CLIMATE Policy & Strategy

Climate Policy & Strategy: Germany Tracking survey, June 2023



What this is based on

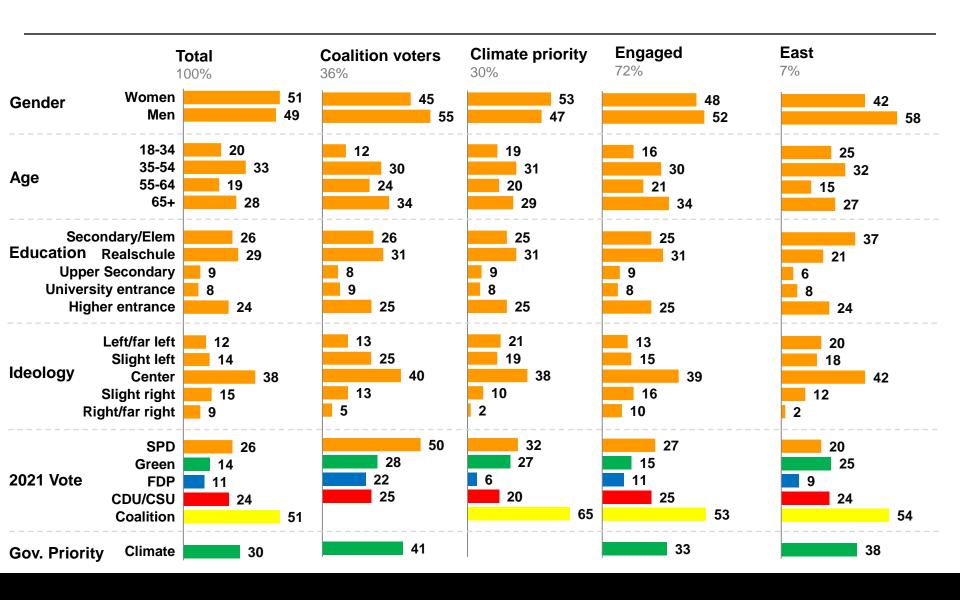
Our poll

- N=2,000 nationally representative survey of Germany
- Fieldwork: 6-22 May, 2023
- Online, 20-minute questionnaire
- Weighted to national statistics on gender, age, region, education, employment and past voting behaviour

Political target groups

Target group	Definition
Total	All respondents – represents national 18+ population of Germany
Engaged	Those very likely to vote in elections (8-10/10) and voted in September 2021 Federal elections
Coalition voters	Voted for one of the coalition parties (SPD, Greens, FDP) in September 2021 Federal elections
Climate priority	Chose climate as a top priority for government
East Germany	Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpoommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thuringen

Political targets:



What you need to know (1/2)

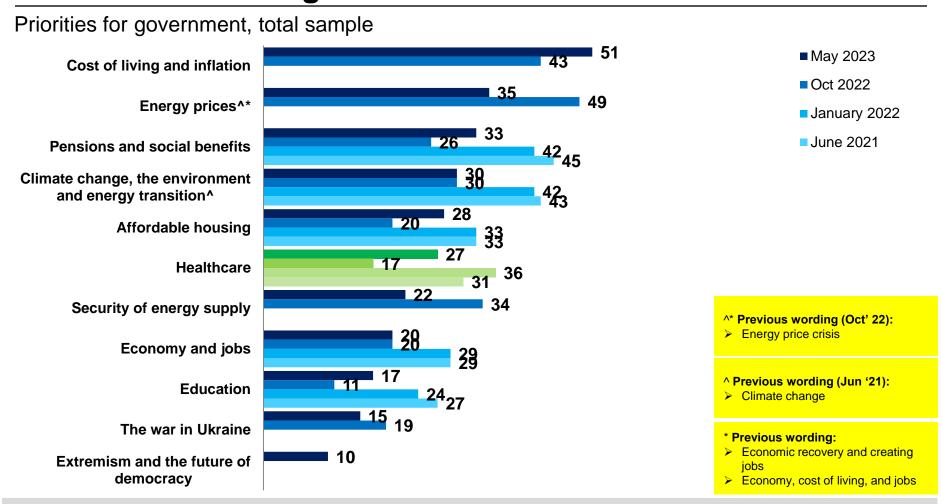
- Solution Sermany elected a coalition at the end of 2021 to proceed on a bold agenda to address climate change. More than any other country, climate change was a top priority equal in importance to pensions and spending for social programs. But external and internal events have turned all of this on its head. And Germany is now extremely polarized, and a plurality wants to to support all domestic energy sources, including nuclear power that was forbidden when we started.
- Every country has been impacted by the extended inflation, high prices and high cost of energy. That has moved climate into the middle of a cluster of very important issues. Big majorities still want bold action, though fewer. Big majorities believe companies should prioritize social issues and climate. The public still wants government to give its biggest support to the low-carbon sector and pharmaceuticals.
- But the cut-off of Russian energy, decision to close nuclear facilities, the auto culture, the spikes in energy costs and attempts to raise the cost of carbon were explosive. Germany stands out with being the only country where profiteering by oil and food companies and the cost of the green transition are the two biggest causes of high prices. Among the most unpopular in Germany are the oil companies, though not as negative in standing as China and Russia. The youth climate movements are viewed negatively.

What you need to know (2/2)

- >>> The coalition is very unpopular, as are the pace of changes it has proposed, taxes and fees on carbon, the cost to households for boilers and loss of household subsidies that were part of the original program. This is a divided coalition that could not deliver on many of the original commitments.
- It has produced a whole new energy framework where the public is extremely supportive of hydrogen power, maintaining nuclear power and natural gas with carbon capture. Nuclear power has continued to edge up as a "sustainable fuel." They are still looking for energy to replace the loss of Russian energy.
- But the government's energy support and price brake are very popular, and it avoided the cutoff of energy. There is also majority support for supporting Ukraine. As a result, Olaf Scholz's approval is at 34 percent and well above the vote of the SPD and that of the CDU/CSU. Description of its program and messages on cost did raise its approval on climate and energy issues and the votes for coalition parties.
- There is broad support with all mainstream parties for addressing climate change. Support for reducing the greenhouse gas targets has dropped 10 points with CDU/CSU voters, however, and enthusiasm for addressing the issue is low in the East. The AfD does see the climate issue as woke.

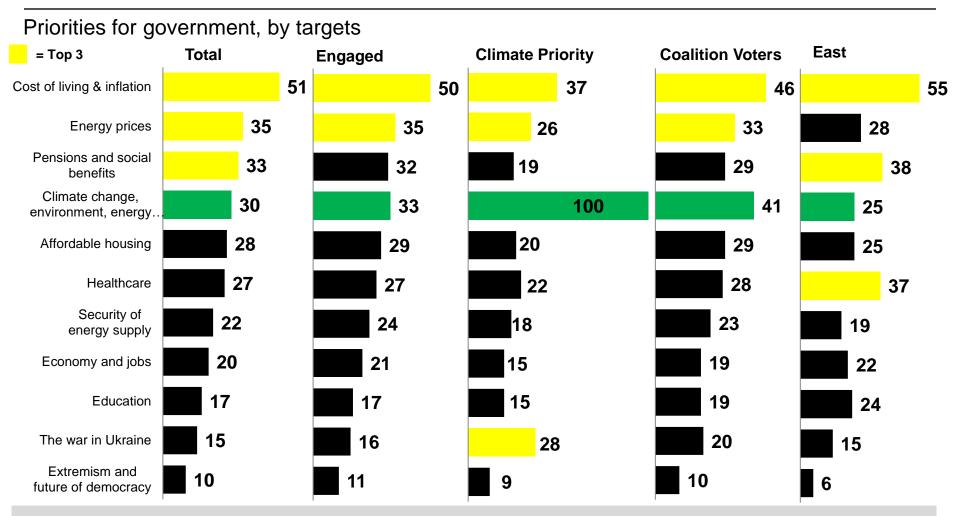


Cost of living, inflation and energy prices top priorities, but then, cluster of pensions and social benefits, climate, affordable housing and health care



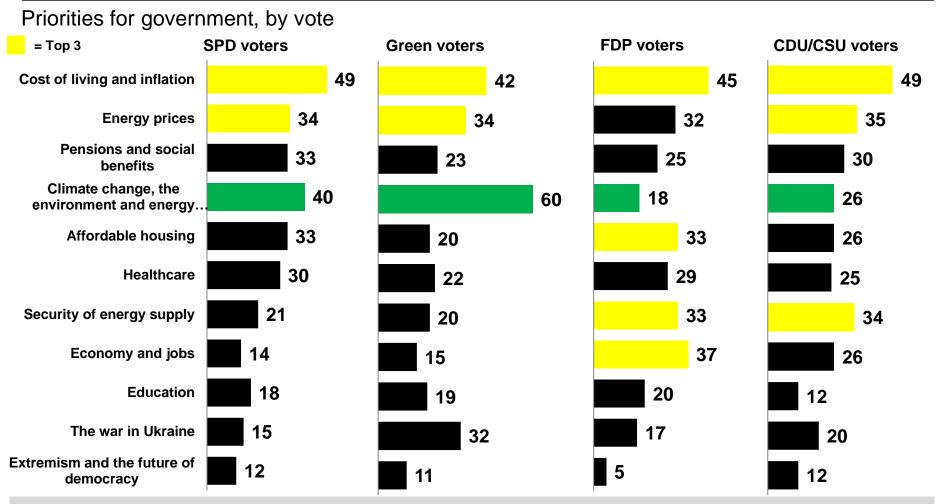
What are the THREE issues you think should be the top priorities for government?

Climate, the environment and energy transition 2nd ranked issue with coalition voters, 3rd for Engaged; for East, it's all costs and inflation, followed by social benefits and health care



What are the THREE issues you think should be the top priorities for government?

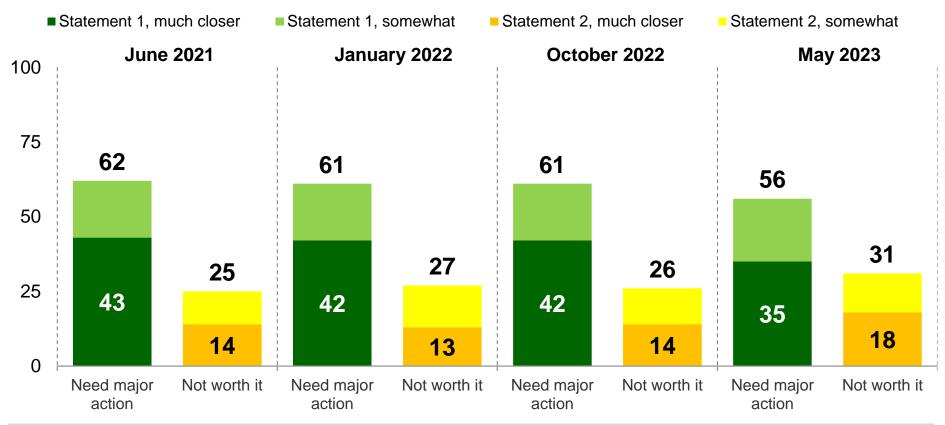
Inflation & cost of living top, while climate important for SPD & Green voters; energy prices key too for all parties; economy & jobs for FDP; social benefits & affordable housing register; and security of energy for CDU/CSU & FDP



What are the THREE issues you think should be the top priorities for government?

