

Pre-Analysis/ Data Collection-Plan: Electoral Malfeasance, the Secret Ballot, and Political Mobilization by the Social Democratic Party of Germany between 1890 and 1914

Motivation and Research Question

Between the end of the anti-socialist laws in 1890 and the beginning of WWI., the Social Democratic Party of Germany turned from a fairly weakly-organized party whose public activities had been repressed under Bismarck (1878-1890) and won only 8.8% of the seats in the 1890 federal elections into a professionalized, decentralized party apparatus that contested more districts and won more seats than any other party in the federal elections of 1912.

In this project, I will examine how incidences of district-level electoral malfeasance and variation in the timing of the adoption of the secret ballot between German states are related to the amount of private monetary contributions to the SPD. This question is interesting because in the absence of access to state resources, the SPD was almost exclusively dependent on voluntary monetary contributions by their supporters to finance the institutionalization and professionalization of the party, the proliferation of party newspapers, and crucial mobilizational activities on the ground. For these reasons, every account of how this party was able to develop into a highly encompassing party organization that famously attempted to influence daily activities in the social democratic milieu “from the cradle to the grave” needs to have something to say about the funding sources of the party. Yet, this topic is noticeably absent in the discourse on the party system and electoral competitiveness in the latest stages of the German monarchy (see, for instance, Ziblatt 2008; 2009; 2017; Mares 2015).

Hypotheses

In addition, there is an ongoing debate about the mobilizational effects of low-intensity repression such as the skewing of the electoral playing-field. It is theoretically ambiguous whether electoral malfeasance makes individuals less willing to support a party that was the object of such malpractice. One might argue in line with theories of strategic voting that individuals are more willing to support a party when they expect the party to have a fair chance of gaining public office. However, there also is a vast literature on the “repression-mobilization nexus” that shows that repression often is counterproductive in the sense that it leads to increased rates of mobilization (for an overview of the literature on the “repression-mobilization-nexus”, see Shadmehr 2014). Mares (2015) illustrates that electoral malfeasance was most likely at intermediate levels of SPD strength (as measured by prior vote shares). I argue that the effect of malfeasance is conditional on whose stronghold a district is: Malfeasance should have a negative effect on monetary contributions to the SPD in districts that were strongholds of other parties as the malfeasance signaled the dominance of the (conservative) incumbents. In strongholds of the SPD that experienced malfeasance, I would expect to see an increase in monetary contributions. The same holds for districts in which no party has a stronghold as SPD supporters will perceive that their party stood a real chance of winning the election if it hadn’t been for the manipulation.

My second independent variable – the adoption of the secret ballot on the state-level – provides variation for my period of analysis (introduction of the secret ballot in Baden 1904, Württemberg 1906, Bavaria 1906; opposite developments in Saxony in 1896, Lübeck 1902, and so on). The secret ballot allows individuals to vote more independently of the interests of their employers and local patrons. Therefore, it is usually a crucial milestone to fair and free elections. However, as the electoral malfeasance data suggests, electoral fairness continued to be compromised even when the secret ballot was in place. My hypothesis is that the introduction of the secret ballot led to higher district contributions to the SPD in those districts in which the secret ballot was associated with a decline in electoral malfeasance.

To summarize my hypotheses:

H1: The effect of electoral malfeasance on monetary contributions to the SPD is conditional on whether the district is a core district of the SPD, a core district of another party, or a swing district. I expect to find larger increases in contributions in those swing and core districts of the SPD that experienced electoral irregularities in the most recent election relative to swing and core districts that did not. For core districts of other parties, I expect malfeasance to be associated with lower monetary contributions relative to such districts in which electoral fraud was not observed.

H2: The introduction of the secret ballot led to larger monetary contributions where the secret ballot was associated with a decline in electoral malfeasance.

