



# Public Opinion in Germany

---

August 10<sup>th</sup> - 28<sup>th</sup>



# Detailed Methodology

- Interviews in Germany are conducted on behalf of the [International Republican Institute](https://www.ipsos.com/de-de) by Ipsos GmbH, <https://www.ipsos.com/de-de>
- Data are collected between August 10 to 28, 2017 through face-to-face interviews
- The total number of interviews was 1600 : 1400 in Germany in total and 200 in Eastern Germany only .
- Margin of Error for main sample (n=1400) for a 95 percent confidence level: +-2.6 percent;
- The sample was made up of residents in Germany, age 18 years and older, speaking German.
- Sample included all regions/federal states in Germany and both urban and rural inhabitants. Boost for East-Germany (n=200) included federal states Thüringen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, Berlin. Areas of the population excluded from the sample: None.\*
- The sample design was a three-stage random representative sample.
  - Stage One: PSU - sampling points
  - Stage Two: SSU - household (selected by random walk from starting point)
  - Stage Three: TSU - respondent age 18 and more years (selection of individuals using last birthday method)
- 10% of Interviews are controlled through the field after ISO 20252

*In data analysis, Berlin was excluded from Former Eastern Germany variable due its specific population today and because it is difficult to rebuild Former East from Berlin teritorial structure today. In data collection, Berlin was included in boost sample as part of the Eastern Germany.*

# Glossary of German Political Parties

- **CDU** - Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands / Christian Democratic Union of Germany
- **CSU** - Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern / Christian Social Union in Bavaria / Sister party of CDU, only in Bavaria
- **SPD** - Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands / Social Democratic Party of Germany
- **FDP** - Freie Demokratische Partei / Free Democratic Party
- **Grüne** - Bündnis 90/Die Grünen or Grüne / Alliance 90/The Greens
- **Die Linke** - Die Linke / The Left
- **Piraten** - Piratenpartei Deutschland / Pirate Party Germany
- **AfD** - Alternative für Deutschland / Alternative for Germany
- **Die Freien Wähler** - Die Freien Wähler / Free voters



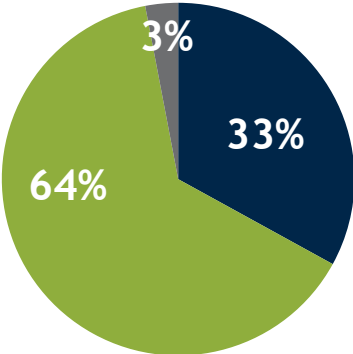
# Opinions of the National and Regional Context

---

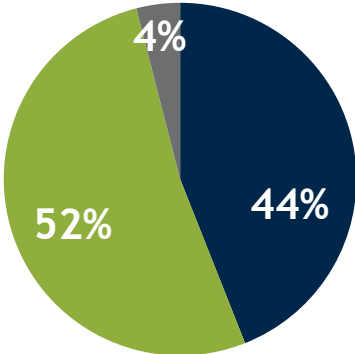


# Generally speaking, would you say that Germany is heading...

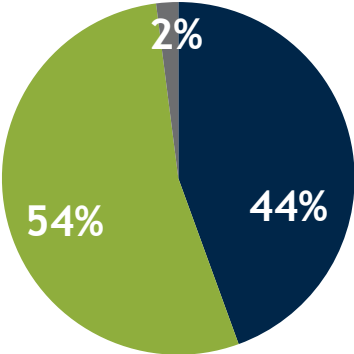
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

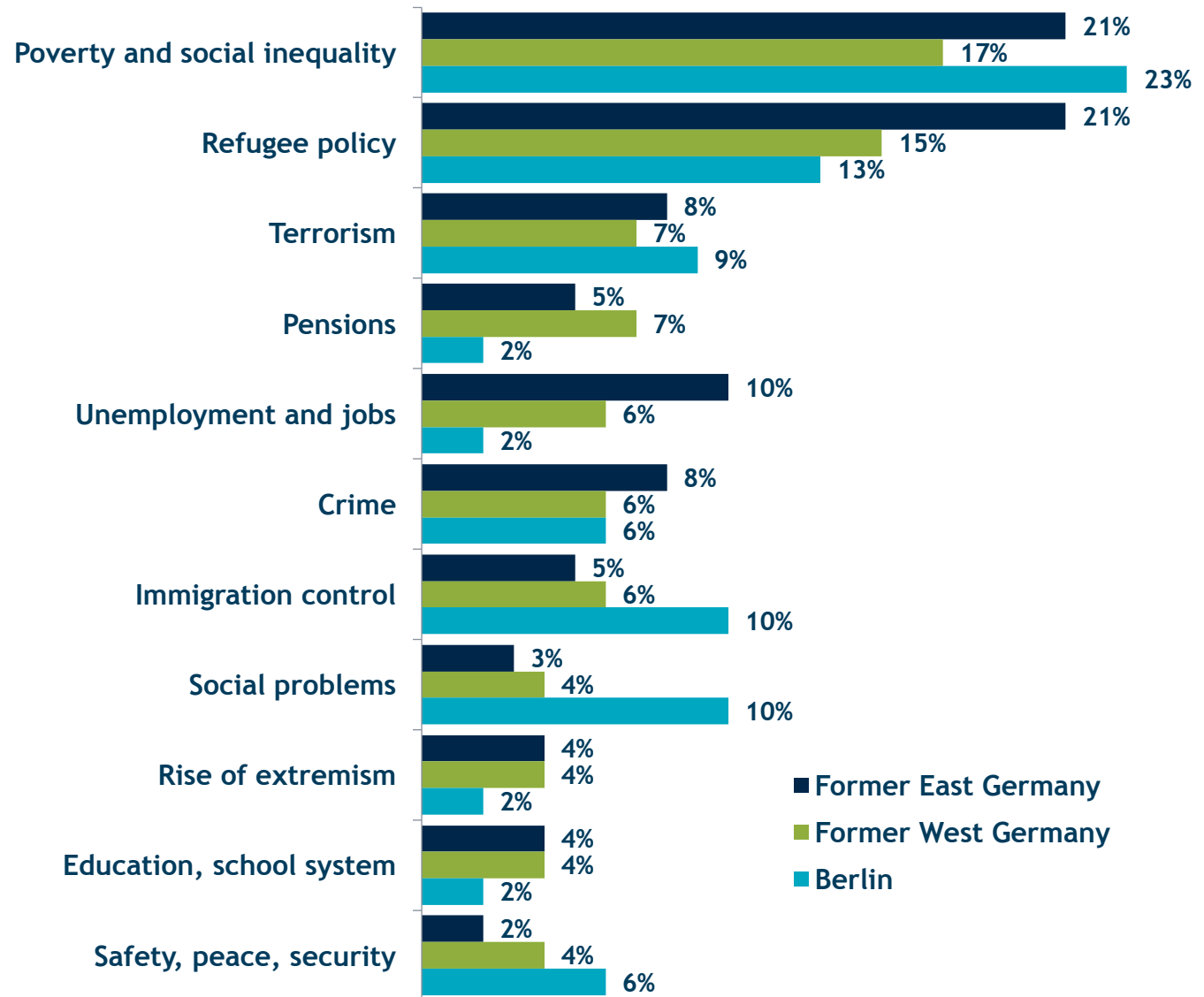


Berlin



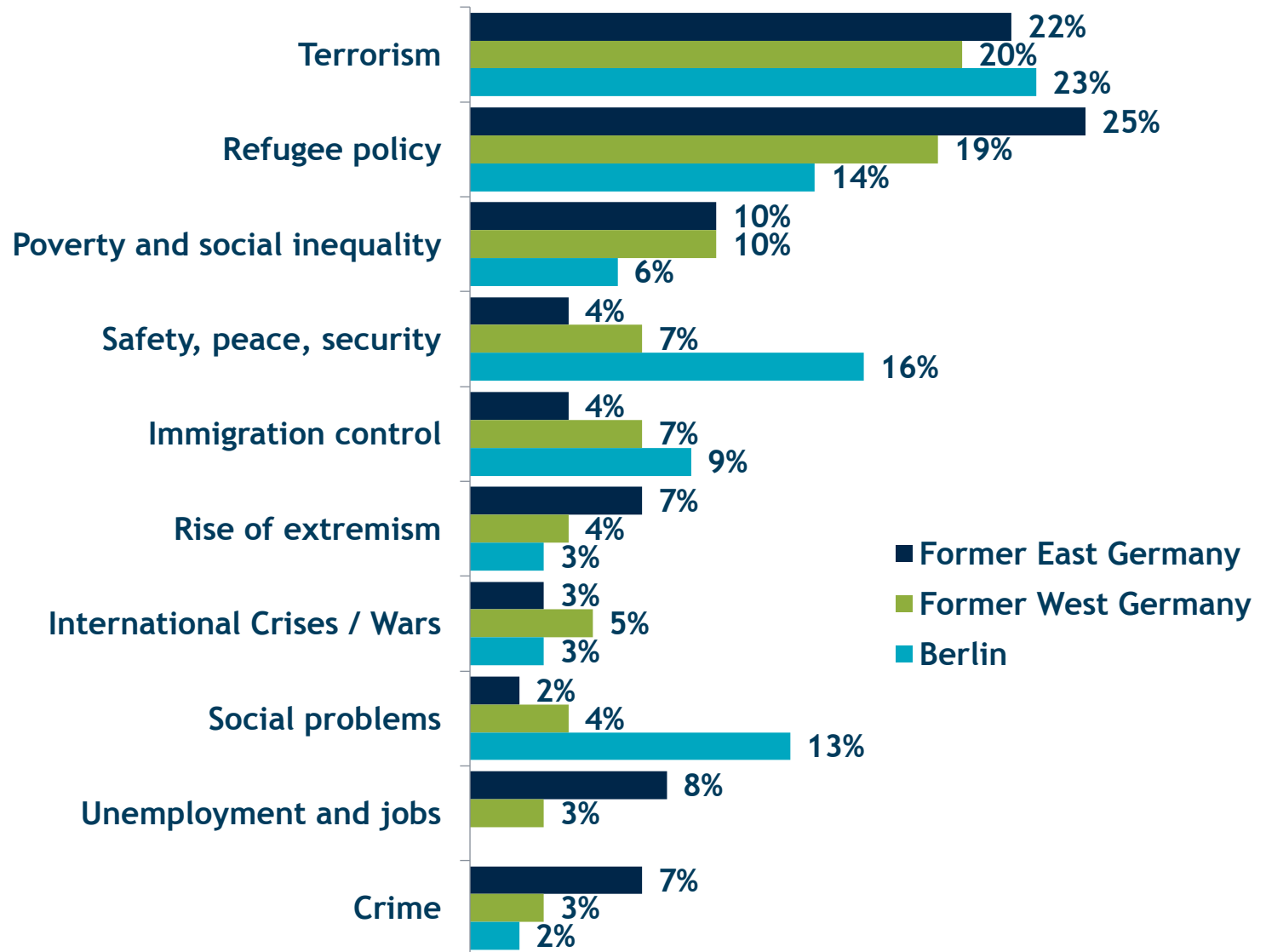
- In the right direction
- In the wrong direction
- Don't know/Refused to answer

# What would you say is the single biggest problem facing Germany today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)



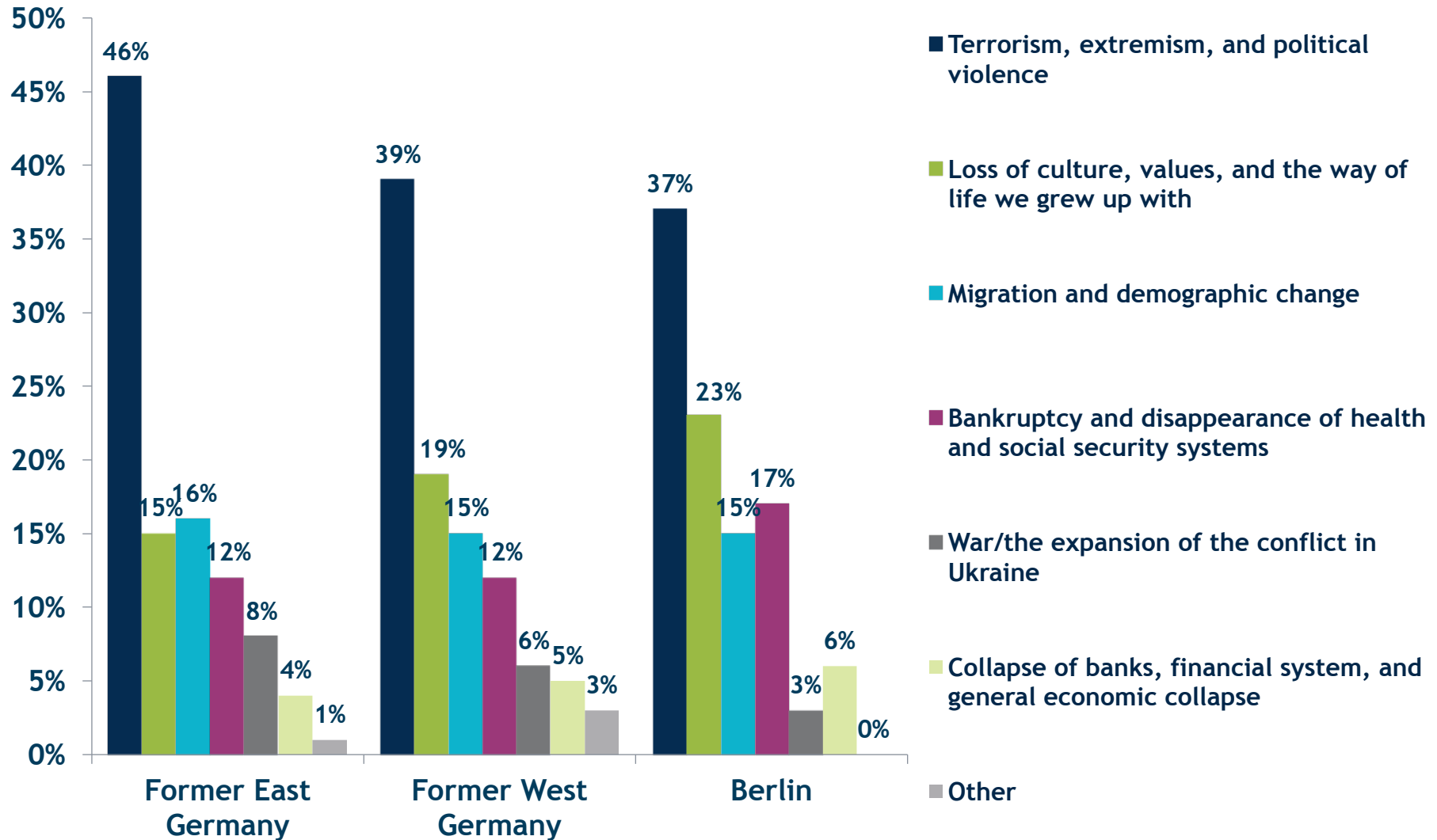
Only answers with percentage  $\geq 5$  are presented

