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Delimitation Equity Project

Case Studies: Germany

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After the Second World War, the new Federal Republic of Germany adopted a mixed electoral system that combined party list proportional representation with single-member district representation. Although mixed systems are becoming increasingly popular now, the German system was unique when first employed.

Because mixed systems incorporate single-member districts, delimitation must occur periodically in order to ensure that electoral constituencies are relatively equal in population. The importance of the delimitation process and the influence that constituency configurations have on the outcome of elections depends on whether the party list seats are used to correct any distortions in the relationship between votes cast and seats won in the single-member districts.

In Germany, seats allocated under the party list component of the system are used to compensate for any distortions in the seats-to-votes ratio produced at the electoral district level.¹ This type of electoral system, often referred to as a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system, has been adopted by a number of countries in recent years (e.g., New Zealand, Hungary, Italy, Venezuela, Bolivia).

In other countries with mixed systems, the party list seats are not used to compensate for any disproportionality arising from elections within the single-member districts. Instead, seats allocated to the parties under the party list component of the election are simply added to the seats won at the electoral district level. The partisan seats-to-votes ratio may, therefore, be distorted. In this type of mixed system, often called a "parallel" system,² the district delimitation process is more important because it can have a more pronounced effect on the partisan composition of the legislature.

Even though Germany is an MMP system, the delimitation process does have ramifications for the outcome of elections. This is because the allocation of compensatory seats (party list seats allocated to a party to compensate for any distortions in the seats-to-votes ratio) is done at the state (Länder) level rather than the national level. Since German states vary in size and in political alignments, unequally delimited electoral districts across states may easily lead to so-called overhang mandates (Überhangmandate), with strong parties in such states carrying more direct seats than have been allocated for that state.

¹ For example, if a political party were to win 55% of the total vote cast in a parliamentary election but win only 45% of the constituency seats, compensatory seats would be allocated to the party such that the percentage of seats held by that party would total 55% of the parliamentary seats overall.

² Parallel systems are common among the former Soviet Republics and Russia, for example.

Electoral System

The Parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany is bicameral: members of the lower house, the Bundestag, are directly elected; members of the upper house, the Bundesrat, are composed of representatives appointed by the states (Länder).

The composition of the Bundestag is determined by the MMP electoral system, combining elements of the single-member constituency plurality system with List Proportional Representation (PR). Under this system, half the Bundestag members are directly elected from single-member constituencies (Wahlkreisen); the other half are elected by party list.

Constituency seats are filled by the First-Past-the-Post (FPTP), or plurality method, under which the candidate obtaining the largest number of votes in each constituency is elected. Between 1957 and 1987, there were 248 of these constituencies; from 1990 to 1998 there were 328; and in 2002 the number was reduced to 299. These constituencies are allocated among the Länder in proportion to the populations of the Länder.

The party list seats are distributed based on a party's percentage of the popular vote. For example, if a party wins 15 percent of the popular vote, it receives 15 percent of the seats in the Bundestag.

Each voter casts two ballots in a Bundestag election. The first vote (Erststimme) is cast for an individual candidate running to represent a particular electoral district. The second ballot (Zweitstimme) is cast for a political party, and it is the second vote that determines how many Bundestag seats each party will receive.³

To ensure that each party's percentage of the combined district (first ballot) and party (second ballot) seats equals its share of the second vote, each party is allocated the requisite number of seats given its share of the total second vote. The number of constituency seats won by each party is subtracted from the total number of seats allocated to that party, and the remaining seats are filled by candidates from the party list.

If a party wins more constituency seats than it is entitled to, according to its share of the party vote, the party retains these seats (known as overhang mandates or Überhangmandate), and the size of the Bundestag is increased. Every recent election has resulted in overhang mandates: after the 1990 election, the total number of seats in the Bundestag rose from 656 to 662; in 1994, another 16 seats were added for a total of 672 seats; in 1998 the election produced 13 overhang mandates for a total of 669 seats; and in 2002, despite the major re-delimitation to reduce overall seats to 598 and to avoid overhang mandates, the Bundestag was increased to 603 seats by five overhang mandates.

Legal Framework for Delimitation

At the beginning of each parliamentary term, the president of Germany – in accordance with Article 3 of the German electoral law – nominates an independent standing Electoral Districts Commission (*Wahlkreiskommission*). The task of the Commission is to report on population changes in electoral constituencies and to put forward recommendations on how to re-delimit constituencies, if necessary, to accommodate these changes.

³ The political parties establish a party list for each *Länder*.

Boundary Authority The independent Electoral Districts Commission (EDC) is established and selected by the German President at the beginning of each parliamentary term. It consists of the President of the Federal Statistical Office, a judge from the Federal Court of Administration, and five additional members, usually high-level administrative state functionaries.