Estimation Strategy

To justify the assumptions required for employing a difference-in-difference estimator (“parallel trends”) or one of the techniques operating with a conditional independence assumption, one needs to have very detailed contextual knowledge. While there has been a profound amount of research by historians and political scientists on the SPD and the political systems of each state for the pre-war period (see bibliography), I won’t be able to review the majority of this literature until the end of the quarter. For this reason, I will refrain from making strong identifying assumptions in this pre-analysis plan.

In the absence of a neat identification strategy, I would estimate a panel regression model for H1 with the following equation:

H1: Monetary contribution (district, year) = electoral malfeasance (district, last national election) + core district (district, last national election) + electoral malfeasance * core district + covariates (district, year) (see list below) + fixed effects + intercept + error term

Three statements/ questions about this equation: (1) I can’t utilize the monthly variation in the DV as there is no single explanatory variable that varies month by month. (2) I want to differentiate between core districts of the SPD, core districts of other parties, and swing districts. This probably means that I will have to include three different dummy variables – or rather one dummy for three different

specifications to prevent perfect multicollinearity. (3) Which fixed effects structure should be employed?

H2: Monetary contribution (district, month) = electoral malfeasance (district, last national election) + secret ballot dummy (district, month) + electoral malfeasance * secret ballot dummy + core district (district, last national election) + covariates (district, year) (see list below) + fixed effects + intercept + error term

Alternative Estimation Strategy: Combining Matching with a Diff-in-Diff Design¹

While I would be hesitant to argue that the panel regression results could be interpreted as causal, invoking stronger assumptions (parallel trends, common support) may turn out to be justifiable and may give me credible causal inference. This would allow me to employ a combination of matching and difference-in-difference estimation to first get balance between those districts experiencing electoral malfeasance and those that don't (per national election) for each type of district (SPD core, other core, swing). The parallel trend assumption behind the diff-in-diff estimator should be more likely to hold for the balanced sample, which would then allow me to estimate how electoral irregularities in a district during a national election influence the district's post-election monetary support for the SPD.

With regard to the matching technique, I consider employing nearest-neighbor matching based on a selection of covariates that have been associated with electoral malfeasance in the literature. Particularly, the Social Democratic vote share at the last national election and prior experience with electoral malfeasance seem to be crucial covariates that should be associated with both treatment uptake and subsequent monetary support. In addition, I can draw on a number of economic (rural landholding inequality, % non-agricultural employment, ratio skilled-to-unskilled workers), cultural (% catholic), and political (effective number of right-wing parties, contested by SPD, SPD seat share) that give me some flexibility in the matching procedure – even though I should add that I expect the political covariates not to be independent from previous treatment uptakes (electoral distortions). In line with best practice, I would correct for adjustment bias, provide balance tables/tests, and document common support. The balancing would occur with replacement for the month of the respective election. As treatment can occur at each of the six elections in my period of analysis, I would match for each election on the national level (controlling for crucial differences between states such as the existence of the secret ballot). One crucial question relates to the time period after an election for which estimate an effect – I think it makes most sense to provide different models for different time periods (3 months after an election, 6 months, 12 months). If prior experience with malfeasance and lagged SPD vote share are crucial covariates to condition on, this may require me to estimate an effect only for the elections starting with the one in 1893 to use the one in 1890 to condition on.

¹ I am working on this matching + diff-in-diff estimation strategy as part of my coursework for the 200c class.

The balanced sample of districts per election can then be used to estimate a diff-in-diff model. My monthly district-level data should allow me to visualize the extent to which the parallel trends assumption is warranted, but I am concerned about how electoral cycle shifts in monetary support influence my estimation. If such cycles vary with treatment status, this would pose quite a problem. I will certainly be able to show how baseline levels of monetary support differ. Regarding the model to be estimated, it seems that I should exclude time-invariant covariates as well as those affected by previous treatment. Given that some of my covariates were only measured in the census years of 1895 and 1905, their relative time-invariance poses a problem. The diff-in-diff specification would include district and year level fixed effects. A crucial difficulty that I could need guidance on is the fact that electoral irregularities can occur multiple times per district for my period of analysis: If electoral malfeasance effects levels of monetary support, the parallel trend assumption would be violated after the first election when trying to estimate an effect for the second election (and so on). Similarly, one might imagine that the effect of irregularities stack between elections so that an additional irregularity in a previously treated unit provides a different effect than in a unit that has not witnessed malfeasance before (overlapping, cumulative effects). I am not entirely sure how to deal with this possibility. One would also need to think about how to deal with SUTVA violations where experiences with electoral malfeasance in district A influence monetary spending of individuals in district B.