# What is the single biggest problem facing Europe today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)



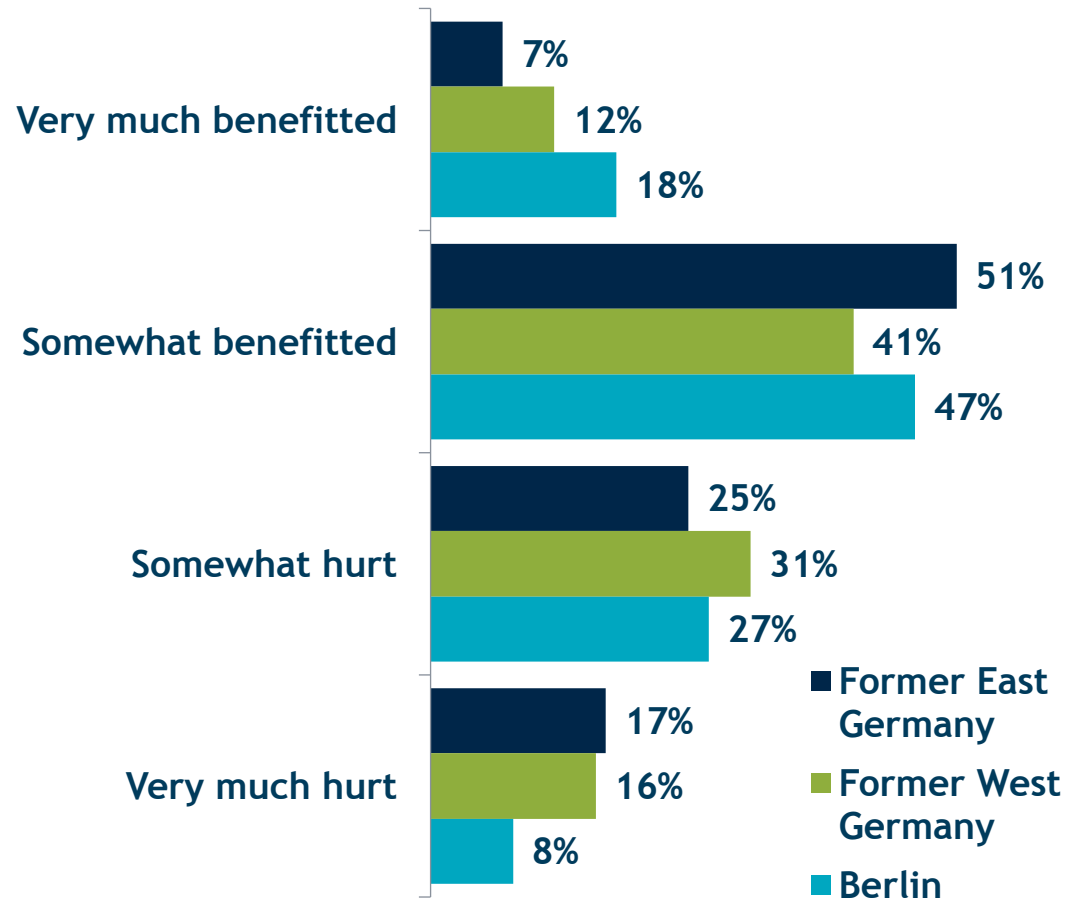
Only answers with percentage  $\geq 5$  are presented

# What has the greatest likelihood of threatening our way of life and our children's future?



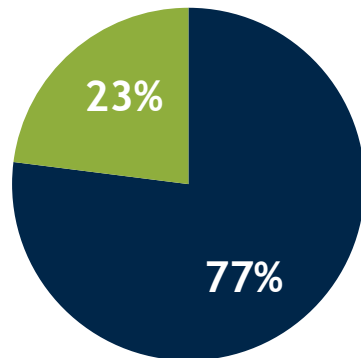


# Do you think that the process of globalization has benefited or hurt your family?

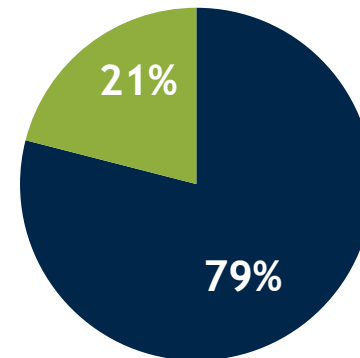


# Did you vote in the German parliamentary elections in 2013?

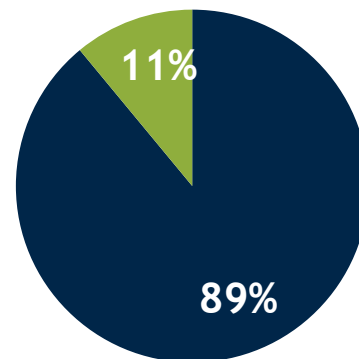
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



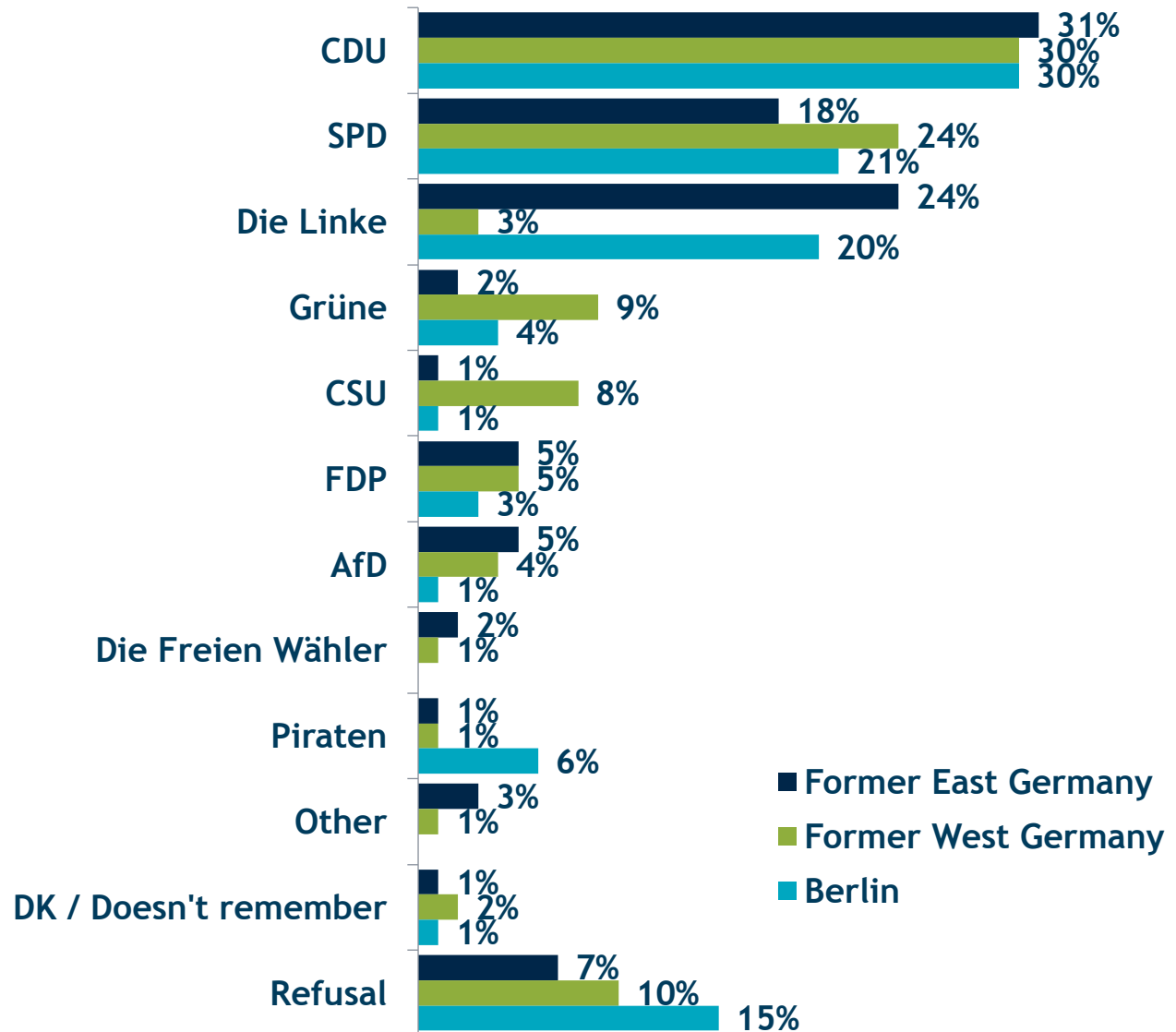
Berlin



■ Yes ■ No ■ No response/Refused to answer

# If so, for which party did you vote?

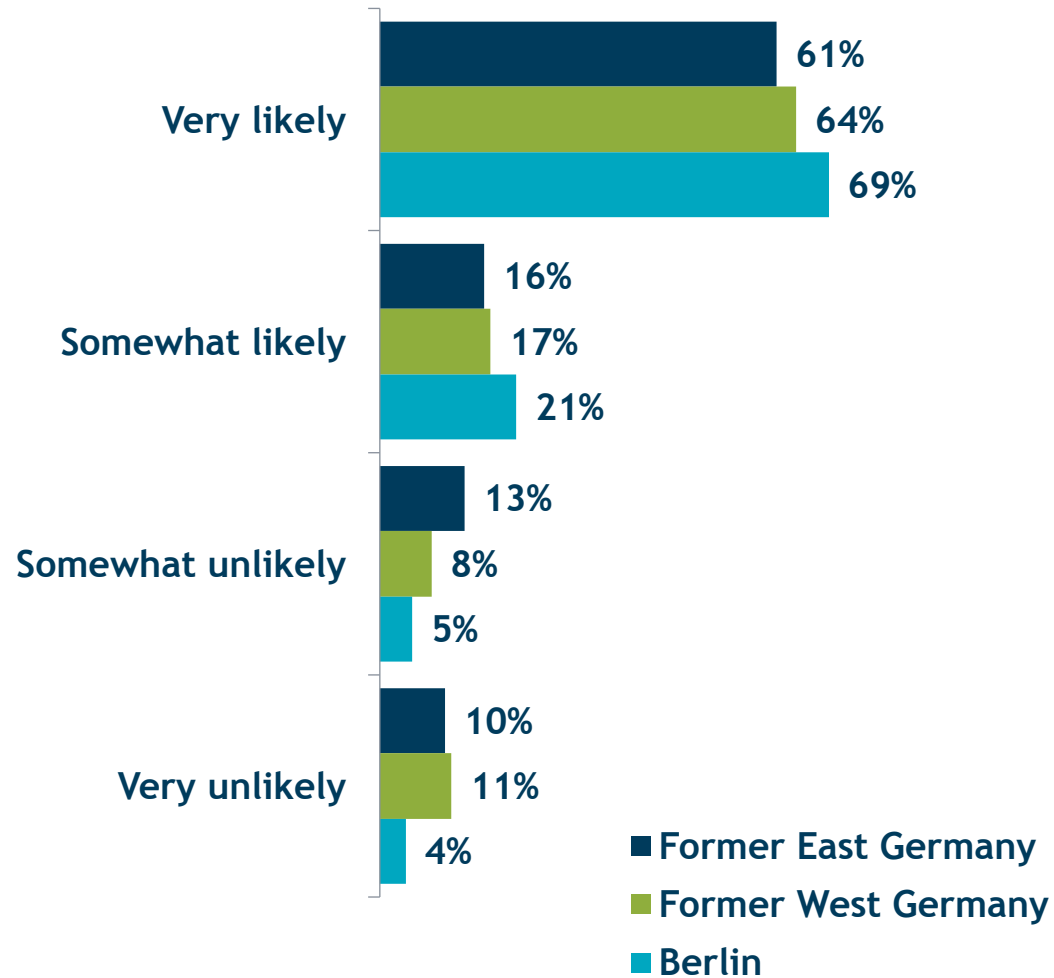
(Respondents who specified a choice, n=1288)



\*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.

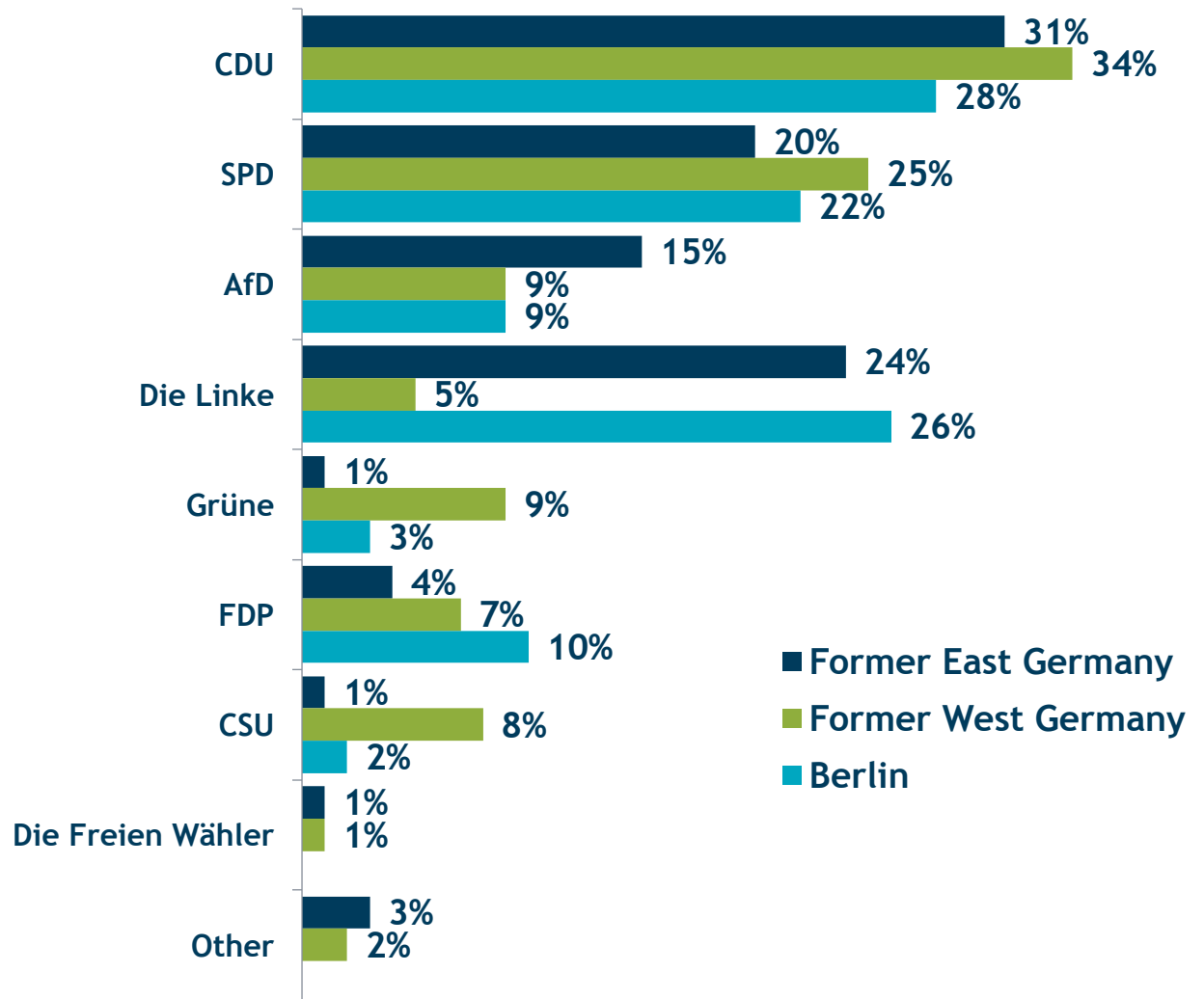
\*Sample sizes, Former East Germany N=216, Former West Germany N=1013, Berlin N=60

# How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next elections?



# If elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party would you vote?

(Decided population - all those who specified a choice, excluding those who say they don't know or they will not vote: n=1225)

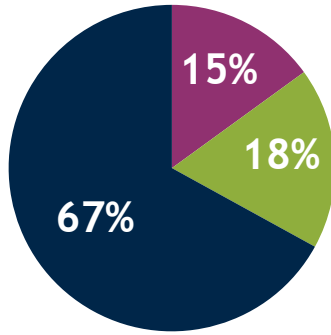


\*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.