Delimitation Criteria The EDC is required to follow five rules (as established in Article 3 of the Federal Electoral Law, April 27, 2001) for electoral delimitation. They are as follows:

- The Länder boundaries must be observed.
- The number of constituencies in the individual Länder must correspond to the population proportion as far as possible.
- The population of a constituency should not deviate from the average population of the constituencies by more than 15 percent in either direction; where the deviation is greater than 25 percent, the boundaries shall be redrawn.
- Each constituency should form a coherent area.
- Where possible, the boundaries of the communes, districts, and urban districts should be respected.

The Commission has 15 months to complete its report and present the findings to the Ministry of the Interior. The report of the Commission contains the current population of the electoral districts and recommendations for reallocating district seats and modifying district boundaries. The EDC may put forward several alternative plans for redistricting so that Parliament has more than one option available when deciding how, if at all, to redraw the constituencies.

Participation of Other Institutions The EDC produces its report with input from a number of other institutions, including members of the Ministry of the Interior who take part in EDC meetings. The Commission is in contact with *Länder* governmental employees responsible for electoral procedures in all of the states. Furthermore, each *Länder* has the opportunity to present its position on any of the Commission's recommendations.

The Role of the Parliament The Parliament makes the final decision as to whether to redistrict and what redistricting plan to adopt. After reading the EDC report and debating the subject, Parliament votes on whether to accept any of the EDC recommendations. Unless there are population deviations greater than 25 percent (previously 33 percent), Parliament is not required to accept any of the EDC proposals. In fact, Parliament has frequently decided not to make any changes.

Reforming the Redistricting Process in Germany

The Commission Review that began in 1995 proposed major changes in the process for re-delimiting constituencies. These changes were warranted for a number of reasons:

1. The allocation of districts had not changed since 1980 in the western *Länder*, and since 1990 in the eastern *Länder*, although major population changes had taken place. Parliament not only rejected reallocation recommendations in 1983, 1987, and 1990 but also rejected the EDC constituency delimitation plan for a united

Germany in 1994. Parliament tended to approve only those EDC recommendations that were necessitated by law (that is, when the population variation was greater than 33 percent).

2. The 1994 parliamentary elections produced 16 surplus seats (and the election in 1998 produced another 13 surplus seats). There are several factors leading to surplus seats, but one of the major reasons is the unbalanced distribution of electoral districts due to substantial changes in populations across the *Länder*.
3. As of the end of 1994, three electoral constituencies deviated by more than 33 percent from the average constituency size. Several more were very close to this limit.
4. County reforms initiated prior to 1994 in the new *Länder* also prompted a need to modify constituency boundaries.
5. In addition, in June 1995, the *Bundestag* decided to reduce the size of the legislature by up to 100 seats starting with the 15th term (2002).

Ultimately, a Reform Commission (*Reformkommission zur Größe des Deutschen Bundestages*) was established on September 20, 1995 to make recommendations. The Commission was composed of 20 members of the *Bundestag* (with the ruling CDU/CSU holding 11 seats on the Commission), and 14 experts (several of them were former members of the *Bundestag*.)

The task of the Reform Commission was to produce recommendations on all important questions relating to the reduction in size of the *Bundestag*, including the issues of delimitation of electoral districts and the overhang mandate rules, as well as a number of other related issues.

On June 17, 1997, the President of the Reform Commission, Hans-Ulrich Klose, presented the final recommendations to the *Bundestag*. These recommendations led to the following changes in the electoral law related to constituency delimitation:

- The number of *Bundestag* constituency seats was reduced from 328 to 299.
- The number of electoral districts allocated to each state was required to be as proportional to each state's relative population as possible.
- The permissible population deviation was reduced: previously population deviations of up to 25 percent were permitted, and it was not until the deviation reached 33 percent that the constituency boundaries were required by law to change. The electoral law now requires that the population of a constituency not deviate from the average population by more than 15 percent, and if the deviation exceeds 25 percent, the constituency boundaries must be redrawn.

Seat Allocation by State: Before and After Bundestag Seat Reduction

The table below displays the allocation of constituency seats by state before and after the reduction of *Bundestag* constituency seats from 328 to 299.