Variables and Data Sources

Dependent Variable

- Monetary contributions to the SPD: absolute monthly district-level voluntary contributions to the SPD between 1890-1914 taken from the records of the annual national party meetings; would need to be corrected for inflation and, in some cases, aggregated to reflect the electoral district level; does not include contributions to the local SPD chapters that were not reported to the national SPD

Main Independent Variables

- Electoral malfeasance: district-level number of complaints about electoral irregularities that were submitted to the electoral commission per election year; complaints could be filed by single individuals, data taken from Arsenschek and Ziblatt 2008, 2010 (<https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/43>)
- Secret ballot: introduction of the secret ballot on the state level (Ziblatt 2017)
- Core district: a district in which the vote share of a party was larger than a theoretically informed threshold (potentially: 30% ?)

Control Variables

- % Catholic: district level share of individuals identifying as Catholic, taken from ICPSR 1984 and Mares 2014

- Rural inequality: Landholding inequality on the district level in 1895, taken from Ziblatt 2009
- % non-agricultural employment: district level share of individuals employed in the non-agricultural sectors (Mares 2015)
- Ratio of skilled to unskilled workers: district level data for the census years of 1895 and 1905 taken from Mares 2015; “skilled workers are those workers who had experienced some training. By contrast, unskilled workers – in other words manual workers, handymen, and other workers in services – do not have training” (cited in Mares 2015: 108)
- Occupational heterogeneity: logged Herfindahl-Hirschman index of employment concentration (logged “sum of the squares of employment shares of all occupations in a particular district” (Mares 2015: 105)); available for the census years of 1895 and 1905
- Population size: district level population size in 1895 and 1905 (ICPSR 1984)
- District contested by the SPD: dummy variable that takes on the value of 1 if the SPD contested a district in the national elections (“Reichstagswahlen”)
- Effective number of right-wing parties

Other Variables for which I have data

- Seat share of the SPD: seat share obtained by the SPD in the national elections of a given year
- Number of SPD members (national level): available only for selected years

Next steps that I would like to work on over the summer

- Increasing my contextual knowledge of why German states introduced the secret ballot by reading more of the publications listed in the bibliography
- Reading the work on secret ballot reform, electoral malfeasance, and party financing in other countries to see what kind of identification claims are made in the literature
- Archival research in Germany to see whether I find data on union membership, mobilization, and finance to be able to say more about how monetary contributions to the SPD may be crowded out or increased in districts with a strong union presence
- Mares (2015) mostly provides data on Prussia even though the census surveys she utilized were conducted in all of Germany – the data is available in Berlin (not digitalized). I will collect this data and will also have to take some time to code the monetary contributions data from the reports of the annual meetings of the SPD.

Bibliography

Anderson, M. L. (1993). Voter, junker, landrat, priest: The old authorities and the new franchise in imperial Germany. *The American Historical Review*, 98, 1448-1474.

Arsenschek, Robert. 2003. *Der Kampf um die Wahlfreiheit im Kaiserreich: zur parlamentarischen Wahlprüfung und politischen Realität der Reichstagswahlen 1871–1914*. [The Fight for Free Elections in Imperial Germany] Düsseldorf: Droste.

Bernstein, E. ed., 1907. Die geschichte der Berliner arbeiter-bewegung: Vom Jahre 1848 bis zum Erlass des Sozialistengesetzes (Vol. 1). Buchhandlung Vorwärts (H. Weber).