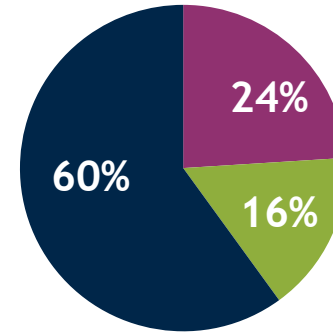
\*Sample sizes, Former East Germany N=215, Former West Germany N=958, Berlin N=51

# If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?

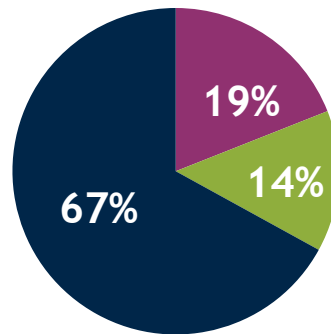
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin



- Man
- Woman
- Makes no difference to me

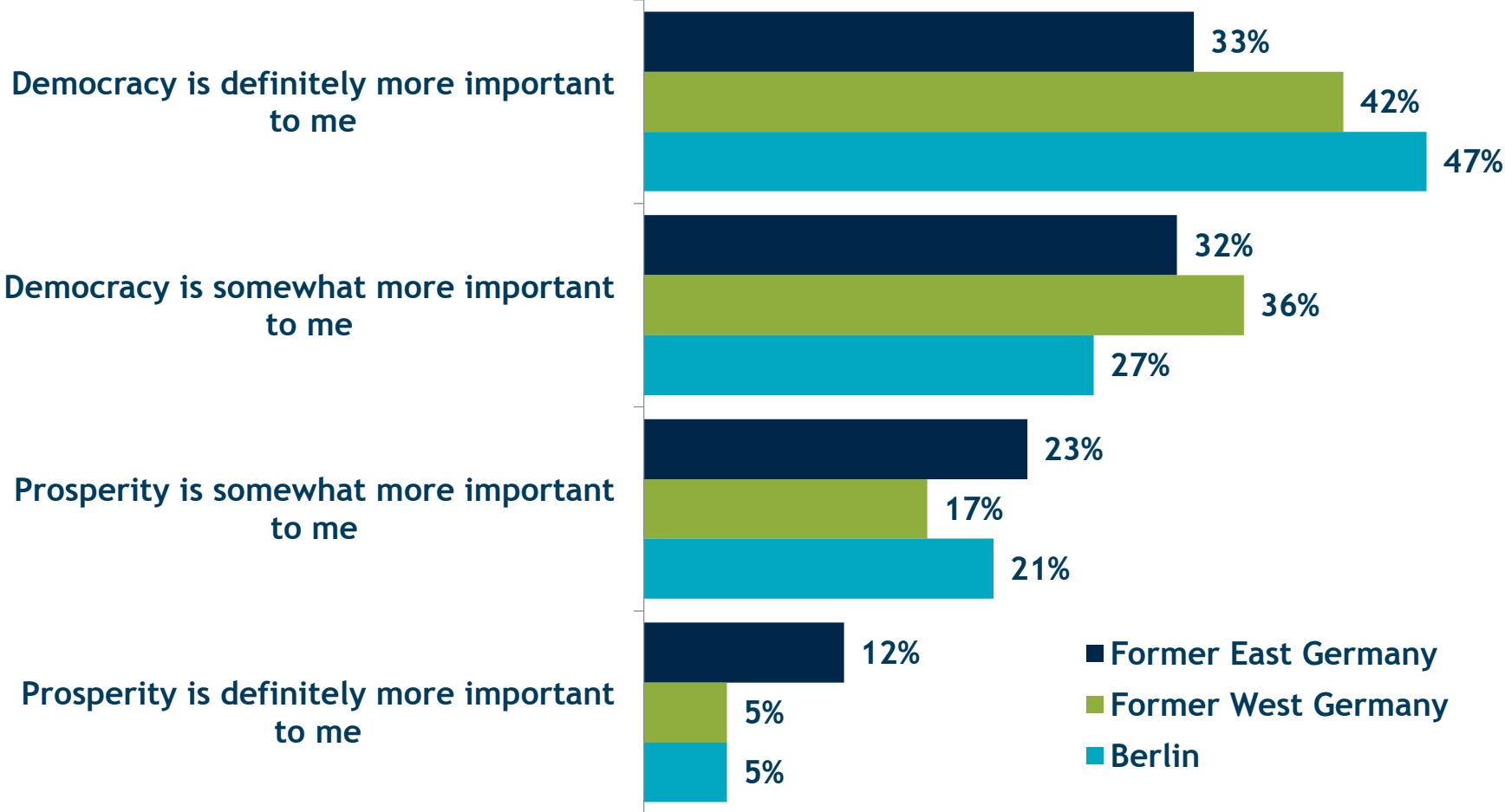


# Trust in the Political System

---



# If you could have only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy?

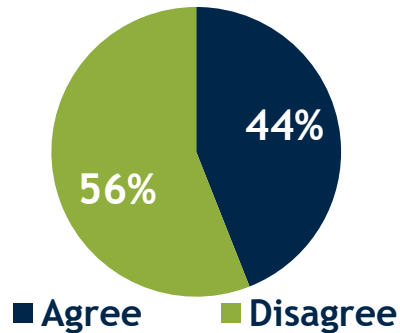




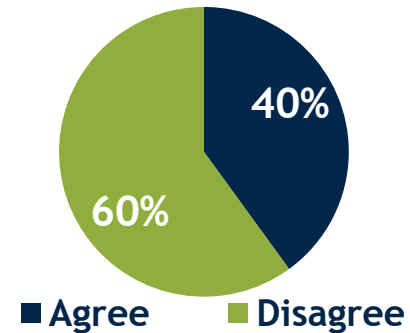
# Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”

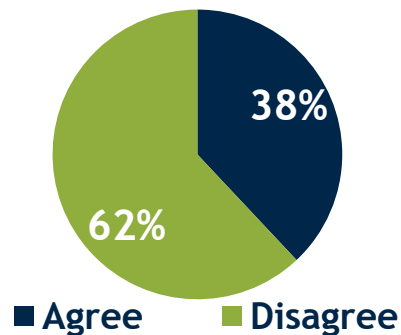
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



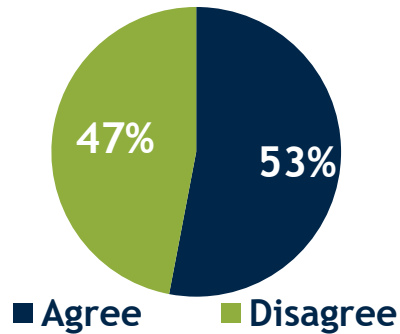
Berlin



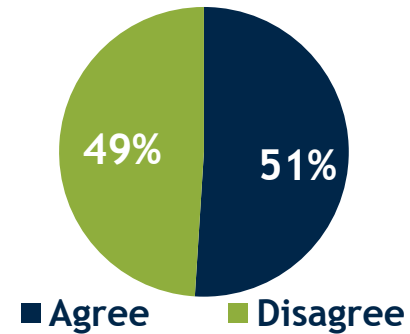
# Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”

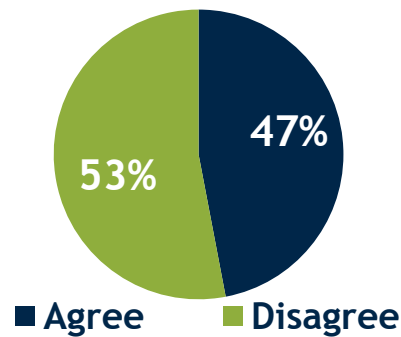
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin





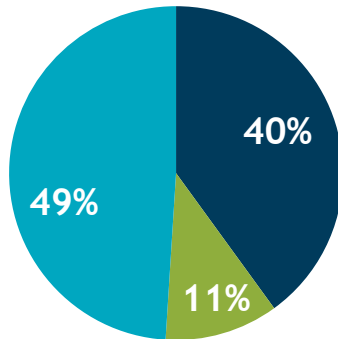
# Issues of Identity

---

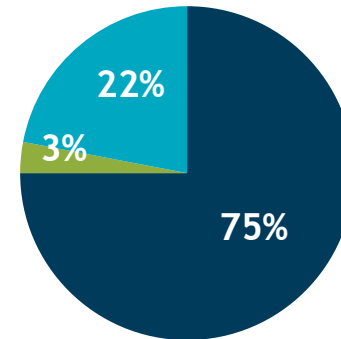


Historically, there has been a debate about whether Germany is part of the East, part of the West, or whether it is something distinct between the two. Where do you believe Germany lies?

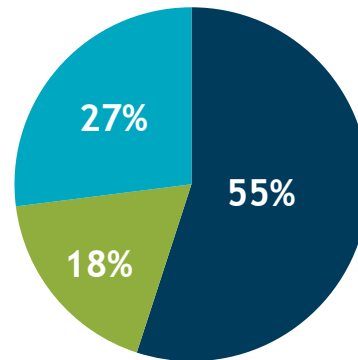
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

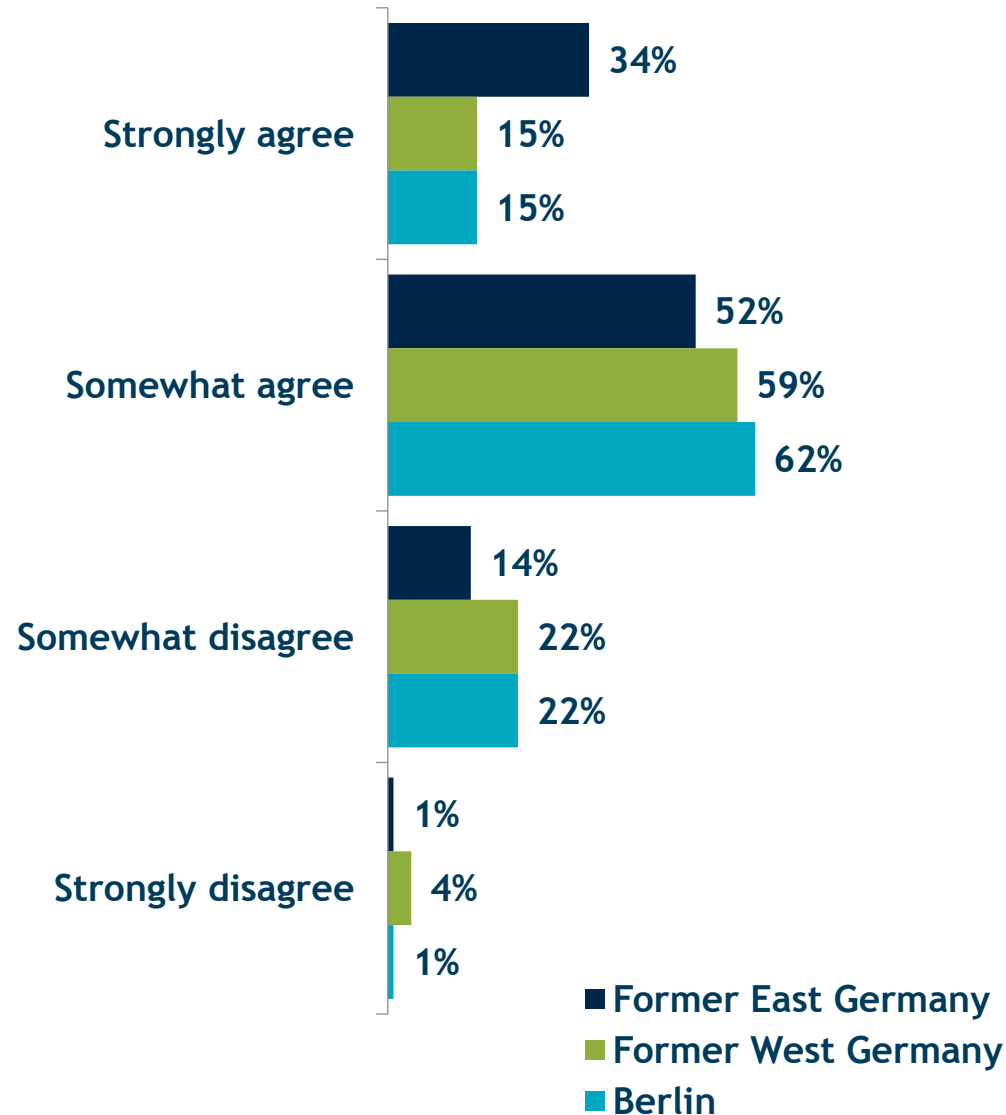


Berlin



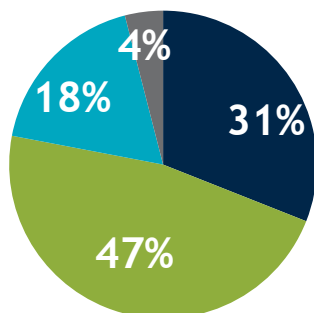
■ In the West   ■ In the East   ■ Neither - Germany is distinct

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Despite the current political difficulties, Germans have long had deep cultural and historic ties to Russia and that these ties must be maintained.”

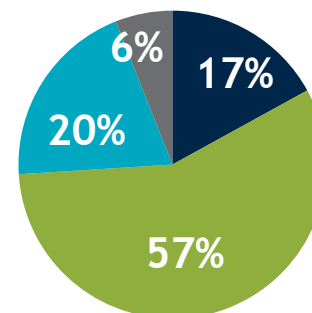


# Vladimir Putin's Russia has tried to portray itself as a defender of Christendom and traditional European values in areas ranging from the protection of the family unit to defending against Islamic and other non-European cultures. What is your opinion of this view of Russia?

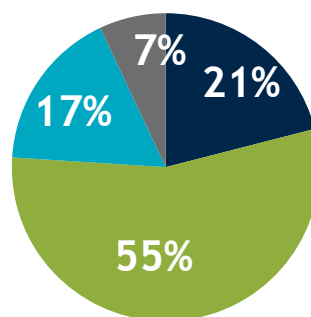
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

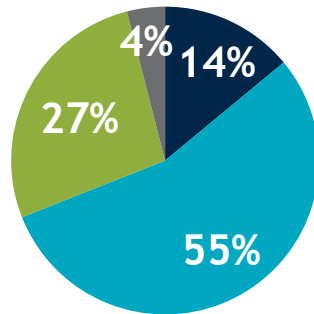


- It is true - on this issue at least, Russia has taken the side of traditional European values.
- It is not really true - Russia is just cynically pretending to stand up for traditional European values, while really pursuing its own geopolitical interests.
- It is not true at all - it demonstrates Russia's rejection of modern Western values of tolerance and inclusiveness.
- Don't know

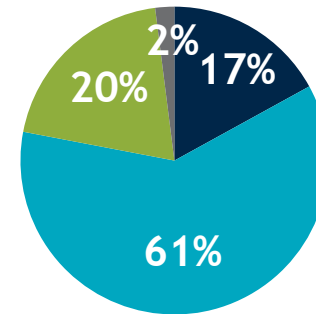
# How then do you view Russia and Putin as you try to address these changes in European culture and practice?