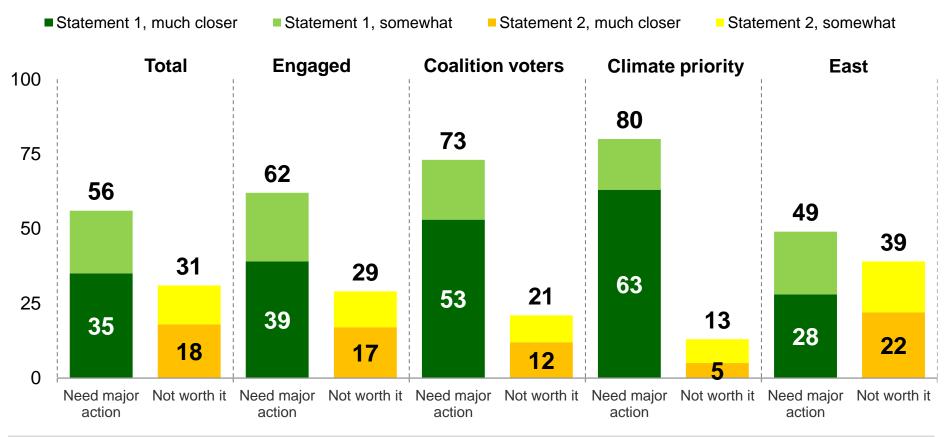
A big, intense majority say climate change a crisis requiring bold action, but big drop in current survey

- 1) Climate change is a threat and we need major action to combat it.
- 2) (2021) The threat of climate change is exaggerated and we are already doing enough.
- 2) (2022-2023) The threat of climate change is exaggerated and the high cost of fixing it may not be worth it.



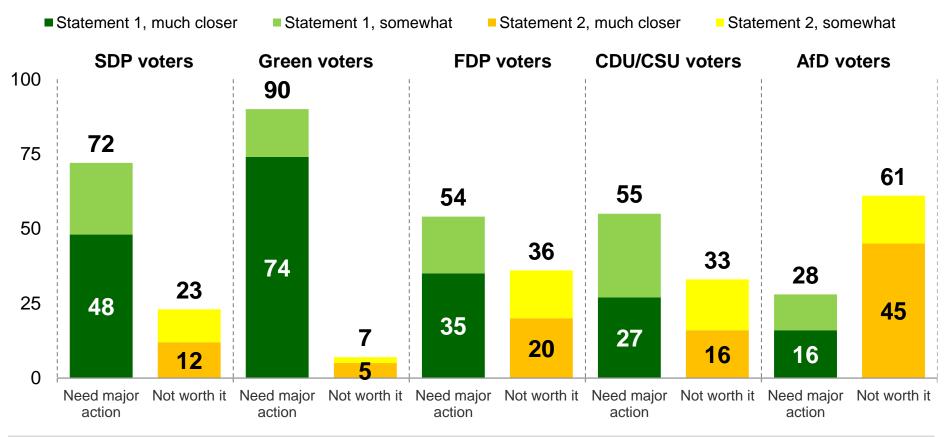
This belief much higher with engaged, coalition voters; plurality in East says need major action

- 1) Climate change is a threat and we need major action to combat it.
- 2) The threat of climate change is exaggerated and the high cost of fixing it may not be worth it.



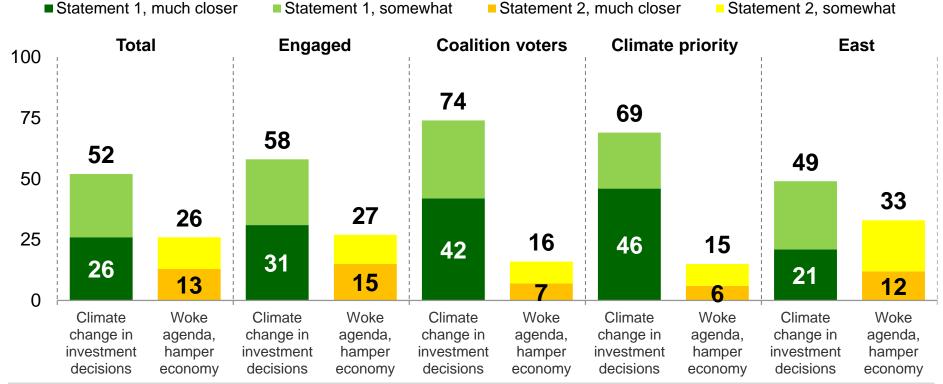
Big majority of all mainstream parties say major action needed; over 60 percent of AfD voters say exaggerated & not worth the cost

- 1) Climate change is a threat and we need major action to combat it.
- 2) The threat of climate change is exaggerated and the high cost of fixing it may not be worth it.



Only a quarter think it is woke for business to address climate change, though a third in the East

- 1) Climate change is a major factor affecting future operations and companies and banks are right to bring it into their investment decisions globally.
- 2) Bringing climate change into investment decisions is about forcing a left wing, woke agenda on companies and banks and will hamper flourishing of the economy and our ability to make correct decisions for Germany.



Majorities believe sound business to factor in environment and society, even as competitors not doing so, with big majority in East too

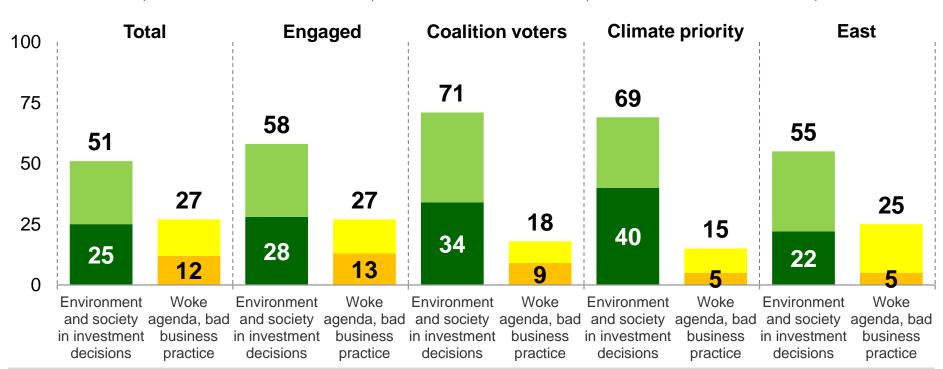
Statement 2, much closer

 It is sound business for companies to factor in their impacts on the environment and society when they make decisions, even if global competitors are not following suit.

■ Statement 1, much closer

2) Bringing the environment and society into investment decisions is about forcing a left wing, woke agenda on companies and banks and is not a sound way to do business.

Statement 2, somewhat

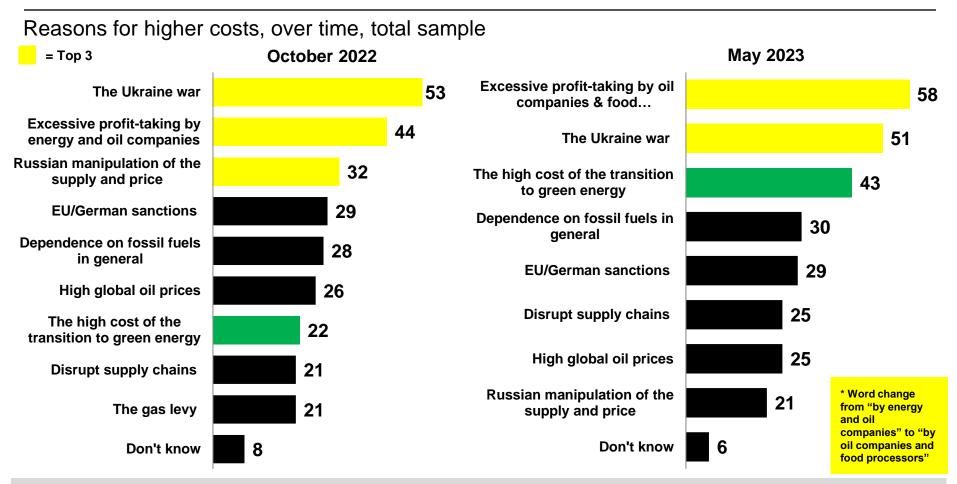


On the following pages are some pairs of statements. For each, please indicate whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right.

Statement 1, somewhat

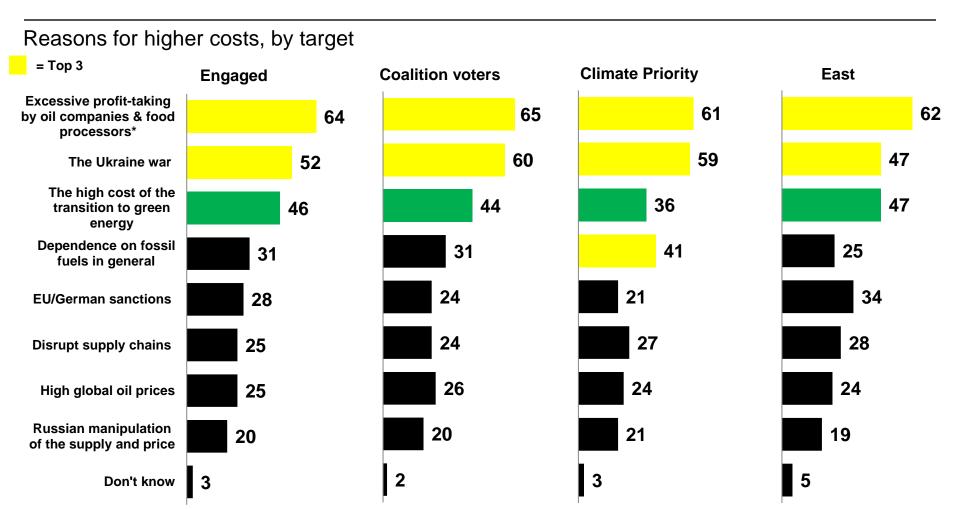


Excessive profit-taking top reasons for higher costs, followed by war. Cost of green transition doubles to 43%.



(2023) As you know, Germany has faced higher prices for things. Please select the THREE most important reasons those are happening from the list below. (2022) You may have noticed increased prices recently, particularly for energy and food. Why do you think energy prices are high today? Please select the THREE most important reasons from the list below.