Table 9.1: Seat Allocation After Bundestag Seat Reduciton

States	2002	1998
Baden-Württemberg (Constituency 259 – 295)	37	37
Bayern (Constituency 215 – 258)	44	45
Berlin (Constituency 76 – 87)	12	13
Brandenburg (Constituency 56 – 65).....	10	12
Bremen (Constituency 54 and 55).....	2	3
Hamburg (Constituency 19 – 24)	6	7
Hessen (Constituency 169 – 189)	21	22
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Constituency 12 – 18)	7	9
Niedersachsen (Constituency 25 – 53)	29	31
Nordrhein-Westfalen (Constituency 88 – 151)	64	71
Rheinland-Pfalz (Constituency 200 – 214)	15	16
Saarland (Constituency 296 – 299)	4	5
Sachsen (Constituency 152 – 168)	17	21
Sachsen-Anhalt (Constituency 66 – 75).....	10	13
Schleswig-Holstein (Constituency 1 – 11)	11	11
Thüringen (Constituency 190 – 199).....	10	12

History of Redistricting in Germany

The EDC makes recommendations with regard to redistricting approximately every four years. The following indicates what actions the Parliament ultimately took when presented with EDC recommendations:

- First Report of the EDC in 1958: Parliament took no action.
- Report of 1962: Recommendations accepted by Parliament.
- Reports of 1966 and 1970: Parliament took limited action.
- Report of 1973: EDC recommended reallocation of seats to states, which was rejected by Parliament. Redistricting within states was partially accepted by Parliament.
- Report of 1978: EDC recommendations partially accepted.
- Report of 1982: No major recommendation made by EDC because Parliament was dissolved. There were two changes made due to population deviations in excess of 33 percent.
- Report of 1984: EDC recommendations to redistrict boundaries partially accepted.
- Report of 1988: Minor changes only because census numbers were not yet available.
- Report of 1992: EDC recommendations were not accepted, except for boundary changes required because of deviations in excess of 33 percent; major redistricting in Berlin.

- Report of 1996: Most of the 16 states did not accept changes proposed by EDC. Berlin was granted a new electoral district; Mecklenburg-Vorpommern lost a seat; and Lower Saxony gained a seat. There was some re-delimitation in Hesse due to deviations in excess of 25 percent.
- Report of 1999 and supplementary report of 2000: Major re-delimitation to reduce the number of electoral districts to 299.
- Report of 2003: Due to population shifts, the EDC proposed that Thüringen and Schleswig-Holstein each lose one seat, and that Bavaria and Niedersachsen each gain one seat. The Governments of Thüringen and Niedersachsen, however, rejected the proposal.

Conclusion

Redistricting in Germany is more or less enforced by law. Under certain conditions, mandatory changes are required and there is very little leeway for political maneuvering. Because the EDC is an independent organ and there are set rules that it must follow when making recommendations for redistricting, gerrymandering is virtually impossible.

However, *Länder* governments – particularly if they are due to lose a seat – do not relish a change in constituency boundaries. Members of Parliament are also likely to object to changes in constituency lines: new constituency boundaries could make it more difficult for incumbent legislators to win and could lead to the loss of a party seat. Therefore, Parliament often simply accepts only those changes that are mandated by law, retaining the *status quo* as much as possible.

Appendix: Germany: Electoral District Populations and Population Deviations

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167					
Total German Population (2002): 74,821,900					
1	Schleswig-Holstein	Flensburg - Schleswig	267	1.07	6.7
2	Schleswig-Holstein	Nordfriesland - Dithmarschen-Nord	223.3	0.89	-10.7
3	Schleswig-Holstein	Steinburg - Dithmarschen-Süd	217.9	0.87	-12.9
4	Schleswig-Holstein	Rendsburg-Eckernförde	237.3	0.95	-5.1
5	Schleswig-Holstein	Kiel	233.3	0.93	-6.7
6	Schleswig-Holstein	Plön - Neumünster	213.7	0.85	-14.6
7	Schleswig-Holstein	Pinneberg	269.1	1.08	7.6
8	Schleswig-Holstein	Segeberg - Stormarn-Nord	272.4	1.09	8.9
9	Schleswig-Holstein	Ostholstein	211.1	0.84	-15.6
10	Schleswig-Holstein	Herzogtum Lauenburg - Stormarn-Süd	270.4	1.08	8.1
11	Schleswig-Holstein	Lübeck	210.3	0.84	-15.9
12	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Wismar - Nordwestmecklenburg - Parchim	273.3	1.09	9.2
13	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Schwerin - Ludwigslust	229.8	0.92	-8.1
14	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Rostock	198	0.79	-20.9
15	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Stralsund - Nordvorpommern - Rügen	253.8	1.01	1.5
16	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Greifswald - Demmin - Ostvorpommern	261.3	1.04	4.5
17	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Bad Doberan - Güstrow - Müritz	296.3	1.18	18.4
18	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania	Neubrandenburg - Mecklenburg-Strelitz - Uecker-Randow	245.1	0.98	-2.0
19	Hamburg	Hamburg-Mitte	284.9	1.14	13.9