(Respondents who believe that Russia is defending European values, n=322)

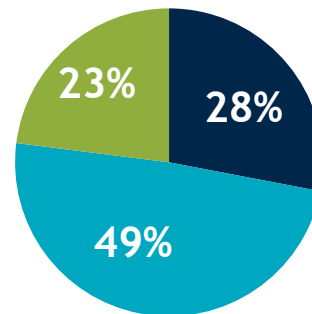
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

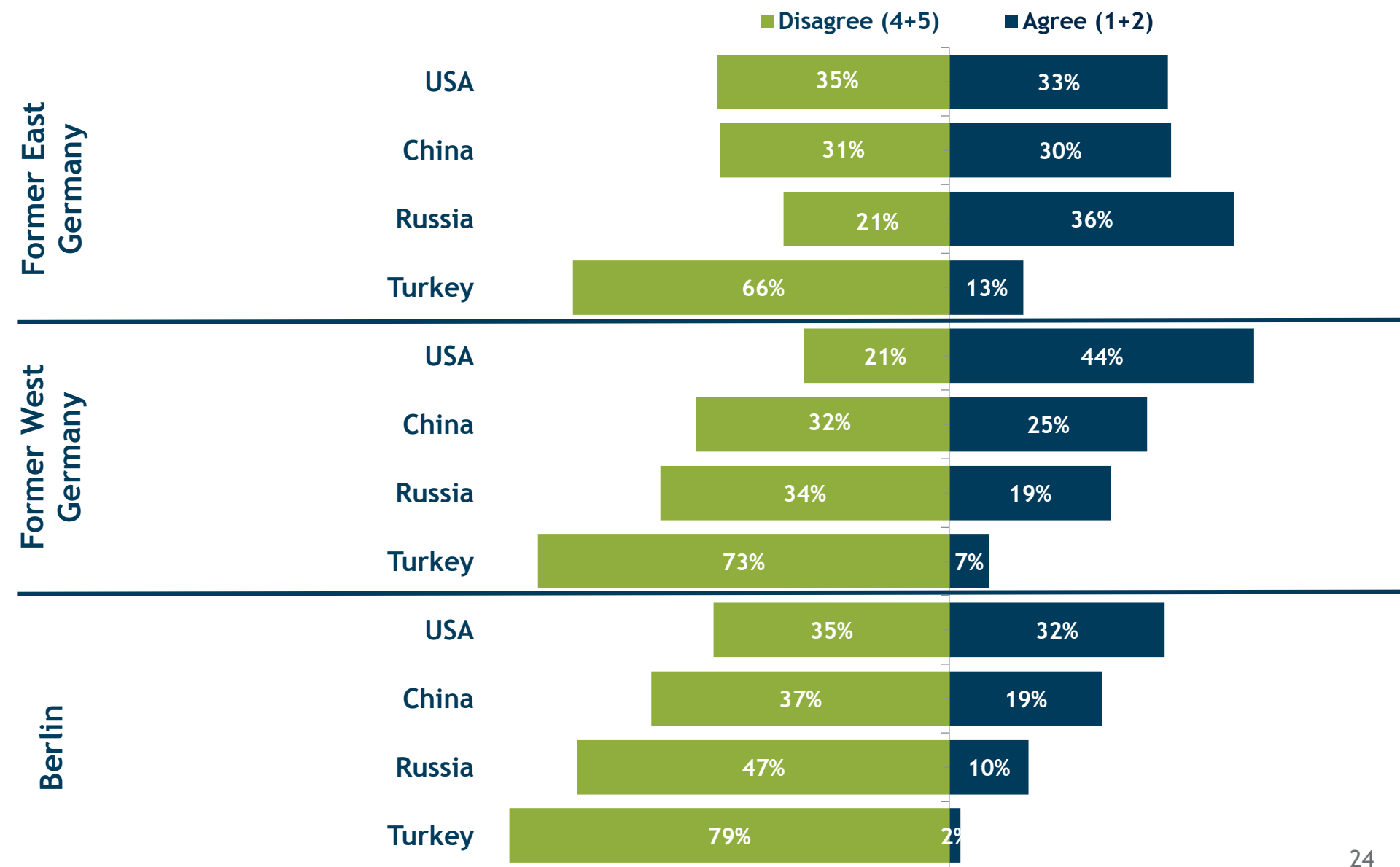


Berlin



- Russia and Putin can be allies against an EU that is pushing us to abandon our values.
- I wish Russia could be an ally, but I don't trust Putin. Some cooperation would be possible, but I would be very careful.
- Regardless of my disagreement with some EU policies, I don't think Russia should have any influence over how EU policies are made.
- Don't know

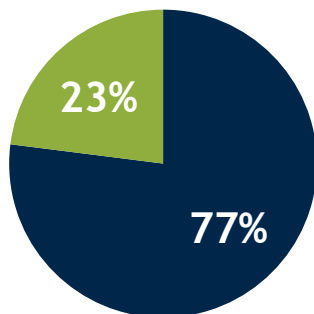
On a scale of 1 to 5, how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
 “Germany’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...”



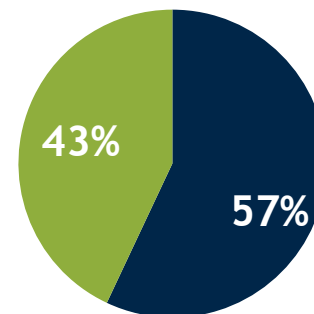


Some Germans politicians and intellectuals are advocating a new Ostpolitick, arguing we should be building economic and political ties with Russia rather than engaging in confrontation and sanctions.  
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

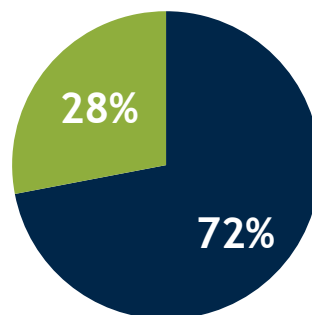
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin



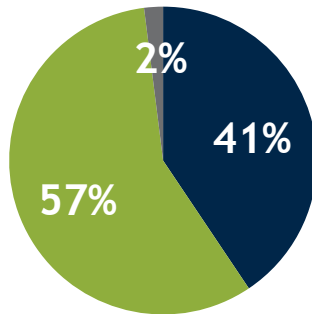
■ A new Ostpolitik would be a good strategy, supporting German jobs and exports and avoiding conflicts and war

■ A new Ostpolitik would be a bad strategy, because it would undermine Germany's most important trading partners in the EU, and it would provide support to an authoritarian system in Russia

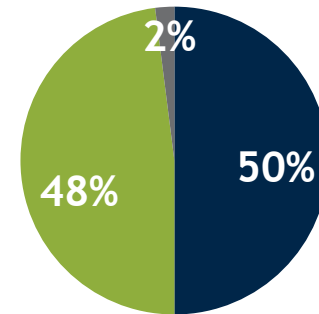
# Opinions of the European Union?

## Which statement is closest to your opinion?

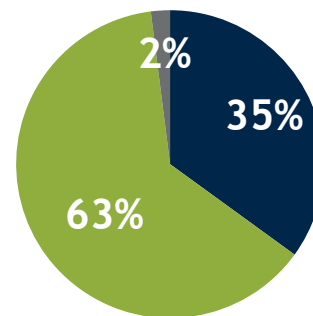
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



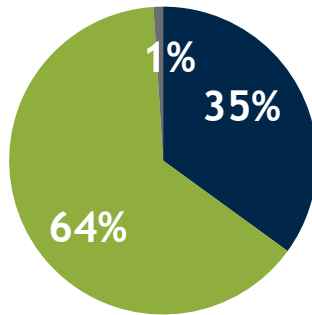
Berlin



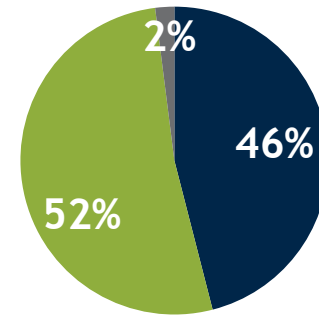
- The EU is a political community, granting certain rights and benefits to all citizens, and requiring loyalty and sacrifice in return
- The EU is an association of sovereign states, with little connection to individual citizens. Citizens owe loyalty and sacrifice to their states, not to the EU
- Don't know

# Opinions of the European Project: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

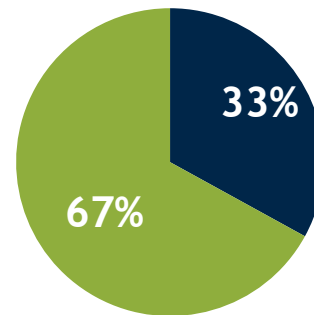
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

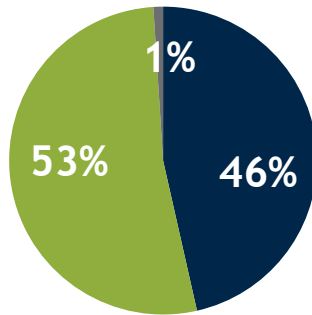


- The European Project has been a success, ensuring peace, economic growth, and the reintegration of Eastern Europe. Its important work must continue.
- The European Project played a major role in creating modern Europe, but the world has changed. The Project needs to be rethought.
- Don't know

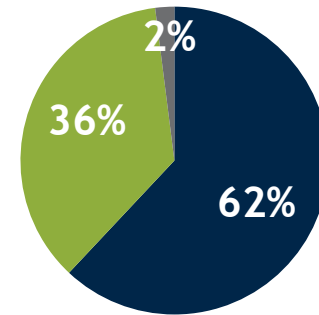
# Opinions of NATO:

## Which statement is closest to your opinion?

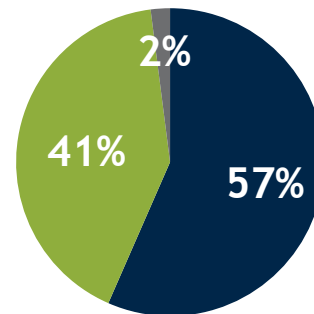
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



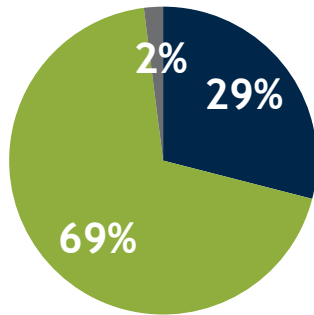
Berlin



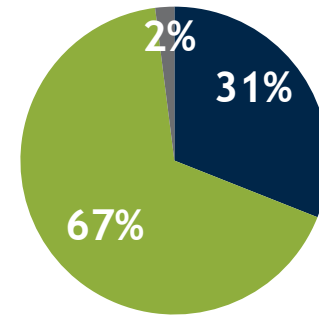
- NATO guaranteed the peace in Europe for the last 70 years, and it retains a vital role in the maintenance of peace and security on the Continent.
- Though NATO played a significant role in the security of Europe in the past, the world has changed with the end of the Cold War and NATO is no longer as important. Our approach to security should be rethought
- Don't know

# Opinions of peace in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

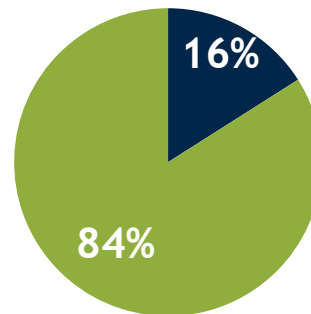
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



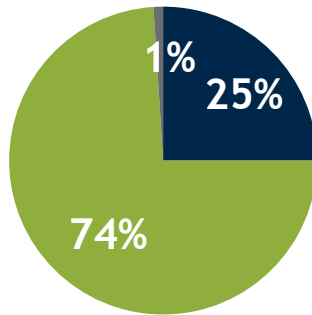
Berlin



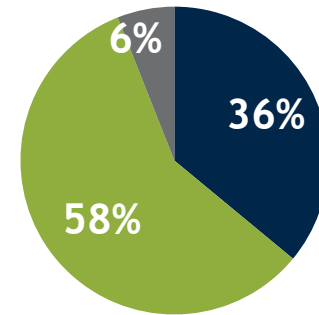
- Europe is at peace, and there are no significant threats to peace on the horizon.
- The peace of Europe is threatened on multiple fronts, from terrorism to a resurgent Russia to an influx of migrants.
- Don't know

# Opinions of Russia's role in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

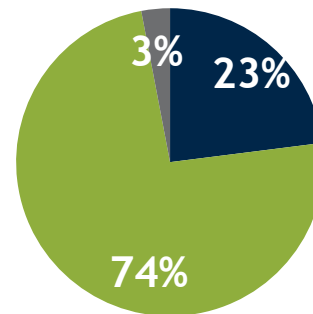
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



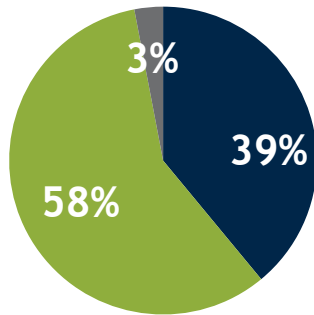
Berlin



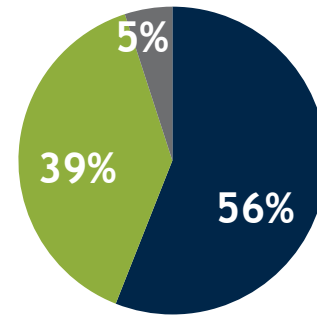
- Russia is a continuous, external threat to Europe, and must be countered by a strong security alliance.
- Russia should be considered a partner in European security, and brought into European security structures. Keeping Russia out makes us less secure.
- Don't know

# Opinions of U.S. partnership in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

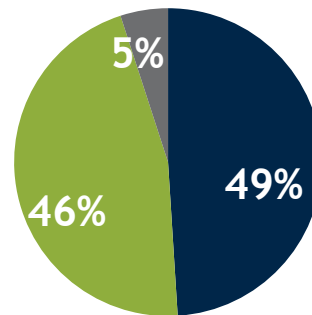
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



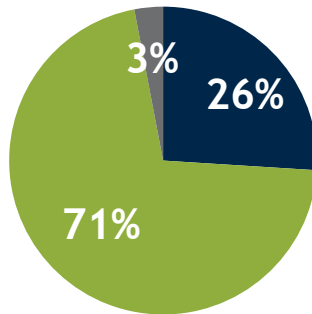
Berlin



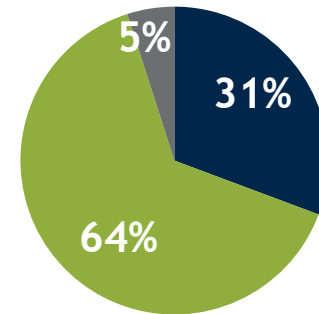
- The United States is a natural partner for European security, and its presence in NATO contributes to the peace of Europe.
- The United States should not play a role in European security, and in fact its presence in Europe increases tensions and insecurity.
- Don't know

# Opinions of investing in security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

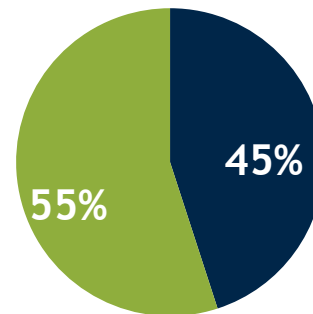
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

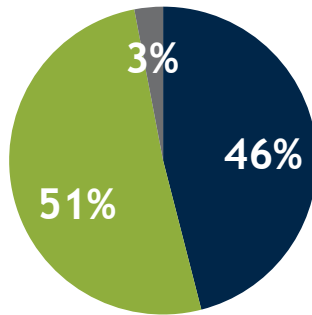


- Current security threats mean Germany should invest more money in defense and security, even if this means having less money available for other things like pensions, healthcare, and education.
- The current security threats are not serious enough to justify increased defense spending. The resources should instead be used for other things like pensions, healthcare, and education.
- Don't know

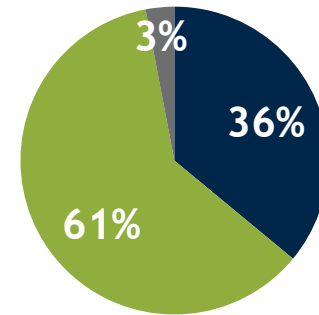


# Opinions of border security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

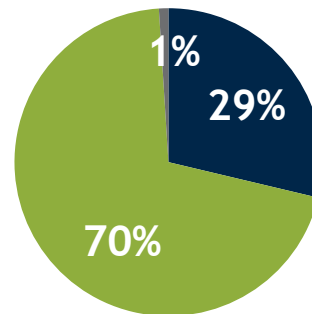
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