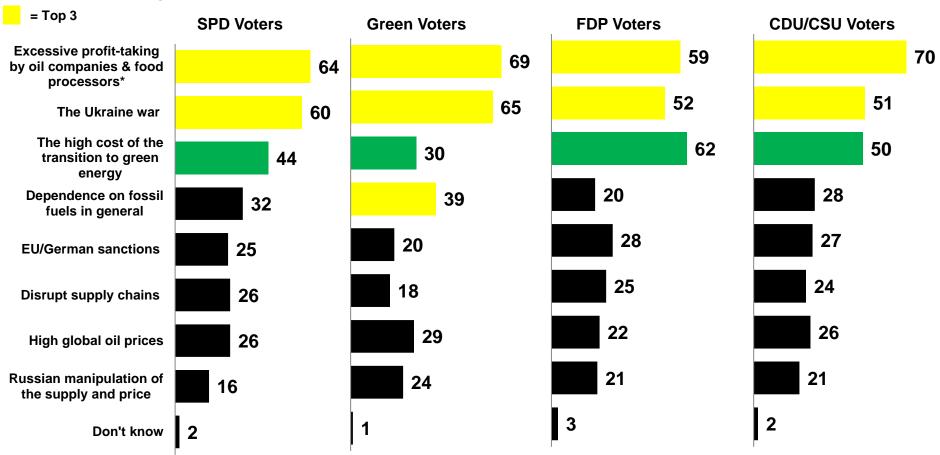
Profiteering by oil and food tops for Engaged & East target, followed by war and green transition



You may have noticed increased prices recently, particularly for energy and food. Why do you think prices are high today? Please select the THREE most important reasons from the list below.

Profiteering near top for all parties; cost of transition highest for FDP but also high for CDU/CSU and SPD voters

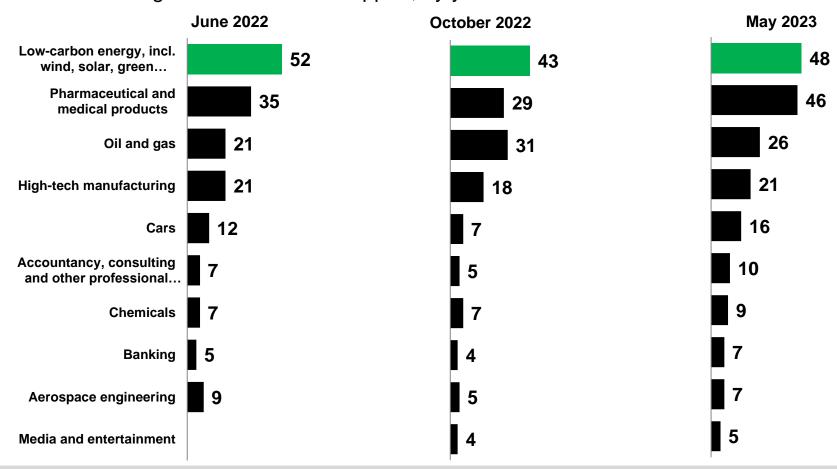
Reasons for higher costs, by vote



You may have noticed increased prices recently, particularly for energy and food. Why do you think prices are high today? Please select the THREE most important reasons from the list below.

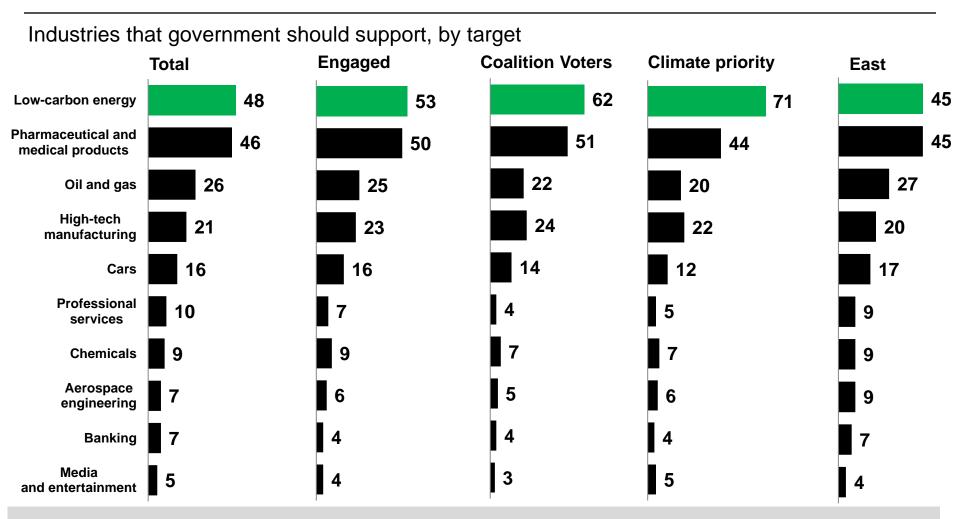
Since October, more Germans want government to focus on low-carbon and pharmaceutical sectors; also, high tech manufacturing and cars too

Industries that government should support, by year



Which TWO of these industries would you MOST want the government to support and champion?

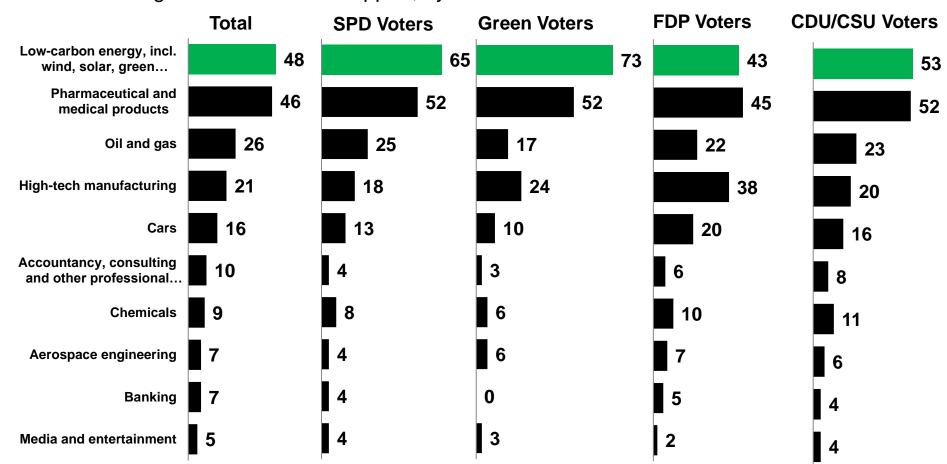
Low-carbon energy & pharmaceuticals top sectors for government to support across all target groups



Which TWO of these industries would you MOST want the government to support and champion?

Low-carbon tops for SPD and Green voters, with low carbon and pharmaceuticals at parity for others

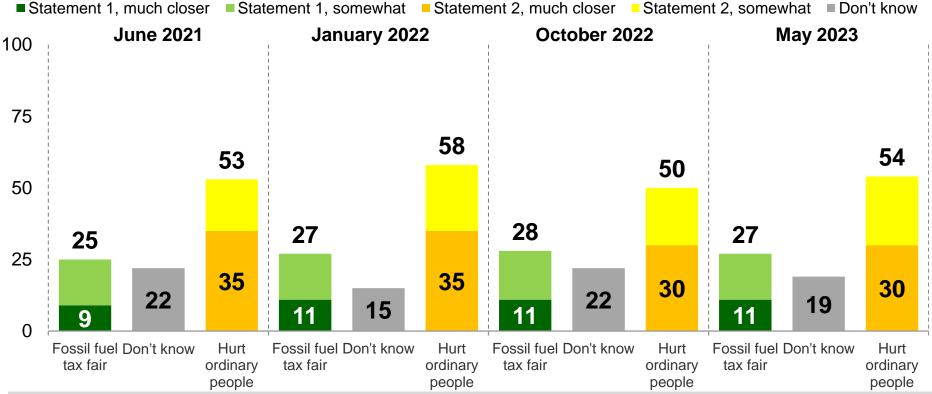
Industries that government should support, by vote



Which TWO of these industries would you MOST want the government to support and champion?

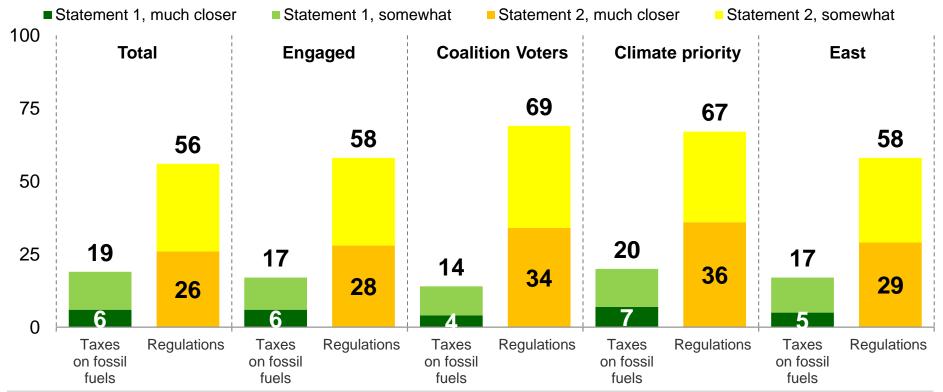
Less than 30 percent see taxing burning of fossil fuels as "fair and efficient" way of changing to low-carbon

- 1) A tax on burning coal, oil and natural gas would be a fair and efficient way of encouraging people to switch to lower-carbon ways of living.
- 2) Even if the government tries to fully refund any tax revenue back to families, a tax on burning coal, oil and natural gas would end up hurting ordinary people.



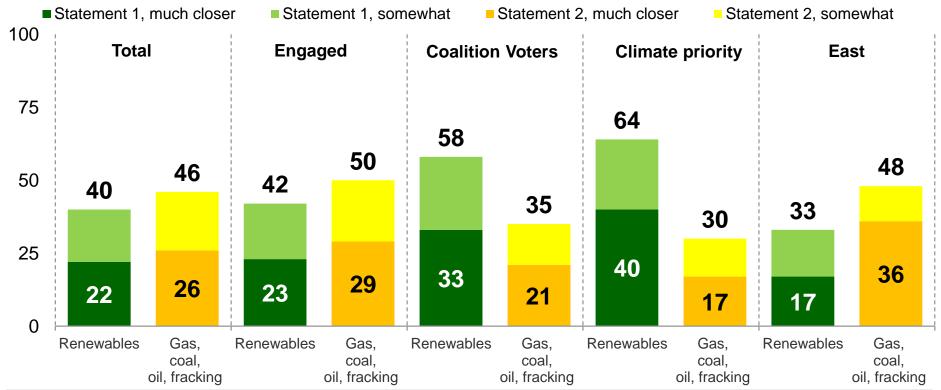
Across the board, people want to see the government setting regulations for energy efficiency instead of putting up taxes on fossil fuels

- 1) The best way to make this transition is to put up taxes and fees on fossil fuels, like oil, natural gas and coal and use the revenue to fund the development of renewables and a sustainable economy.
- 2) The government must now take the lead in creating the framework to address the climate emergency. It should be setting regulations to make everyone energy efficient and invest in the innovative research to enable us to make the transition to a low carbon economy.