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167					
20	Hamburg	Hamburg-Altona	198.6	0.79	-20.6
21	Hamburg	Hamburg-Eimsbüttel	209.5	0.84	-16.3
22	Hamburg	Hamburg-Nord	237.1	0.95	-5.2
23	Hamburg	Hamburg-Wandsbek	251.3	1.00	0.5
24	Hamburg	Hamburg-Bergedorf - Harburg	261.5	1.05	4.5
26	Lower Saxony	Unterems	282.4	1.13	12.9
27	Lower Saxony	Friesland - Wilhelmshaven	233	0.93	-6.9
28	Lower Saxony	Oldenburg - Ammerland	248.7	0.99	-0.6
29	Lower Saxony	Delmenhorst - Wesermarsch - Oldenburg-Land	272.5	1.09	8.9
30	Lower Saxony	Cuxhaven - Osterholz	249.9	1.00	-0.1
31	Lower Saxony	Stade - Cuxhaven	228.1	0.91	-8.8
32	Lower Saxony	Mittelems	277.8	1.11	11.0
33	Lower Saxony	Cloppenburg - Vechta	258.5	1.03	3.3
34	Lower Saxony	Diepholz - Nienburg I	229.6	0.92	-8.2
35	Lower Saxony	Rotenburg - Verden	276.1	1.10	10.4
36	Lower Saxony	Soltau-Fallingb. - Winsen L.	299.3	1.20	19.6
37	Lower Saxony	Lüchow-Dannenberg - Lüneburg	256.9	1.03	2.7
38	Lower Saxony	Osnabrück-Land	244.4	0.98	-2.3
39	Lower Saxony	Stadt Osnabrück	241	0.96	-3.7
40	Lower Saxony	Nienburg II - Schaumburg	242	0.97	-3.3
41	Lower Saxony	Stadt Hannover I	215.1	0.86	-14.0
42	Lower Saxony	Stadt Hannover II	222	0.89	-11.3
43	Lower Saxony	Hannover-Land I	276.4	1.10	10.5
44	Lower Saxony	Celle - Uelzen	263	1.05	5.1
45	Lower Saxony	Gifhorn - Peine	259.6	1.04	3.8
46	Lower Saxony	Hameln-Pyrmont - Holzminden	244.1	0.98	-2.4
47	Lower Saxony	Hannover-Land II	282	1.13	12.7
48	Lower Saxony	Hildesheim	275.2	1.10	10.0
49	Lower Saxony	Salzgitter - Wolfenbüttel	267.2	1.07	6.8
50	Lower Saxony	Braunschweig	223.9	0.90	-10.5
51	Lower Saxony	Helmstedt - Wolfsburg	225.8	0.90	-9.7
52	Lower Saxony	Goslar - Northeim - Osterode	268.2	1.07	7.2
53	Lower Saxony	Göttingen	280.7	1.12	12.2

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167					
54	Bremen	Bremen I	293.7	1.17	17.4
55	Bremen	Bremen II - Bremerhaven	290.2	1.16	16.0
56	Brandenburg	Prignitz - Ostprignitz-Ruppin - Havelland I	220.1	0.88	-12.0
57	Brandenburg	Uckermark - Barnim I	226.2	0.90	-9.6
58	Brandenburg	Oberhavel - Havelland II	267.1	1.07	6.8
59	Brandenburg	Märkisch-Oderland - Barnim II	271.2	1.08	8.4
60	Brandenburg	Brandenburg a.d. Havel - Potsdam-Mittelmark I - Havelland III - Teltow-Fläming I	247.9	0.99	-0.9
61	Brandenburg	Potsdam - Potsdam-Mittelmark II - Teltow-Fläming II	279.9	1.12	11.9
62	Brandenburg	Dahme-Spreewald - Teltow-Fläming III - Oberspreewald-Lausitz I	251.5	1.01	0.5
63	Brandenburg	Frankfurt (Oder) - Oder-Spree	262	1.05	4.7
64	Brandenburg	Cottbus - Spree-Neiße	259	1.04	3.5
65	Brandenburg	Elbe-Elster - Oberspreewald-Lausitz II	255.2	1.02	2.0
66	Saxony-Anhalt	Altmark	241.1	0.96	-3.6
67	Saxony-Anhalt	Elbe-Havel-Gebiet	294.3	1.18	17.6
68	Saxony-Anhalt	Harz	253.5	1.01	1.3
69	Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	229.7	0.92	-8.2
70	Saxony-Anhalt	Börde	259.7	1.04	3.8
71	Saxony-Anhalt	Anhalt	285.8	1.14	14.2
72	Saxony-Anhalt	Bernburg - Bitterfeld - Saalkreis	260.3	1.04	4.1
73	Saxony-Anhalt	Halle	246	0.98	-1.7
74	Saxony-Anhalt	Burgenland	271.1	1.08	8.4
75	Saxony-Anhalt	Mansfelder Land	263.1	1.05	5.2
76	Berlin	Berlin-Mitte	238.6	0.95	-4.6
77	Berlin	Berlin-Pankow	255.2	1.02	2.0
78	Berlin	Berlin-Reinickendorf	226	0.90	-9.7
79	Berlin	Berlin-Spandau - Charlottenburg-Nord	222.6	0.89	-11.0
80	Berlin	Berlin-Steglitz - Zehlendorf	262.7	1.05	5.0
81	Berlin	Berlin-Charlottenburg - Wilmersdorf	240.9	0.96	-3.7
82	Berlin	Berlin-Tempelhof - Schöneberg	288.6	1.15	15.4
83	Berlin	Berlin-Neukölln	243.4	0.97	-2.7