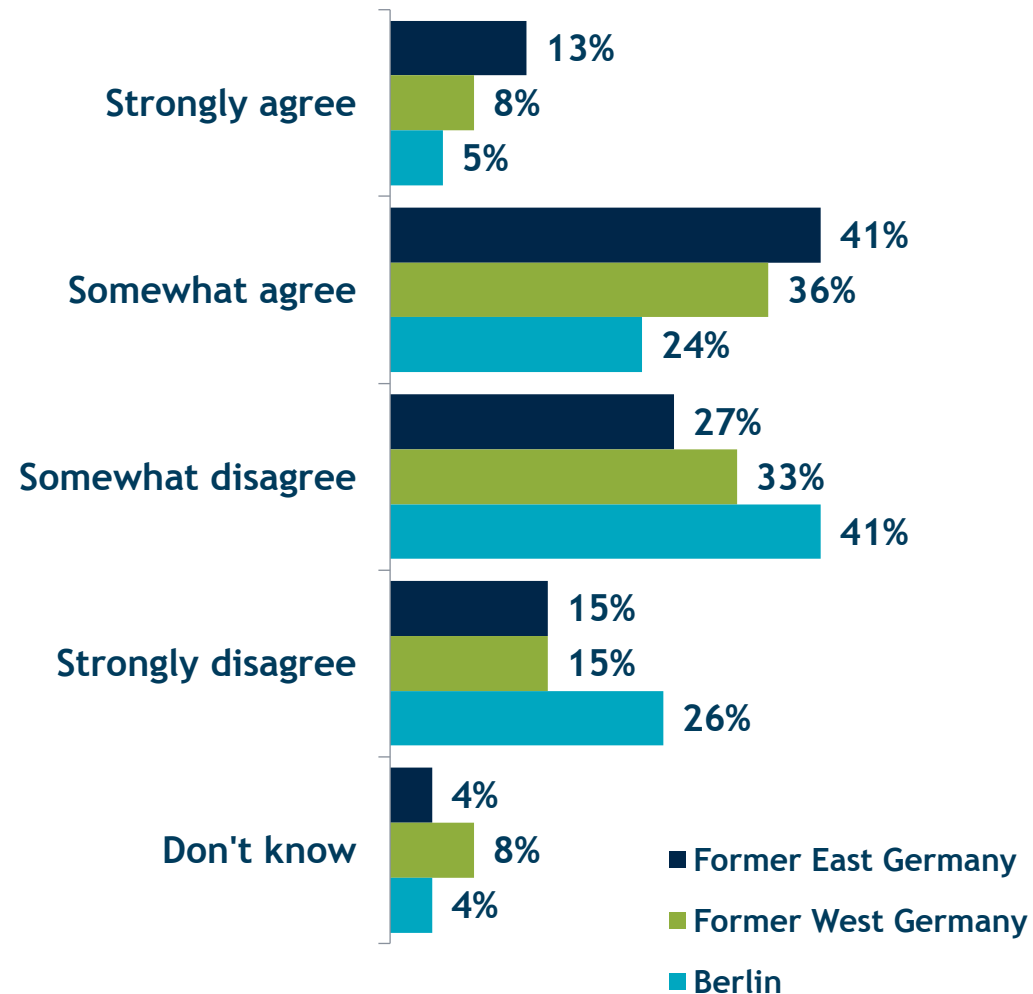


Berlin

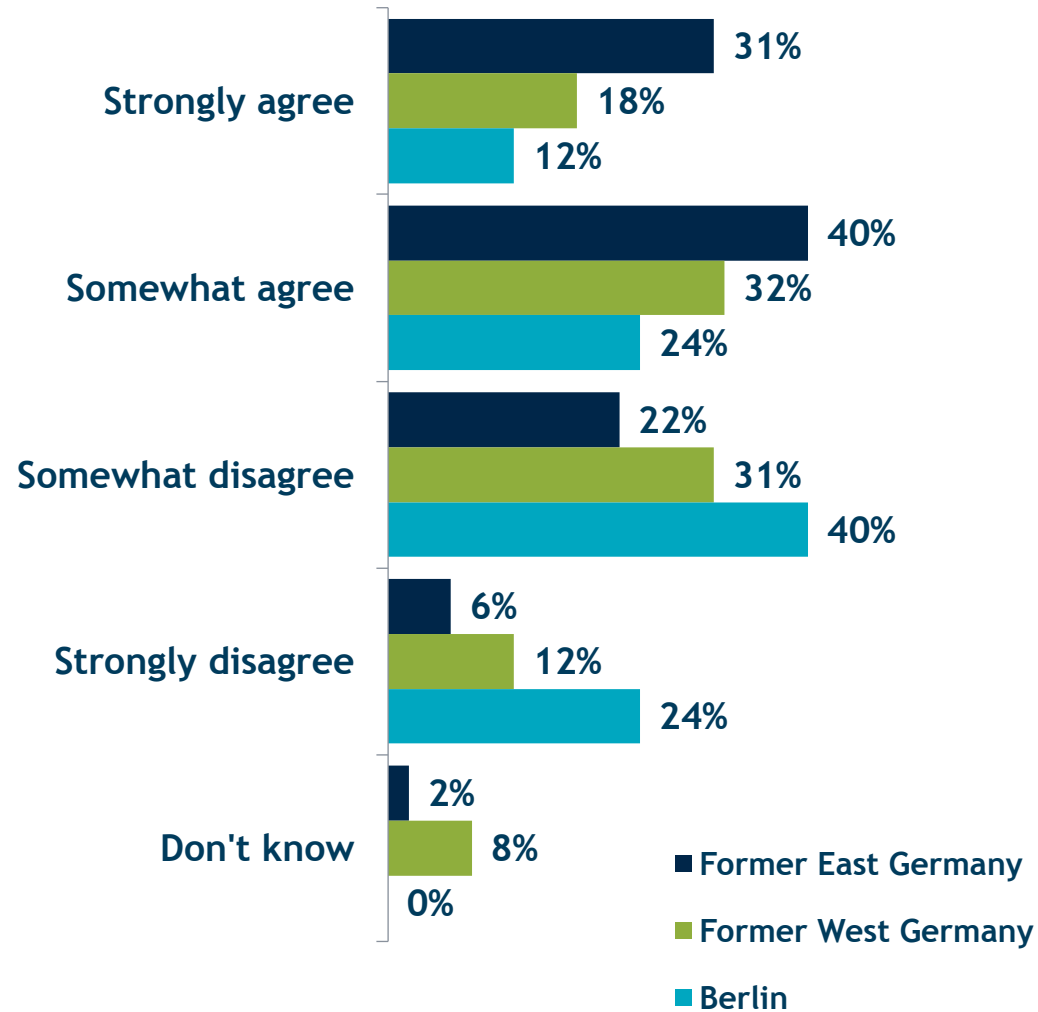


- The only way to address the problems of migrants and terrorism is to close the borders of Germany, regardless of the effect such a move would have on the free movement of people in the European Union
- Closing national borders is a bad idea, because no country has the ability to address the problem on its own. Instead, collective organizations like NATO and the EU must be engaged to intercept migrants off the coasts of Greece and Italy, and to coordinate
- Don't know

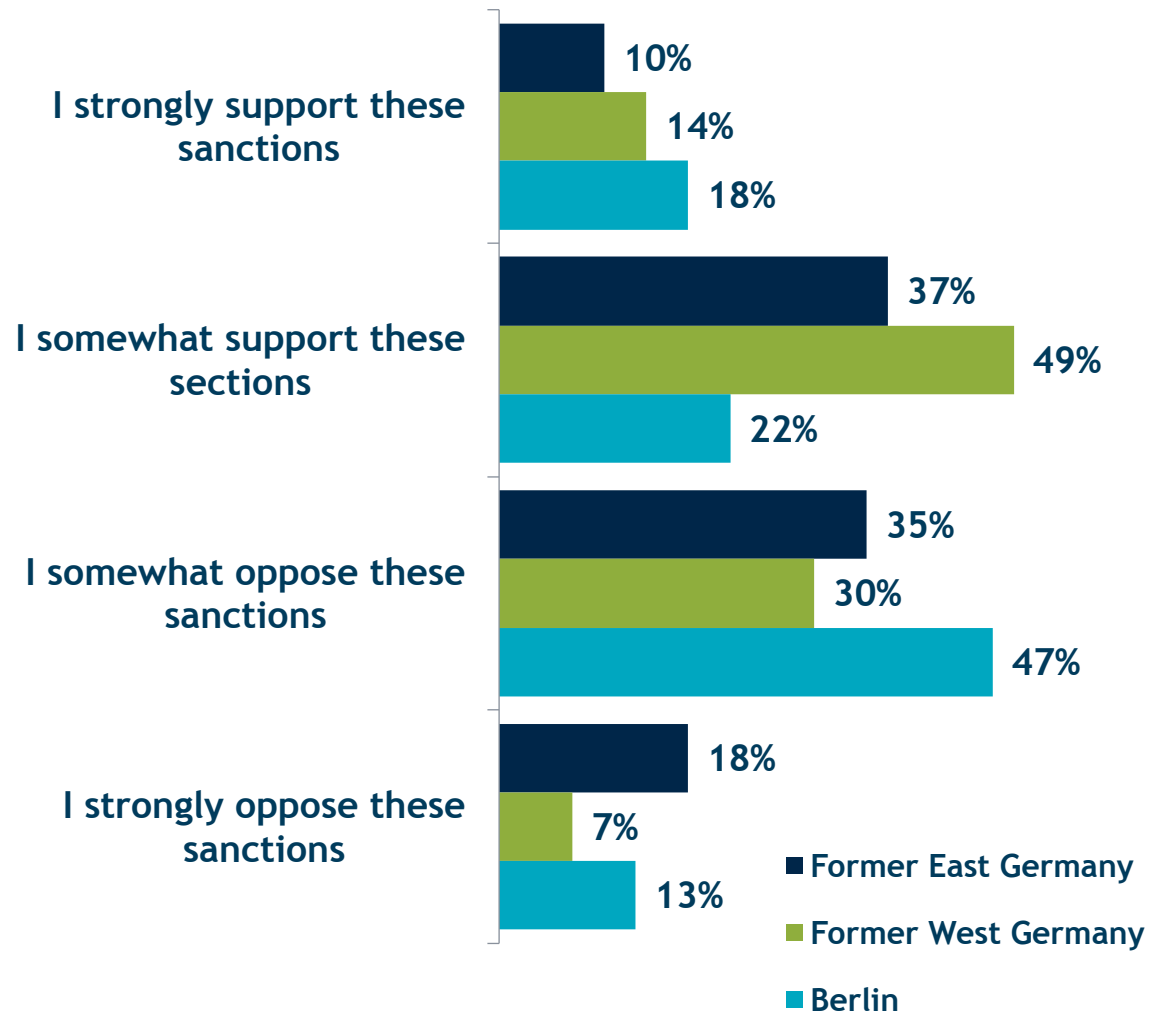
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
“Ukraine is a part of Russia’s sphere of influence, thus Russia has a right to  
have a role in decisions made in Ukraine.”



To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
“The security of Germany would be better protected by remaining neutral, rather than being forced to choose sides between NATO and Russia.”

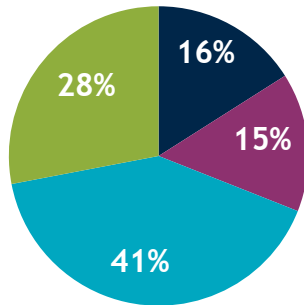


Following the Russian intervention in Eastern Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea, the EU and the US imposed sanctions on Russia. What is your opinion on these sanctions?

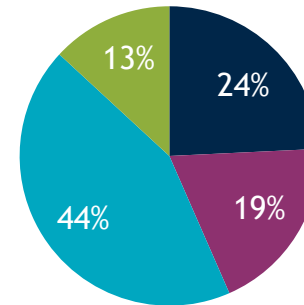


# Most analysts say Russian behavior in Ukraine has not changed as a result of the sanctions. What, then, should be the response of the West going forward?

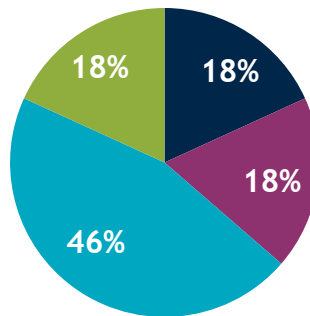
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin



- Keep sanctions as they are until Russia changes its behavior
- Increase sanctions on Russia, in an attempt to make Russian actions more costly and get them to change their behavior
- Look for other methods to change Russian behavior, and perhaps reduce sanctions in the process
- End the sanctions and look for a new way of coexistence with Russia



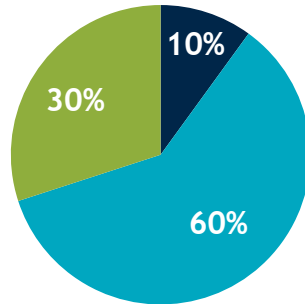
# Opinions of Migration in Europe

---

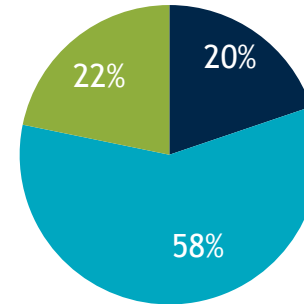


# Which statement is closest to your opinion?

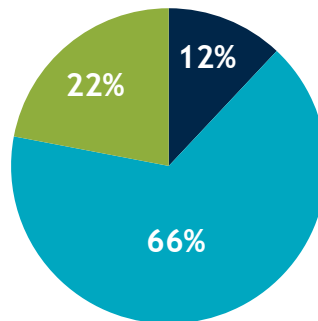
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