Blackbourn, David, and Geoff Eley. 1984. The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany. New York: Oxford University Press.

Blackbourn, David. 1980. Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmian Germany. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Boch, R., 2004. Staat und Wirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Oldenbourg Verlag.

Brandis, K., 1975. Der Anfang vom Ende der Sozialdemokratie: die SPD bis z. Fall d. Sozialistengesetzes (Vol. 133). Rotbuch-Verlag.

Caramani, Daniele. 2000. Elections in Western Europe since 1815: electoral results by constituencies. New York: Macmillan Reference.

Charle, Christophe. 2010. "The Specificities of French Elites at the End of the Nineteenth Century: France Compared to Britain and Germany." *Historical Reflections* 36: 7–18.

Chickering 1984: We Men Who Feel Most German: A Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886–1914. Boston: George Allen and Unwin.

Claggett, William, Loesch, Jeffrey, Shively, W. Phillips, Snell, Ronald Political Leadership and the Development of Political Cleavages: Imperial Germany, 1871-1912. *American Journal of Political Science*. 26, (4), 643-663.

Clark, Christopher. 2006. Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Crothers, George. 1941. The German Elections of 1907. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral System." *American Political Science Review* 101: 373–91.

Eckardt, Hans Wilhelm. 1980. Privilegien und Parlament: Die Auseinandersetzungen um das Allgemeine und Gleiche Wahlrecht in Hamburg. Hamburg: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung.

Eifert, Christiane. 2003. Paternalismus und Politik: Preussische Landräte im 19. Jahrhundert. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Eisenberg, C., 1989. The Comparative View in Labour History: old and new interpretations of the English and German labour movements before 1914. *International Review of Social History*, 34(3), pp.403-432.

Eley, Geoff. 1993. "Anti-Semitism, Agrarian Mobilization, and the Conservative Party: Radicalism and Containment in the Founding of the Agrarian League, 1890–189." In *Between Reform, Reaction, and Resistance: Studies in the History of German Conservatism from 1789 to 1945*, eds. Larry Eugene Jones and James Retallack. Oxford: Berg Publishers. 187–228.

Fairbairn, B., 1990. Authority vs. democracy: Prussian officials in the German elections of 1898 and 1903. *The Historical Journal*, 33(4), pp.811-838.

Fairbairn, B., 1990. The Limits of Nationalist Politics: Electoral Culture and Mobilization in Germany, 1890-1903. *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, 1(1), pp.145-169.

Fairbairn, Brett. 1997. Democracy in the Undemocratic State: The German Reichstag Elections of 1898 and 1903. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fischer, Fritz. 1979. Bündnis der Eliten: zur Kontinuität der Machtstrukturen in Deutschland 1871–1945. Düsseldorf: Droste.

Fricke, Dieter (Hg.): Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung 1869-1917, 2 Bde., Berlin/DDR 1987