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167					
84	Berlin	Berlin-Friedrichshain - Kreuzberg - Prenzlauer Berg-Ost	250.2	1.00	0.0
85	Berlin	Berlin-Treptow - Köpenick	220.7	0.88	-11.8
86	Berlin	Berlin-Marzahn - Hellersdorf	259.3	1.04	3.7
87	Berlin	Berlin-Lichtenberg - Hohenschönhausen	245.1	0.98	-2.0
88	North Rhine-Westphalia	Aachen	201.5	0.81	-19.5
89	North Rhine-Westphalia	Kreis Aachen	272.8	1.09	9.0
90	North Rhine-Westphalia	Heinsberg	224.8	0.90	-10.1
91	North Rhine-Westphalia	Düren	240.6	0.96	-3.8
92	North Rhine-Westphalia	Erftkreis I	286.1	1.14	14.4
93	North Rhine-Westphalia	Euskirchen - Erftkreis II	291	1.16	16.3
94	North Rhine-Westphalia	Köln I	211	0.84	-15.7
95	North Rhine-Westphalia	Köln II	231.8	0.93	-7.3
96	North Rhine-Westphalia	Köln III	218.8	0.87	-12.5
97	North Rhine-Westphalia	Bonn	248.9	0.99	-0.5
98	North Rhine-Westphalia	Rhein-Sieg-Kreis I	270.8	1.08	8.2
99	North Rhine-Westphalia	Rhein-Sieg-Kreis II	250.3	1.00	0.1
100	North Rhine-Westphalia	Oberbergischer Kreis	262	1.05	4.7
101	North Rhine-Westphalia	Rheinisch-Bergischer Kreis	253	1.01	1.1
102	North Rhine-Westphalia	Leverkusen - Köln IV	253.3	1.01	1.3
103	North Rhine-Westphalia	Wuppertal I	268.3	1.07	7.2
104	North Rhine-Westphalia	Solingen - Remscheid - Wuppertal II	282.7	1.13	13.0
105	North Rhine-Westphalia	Mettmann I	243.3	0.97	-2.7
106	North Rhine-Westphalia	Mettmann II	203.6	0.81	-18.6
107	North Rhine-Westphalia	Düsseldorf I	243.3	0.97	-2.7
108	North Rhine-Westphalia	Düsseldorf II	226.3	0.90	-9.5
109	North Rhine-Westphalia	Neuss I	253.6	1.01	1.4
110	North Rhine-Westphalia	Mönchengladbach	234.7	0.94	-6.2
111	North Rhine-Westphalia	Krefeld I - Neuss II	245.9	0.98	-1.7
112	North Rhine-Westphalia	Viersen	275	1.10	9.9
113	North Rhine-Westphalia	Kleve	274.3	1.10	9.6
114	North Rhine-Westphalia	Wesel I	247.9	0.99	-0.9
115	North Rhine-Westphalia	Krefeld II - Wesel II	220.7	0.88	-11.8
116	North Rhine-Westphalia	Duisburg I	226.3	0.90	-9.5