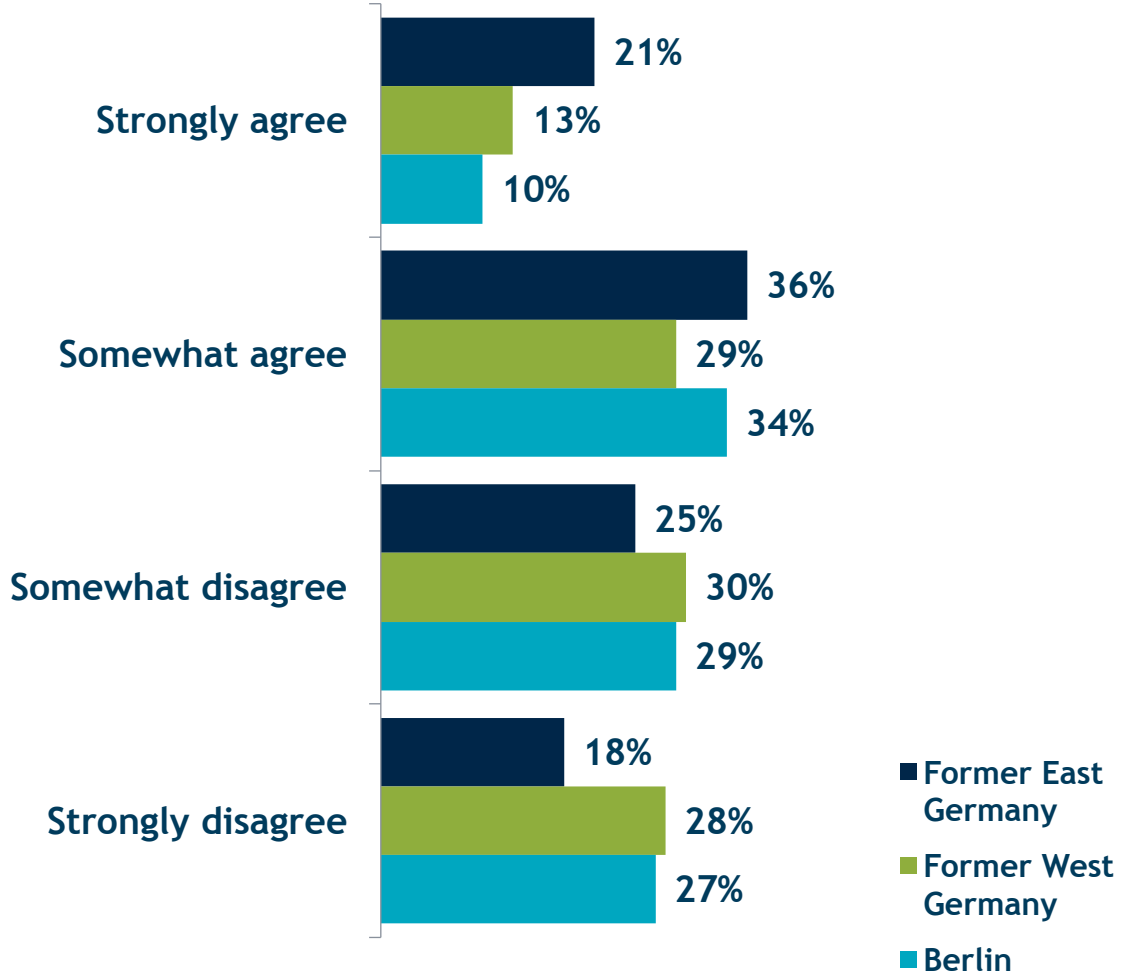


Berlin



- Germany and Europe have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in migrants, regardless of the costs in financial, social, and security realms.
- Germany and Europe have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in migrants, but only after certain steps have been taken to ensure that those migrants will not place a financial, social, or security burden on the host countries.
- The cost of taking in migrants is too high, regardless of efforts of governments to mitigate them. Germany and Europe should not take in any more migrants

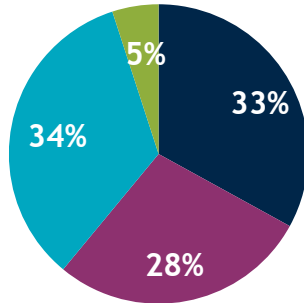
The Visegrad Four countries of Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia have resisted EU directives to welcome a portion of the migrants that enter Europe. Do you agree or disagree with the stance of these countries?



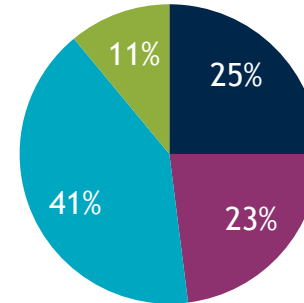


# Regardless of whether you agree or disagree with this decision, why do you think these countries have resisted taking on refugees?

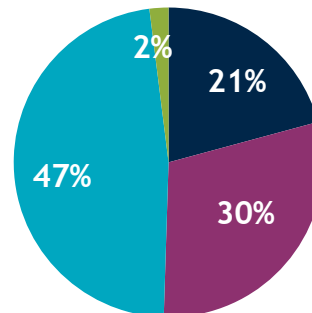
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



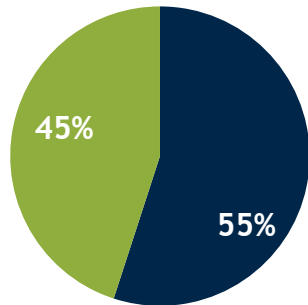
Berlin



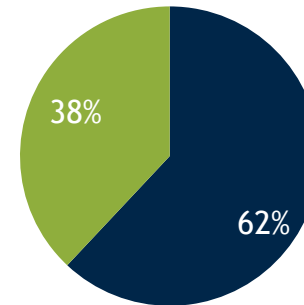
- The V4 countries have legitimate concerns about the costs of taking in migrants and the social and security problems this might cause.
- The V4 countries have legitimate objections that they were not consulted about the arrival of migrants and feel they are now being forced to resolve the problem.
- The V4 countries are unwilling to accept the costs of European solidarity, despite the fact that they have benefitted from EU assistance for the past 25 years.
- The V4 countries hold racist and xenophobic beliefs which stop them from welcoming this particular group of people.

# Which statement is closest to your opinion?

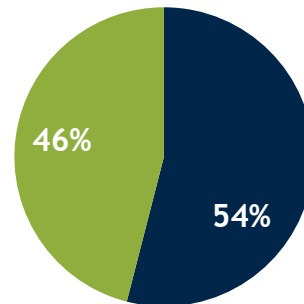
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

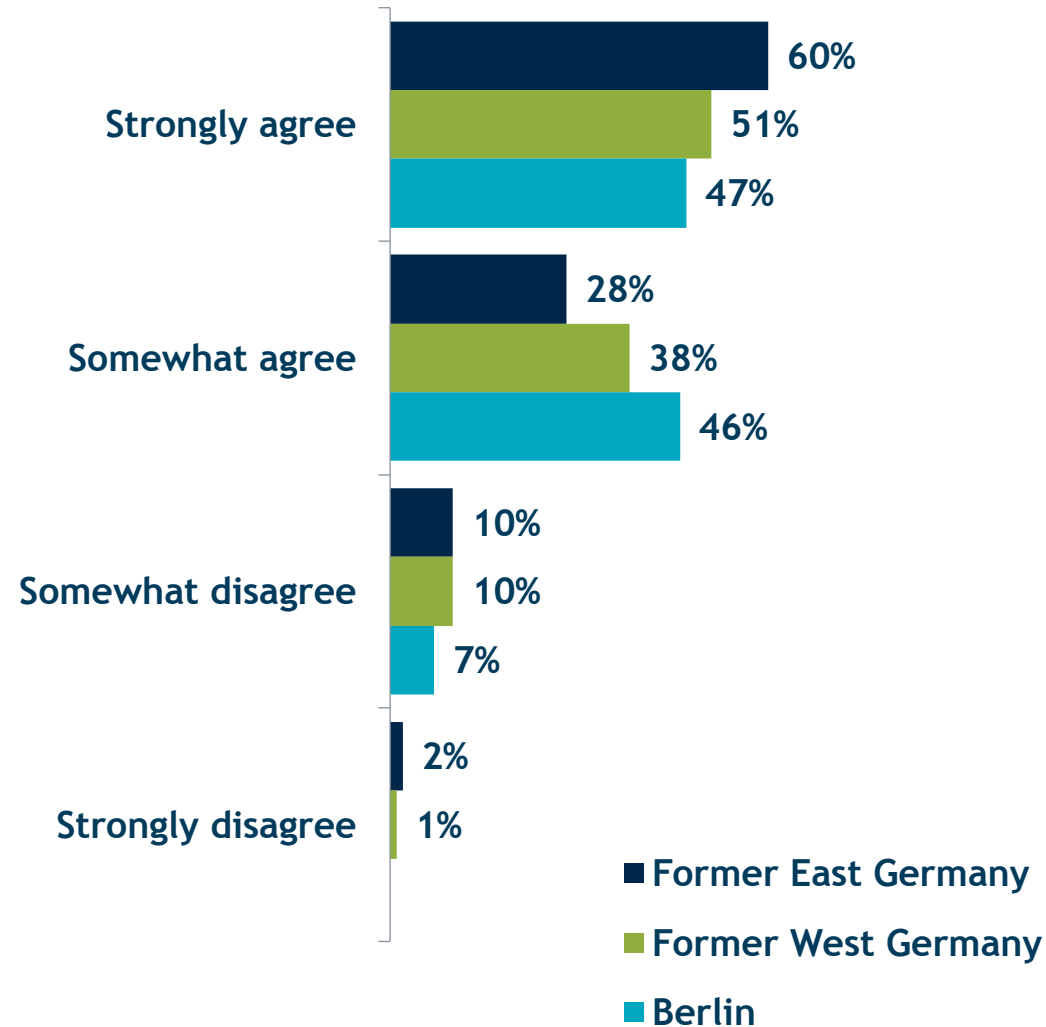


Berlin

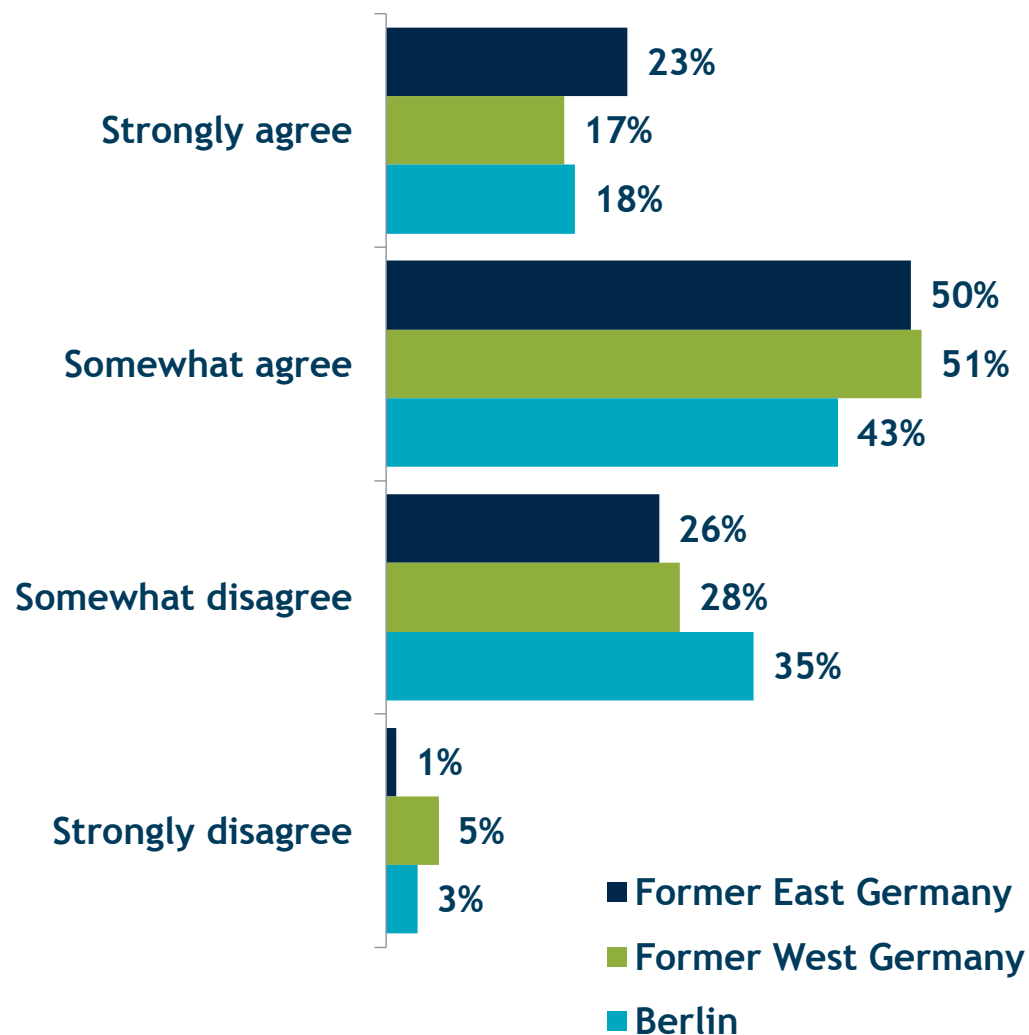


- Now that the Balkan route has been closed to migrants by the EU agreement with Turkey, the flow of migrants has shifted to Italy, and Italy needs help in dealing with this problem. Germany and Europe must help Italy.
- Germany and Europe are doing their part to assist migrants, and the EU treaties make clear that Italy is responsible for those who enter into its territory. Italy must fulfill its obligations under the treaties without expecting further help.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
“Instead of welcoming more and more migrants into our countries, Europe should  
instead focus on providing safe and healthy living environments to the migrants  
that have already arrived.”



In response to criticism from the EU that they are not accepting their quota of migrants, some countries counter that they are providing large amounts of aid to migrants in refugee camps in Turkey, North Africa, and other areas and that this assistance is as important or more important than taking in a small number of migrants. What is your opinion of this argument?





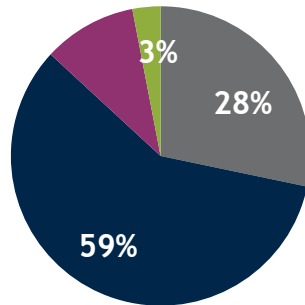
# Sources of Political News

---

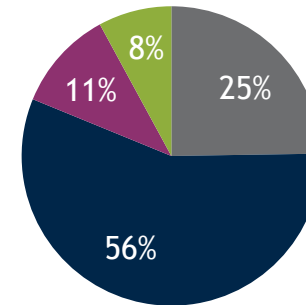


# From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

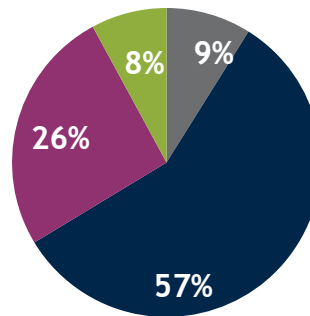
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

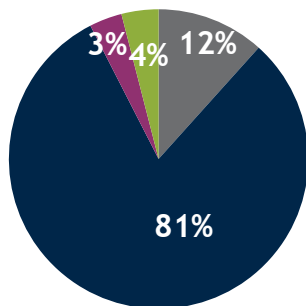


- Commercial television and radio broadcasters
- Public television and radio broadcasters
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs)
- Major newspapers

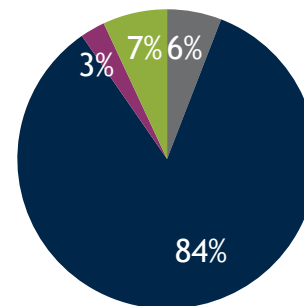
# From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

Age: 60+

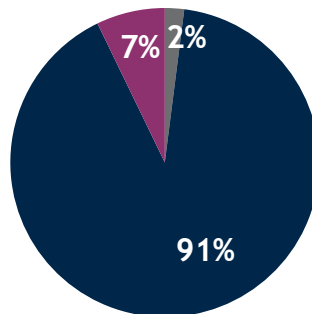
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

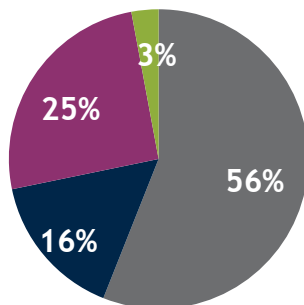


- Commercial television and radio broadcasters
- Public television and radio broadcasters
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs)
- Major newspapers

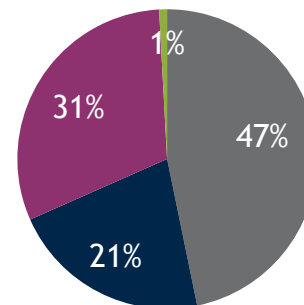
# From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

Age: 18-29

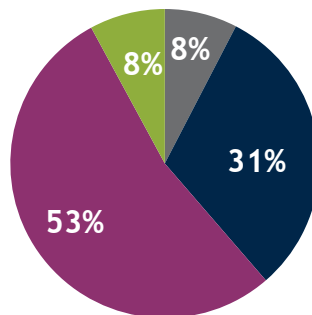
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