- Garst, W.D., 1998. From factor endowments to class struggle: pre-World War I Germany and Rogowski's theory of trade and political cleavages. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(1), pp.22-44.
- Geary, D., 1976. The German Labour Movement 1848-1919. *European Studies Review*, 6(3), pp.297-330.
- Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1948. *Bread and Democracy in Germany*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grebing, Helga: *Arbeiterbewegung. Sozialer Protest und kollektive Interessenvertretung bis 1914*, München 1985
- Grießmer, Axel. 2000. *Massenverbände und Massenparteien im Wilhelminischen Reich*.
- Groh, D., 1978. Intensification of work and industrial conflict in Germany, 1896-1914. *Politics & Society*, 8(3-4), pp.349-397.
- Hall, A., 1976. The War of Words: Anti-socialist Offensives and Counter-propaganda in Wilhelmine Germany 1890-1914. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11(2), pp.11-42.
- Heidenheimer and Langdon 1967: *Business Associations and the Financing of Political Parties*.
- Heidenheimer, A.J., 1969. Trade Unions, Benefit Systems, and Party Mobilization Styles: "Horizontal" Influences on the British Labour and German Social Democratic Parties. *Comparative Politics*, 1(3), pp.313-342.
- Hoffrogge, R., 2011. *Sozialismus und Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland: von den Anfängen bis 1914*. Schmetterling-Verlag.
- Janos, Andrew C. 1989. "The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780–1945." *World Politics* 41: 325–58.
- Kaack, H., 2013. *Geschichte und Struktur des deutschen Parteiensystems*. Springer-Verlag.
- Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt. (1898). *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs [Statistic of the German Empire]* (pp. 351-413). Berlin: Verlag des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus.
- Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt. 1885. *Landwirtschaftliche Betriebsstatistik nach der allgemeinen Berufszählung vom 5 Juni 1882 [Agricultural Statistics Based on General Census of June 5, 1882]*. Bd. 5. Berlin: Verlag des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus.
- Kasara, K. and Mares, I., 2017. Unfinished business: The democratization of electoral practices in Britain and Germany. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(5), pp.636-664.
- Kitschelt 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge
- Klug, A., 2001. Why Chamberlain failed and Bismarck succeeded: The political economy of tariffs in British and German elections. *European Review of Economic History*, 5(2), pp.219-250.
- Kocka, J., 1983. *Lohnarbeit und Klassenbildung: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland 1800-1875*. Berlin; Bonn: Verlag JWH Dietz Nachf..
- Kocka, J., 1988. Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: europäische Entwicklungen und deutsche Eigenarten. In *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*. Band 1 (pp. 11-76). München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Kocka, Jürgen (1990): *Arbeitsverhältnisse und Arbeiterexistenzen – Grundlagen der Klassenbildung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bonn.
- Kreuzer, M., 1998. Electoral institutions, political organization, and party development: French and German Socialists and mass politics. *Comparative Politics*, pp.273-292.
- Kreuzer, M., 2001. *Institutions and Innovation: Voters, Parties, and Interest Groups in the Consolidation of Democracy--France and Germany, 1870-1939*. University of Michigan Press.

- Kreuzer, M., 2003. Parliamentarization and the Question of German Exceptionalism: 1867–1918. *Central European History*, 36(3), pp.327-357.
- Kühne 1994. Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen 1867–1914: Landtagswahlen zwischen korporativer Tradition und politischem Massenmarkt.
- Kühne, Thomas. 1994. Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen, 1867–1914 [Three-Class Voting System and Electoral Culture in Prussia, 1867–1914] Dusseldorf: Droste Verlag.
- Kühne, Thomas. 2005. “Demokratisierung und Parlamentarisierung: Neue Forschungen zur Politischen Entwicklungsfähigkeit Deutschlands vor dem ersten Weltkrieg.” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 31: 293–316.
- Kuo, A. and Jusko, K., 2012. Electoral Opportunity: The SPD and the “Agricultural Proletariat”. Working paper. Department of Political Science, Stanford University.
- Lässig, Simone. 1996. Wahlrechtskampf und Wahlreform in Sachsen, 1895–1909. Weimar: Böhlau.
- Lässig, Simone. 1998. “Wahlrechtsreformen in den deutschen Einzelstaaten.” In *Modernisierung und Region im wilhelmschen Deutschland*, [Suffrage Reform in Germany’s States] ed. Simone Lässig, Karl Heinrich Pohl, and James Retallack. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte.
- Lehmann-Hasemeyer, S., Hauber, P. and Opitz, A., 2014. The Political Stock Market in the German Kaiserreich—Do Markets Punish the Extension of the Suffrage to the Benefit of the Working Class? Evidence from Saxony. *The Journal of Economic History*, 74(4), pp.1140-1167.
- Lepsius, M.R., 2017. From fragmented party democracy to government by emergency decree and national socialist takeover: Germany. In *Max Weber and Institutional Theory* (pp. 111-151). Springer, Cham.
- Levy, C. ed., 2016. *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914*. Routledge.
- Lidtke, V.L., 1964. German social democracy and German state socialism, 1876–1884. *International Review of Social History*, 9(2), pp.202-225.
- Lindert, P.H., 2004. *Growing public: Volume 1, the story: Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century* (Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press.
- Linse, Ulrich (1969): *Organisierter Anarchismus im deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871*, Berlin.
- Maehl, W.H., 1980. German Social Democratic Agrarian Policy, 1890–1895 Reconsidered. *Central European History*, 13(2), pp.121-157.
- Mares, I., 2015. *From open secrets to secret voting: Democratic electoral reforms and voter autonomy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Marks, G.W., 2014. *Unions in politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*. Princeton University Press.
- Marks, Gary, Heather Mbaye, and Hyung-min Kim. 2009. “Radicalism or Reformism: Socialist Parties before World War I.” *American Sociological Review* 74: 615–35.
- Meyer, T., Miller, S. and Rohlfes, J., 1984. *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Darstellung-Chronologie-Dokumente*, Bonn.
- Michels, R., 1915. *Political parties: A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy*. Hearst's International Library Company.
- Mommsen, W. and Husung, H.G., 2017. *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914*. Routledge.
- Nettl, P., 1965. The german social democratic party 1890-1914 as a political model. *Past & Present*, (30), pp.65-95.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. 1961. *Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918*. Dusseldorf: Droste.