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

117	North Rhine-Westphalia	Duisburg II	203.6	0.81	-18.6
118	North Rhine-Westphalia	Oberhausen - Wesel III	256.9	1.03	2.7
119	North Rhine-Westphalia	Mülheim - Essen I	239.9	0.96	-4.1
120	North Rhine-Westphalia	Essen II	212.2	0.85	-15.2
121	North Rhine-Westphalia	Essen III	236.6	0.95	-5.4
122	North Rhine-Westphalia	Recklinghausen I	210.3	0.84	-15.9
123	North Rhine-Westphalia	Recklinghausen II	239	0.96	-4.5
124	North Rhine-Westphalia	Gelsenkirchen	241.7	0.97	-3.4
125	North Rhine-Westphalia	Steinfurt I - Borken I	245.9	0.98	-1.7
126	North Rhine-Westphalia	Bottrop - Recklinghausen III	253.1	1.01	1.2
127	North Rhine-Westphalia	Borken II	237.6	0.95	-5.0
128	North Rhine-Westphalia	Coesfeld - Steinfurt II	227.1	0.91	-9.2
129	North Rhine-Westphalia	Steinfurt III	231	0.92	-7.7
130	North Rhine-Westphalia	Münster	244.5	0.98	-2.3
131	North Rhine-Westphalia	Warendorf	255.2	1.02	2.0
132	North Rhine-Westphalia	Gütersloh	300.8	1.20	20.2
133	North Rhine-Westphalia	Bielefeld	289.9	1.16	15.9
134	North Rhine-Westphalia	Herford - Minden-Lübbecke II	281.1	1.12	12.4
135	North Rhine-Westphalia	Minden-Lübbecke I	257.1	1.03	2.8
136	North Rhine-Westphalia	Lippe I	217.1	0.87	-13.2
137	North Rhine-Westphalia	Höxter - Lippe II	269.9	1.08	7.9
138	North Rhine-Westphalia	Paderborn	266.9	1.07	6.7
139	North Rhine-Westphalia	Hagen - Ennepe-Ruhr-Kreis I	271.7	1.09	8.6
140	North Rhine-Westphalia	Ennepe-Ruhr-Kreis II	224	0.90	-10.5
141	North Rhine-Westphalia	Bochum I	259.9	1.04	3.9
142	North Rhine-Westphalia	Herne - Bochum II	235.8	0.94	-5.7
143	North Rhine-Westphalia	Dortmund I	245	0.98	-2.1
144	North Rhine-Westphalia	Dortmund II	248.9	0.99	-0.5
145	North Rhine-Westphalia	Unna I	254.7	1.02	1.8
146	North Rhine-Westphalia	Hamm - Unna II	293.8	1.17	17.4
147	North Rhine-Westphalia	Soest	282.6	1.13	13.0
148	North Rhine-Westphalia	Hochsauerlandkreis	260.9	1.04	4.3
149	North Rhine-Westphalia	Siegen-Wittgenstein	270.7	1.08	8.2
150	North Rhine-Westphalia	Olpe - Märkischer Kreis I	264.6	1.06	5.8

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

151	North Rhine-Westphalia	Märkischer Kreis II	262.2	1.05	4.8
152	Saxony	Delitzsch - Torgau-Oschatz - Riesa	283.8	1.13	13.4
153	Saxony	Leipzig I	230.4	0.92	-7.9
154	Saxony	Leipzig II	238.2	0.95	-4.8
155	Saxony	Leipziger-Land - Muldentalkreis	286.4	1.14	14.5
156	Saxony	Kamenz - Hoyerswerda - Großenhain	270.2	1.08	8.0
157	Saxony	Löbau-Zittau - Görlitz - Niesky	259.7	1.04	3.8
158	Saxony	Bautzen - Weißwasser	219.3	0.88	-12.3
159	Saxony	Sächsische Schweiz - Weißeritzkreis	269.5	1.08	7.7
160	Saxony	Dresden I	259.7	1.04	3.8
161	Saxony	Dresden II - Meißen I	284	1.14	13.5
162	Saxony	Freiberg - Mittlerer Erzgebirgskreis	245.7	0.98	-1.8
163	Saxony	Döbeln - Mittweida - Meißen II	281.7	1.13	12.6
164	Saxony	Chemnitz	253.5	1.01	1.3
165	Saxony	Chemnitzer Land - Stollberg	234	0.94	-6.5
166	Saxony	Annaberg - Aue-Schwarzenberg	229.5	0.92	-8.3
167	Saxony	Zwickauer Land - Zwickau	236.8	0.95	-5.3
168	Saxony	Vogtland - Plauen	272.4	1.09	8.9
169	Hesse	Waldeck	240	0.96	-4.1
170	Hesse	Kassel	266.8	1.07	6.6
171	Hesse	Werra-Meißner - Hersfeld	235.1	0.94	-6.0
172	Hesse	Schwalm-Eder	243.9	0.97	-2.5
173	Hesse	Marburg	228.6	0.91	-8.6
174	Hesse	Lahn-Dill	260.9	1.04	4.3
175	Hesse	Gießen	275.3	1.10	10.0
176	Hesse	Fulda	292.6	1.17	17.0
177	Hesse	Hochtaunus	218.7	0.87	-12.6
178	Hesse	Wetterau	295	1.18	17.9
179	Hesse	Rheingau-Taunus - Limburg	264.5	1.06	5.7
180	Hesse	Wiesbaden	217	0.87	-13.3
181	Hesse	Hanau	292	1.17	16.7
182	Hesse	Main-Taunus	229	0.92	-8.5
183	Hesse	Frankfurt am Main I	235	0.94	-6.1
184	Hesse	Frankfurt am Main II	253.4	1.01	1.3