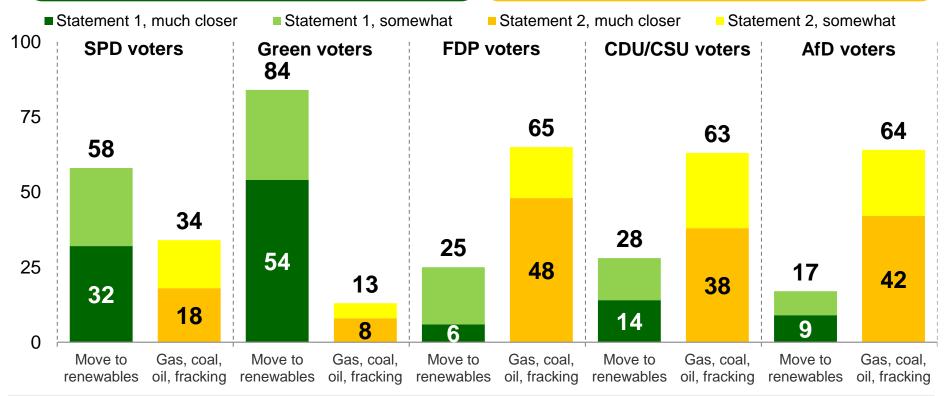
A plurality want the government to exploit all energy sources to achieve energy security; strong with Engaged and in the East

- 1) With our stopping energy imports from Russia, we should increase efforts to move quickly to renewable power that addresses climate change and doesn't have to be imported from unstable countries.
- 2) With our stopping energy imports from Russia, we should exploit our domestic natural gas, coal and nuclear energy resources as well as renewables to achieve energy security

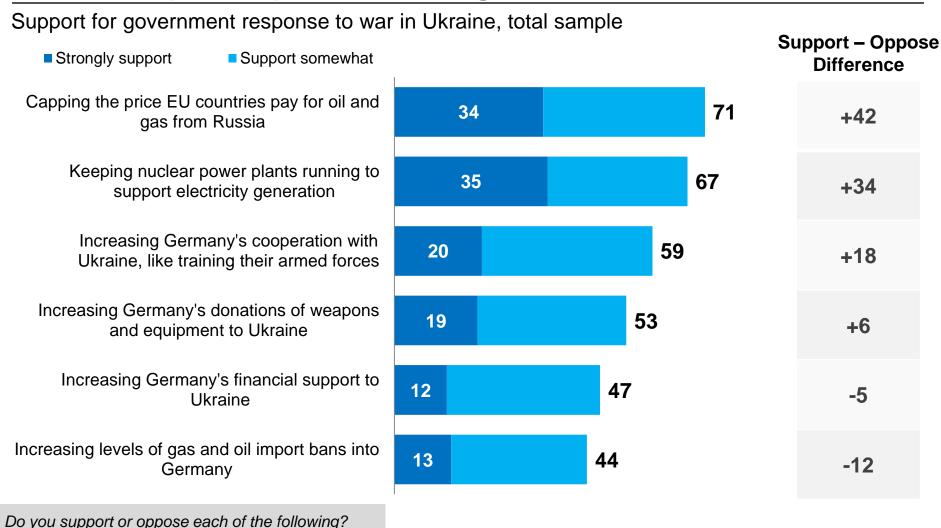


Polarized opinions amongst parties: SPD and Green voters support efforts to move to renewable power; FDP, CDU & AfD voters support exploiting domestic energy

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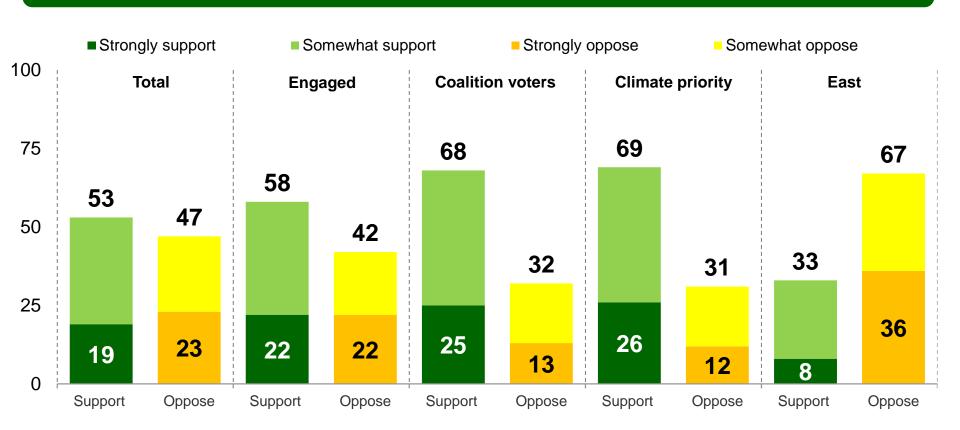


Majorities strongly support capping how much countries can pay for Russian oil & gas and keeping nuclear power plants running



Majority of target groups support increasing Germany's donations of weapons to Ukraine, but two thirds in East oppose

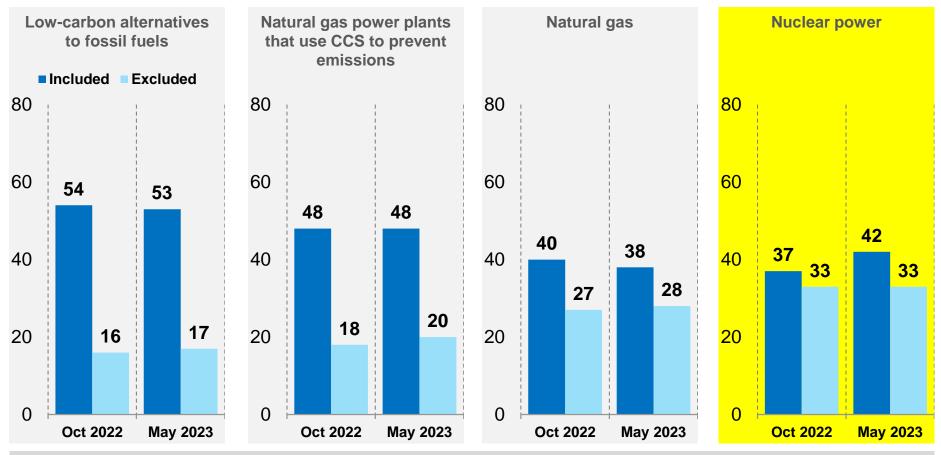
Increasing Germany's donations of weapons and equipment to Ukraine.



Do you support or oppose each of the following?

Acceptance of nuclear power as a "sustainable investment" has risen since October; natural gas power with carbon capture included

What should be included in definition of "sustainable investments", total sample



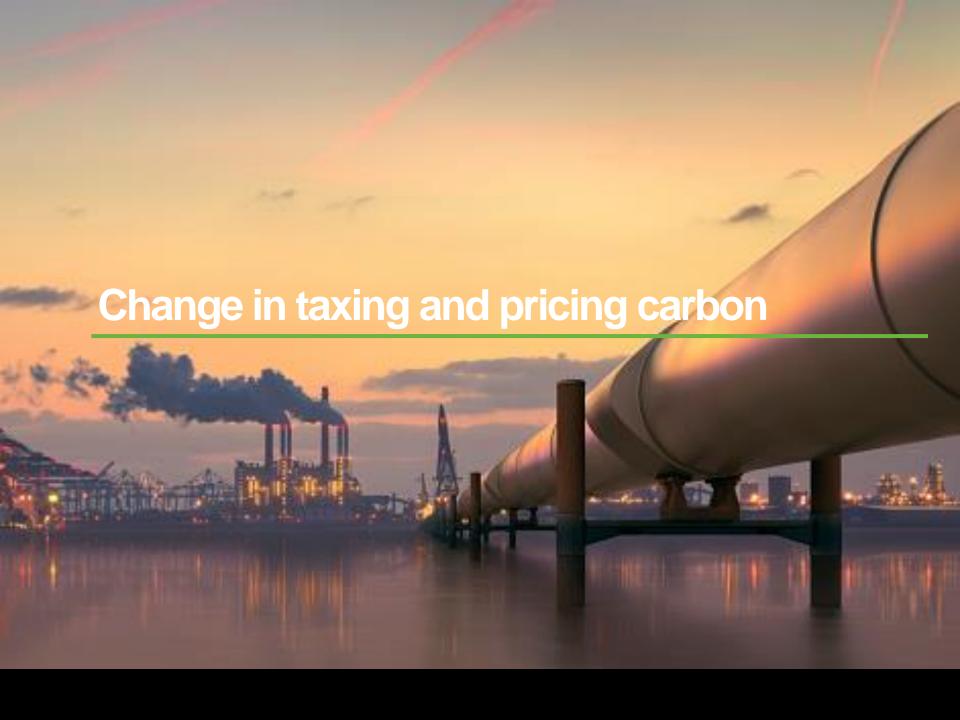
The European Union is making rules on the type of investments that are considered sustainable. For each of the following, do you think Germany should propose they are INCLUDED in the list of sustainable investments, or EXCLUDED?

Public does not think enough is being done to punish Russia or to find new energy sources to replace Russian gas

Reactions to German response to war in Ukraine, total sample

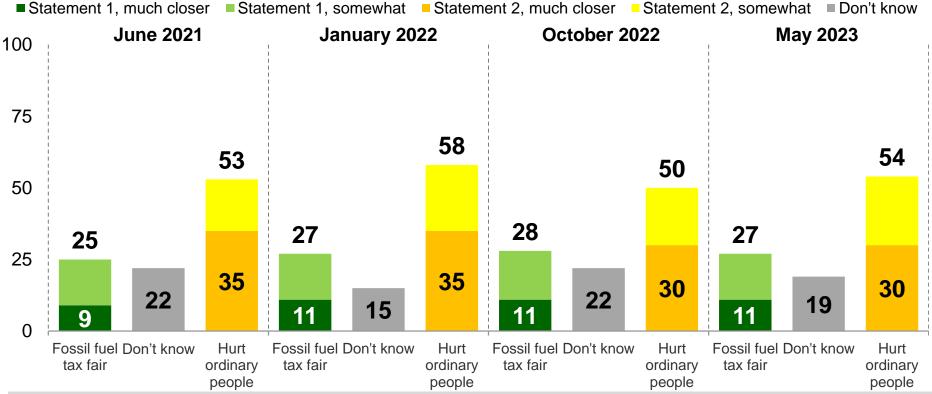


Do you think the German government has done too much, too little, or about the right amount on each of the following?