- Nolan, Mary. 1986. "Economic Crisis, State Policy and Working Class Formation in Germany, 1870–1900." In *Working Class Formation: Nineteenth Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 352–96.
- Prenzel, T. 1892. "Beiträge zur Wahlprüfungssstatistik des deutschen Reichstages, 1871–1890." *Annalen des Deutschen Reiches* [Contribution to Election Dispute Statistics in the German Reichstag, 1871–1890]: 25–90.
- Puhle, Hans-Jürgen. 1967. *Agrarische Interessenpolitik und Preussischer Konservatismus im Wilhelminischen Reich, 1893–1914: ein Beitrag zur Analyse des Nationalismus in Deutschland am Beispiel des Bundes der Landwirte und der Deutsch-Konservativen Partei*. Hannover: Verlag für Literatur u. Zeitgeschehen
- Raschke, J., 1988. *Soziale Bewegungen-Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriss*.
- Reibel, Carl-Wilhelm. (2007). *Handbuch der Reichstagswahlen 1890-1918. Bündnisse, Ergebnisse, Kandidaten* [Handbook for elections to the Reichstag 1890-1918. Coalitions, results, candidates]. Dusseldorf, Germany: Droste.
- Retallack 2012. "'Get Out the Vote!' Elections without Democracy in Imperial Germany." *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 51: 23–38.
- Retallack, J. ed., 2008. *Imperial Germany 1871-1918*. Oxford University Press.
- Ritter, G.A., 2013. *Soziale Frage und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Springer-Verlag.
- Ritter, Gerhard A. u. Klaus Tenfelde: *Arbeiter im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1914*, Bonn 1992 (Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland, Bd. 5)
- Rosenberg 1964. *Imperial Germany: The Birth of the German Republic 1871–1918*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Schmadeke, Jürgen. 1995. *Wahlerbewegung im Wilhelmschen Deutschland: die Reichstagswahlen von 1890 bis 1912*. [Voter Movements in Wilhelmine Germany]. Vol. 2. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Schneider, Wolfgang. "Die Begrenzungen des Wahlrechts in Deutschland, Preußen und Hamburg (Im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert)." Hamburg, 1955.
- Schorske, Carl E. 1955. *German Social Democracy 1905–1917: The Development of the Great Schism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, H.W., 2011. *Authoritarian State, Dynamic Society, Failed Imperialist Power, 1878–1914*. eds.(Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, Oxford, pp.307-335.
- Spenkuch, Hartwin. 1998. *Das Preussische Herrenhaus: Adel und Bürgertum in der ersten Kammer des Landtags 1854–1918*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag.
- Sperber, Jonathan. 1997. *The Kaiser's Voters: Electors and Elections in Imperial Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stegman 1970. *Die Erben Bismarcks: Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des Wilhelminischen Deutschlands*. Köln: Kippenheuer & Witsch.
- Steinbach, P., 1990. *Nationalisierung, soziale Differenzierung und Urbanisierung als Bedingungsfaktoren des Wahlverhaltens im Kaiserreich*. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, pp.63-82.
- Suval, Stanley. 1985. *Electoral Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tennstedt, Florian: *Vom Proleten zum Industriearbeiter. Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland 1800 bis 1914*, Köln 1983
- Thomson, H., 2015. *Landholding Inequality, Political Strategy, and Authoritarian Repression: Structure and Agency in Bismarck's "Second Founding" of the German Empire*. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 50(1), pp.73-97.

