutschland sollte weniger Fachkräfte aus dem Ausland anwerben.”

<https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/deutschlandtrend/deutschlandtrend-3358.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Anwerbung von Fachkräften” on 09.02.2025, 23:28 — 119,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 119000) \approx 6.89$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 69 : 23.

- [12] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Nutzung der Kernenergie*. Für die Stromerzeugung soll Deutschland wieder Kernenergie nutzen.

English translation: *Use of nuclear energy*. Germany should use nuclear energy again to generate electricity.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Tech for Future (21.04.2024) Mehrheit für Kernenergie: Aktuelle Umfragen zur Atomkraft in Deutschland.

“Eine Mehrheit der Deutschen ist nach wie vor gegen den Atomausstieg. Im April 2024 sind laut Forsa:

58% der Deutschen für Atomkraft

39% der Deutschen gegen Atomkraft

3% der Deutschen ohne Meinung”

<https://www.tech-for-future.de/atomkraft-umfrage/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Nutzung der Kernenergie” on 09.02.2025, 23:31 — 276,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 276000) \approx 8.11$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 58 : 39.

- [13] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Anhebung des Spitzensteuersatzes*. Bei der Besteuerung von Einkommen soll der Spitzensteuersatz angehoben werden.

English translation: *Raising the top tax rate*. The top tax rate for income tax is to be raised.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: IFO Institut (06.12.2022). Zum Vorschlag der Wirtschaftsweisen: Mehrheit der Ökonom*innen für höheren “Reichensteuersatz” und Abbau der Kalten Progression.

“Unterstützen Sie eine temporäre Erhöhung des Spitzensteuersatzes (42%), wie sie von Sachverständigenrat zur Begutachtung der gesamtwirtschaftlichen Entwicklung (‘Wirtschaftsweise’) vorgeschlagen wurde?

Ja 46%

Nein 52%

Weiß nicht 2%”

<https://www.ifo.de/fakten/2022-12-06/zum-vorschlag-der-wirtschaftsweisen-reichensteuersatz-progression>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Anhebung des Spitzensteuersatzes” on 09.02.2025, 23:31 — 7,110.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 7110) \approx 2.83$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 46 : 52.

- [14] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Kompetenzen in der Schulpolitik*. Der Bund soll mehr Kompetenzen in der Schulpolitik erhalten.

English translation: *Competencies in school policy*. The federal government should be given more competencies in school policy.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: WNOZ (05.04.2023) Große Mehrheit unzufrieden mit Bildungspolitik und Schulen.

“Die Umfrage bestätigt Befragungen aus der Vergangenheit, in denen der Wunsch nach mehr Bildungsteuerung durch den Bund geäußert wurde. Fast drei von vier Deutschen (73 Prozent) sagen, der Bund sollte in der Schulpolitik mehr Kompetenzen und Mitspracherecht bekommen. 24 Prozent halten es dagegen für richtig, dass allein die Bundesländer dafür zuständig sind.”

<https://www.wnoz.de/nachrichten/deutschland-und-die-welt/grosse-mehrheit-unzufrieden-mit-bildungspolitik-und-schulen-27657.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Kompetenzen in der Schulpolitik” on 09.02.2025, 23:33 — 74,200.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 74200) \approx 6.21$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 73 : 24.

- [15] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Rüstungsexporte nach Israel*. Aus Deutschland sollen weiterhin Rüstungsgüter nach Israel exportiert werden dürfen.

English translation: *Arms exports to Israel*. Armaments should continue to be allowed to be exported from Germany to Israel.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: stern.de (22.10.2024) Waffenlieferungen an Israel: Mehrheit der Deutschen ist dagegen.

“Wie eine Forsa-Umfrage für den stern.de ergab, lehnen 60 Prozent Rüstungsexporte nach Israel ab. 31 Prozent finden sie richtig. 9 Prozent äußern keine Meinung.”

<https://www.stern.de/politik/deutschland/waffenlieferungen-nach-israel--60-prozent-der-deutschen-dagegen-35161220.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Rüstungsexporte nach Israel” on 09.02.2025, 23:35 — 11,900,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 11900000) \approx 13.54$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 31 : 60.

- [16] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Krankenkassen*. Alle Bürgerinnen und Bürger sollen in gesetzlichen Krankenkassen versichert sein müssen.

English translation: *Health insurance companies*. All citizens should be insured in statutory health insurance companies.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Arbeitnehmerkammer Bremen (Jan 2025) SozialstaatsRadar 2025: Zentrale Ergebnisse

Abbildung 1: Soziale Sicherung soll verbindlich sein.

Die gesamte soziale Sicherung sollte verpflichtend sein und automatisch erfolgen 28%.

Ein Großteil der sozialen Sicherung sollte verpflichtend sein und automatisch erfolgen 52%.

Nur ein Mindestmaß der sozialen Sicherung sollte verpflichtend sein und automatisch erfolgen 12%.

Gar keine Verpflichtung. Für alle Bereiche der sozialen Sicherung sollte jeder freiwillig und individuell vorsorgen 3%.

Kann ich nicht beurteilen 5%.

https://www.arbeitnehmerkammer.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Downloads/Politik/Sozialstaatsradar_2025.pdf

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Bürgerversicherung” on 09.02.2025, 23:36 — 287,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 287000) \approx 8.16$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 80 : 15.

- [17] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Abschaffung der Frauenquote.* Die gesetzliche Frauenquote in Vorständen und Aufsichtsräten börsennotierter Unternehmen soll abgeschafft werden..

English translation: *Abolition of the woman’s quota.* The statutory quota for women on executive boards and supervisory boards of listed companies should be abolished.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Civey (November 2020) Sollte in Deutschland eine gesetzliche Frauenquote für den Vorstand von börsennotierten Unternehmen eingeführt werden?

Ja, auf jeden Fall 16,2%

Eher ja 12,5%

Unentschieden 12,0%

Eher nein 17,4%

Nein, auf keinen Fall 41,9%

<https://civey.com/umfragen/8131/sollte-in-deutschland-eine-gesetzliche-frauenquote-fur-den-vorstand-von-borsennotierten-unternehmen-eingefuehrt-werden>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Abschaffung der Frauenquote” on 09.02.2025, 23:36 — 43,800.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 43800) \approx 5.45$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 59.3 : 28.7.

- [18] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Ökologische Landwirtschaft.* Ökologische Landwirtschaft soll stärker gefördert werden als konventionelle Landwirtschaft.

English translation: *Organic farming.* Organic farming should be promoted more than conventional farming.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Angelika Gellrich (März 2021) 25 Jahre Umweltbewusstseinsforschung im Umweltressort Langfristige Entwicklungen und aktuelle Ergebnisse. Dessau-Roßlau, Umwelt Bundesamt.

P. 31, Abb. 14: “Den Ausbau der ökologischen Landwirtschaft stärker fördern

ja, auf jeden Fall 54%

eher ja 38%

eher nein 5%

nein, auf keinen Fall 3%.”

https://www.umweltbundesamt.de/sites/default/files/medien/5750/publikationen/2021_hgp_umweltbewusstseinsstudie_bf.pdf.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Ökologische Landwirtschaft” on 09.02.2025, 23:40 — 16,200,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 16200000) \approx 13.98$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 92 : 8.

- [19] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Projekte gegen Rechtsextremismus.* Der Bund soll Projekte gegen Rechtsextremismus verstärkt fördern.

English translation: *Projects against right-wing extremism.* The federal government should increase its support for projects against right-wing extremism.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Pollytix (Januar 2024) Öffentliche Meinung zum Umgang mit Rechtsextremismus im Kontext der Correctiv-Recherchen.

S. 15: Umfrage-Ansage: “Die Politik sollte mehr Geld für Förderprogramme bereitstellen, um Rechtsextremismus zu bekämpfen und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement gegen Rechtsextremismus zu stärken.”

Sehr schlechte Idee 11%

Eher schlechte Idee 15%

Eher gute Idee 38%

Sehr gute Idee 32%

https://www.campact.de/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/240125_Campact_pollytix_AfD_Umfrage.pdf.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Projekte gegen Rechtsextremismus” on 09.02.2025, 23:44 — 17,100,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 17100000) \approx 14.06$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 70 : 26.

- [20] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Kontrolle von Zulieferern*. Unternehmen sollen weiterhin die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte und des Umweltschutzes bei allen Zulieferern kontrollieren müssen.

English translation: *Monitoring of suppliers*. Companies should continue to be required to monitor compliance with human rights and environmental protection by all suppliers.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Ernährungsindustrie (2023) Umfrage zum Lieferkettensorgfaltspflichtengesetz: Wie ist der Status quo in Unternehmen der Ernährungsindustrie 2023?

S. 5, Abbildung. “Haben Sie sich bereits auf das LkSG vorbereitet?

Ja, teilweise 67%

Ja, wir haben die Anforderungen umgesetzt 26%

Nein 7%.”

<https://www.bve-online.de/download/bve-afc-umfrage-lksg-2023>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Kontrolle von Zulieferern” on 09.02.2025, 23:40 — 2,450,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 2450000) \approx 11.26$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 93 : 7.

- [21] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Elternabhängiges BAföG*. Die Ausbildungsförderung BAföG soll weiterhin abhängig vom Einkommen der Eltern gezahlt werden.

English translation: *Parent-dependent BAföG*. The BAföG (Bundes-Ausbildungs-Förderungs-Gesetz = Federal Training Support Act) training grant should continue to be paid depending on the parents income.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: PolitPro (August 2023) Aktuelle Meinungsumfragen zu politischen Themen. Umfrage 3047: Sollte BAföG generell unabhängig vom Einkommen der Eltern ausbezahlt werden?

Dafür 55%

Dagegen 35%

Weiß nicht 10%

<https://politpro.eu/de/deutschland/umfragen>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Elternunabhängiges BAföG” on 09.02.2025, 23:47 — 57,900.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 57900) \approx 5.86$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 35 : 55.

- [22] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Schuldenbremse*. Die Schuldenbremse im Grundgesetz soll beibehalten werden.

English translation: *Public debt brake*. The public debt brake in the Basic Law should be retained.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: MDR.de (17.10.2024, 12:00) Schuldenbremse: Mehrheit für Beibehaltung — mit einer Ausnahme.

Abbildung: “Mehrheit gegen grundsätzliche Lockerung der Schuldenbremse”.

Ablehnung 52%

Brführwortung 41%

<https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/deutschland/politik/mdrfragt-umfrage-ergebnisse-schuldenbremse-100.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Schuldenbremse” on 09.02.2025, 23:49 — 3,470,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 3470000) \approx 11.76$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 52 : 41.

- [23] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Arbeitserlaubnis für Asylsuchende*. Asylsuchende sollen in Deutschland sofort nach ihrer Antragstellung eine Arbeitserlaubnis erhalten.

English translation: *Work permit for asylum seekers*. Asylum seekers in Germany should receive a work permit immediately after submitting their application.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Spiegel.de (17.10.2023, 18:10) Große Mehrheit will schnellere Arbeitserlaubnis für Geflüchtete.

“Angesichts der aktuellen Migrations debatte befürworten einer Umfrage zufolge 87 Prozent der Deutschen eine schnellere Arbeitserlaubnis für Flüchtlinge. Nur elf Prozent sprachen sich dagegen aus... Das ergab das am Dienstag veröffentlichte ‘Trendbarometer’ von RTL und n-tv.”

<https://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/migration-grosse-mehrheit-will-schnellere-arbeitserlaubnis-fuer-gefluechtete-a-41e209d0-edb2-4288-bc80-19538a060c52>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Arbeitserlaubnis für Asylbewerber” on 09.02.2025, 23:50 — 66,700.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 66700) \approx 6.06$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 87 : 11.

- [24] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Verwerfen der Klimaziele*. Deutschland soll das Ziel verwerfen, klimaneutral zu werden.

English translation: *Abandoning climate targets*. Germany should abandon the goal of becoming climate neutral.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: SBZ-online.de (11.02.2021). Umfrage zu EU-Klimazielen 2030: So viele helfen in Deutschland mit.

“Mehr als jeder Zehnte (11,8%) beteiligt sich gar nicht an der Erreichung der Klimaziele.”

<https://www.sbz-online.de/haus-gebaeudetechnik/bosch-umfrage-zu-eu-klimazielen-2030-so-viele-helfen-deutschland-mit>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Verwerfen der Klimaziele” on 09.02.2025, 23:52 — 10,400.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 10400) \approx 3.38$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 11.8 : 88.2.

- [25] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *35-Stunden-Woche*. In Deutschland soll die 35-Stunden-Woche als gesetzliche Regelarbeitszeit für alle Beschäftigten festgelegt werden.

English translation: *35-hour week*. In Germany, the 35-hour week is to be established as the legal standard working time for all employees.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: ver.di-Pressesgespräch zur Arbeitszeitbefragung. Öffentlicher Dienst 2024 (Stand: 13. Mai 2024). Handout Arbeitszeitbefragung.

S. 10.“AZ15: Gewünschte Arbeitstage in der Woche

auf weniger als 4 Tage pro Woche 14,9%

auf 4 Tage pro Woche 67,1%

auf 5 Tage pro Woche 17,4%

auf mehr als 5 Tage pro Woche 0,5%”

<https://www.verdi.de/++file++6643208e6936dff01af989bb/download/\%C3\%B6D\%20Handout\%20Arbeitszeitbefragung.pdf>

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “35-Stunden-Woche” on 09.02.2025, 23:54 — 94,200,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 94200000) \approx 16.52$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 82 : 17.9.

- [26] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Schwangerschaftsabbruch nach Beratung*. Schwangerschaftsabbrüche sollen in den ersten drei Monaten weiterhin nur nach Beratung straffrei sein.

English translation: *Abortion after counseling*. Abortions in the first three months of pregnancy should continue to be legal only after counseling.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Civey (12.02.2024) Wie bewerten Sie den Gesetzesentwurf der Bundesregierung, der vorsieht, radikale Abtreibungsgegner:innen mit einem Bußgeld zu bestrafen, wenn sie Schwangere vor Beratungsstellen belästigen?

Eindeutig richtig 69,7%

Eher richtig 9,9%

Unentschieden 6,9%

Eher falsch 3,6%

Eindeutig falsch 9,9%

<https://civey.com/umfragen/36342/wie-bewerten-sie-den-gesetzesentwurf-der-bundesregierung-der-vorsieht-radikale-abtreibungsgegner-innen-mit-einem-bussgeld-zu-bestrafen-wenn-sie-schwangere-vor-beratungsstellen-belastigen>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Schwangerschaftsabbruch nach Beratung” on 09.02.2025, 23:55 — 351,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 351000) \approx 8.46$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 79.6 : 12.5.

- [27] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Nationale Währung*. Der Euro soll in Deutschland durch eine nationale Währung ersetzt werden.

English translation: *National currency*. The euro is to be replaced by a national currency in Germany.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: n-tv.de (28.12.2021, 11:23) Euro gewinnt an Akzeptanz: Vor allem AfD-Wähler vermissen die D-Mark.

“Wenn sie wählen dürften, dann hätten 33 Prozent aller Befragten lieber die D-Mark zurück.”

<https://www.n-tv.de/wirtschaft/Vor-allem-AfD-Waehler-vermissen-die-D-Mark-article23013291.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “D-Mark Rückkehr” on 09.02.2025, 23:57 — 1,400,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 1400000) \approx 10.45$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 33 : 67.

- [28] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Schiene vor Straße*. Beim Ausbau der Verkehrsinfrastruktur soll die Schiene Vorrang vor der Straße haben.

English translation: *Rail before road*. When expanding transport infrastructure, rail should have priority over road.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: rnd.de (08.11.2024, 19:02) Frank-Thomas Wenzel. Mehr Schiene statt mehr Autobahn. Wie die Deutschen sich das Verkehrssystem der Zukunft vorstellen.

“Die beiden Punkte ‘Erhalt des Autobahn- und Bundesstraßennetzes’ sowie ‘Neubau und Ausbau des Schienennetzes’ bekamen mit insgesamt 28 und 29 Prozent die Abstand größten Zustimmungsqoten. Für Neubau und Ausbau des Autobahn- und Bundesstraßennetzes sprachen sich nur 13 Prozent aus.”

<https://www.rnd.de/wirtschaft/verkehrswende-buerger-wollen-mehr-schiene-autobahn-ausbau-kaum-relevant-QS47WYOJXRGZTJ7RVAMQRACZUA.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Schiene vor Straße” on 09.02.2025, 23:58 — 2,710,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 2710000) \approx 11.40$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 29 : 13.

- [29] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Ehrenamt*. Ehrenamtliche Tätigkeiten sollen auf die zukünftige Rente angerechnet werden.

English translation: *Voluntary work*. Voluntary work should be credited towards future pensions.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: #NDRfragt (20.03.2024, 9:00). Auswertung #NDRfragt: Ehrenamt Lust oder Frust?

S. 17. “Was meinen Sie: Bekommen Ehrenamtliche genug Wertschätzung in unserer Gesellschaft?

ja, auf jeden Fall 3%

eher ja 20%

eher nein 54%

nein, auf keinen Fall 22%

keine Angabe 2%”

https://storage.googleapis.com/public.ndrdata.de/ndrfragt/reports/NDRfragt_Umfrage_Ehrenamt_2024_alle_Ergebnisse_Community.pdf.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Rentenpunkte fürs Ehrenamt” on 09.02.2025, 24:00 — 247,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 247000) \approx 7.95$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 76 : 23.

- [30] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Umlegung der Grundsteuer*. Die Grundsteuer soll weiterhin auf Mieterinnen und Mieter umgelegt werden dürfen.

English translation: *Allocation of property tax*. Property tax should continue to be able to be allocated to tenants.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: None.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Umlegung der Grundsteuer” on 09.02.2025, 24:02 — 52,700.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 52700) \approx 5.72$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= NaN : NaN.

- [31] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Einschränkung des Streikrechts*. Das Streikrecht für Beschäftigte in Unternehmen der kritischen Infrastruktur soll gesetzlich eingeschränkt werden.

English translation: *Restriction of the right to strike*. The right to strike for employees in critical infrastructure companies should be restricted by law.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: welt.de (08.03.2024) INSA-UMFRAGE: Vor allem Unions- und Grünen-Anhänger für Einschränkung des Streikrechts.

Abbildung: “Streiks in Bereichen der kritischen Infrastruktur sollten...

nicht eingeschränkt werden 24%

nur mit Schlichtungsverfahren und Vorankündigung mind. vier Tage vorher durchgeführt werden dürfen 41%

komplett verboten werden 18%

ist mir egal 9%

weiß nicht 5%

keine Angabe 2%

<https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article244162821/Mehrheit-der-Deutschen-spricht-sich-fuer-Einschraenkung-des-Streikrechts-aus.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Einschränkung des Streikrechts” on 09.02.2025, 24:04 — 14,700.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 14700) \approx 3.88$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 59 : 24.

- [32] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Volksentscheide*. In Deutschland soll es auf Bundesebene Volksentscheide geben können.

English translation: *Referendums*. In Germany, referendums should be possible at the federal level.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Bürgerrat Demokratie (Oct. 2019) Umfrage zur Demokratieentwicklung: Bürgerbeteiligung, direkte Demokratie und Lobbyismus. Civey, 30./31. Oktober 2019.

S. 4: “Denken Sie, es würde die Deutsche stärken, wenn Bürger durch Abstimmungen über bundespolitische Themen direkt entscheiden können?”

Ja, auf jeden Fall 38,2%

Eher ja 18,5%

Unentschieden 9,1%

Eher nein 17,9%

Nein, auf keinen Fall 16,3%”

<https://www.buergerrat.de/fileadmin/downloads/umfrage.pdf>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Volksentscheide” on 09.02.2025, 24:05 — 735,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 735000) \approx 9.52$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 56.7 : 34.2.

- [33] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Strafrecht für unter 14-Jährige*. Unter 14-Jährige sollen strafrechtlich belangt werden können.

English translation: *Criminal law for children under 14*. Children under 14 should be able to be prosecuted.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Civey (17.03.2023) Wie bewerten Sie es, dass unter 14-jährige in Deutschland nicht strafrechtlich belangt werden können?

Eindeutig richtig 12,8%

Eher richtig 10,7%

Unentschieden 11,6%

Eher falsch 22,0%

Eindeutig falsch 42,9%

<https://civey.com/umfragen/30045/wie-bewerten-sie-es-dass-unter-14-jahrige-in-deutschland-nicht-strafrechtlich-belangt-werden-konnen>

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Strafrecht für unter 14-Jährige” on 09.02.2025, 24:05 — 108,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 108000) \approx 6.75$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 64.9 : 23.5.

- [34] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Abschaffung von Zöllen*. Deutschland soll sich für die Abschaffung der erhöhten EU-Zölle auf chinesische Elektroautos einsetzen.

English translation: *Abolition of tariffs*. Germany should campaign for the abolition of the increased EU tariffs on Chinese electric cars.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Civey (08.10.2024) Wie würden Sie es bewerten, wenn die EU China bei staatlichen Subventionen von günstigen Elektro-Autos mit Strafzöllen belegen würde?

Eindeutig positiv 30,8%

Eher positiv 14,3%

Unentschieden 19,6%

Eher negativ 15,7%

Eindeutig negativ 19,6%

<https://civey.com/umfragen/41902/wie-wurden-sie-es-bewerten-wenn-die-eu-china-bei-staatlichen-subventionen-von-gunstigen-elektro-autos-mit-strafzollen-belegen-wurde>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Abschaffung von Zöllen China” on 09.02.2025, 24:07 — 70,700.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 70700) \approx 6.14$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 35.3 : 45.1.

- [35] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Zweite Staatsbürgerschaft*. In Deutschland soll es weiterhin generell möglich sein, neben der deutschen eine zweite Staatsbürgerschaft zu haben.

English translation: *Second citizenship*. In Germany it should continue to be generally possible to have a second citizenship in addition to German citizenship.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Madeleine Siegel, Jonas Köhler, Doreen Chouaibi, Jörg Dollmann, Jannes Jacobsen, Almuth Lietz und Michaela Schmälzle (November 2023) DeZIM, Berlin. Wie beurteilt die deutsche Bevölkerung die Reform des Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts?

S. 5. Abbildung 1. “Wie beurteilen Sie...doppelte Staatsangehörigkeit?

sehr/eher gut 43%

weder noch 20%

sehr/eher schlecht 37%”

https://www.dezim-institut.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Demo_FIS/publikation.pdf/FA-5906.pdf.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Zweite Staatsangehörigkeit” on 09.02.2025, 24:08 — 4,340,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 4340000) \approx 12.08$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 43 : 37.

- [36] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Soziales Pflichtjahr*. Für junge Erwachsene soll ein soziales Pflichtjahr eingeführt werden.

English translation: *Compulsory social year*. A compulsory social year should be introduced for young adults.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: belonio.de (15.11.2023) Vivian Elbers. Soziales Pflichtjahr Wehrdienst und Zivildienst 2.0? Abbildung: Wie würden Sie aktuell die Einführung eines sozialen Pflichtjahres für junge Erwachsene bewerten (z.B. Wehr- oder Zivildienst)?

Sehr positiv 58%

Eher positiv 17%

Unentschieden 8%

Eher negativ 7%

Negativ 10%

<https://belonio.de/journal/soziales-pflichtjahr/>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Soziales Pflichtjahr” on 09.02.2025, 24:10 — 12,300.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 12300) \approx 3.62$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 75 : 17.

- [37] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Fossile Brennstoffe*. Neue Heizungen sollen auch zukünftig vollständig mit fossilen Brennstoffen (z. B. Gas oder Öl) betrieben werden dürfen.

English translation: *Fossil fuels*. New heating systems should continue to be allowed to run entirely on fossil fuels (e.g. gas or oil).

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: Statista (Mai 2023) Umfrage zur geplanten Umstellung auf klimaschonende Heizungsanlagen 2023

Abbildung: Geben Sie bitte zu den folgenden Aussagen an, ob Sie ihnen eher zustimmen oder nicht. “Ich finde es richtig, dass der Staat in absehbarer Zeit klimaschädliche Heizungen verbieten will.

Stimme eher nicht zu 49%

Stimme eher zu 45%”

<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1388424/umfrage/meinungen-zur-umstellung-auf-klimaschonende-heizungsanlagen/> +C50 **Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight:** for “Fossile Brennstoffe” on 09.02.2025, 24:11 — 2,060,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 2060000) \approx 11.01$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 49 : 45.

- [38] **Wahl-O-Mat question:** *Erhöhung des Mindestlohns*. Der gesetzliche Mindestlohn soll spätestens 2026 auf 15 Euro erhöht werden.

English translation: *Increase in the minimum wage*. The statutory minimum wage is to be increased to 15 euros by 2026 at the latest.

Public opinion poll to estimate the balance of opinions: stern.de (06.05.2024, 06:14) STERN-UMFRAGE: Mindestlohn hoch auf 15 Euro? Die Mehrheit der Deutschen ist dafür.

“Wie eine Forsa-Umfrage für den stern.de ergab, sind 57 Prozent für eine Steigerung auf 15 Euro je Stunde. 38 Prozent würden es bei der für Anfang 2025 vorgesehenen Erhöhung von 12,41 Euro auf 12,82 Euro belassen. Fünf Prozent äußern keine Meinung.”

<https://www.stern.de/politik/umfrage-zum-mindestlohn--klare-mehrheit-fuer-erhoehung-auf-15-euro-34685938.html>.

Number of Google hits to calculate the question weight: for “Erhöhung des Mindestlohns” on 09.02.2025, 24:12 — 321,000.

Question weight: $\log_2(0.001 * 321000) \approx 8.33$.

Pros : Cons (regarding the Wahl-O-Mat question)= 57 : 38.

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