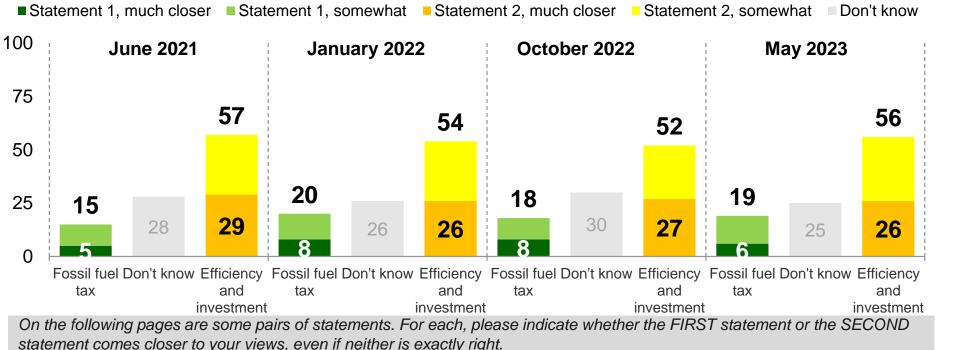
Less than 30 percent see taxing burning of fossil fuels as "fair and efficient" way of changing to low-carbon

- 1) A tax on burning coal, oil and natural gas would be a fair and efficient way of encouraging people to switch to lower-carbon ways of living.
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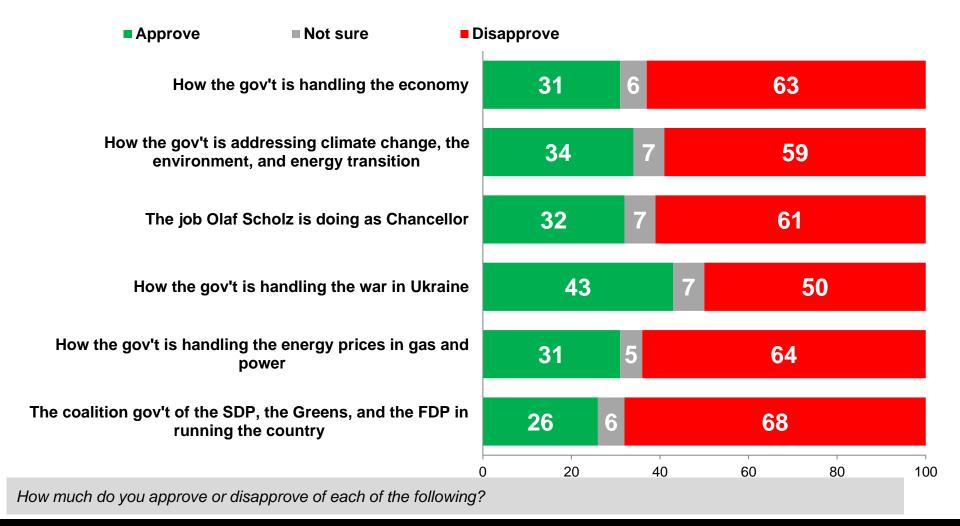
Only one in five for putting up taxes on fossil fuels to fund transition, while clear majority prefer government regulation, though nearly a quarter are unsure

- 1) The best way to make this transition is to put up taxes and fees on fossil fuels, like oil, natural gas and coal and use the revenue to fund the development of renewables and a sustainable economy.
- 2) The government must now do much more to address climate change. It should be setting regulations to make everyone energy efficient and invest in the innovative research to enable us to make the transition to a low carbon economy.
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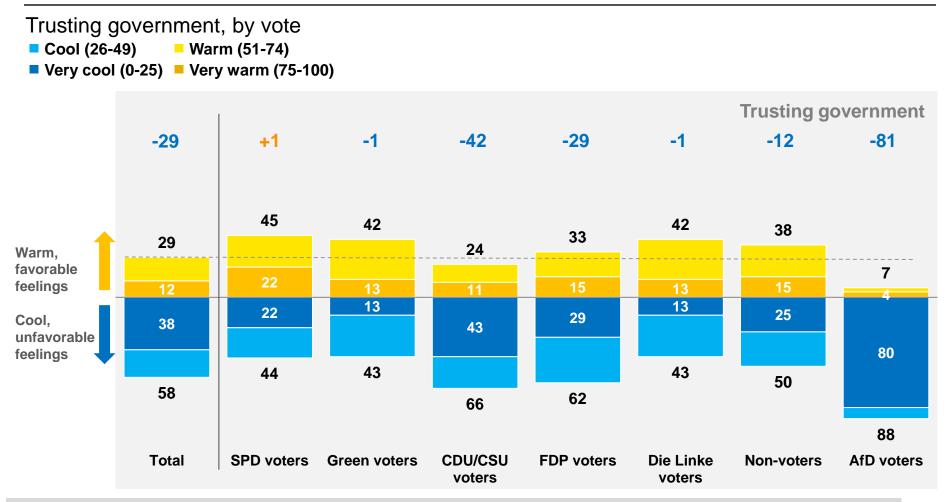




Scholz's overall approval rating at 32% is way above the SPD vote; coalition approval well below combined vote of coalition



The backdrop is almost 60% distrust of government, high with CDU and AfD voters; defining for AfD

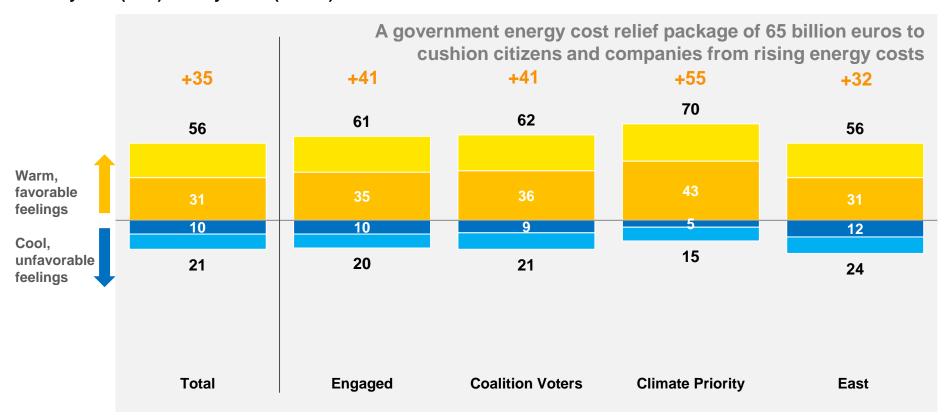


Please rate your feelings toward some people, organisations and activities, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

The government's energy relief package gets broad and deep support

Feelings toward government energy cost relief package, by target

- Cool (26-49) Warm (51-74)
- Very cool (0-25) Very warm (75-100)

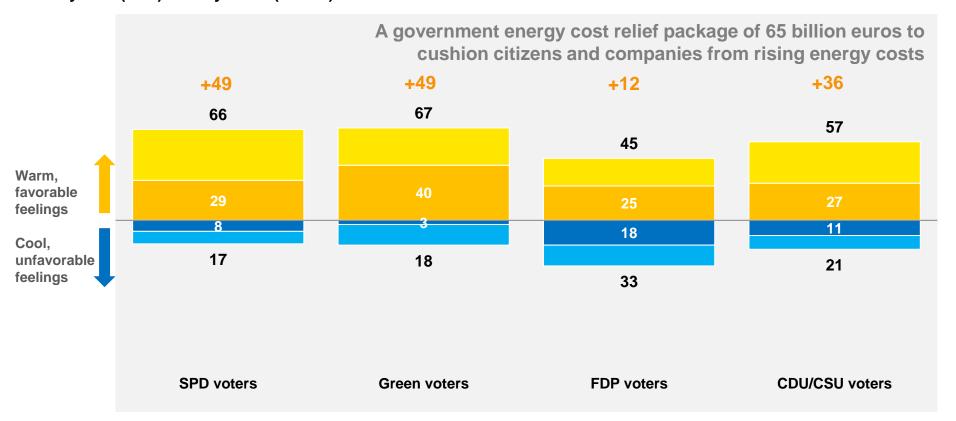


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Center-right voters strongly support government relief package too; stronger than FDP

Feelings toward government energy cost relief package, by vote

- Cool (26-49)
 Warm (51-74)
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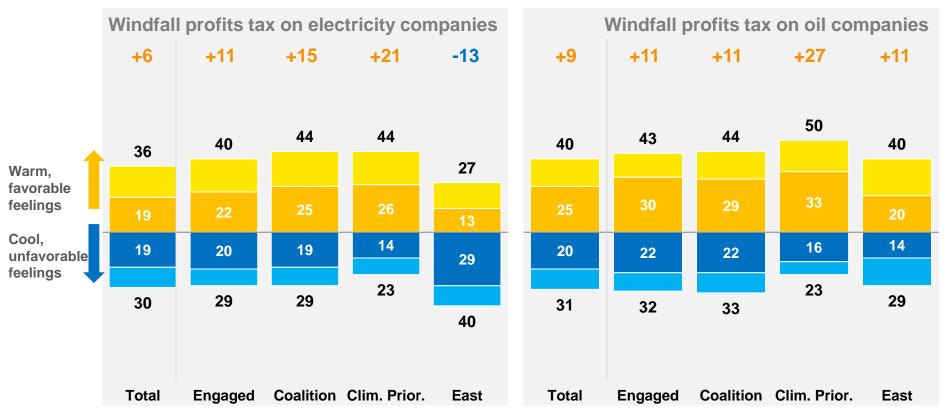


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Pluralities support windfall profit tax on electricity companies & oil companies, but support not that strong

Feelings toward windfall taxes, by target

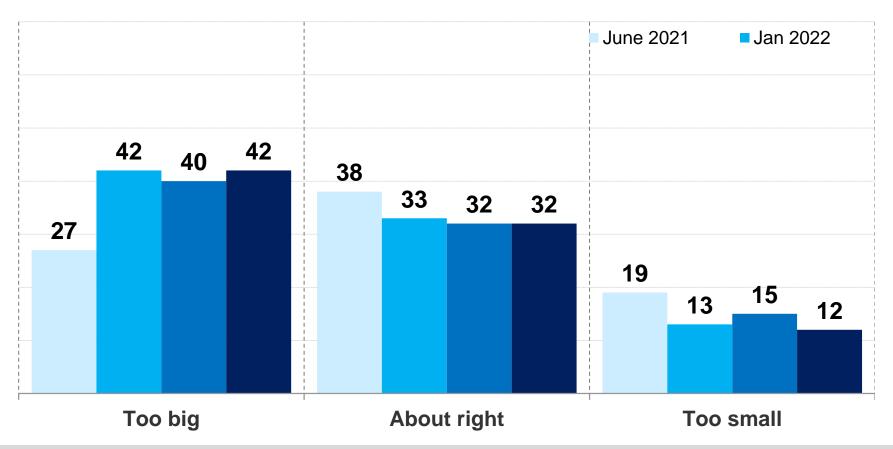
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Public views of government Greenhouse Gas reduction targets amazingly stable, given events

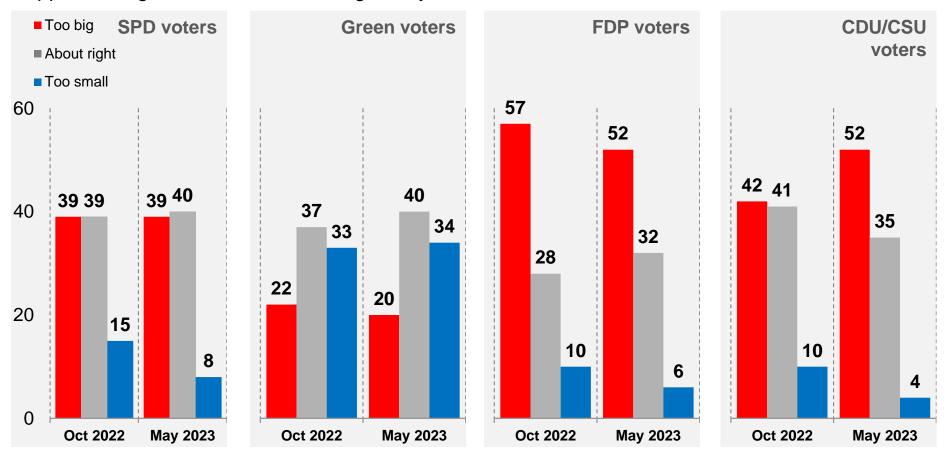
Approval of government climate targets, total sample



What do you think about the new target of a 65 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, compared to their level in 1990, by 2030? Is the cut in emissions too big, about right, or too small?

Coalition approval of climate targets steady since October, but big rise in CDU/CSU voters believing too high

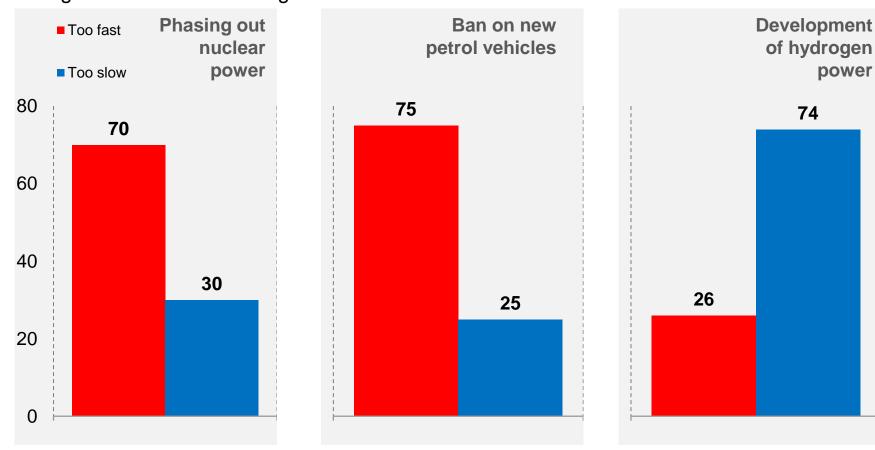
Approval of government climate targets, by vote



What do you think about the new target of a 65 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, compared to their level in 1990, by 2030? Is the cut in emissions too big, about right, or too small?

Phase out of nuclear power & bans on new petrol vehicles happening too fast. Germans want more development of hydrogen power

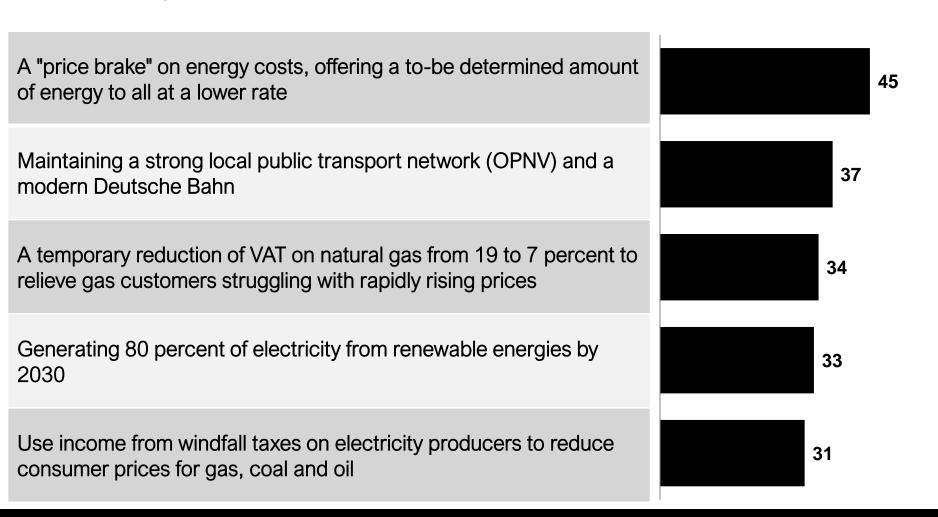
Speed of government climate targets



What do you think about the new target of a 65 percent reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, compared to their level in 1990, by 2030? Is the cut in emissions too big, about right, or too small?

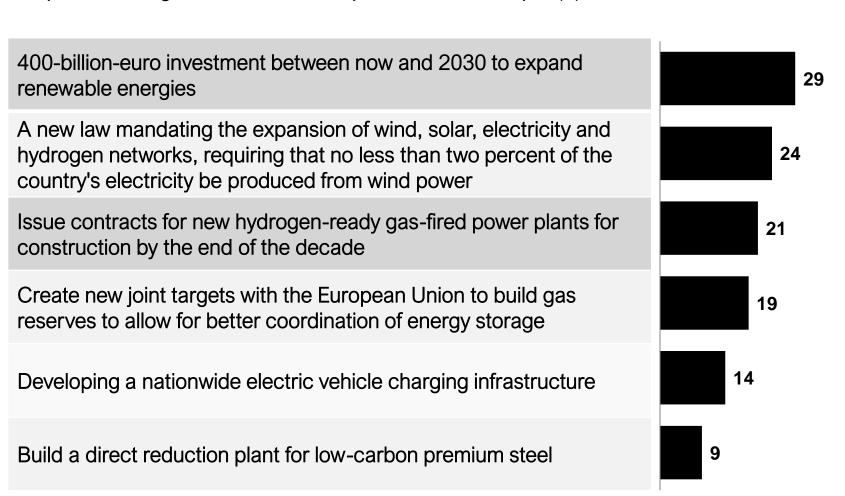
Most important government policies are price brake on energy costs; also strong was maintaining local transport network, reduction of VAT and 80% electricity from renewables

Importance of government climate policies, total sample (1)

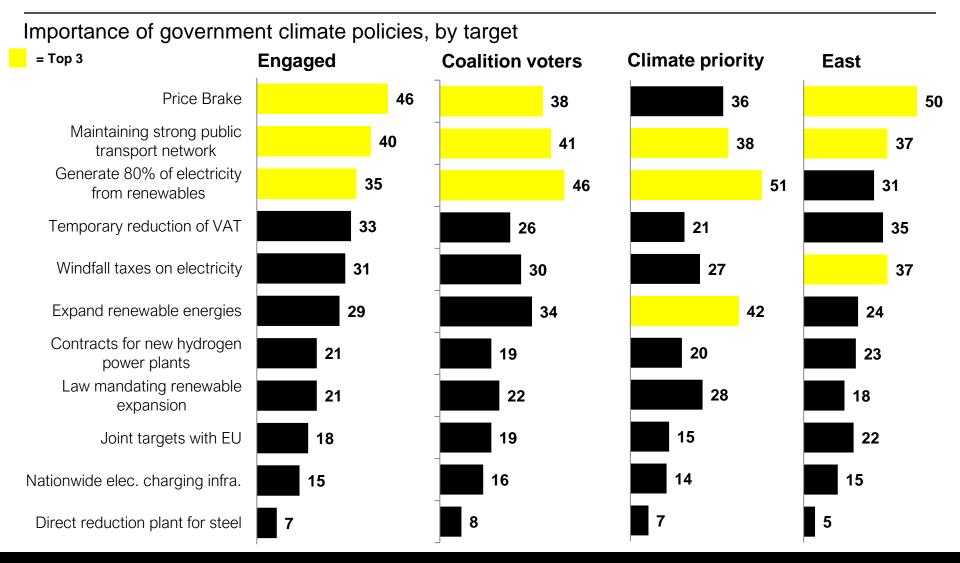


Lowest support for building a direct reduction plan for low-carbon premium steel

Importance of government climate policies, total sample (2)

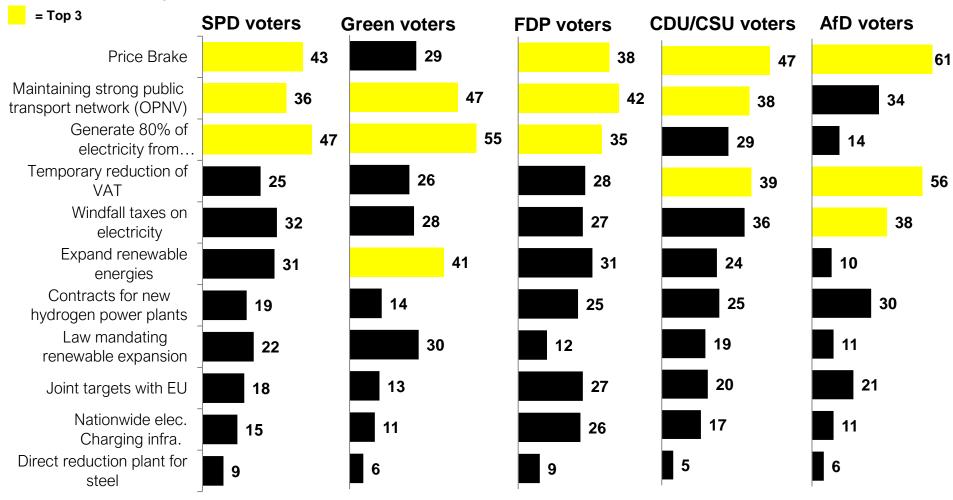


For Engaged & East, price brake and support for public transport top climate policy; for coalition voter and climate priority, it is 80% of electricity from renewables.