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

185	Hesse	Groß-Gerau	202.3	0.81	-19.1
186	Hesse	Offenbach	274.1	1.10	9.6
187	Hesse	Darmstadt	277	1.11	10.7
188	Hesse	Odenwald	283.3	1.13	13.2
189	Hesse	Bergstraße	237	0.95	-5.3
190	Thuringia	Eichsfeld - Nordhausen	210.7	0.84	-15.8
191	Thuringia	Eisenach - Wartburgkreis - Unstrut-Hainich-Kreis I	226.4	0.90	-9.5
192	Thuringia	Kyffhäuserkreis - Sömmerda - Unstrut-Hainich-Kreis II	254.1	1.02	1.6
193	Thuringia	Gotha - Ilm-Kreis	267	1.07	6.7
194	Thuringia	Erfurt	196.9	0.79	-21.3
195	Thuringia	Jena - Weimar - Weimarer Land	246.9	0.99	-1.3
196	Thuringia	Gera - Saale-Holzland-Kreis	205.8	0.82	-17.7
197	Thuringia	Greiz - Altenburger Land	237.9	0.95	-4.9
198	Thuringia	Sonneberg - Saalfeld-Rudolstadt - Saale-Orla-Kreis	297.5	1.19	18.9
199	Thuringia	Suhl - Schmalkalden-Meiningen - Hildburghausen	264.2	1.06	5.6
200	Rhineland-Palatinate	Neuwied	300.3	1.20	20.0
201	Rhineland-Palatinate	Ahrweiler	233.2	0.93	-6.8
202	Rhineland-Palatinate	Koblenz	235.5	0.94	-5.9
203	Rhineland-Palatinate	Mosel/Rhein-Hunsrück	219.9	0.88	-12.1
204	Rhineland-Palatinate	Kreuznach	231.2	0.92	-7.6
205	Rhineland-Palatinate	Bitburg	207	0.83	-17.3
206	Rhineland-Palatinate	Trier	222.6	0.89	-11.0
207	Rhineland-Palatinate	Montabaur	256.5	1.03	2.5
208	Rhineland-Palatinate	Mainz	276.9	1.11	10.7
209	Rhineland-Palatinate	Worms	238.7	0.95	-4.6
210	Rhineland-Palatinate	Ludwigshafen/Frankenthal	261.5	1.05	4.5
211	Rhineland-Palatinate	Neustadt - Speyer	262.8	1.05	5.0
212	Rhineland-Palatinate	Kaiserslautern	290.3	1.16	16.0
213	Rhineland-Palatinate	Pirmasens	230.9	0.92	-7.7
214	Rhineland-Palatinate	Südpfalz	251.9	1.01	0.7

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

215	Bavaria	Altötting	303.8	1.21	21.4
216	Bavaria	Freising	299.3	1.20	19.6
217	Bavaria	Fürstenfeldbruck	287.4	1.15	14.9
218	Bavaria	Ingolstadt	291.4	1.16	16.5
219	Bavaria	München-Nord	222.7	0.89	-11.0
220	Bavaria	München-Ost	239.7	0.96	-4.2
221	Bavaria	München-Süd	221.1	0.88	-11.6
222	Bavaria	München-West/Mitte	238.3	0.95	-4.7
223	Bavaria	München-Land	293.8	1.17	17.4
224	Bavaria	Rosenheim	266.8	1.07	6.6
225	Bavaria	Starnberg	299.7	1.20	19.8
226	Bavaria	Traunstein	250.7	1.00	0.2
227	Bavaria	Weilheim	293	1.17	17.1
228	Bavaria	Deggendorf	190.7	0.76	-23.8
229	Bavaria	Landshut	287.5	1.15	14.9
230	Bavaria	Passau	224.7	0.90	-10.2
231	Bavaria	Rottal-Inn	197	0.79	-21.3
232	Bavaria	Straubing	209.3	0.84	-16.3
233	Bavaria	Amberg	265.7	1.06	6.2
234	Bavaria	Regensburg	279.6	1.12	11.8
235	Bavaria	Schwandorf	265.3	1.06	6.0
236	Bavaria	Weiden	216.3	0.86	-13.5
237	Bavaria	Bamberg	211.1	0.84	-15.6
238	Bavaria	Bayreuth	199.4	0.80	-20.3
239	Bavaria	Coburg	201.2	0.80	-19.6
240	Bavaria	Hof	231.2	0.92	-7.6
241	Bavaria	Kulmbach	212.6	0.85	-15.0
242	Bavaria	Ansbach	298.3	1.19	19.2
243	Bavaria	Erlangen	206.9	0.83	-17.3
244	Bavaria	Fürth	295.1	1.18	18.0
245	Bavaria	Nürnberg-Nord	212	0.85	-15.3
246	Bavaria	Nürnberg-Süd	220.7	0.88	-11.8
247	Bavaria	Roth	272.9	1.09	9.1
248	Bavaria	Aschaffenburg	218.7	0.87	-12.6