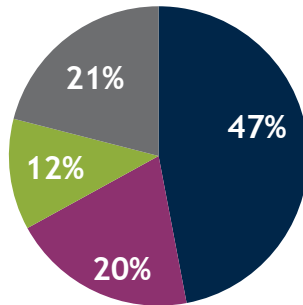


- Commercial television and radio broadcasters
- Public television and radio broadcasters
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs)
- Major newspapers

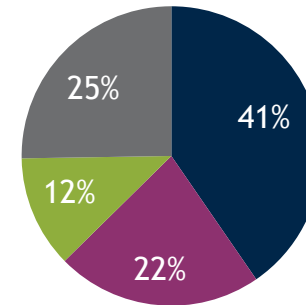


# How often do you use social media as a source of daily news?

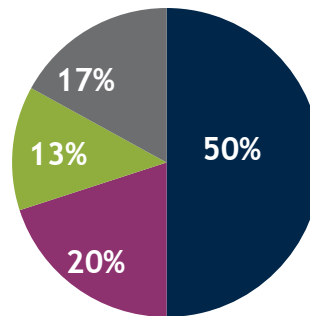
Former East Germany



Former West Germany

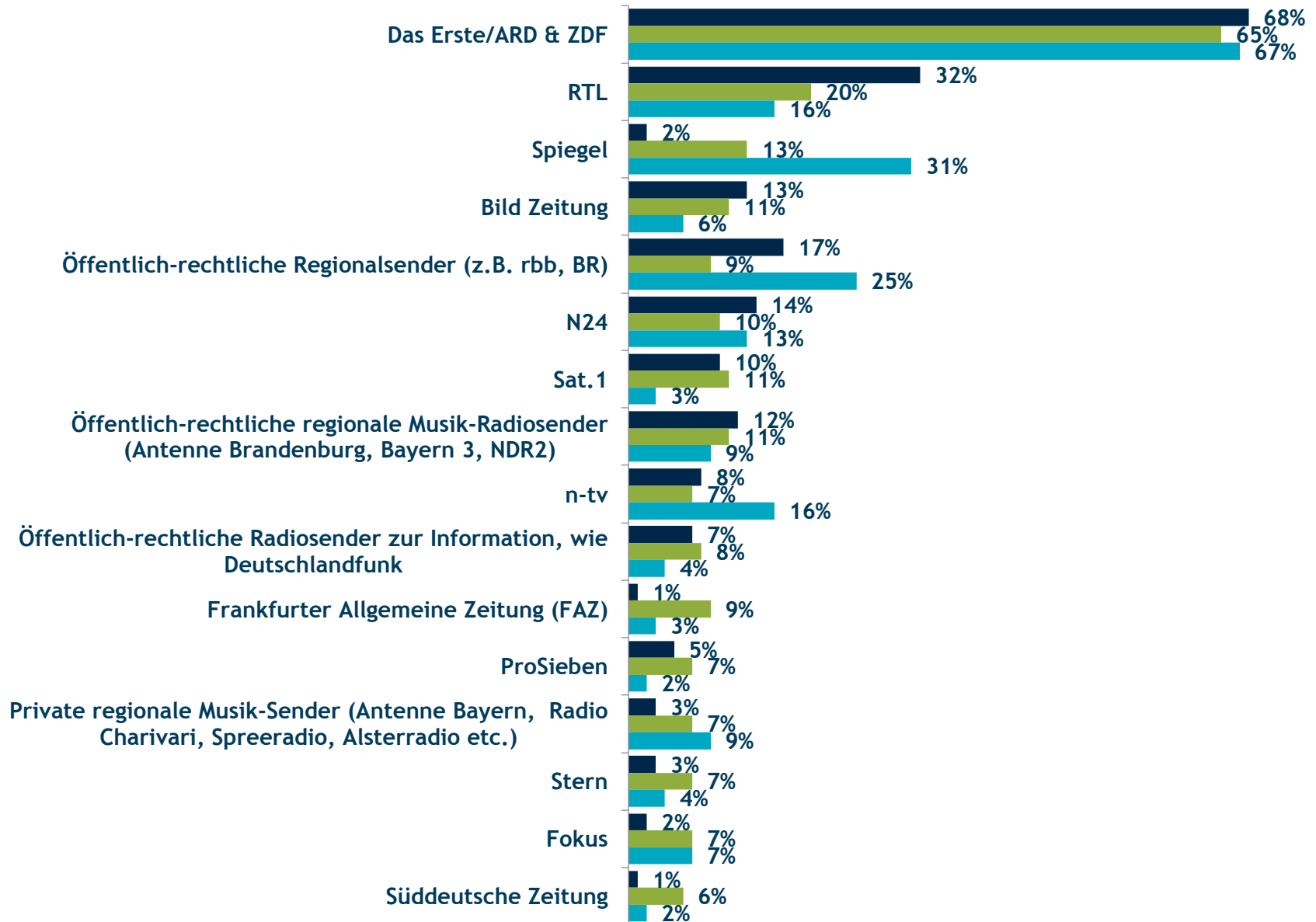


Berlin



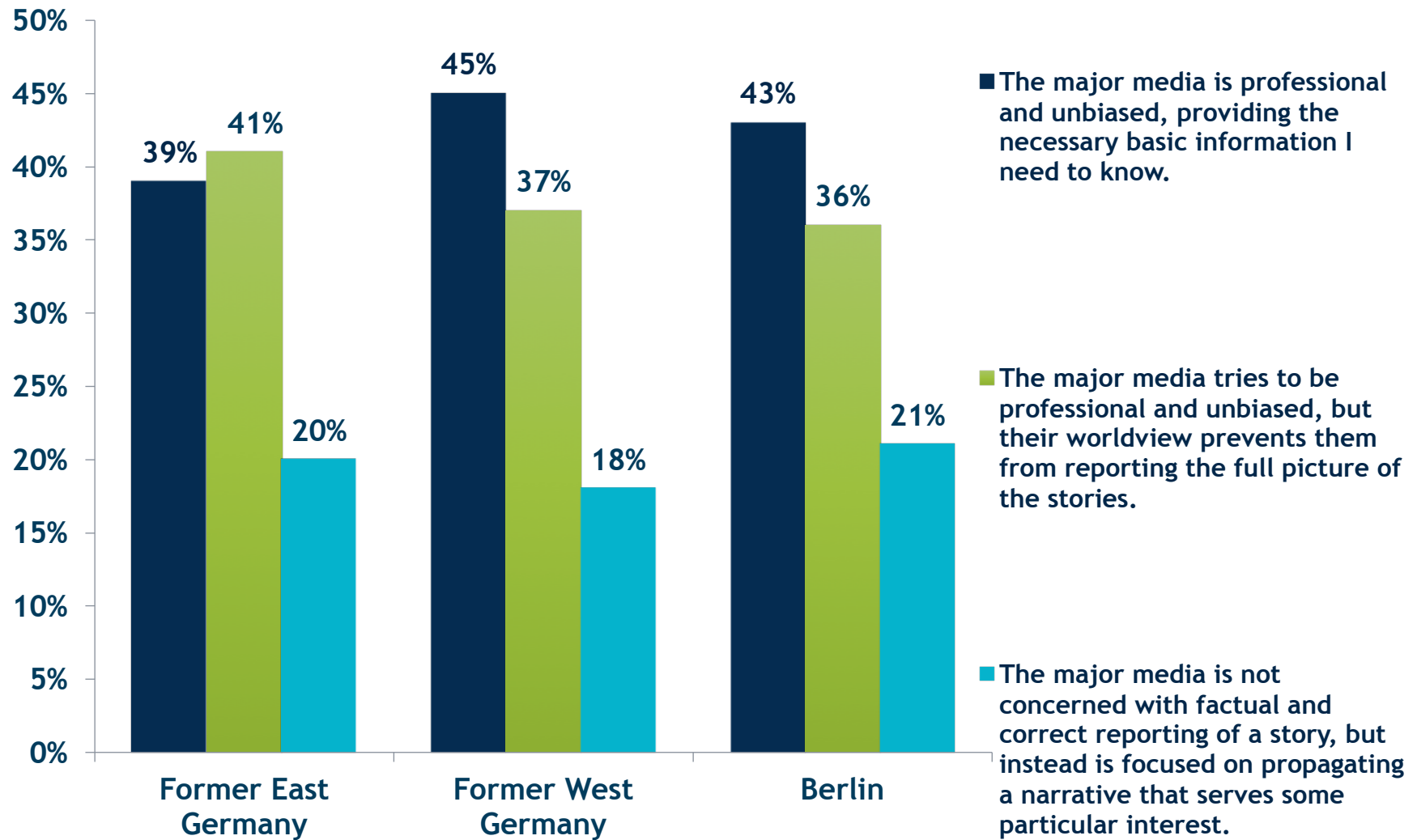
- Every day
- Occasionally - once or twice per week
- Rarely - once or twice per month
- Never

# Which specific media outlet do you trust the most for your news?



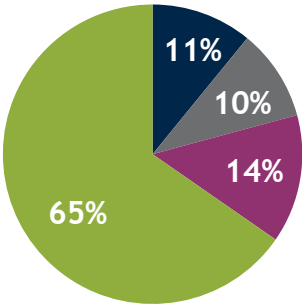
Only answers with percentage >=5 on total are presented

# Thinking about major media broadcasters, newspapers, and similar media outlets, which statement is closest to your opinion?

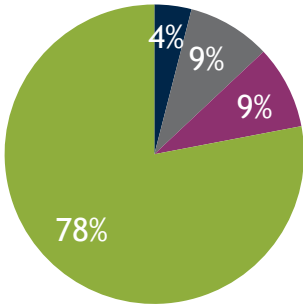


# Do you watch or read other media outlets that often have a different point of view than major media outlets, such as Beispiel Krautreporter, Journalistenwatch e. V., Deutsche Wirtschaftsnachrichten, Junge Freiheit, NEOPresse, Kopp Online, RT Deutschland, Sputnik Deutschland, COMPACT?

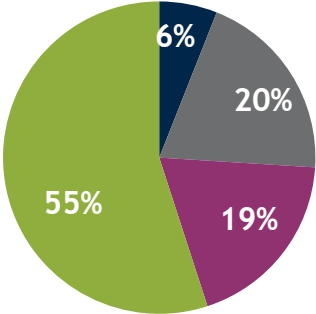
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



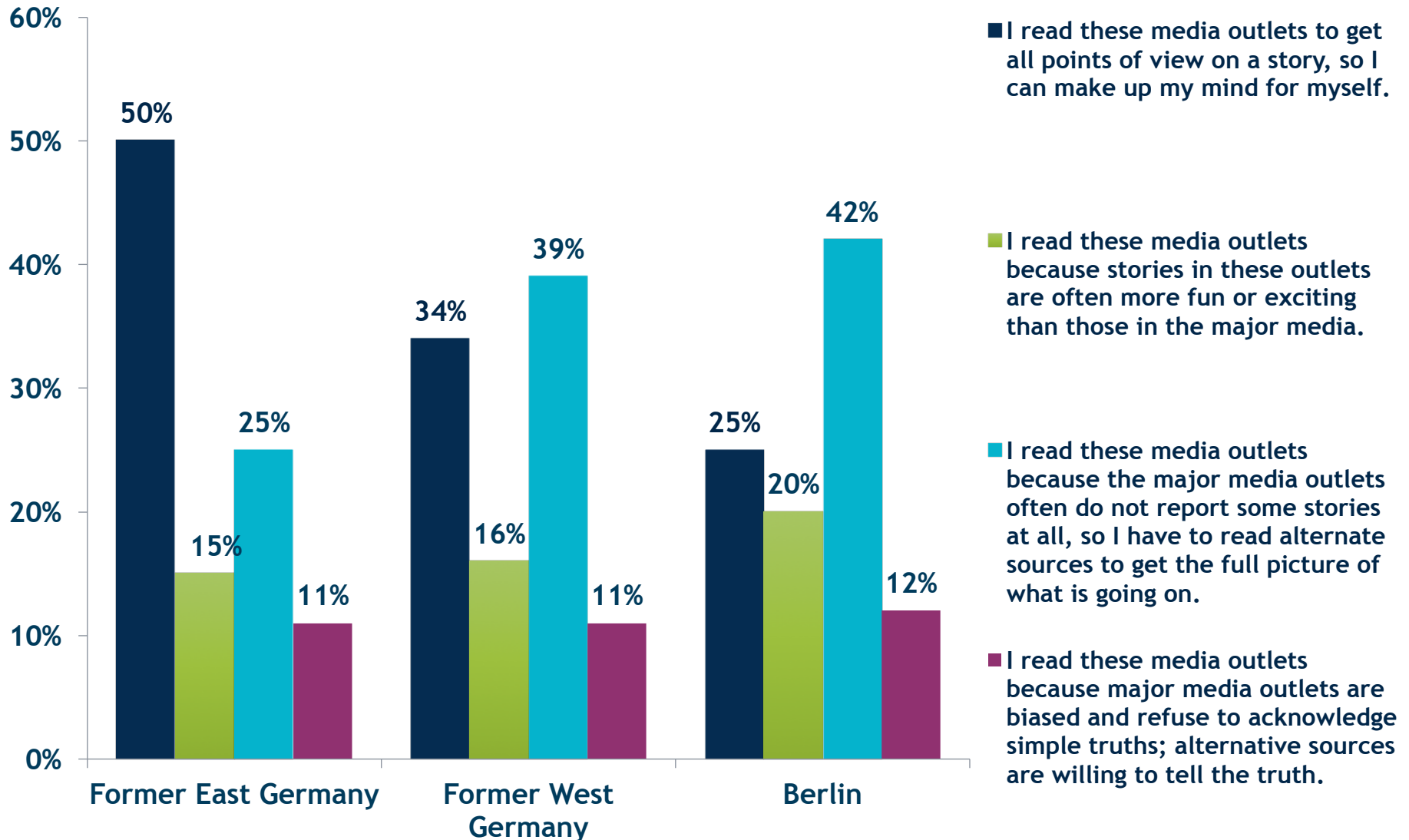
Berlin



- Every day
- Occasionally - once or twice per week
- Rarely - once or twice per month
- Never

# Why do you think it is worthwhile to watch/read these alternative sources of news?

(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets every day, occasionally, or rarely: n=404)

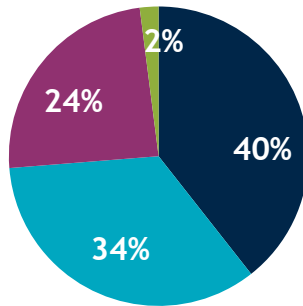


\*Sample sizes, Former East Germany N=95, Former West Germany N=278, Berlin N=31

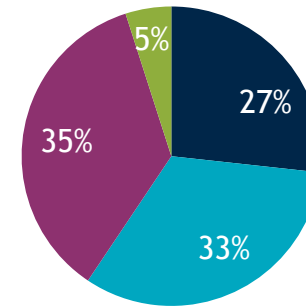
# Some people say that these media outlets are funded by obscure sources related to Russia or the Russian government and are engaged in efforts to mislead people. What is your response to this charge?

(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets every day, occasionally, or rarely: n=404)

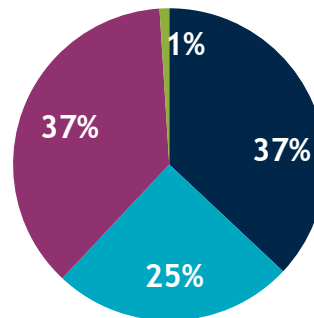
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



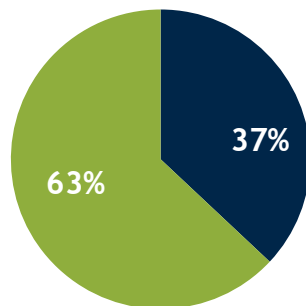
Berlin



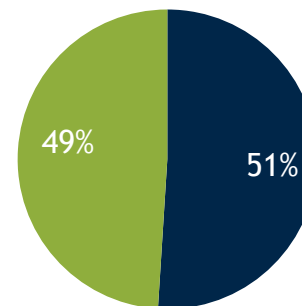
- I don't believe that Russians fund these media - it sounds like a conspiracy theory coming from anti-Russian interests.
- I don't care if Russians fund these media - the main point is that they tell the truth.
- I would be concerned if these media were funded by the Russians, but I have seen no evidence that this is true.
- I believe that the Russians or others are behind these media, and that they are not always truthful. But I still read them because they are fun and interesting.