Priorities differ across political spectrum; 80% renewable electricity important for SDP and Green voters, maintaining OPNV for FDP voters; price brake for CDU and AfD voters

Importance of government climate policies, by vote

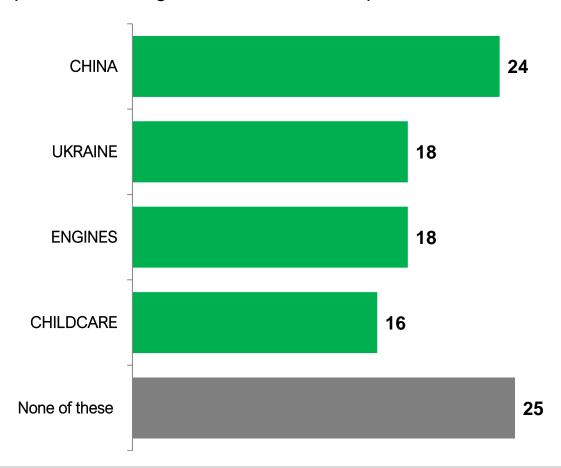


Green Party critiques of current government: full wording

CHINA	The SPD is endangering our economy by tying Germany closely to China, the same mistake they made with Russia. The Chancellor's trip to China undermines promises made when forming the coalition government and sows distrust towards Germany among our allies
UKRAINE	Germany's approach to Russian aggression has been hesitant and timid. The Green Party is committed to sending enhanced military assistance, such as tanks, to Ukraine while the SPD continues to over-promise or change their story
ENGINES	The coalition government agreed with the EU to ban new cars with combustion engines from 2035 onward. But the FDP sided with big business to stall this agreement, embarrassing the government and harming Germany's international reputation
CHILDCARE	The Greens are committed to spending 12 billion euros to move social benefit applications online to ease the confusion facing German families. The FDP is blocking this key spending needed to help struggling families

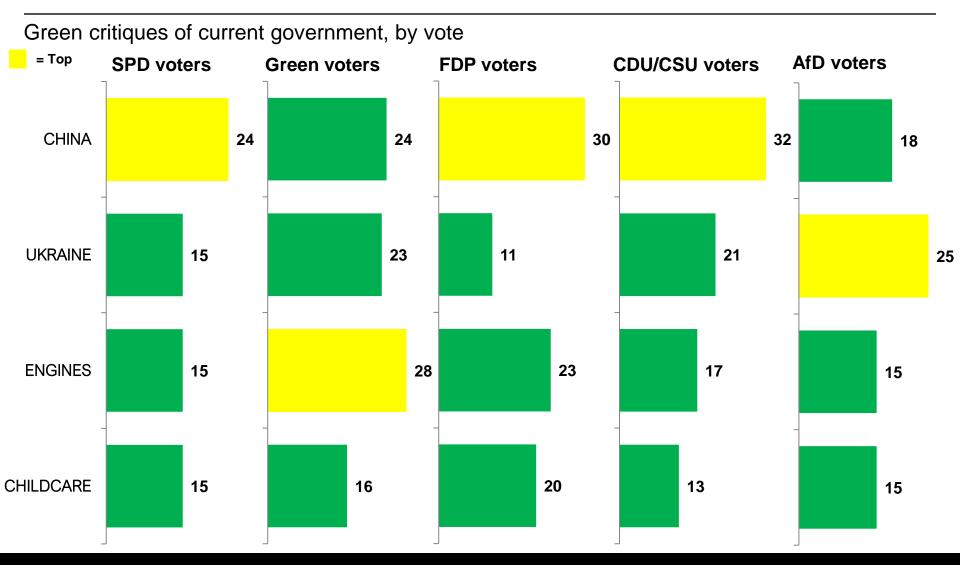
Green critiques fall flat among populace

Green critiques of current government, total sample



Below are some statements from politicians from the Green Party critiquing the current government. Which ONE raises the most doubts to you about the current government?

SPD, FDP, CDU/CSU voters concerned about close ties with China, Green voters concerned with stalling ban on combustion engines; AfD disagree with approach to Russian aggression

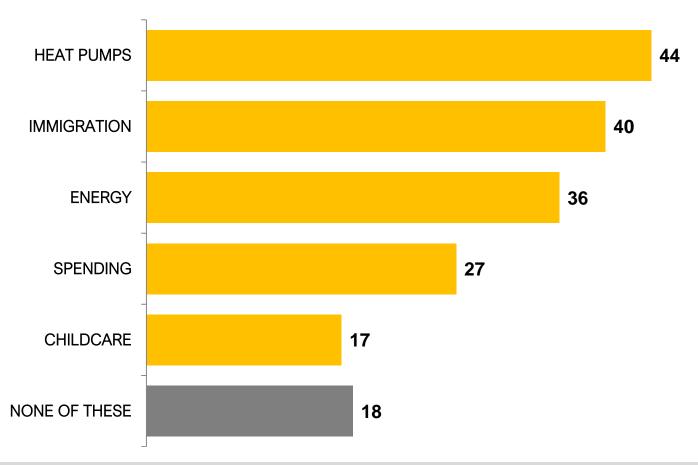


FDP critiques of current government: full wording

HEAT PUMPS	The Greens and SPD want to outlaw heating German homes with gas and oil and switching to alternatives such as heat pumps. These pumps cost between 11,000 and 25,000 euros making it extremely expensive for the average German family to upgrade their homes.
IMMIGRATION	The current government is doing nothing to address Germany's immigration crisis. More than 1,500 illegal migrants are arriving in Germany each day, not including Ukrainian refugees.
ENERGY	Not allowing Germany's nuclear power plants to continue running until 2024 puts our country in a difficult position. Phasing out these plants and not allowing the mining of gas in the North Sea will lead to increased heating and fuel costs for German families.
SPENDING	Since the pandemic, Germany's debt has risen to 2.5 trillion euros after billions went to combating the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Greens and SPD want to continue spending billions of dollars while the FDP are committed to balancing our budget and limiting fresh debt in future budgets.
CHILDCARE	The FDP wants to improve childcare by bundling benefits which would only cost 3 to 4 billion euros. The Greens on the other hand want to continue throwing tens of billions of euros at our problems.

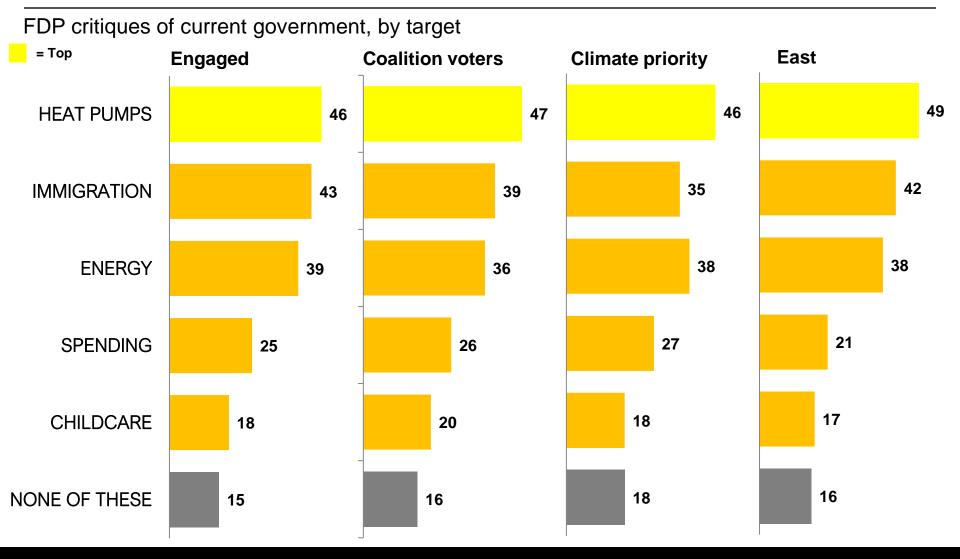
FDP critiques on high cost of heat pumps and not addressing immigration crises are powerful attacks

FDP critiques of current government, total sample

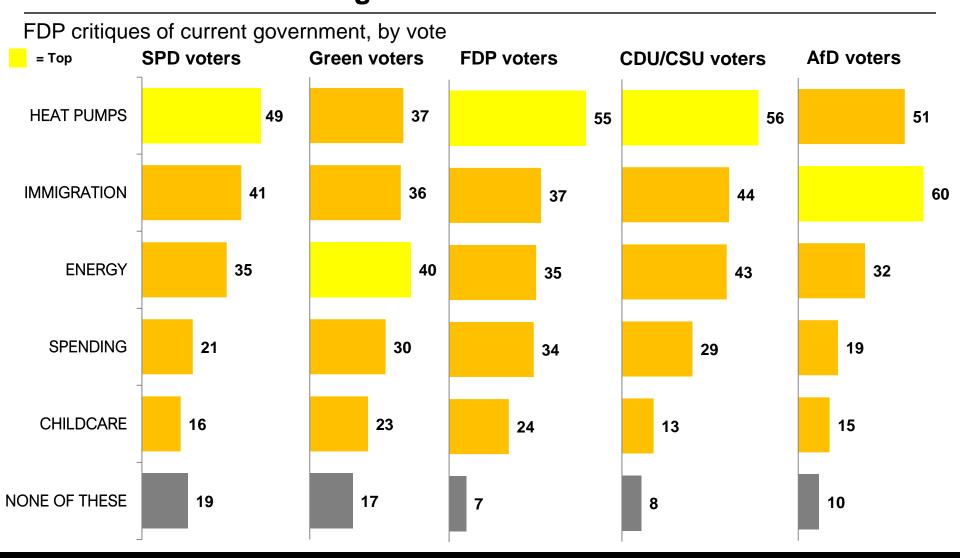


Below are some statements from politicians from the Free Democratic Party (FDP) critiquing the current government. Which TWO raises the most doubts to you about the current government?

Heat pumps and immigration attacks powerful with Engaged and East; heat pumps hits with coalition votes and climate priority



SPD, FDP, CDU/CSU voters concerned with heat pumps, Green voters doubtful about nuclear power; AfD most concerned with immigration



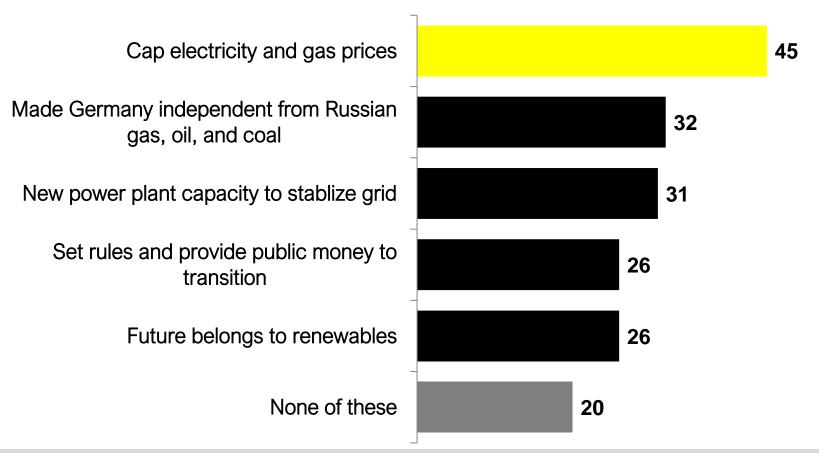


Climate change messages from the government: full wording

COSTS	Energy must remain affordable. In Germany, we decided to cap electricity and gas prices. It will give companies the reliable energy prices and planning certainty needed to invest in Germany's transformation
INDEPENDENT	Within months, Germany made itself largely independent from Russian gas, oil, and coal. Well-filled storage facilities, improved energy efficiency, the readiness of our businesses and citizens to save energy, and new partnerships - in Asia, Africa, and America - have helped us secure our energy supply through winter is secure
BACK UP	As we transition to renewable energy, we must reinforce our systems during times of little wind and sun. This means new power plant capacity to provide flexibility to the energy system and stabilize the grid for all weather, and we must do this before the demand is there
FINANCE	We will succeed in becoming climate-neutral while also strengthening Germany as an industrial location. But this enormous commitment on the part of companies, their employees and the state, which sets rules and provides public money in the right places
RENEWABLES	The war in Ukraine has made it crystal clear that the future belongs solely to renewables for cost, environmental, and security reasons, and because in the long run, renewables promise the safest and most independent route to energy security

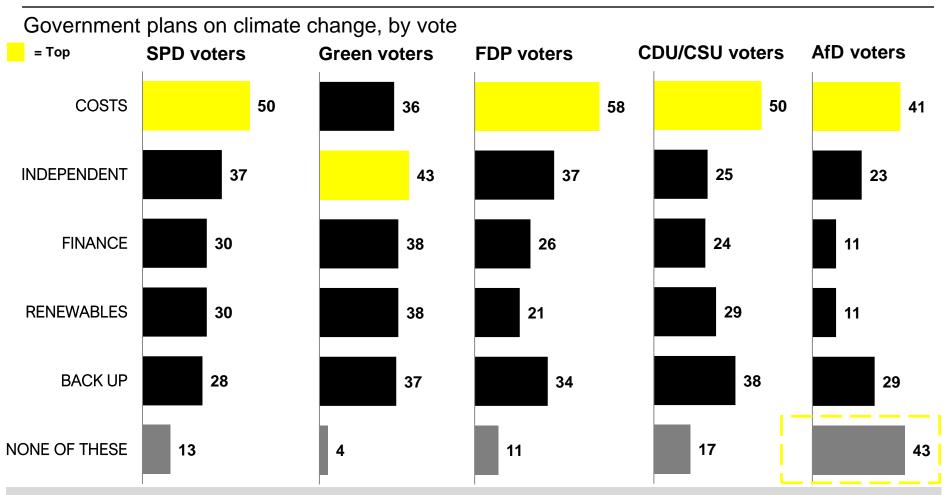
Cap on electricity and gas prices strongest response by far





Below are some statements from the government supporting its plans on climate change. Which TWO do you find most CONVINCING?

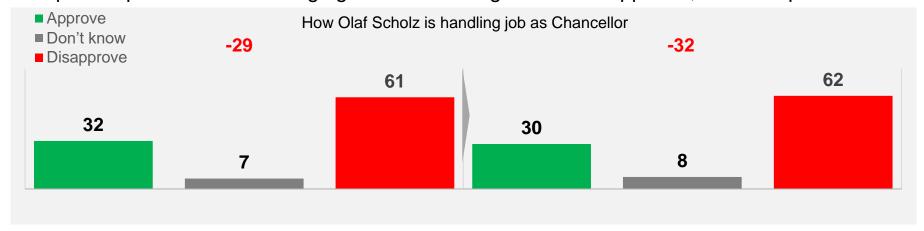
This cap resonates across nearly all parties; independence from Russian energy top for Green

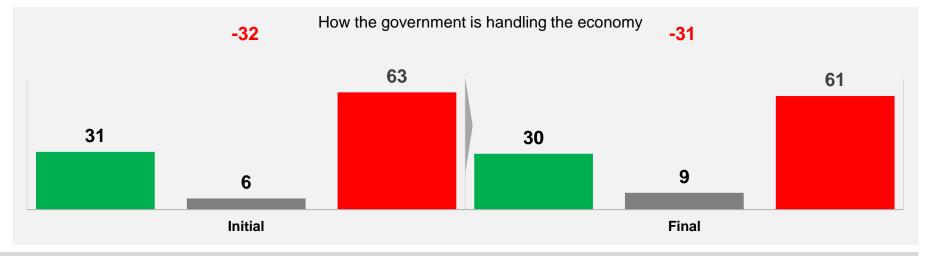


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Messaging does little to move the needle on how Scholz is handling his job and how the government is handling the economy

Impact of policies and messaging on leader and government approval, total sample

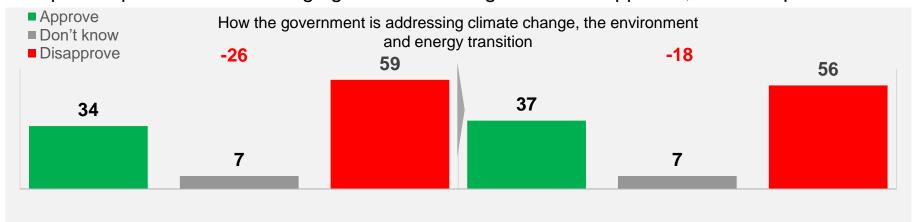


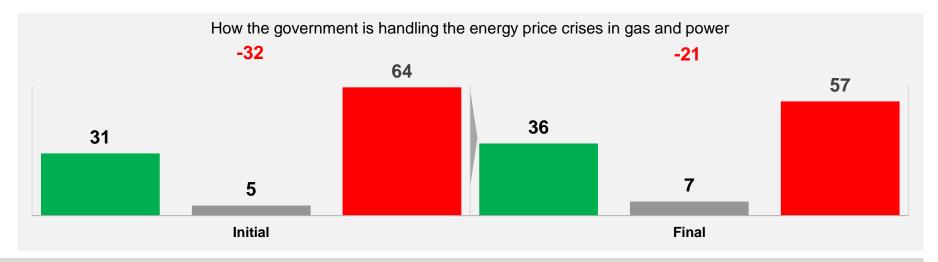


How much do you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

Major improvement on addressing climate change and handling energy price crises

Impact of policies and messaging on leader and government approval, total sample



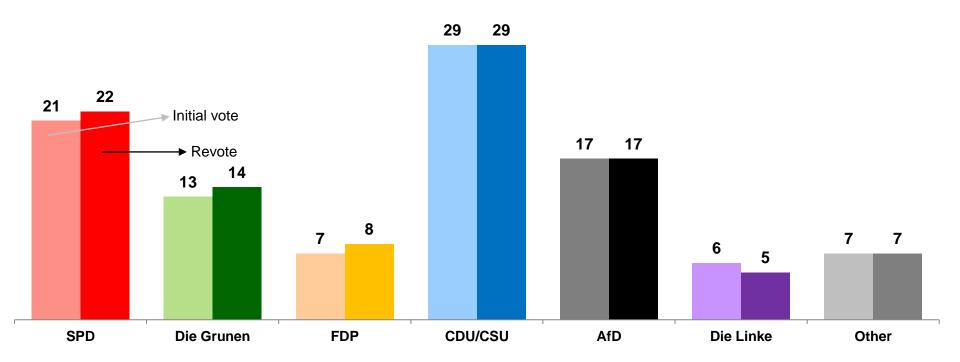


How much do you approve or disapprove of each of the following?

CDU/CSU lead remains after messaging. Coalition at 44% combined, though coalition parties edge up

Voting intention with "don't know" allocated, among likely voters

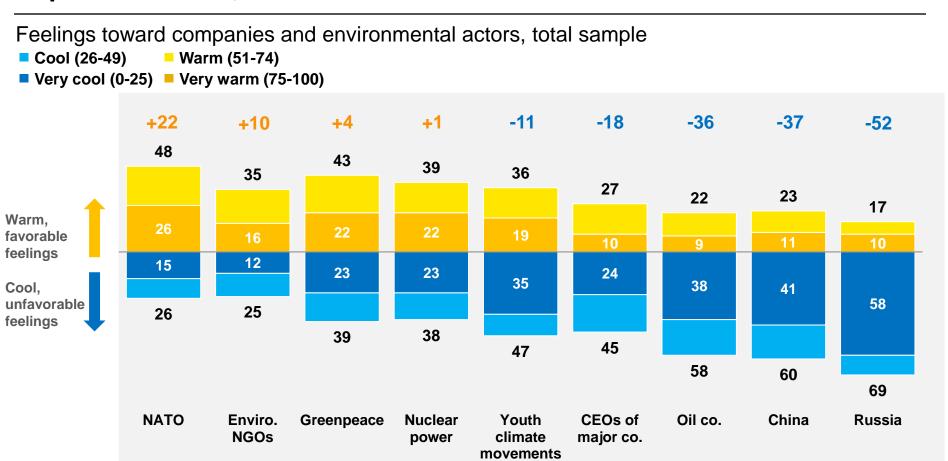
■ Initial Vote
■ Revote



Thinking again, if there was a federal election tomorrow, for which party would you vote?



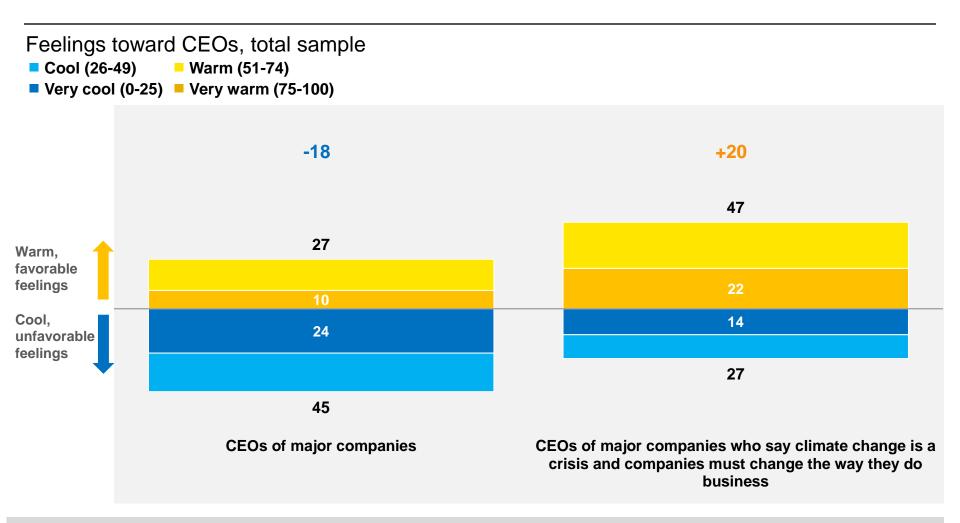
NATO highest standing, along with environmental NGOs; Germans cold towards youth climate movements; oil companies almost on par with China, but not Russia



Please rate your feelings toward some people, organisations and activities, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

like Friday for Future

CEOs of major companies saying climate a crisis and companies must change dramatically raises standing



Please rate your feelings toward some people, organisations and activities, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.

CLIMATE Policy & Strategy

Climate Policy & Strategy: Germany Tracking survey, June 2023