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

249	Bavaria	Bad Kissingen	276.6	1.11	10.6
250	Bavaria	Main-Spessart	241.8	0.97	-3.3
251	Bavaria	Schweinfurt	242.5	0.97	-3.1
252	Bavaria	Würzburg	264.5	1.06	5.7
253	Bavaria	Augsburg-Stadt	233.4	0.93	-6.7
254	Bavaria	Augsburg-Land	294.9	1.18	17.9
255	Bavaria	Donau-Ries	224.5	0.90	-10.3
256	Bavaria	Neu-Ulm	281.3	1.12	12.4
257	Bavaria	Oberallgäu	258.1	1.03	3.2
258	Bavaria	Ostallgäu	289.9	1.16	15.9
259	Baden-Württemberg	Stuttgart I	217.2	0.87	-13.2
260	Baden-Württemberg	Stuttgart II	222.5	0.89	-11.1
261	Baden-Württemberg	Böblingen	301.8	1.21	20.6
262	Baden-Württemberg	Esslingen	193.3	0.77	-22.7
263	Baden-Württemberg	Nürtingen	229.5	0.92	-8.3
264	Baden-Württemberg	Göppingen	219.9	0.88	-12.1
265	Baden-Württemberg	Waiblingen	262.3	1.05	4.8
266	Baden-Württemberg	Ludwigsburg	241.1	0.96	-3.6
267	Baden-Württemberg	Neckar-Zaber	251.9	1.01	0.7
268	Baden-Württemberg	Heilbronn	298.3	1.19	19.2
269	Baden-Württemberg	Schwäbisch Hall - Hohenlohe	270.9	1.08	8.3
270	Baden-Württemberg	Backnang - Schwäbisch Gmünd	215.4	0.86	-13.9
271	Baden-Württemberg	Aalen - Heidenheim	280	1.12	11.9
272	Baden-Württemberg	Karlsruhe-Stadt	237.9	0.95	-4.9
273	Baden-Württemberg	Karlsruhe-Land	247	0.99	-1.3
274	Baden-Württemberg	Rastatt	250.8	1.00	0.3
275	Baden-Württemberg	Heidelberg	255.1	1.02	2.0
276	Baden-Württemberg	Mannheim	241.2	0.96	-3.6
277	Baden-Württemberg	Odenwald - Tauber	268.3	1.07	7.2
278	Baden-Württemberg	Rhein-Neckar	233.9	0.93	-6.5
279	Baden-Württemberg	Bruchsal - Schwetzingen	226.3	0.90	-9.5
280	Baden-Württemberg	Pforzheim	268.1	1.07	7.2
281	Baden-Württemberg	Calw	248.9	0.99	-0.5
282	Baden-Württemberg	Freiburg	250.7	1.00	0.2

Ideal Seat (EDC calculation 2000): 250,167

283	Baden-Wurttemberg	Lörrach - Müllheim	266.4	1.06	6.5
284	Baden-Wurttemberg	Emmendingen - Lahr	253.4	1.01	1.3
285	Baden-Wurttemberg	Offenburg	244.3	0.98	-2.3
286	Baden-Wurttemberg	Rottweil - Tuttlingen	246.5	0.99	-1.5
287	Baden-Wurttemberg	Schwarzwald-Baar	204.9	0.82	-18.1
288	Baden-Wurttemberg	Konstanz	232.9	0.93	-6.9
289	Baden-Wurttemberg	Waldshut	218.8	0.87	-12.5
290	Baden-Wurttemberg	Reutlingen	240.2	0.96	-4.0
291	Baden-Wurttemberg	Tübingen	225.2	0.90	-10.0
292	Baden-Wurttemberg	Ulm	262.6	1.05	5.0
293	Baden-Wurttemberg	Biberach	290.6	1.16	16.2
294	Baden-Wurttemberg	Ravensburg - Bodensee	291.1	1.16	16.4
295	Baden-Wurttemberg	Zollernalb - Sigmaringen	261.4	1.04	4.5
296	Saarland	Saarbrücken	251.1	1.00	0.4
297	Saarland	Saarlouis	258.8	1.03	3.5
298	Saarland	Sankt Wendel	224.2	0.90	-10.4
299	Saarland	Homburg	249	1.00	-0.5