Tirrell, S.R. 1968. German agrarian politics after Bismarck's fall: the formation of the Farmers' League. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ullmann, H.P., 1999. Politik im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1918. R. Oldenbourg. University Press.

Vascik, G.S., 1991. The German Peasant League and the limits of rural liberalism in Wilhelmian Germany. *Central European History*, 24(2-3), pp.147-175.

Wachenheim, Hedwig (1971): Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1844 bis 1914, 2. Auflage Opladen.

Walter, F., 2002. Die SPD. Vom Proletariat zur Neuen Mitte, Berlin.

Weber, Max. 1984. "Das Preussische Wahlrecht." In Zur Politik im Weltkrieg, eds. Wolfgang Mommsen and Gangolf Huebinger. Tuebingen: JCB Mohr.

Weber, Reinhold. 2004. Bü rgerpartei und Bauernbund in Württemberg: Konservative Parteien im Kaiserreich und in Weimar (1895–1933). Düsseldorf: Droste.

Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. 1983. Das deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871–1918. [The German Empire, 1871–1918] Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Weitz, E.D., 1990. State Power, Class Fragmentation, and the Shaping of German Communist Politics, 1890-1933. *The Journal of Modern History*, 62(2), pp.253-297.

Weitz, E.D., 1997. Creating German Communism, 1890-1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State. Princeton University Press.

Winkler, J.R., 2013. Sozialstruktur, politische Traditionen und Liberalismus: Eine empirische Längsschnittstudie zur Wahlentwicklung in Deutschland 1871–1933. Springer-Verlag.

Ziblatt, D. (2008). Does landholding inequality block democratization? A test of the "bread and democracy" thesis and the case of Prussia. *World Politics*, 60, 610-641.

Ziblatt, D., 2009. Shaping democratic practice and the causes of electoral fraud: the case of nineteenth-century Germany. *American Political Science Review*, 103(1), pp.1-21.

Ziblatt, D., 2017. *Conservative Political Parties and the Birth of Modern Democracy in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Links:

<http://library.fes.de/fulltext/bibliothek/chronik/>

<http://library.fes.de/nz/nz-1885.html>

<http://library.fes.de/parteitage/index-pt-1890.html>

http://193.175.238.65/biorabkr_db/biorabkr_db.php

<https://socialhistoryportal.org/browse-collections?qCollections=%2A%3A%2A&facets=language%3Adeu%3B>

https://socialhistoryportal.org/search-collections?qCollections=*&facets=repositoryid:FESTrade_UmVwb3NpdG9yeVNlcnZpY2VSZXNvdXJjZXNmUmVwb3NpdG9yeVNlcnZpY2VSZXNvdXJjZVR5cGU%3D

<http://library.fes.de/prodok/orgind/orgindex.htm>

https://www.fes.de/archiv/adsd_neu/inhalt/recherche/linkliste_arbeiterbewegung.htm