# Some political observers claim that Russia is actively trying to influence German media stories and the political debate ahead of the upcoming parliamentary elections. What is your opinion about this issue?

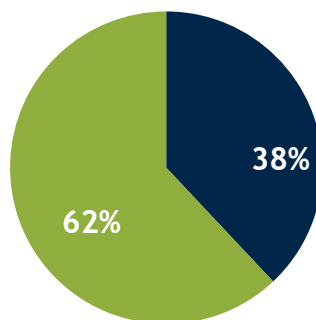
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



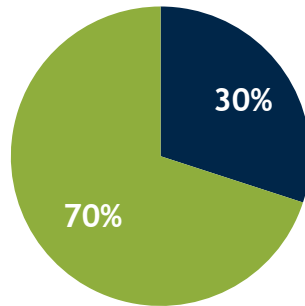
Berlin



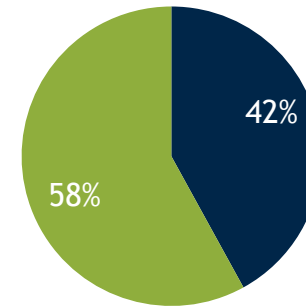
- I trust the analysis of government officials, journalists, scholars, and other experts who say that the Russians are interfering
- I believe that the analysis of government officials, journalists, scholars, and other experts who say that the Russians are interfering is itself a form of misinformation, meant to distract us from other domestic issues.

# If it were proven that the Russians were interfering in the German election, which statement would be closer to your opinion?

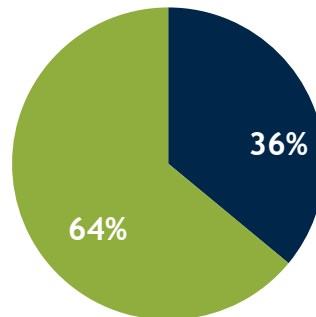
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin

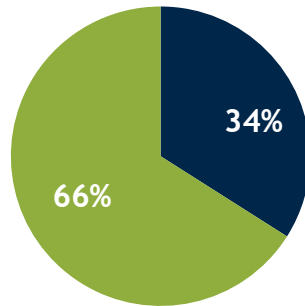


- The Russian interference is a major threat to German democracy, German and European independence, and our way of life.
- German democracy is strong and Russian interference has little measurable effect on German or European elections. It is more of a nuisance than a threat.

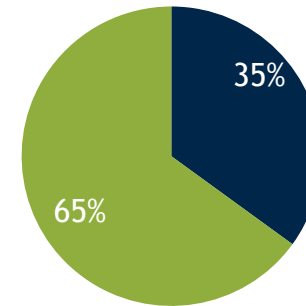


# If it were proven that the Russians were interfering in the German election, which statement would be closer to your opinion?

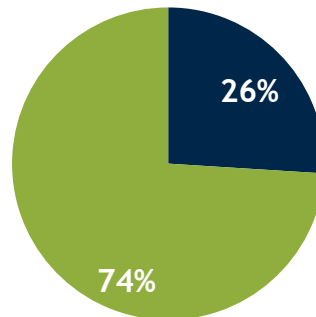
Former East Germany



Former West Germany



Berlin



- Russian interference is an insult to Germany and to Europe, it is an unprecedented violation of our sovereignty.
- Russian interference is similar to the actions of other major powers - Americans, Europeans, Russians and others have always tried to spy on or interfere with neighbors, so we shouldn't be surprised at these latest charges

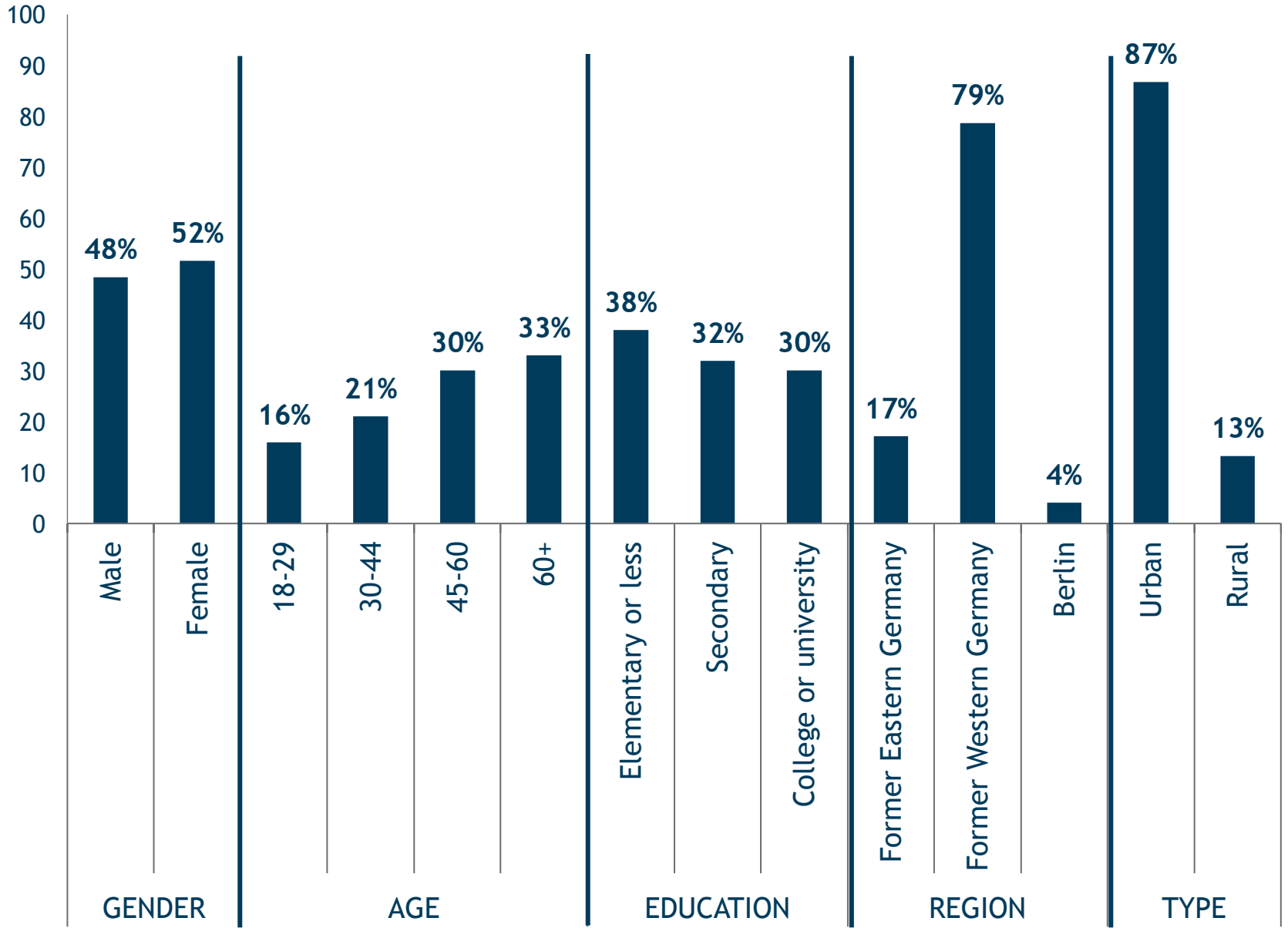


# Demographics

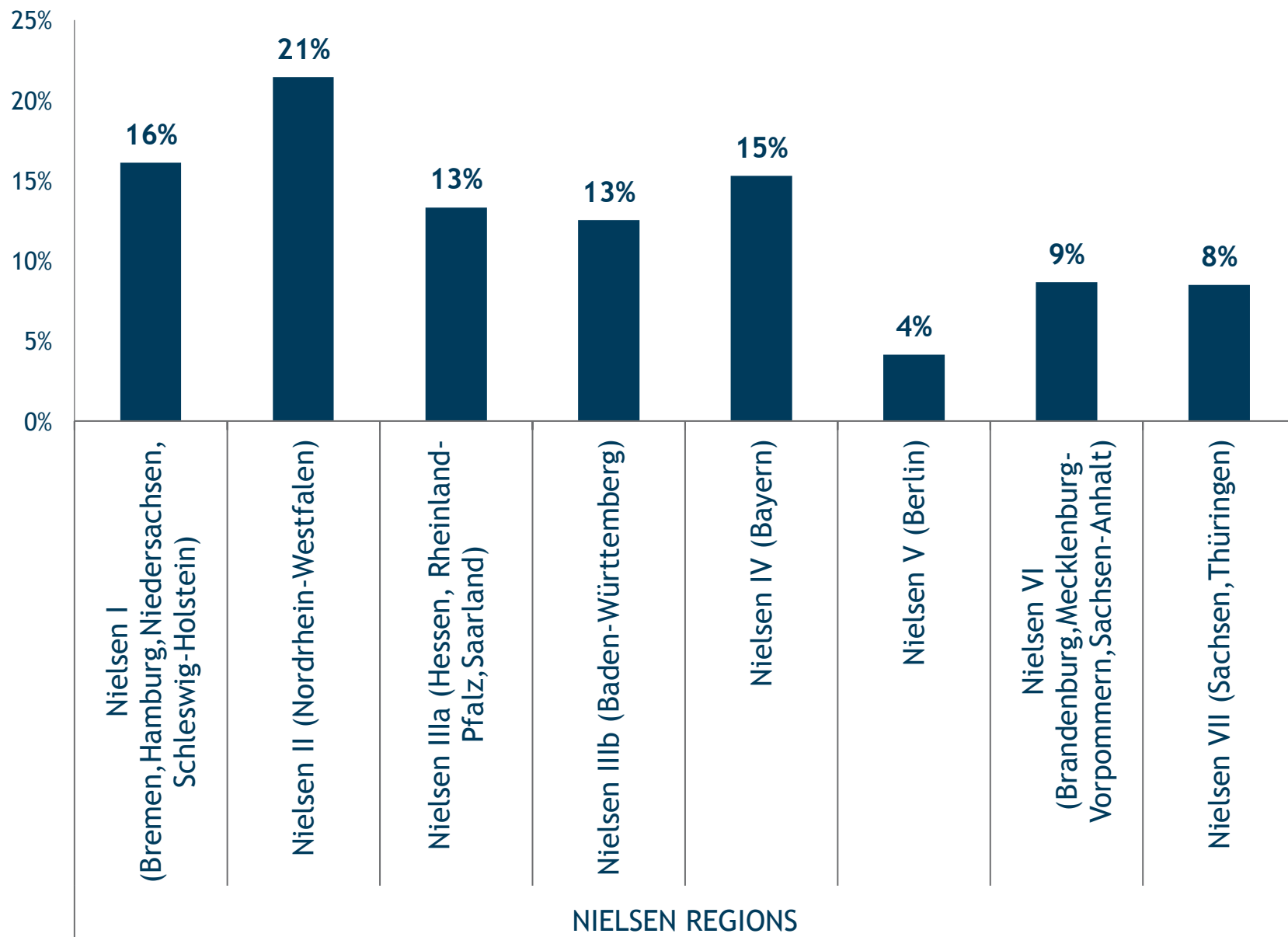
---



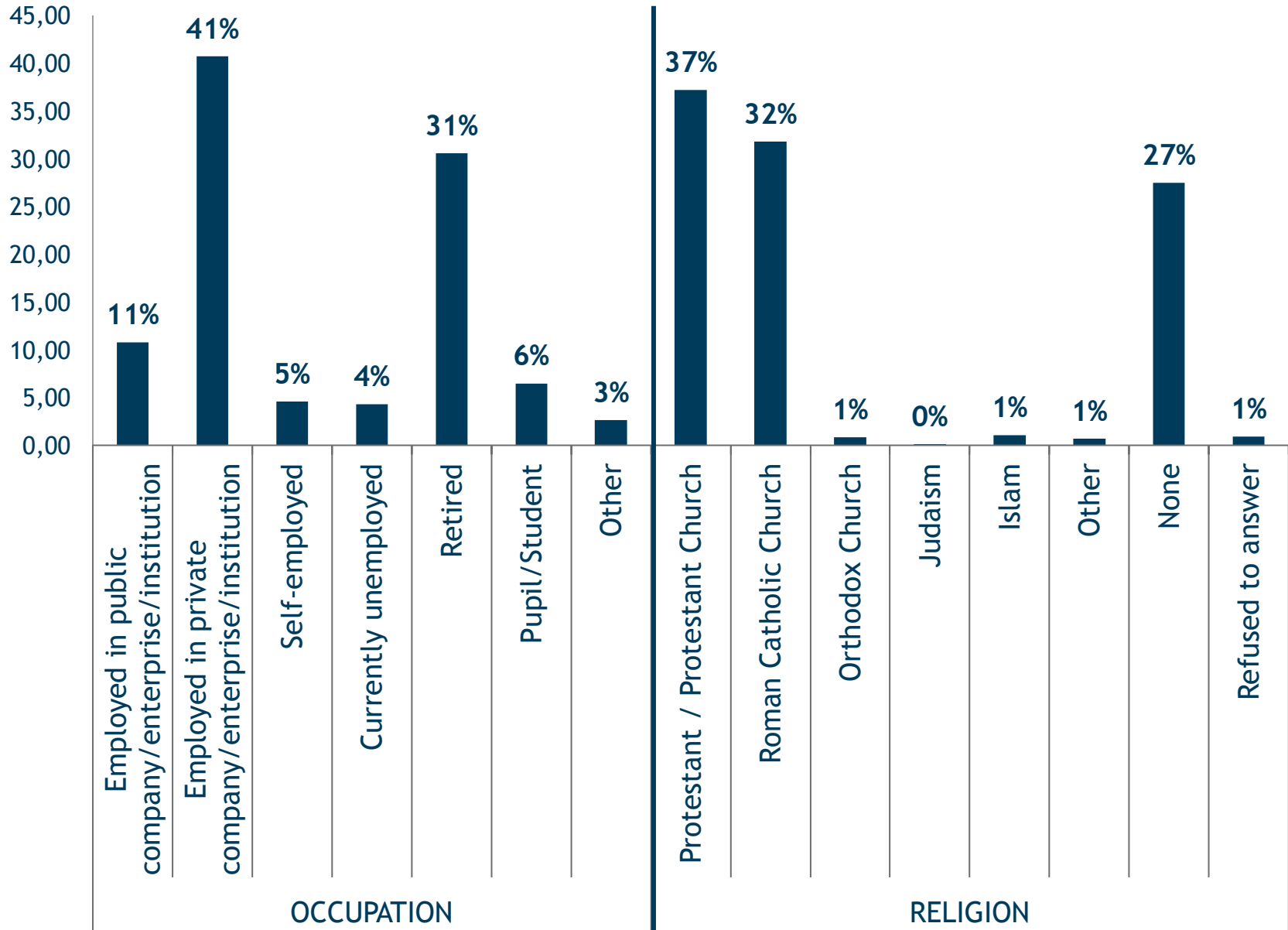
# Demographics



# Demographics



# Demographics



Center for Insights in Survey Research  
202.408.9450 | info@iri.org  
www.IRI.org | @IRI\_Polls



---

A PROJECT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE